

Al Fateh: For a democratic state in Palestine

—see pages 9,10,11,12

THE MILITANT

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General Motors and the war industry

—story page 6—

Uneasy truce marks civil war in Jordan

By ROBERT LANGSTON

SEPT. 30—The most violent battle yet in the protracted Jordanian civil war between the Palestinian national liberation movement and the pro-imperialist ruling clique around King Hussein has subsided. On Sept. 25, eight days after Hussein ordered his troops to crush the Palestinian forces in the capital city of Amman, he and the Palestinian supreme commander, Yasir Arafat, joined in declaring a cease-fire. Two days later, they, along with representatives of eight Arab states besides Jordan, signed a 14-point agreement that is supposed to regulate the relations between the fedayeen and the Jordanian regime.

The U.S. and Israel, which had both been poised to intervene in Jordan, declared their satisfaction at the outcome of the struggle, which left tens of thousands of Palestinians dead or wounded and dealt a setback to the heroic Palestinian struggle. Israel lost no time in demanding that the Hussein regime take steps to curb Palestinian guerrilla actions against Israel.

But in the long run, imperialism and Zionism may well be the losers. The bitter civil war forged a stronger bond of solidarity between the Palestinian masses and the fedayeen, and drew a line of blood between them and the Hussein regime. Hussein, who now openly

rules only by force of arms, cannot hope to win mass confidence in any accommodation he might make with Israel and imperialism.

And in the short run, the cease-fire agreement may well prove to be of limited value to Hussein. The Palestinians suffered tremendous losses but were not crushed. Hussein was unable to win a decisive victory. The struggle—sometimes open, sometimes latent—will continue because irreconcilable interests stand opposed to each other in Jordan.

The immediate background of the Hussein coterie's assault on the Palestinians is the attempt by the United States and the Soviet Union to impose a settlement in the Middle East which would demand recognition by the Arab people of the Zionist conquest of Palestine and the continued denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

But the Palestinians could never accept such a solution. The Palestinian masses, whose national consciousness has heightened since 1967, could never willingly abide a settlement which denied their national existence. Thus the inescapable logic of Hussein's acceptance of the Rogers plan made it necessary for him to try to crush the only effective means of Palestinian political expression—the guerrilla organizations.

The fact that every Arab state, with the exception of Syria, Iraq, Algeria and Southern Yemen, declared itself, to a greater or lesser extent, a party to the Rogers plan made the confrontation inevitable.

Immediately following the American "peace initiative," intensive efforts were made to buy off and incorporate at least a section of the Palestinian resistance in the plan. This failed. Hussein then intensified *selective* military attacks on the fedayeen, hoping that Fateh would more or less stand by while the Jordanian regime destroyed what it calls the "extremist" fedayeen. This likewise failed. The entire Palestinian movement showed that despite internal political differences, it would unite in defense of any section under attack.

Moreover, the erosion of the Jordanian regime's authority continued, and since the second week of September, a revolutionary administration, based on popular councils, had been in power in Jordan's second largest city, Irbid.

Under these circumstances, the Hussein clique decided to act decisively. The king gave the order to crush the fedayeen in Amman,



RAMTHA, JORDAN. An Arab woman carries her small brother through ruins of the town heavily shelled and bombed by the Jordanian Army.

(Continued on page 13)

Boston PAC defeats move against Oct. 31

Reaffirms need to move new forces into action

Boston, Mass.
On Sept. 14, the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition reaffirmed its original objective to build a mass, peaceful, legal demonstration for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in Boston on Oct. 31. It did so after a debate at a business meeting with representatives of several organizations supporting capitalist party "peace" candidates this fall.

Opponents of the Oct. 31 demonstration, representing Mass PAX, Newton Coalition for New Politics, Voice of Women, and citizens for Participation Politics, announced their intention to publicly repudiate Oct. 31 and encourage their membership not to participate in the action.

Mass demonstrations this fall would be harmful to peace candidates, they argued, and divert funds and energy from the Vietnam Referendum campaign. They voiced fears that any violence that might occur would also harm their candidates.

The Mass PAX representative said "peace" candidates Gerry Studts and Rev. Robert Drinan were both opposed to demonstrations prior to the elections on the grounds that they would be detrimental to their campaigns.

Coalition supporters, representing more than a dozen student, veteran, GI, trade union and community groups, argued that if peace candidates were really peace candidates, they would be the foremost supporters of actions which mobilized hundreds of thousands to demand withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

John McCann, statewide coordinator of Vietnam Referendum '70, said

Letters from our readers

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

that a mass demonstration shortly before the election would complement the referendum campaign and aid in amassing a large vote.

It was pointed out that now — when antiwar sentiment is at its highest peak and important new forces like the union movement, Black and Third World communities, women, and GIs are increasingly moving against the war — is precisely the wrong time to pull back from building mass antiwar actions. Now is when the movement should audaciously press forward to involve these forces in independent struggle against the war and not leave them to depend on candidates of the war parties to end U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Lara Stevens

Women's identity

Los Angeles, Calif.
The Sept. 25 *Militant* contained an article by Wade D. Douglas entitled "Demonstrations? They're Cool."

Stephen Balban of Manhattan in one paragraph was quoted as saying, "Demonstrations are all right." However, Susie Touhy, who as a person had her own ideas about demonstrations, was introduced as "his girl friend."

I can see no relevance for that phrase. One of the main demands of women's liberation is that a woman be identified through and by herself and not as an extension of a man.

Barbara Peterson

[We agree. — Editor]

Cokes and chicken at 'religious service'

Knoxville, Tenn.
As one who was there, I appreciated the article on the May 28 Nixon-Graham rally in Knoxville. I thought I would add a bit of background information.

The Nixon protesters were forced to wait nearly two hours outside the stadium before we were allowed in. Then we were frisked individually before entering, for signs, etc. After we liberated the entire area of the regular cheering section, we sang hymns and the Star-Spangled Banner and passed out literature to the gawking Knoxvilleans. Many times we were told, "You ought to be shot, hippies!" and "Go to hell, you Commies!" by the Christians seated near us. During the first part of the "service," the protesters were silent, and we left after Nixon's speech (which centered on the hard decisions past presidents had made — right after Cambodia!).

The charges of disrupting a religious service cannot hold water. On the podium with him were all the local Republican office holders and candidates from East Tennessee.

Furthermore, if that was a religious service why were Cokes sold in the stands, a la football games? And it would have to be the first religious service I ever attended where people brought chicken dinner and thermoses. To top it all off, I have never seen all the churchgoers before stand up and cheer for the preacher's entrance, as they did that day for Nixon.

The U of Tennessee community is often hailed as the most promising, radicalizing university in the South. Many college presidents would yield to rational, mass-based demands, yet UT president Weaver is "cracking down." He's invited Gen. Westmoreland for the Army-UT game in Knoxville this fall.

Steve Cass

Equal time

Modesto, Calif.
I have just finished a summer of working in the California canning industry. It was quite a change from the University of California, but I learned something that I couldn't on a university campus.

There are very few hardhats (or anyone else) for the war any more. If only *The Militant* could reach more people! But Nixon gets all the TV time. I wish SWP or YSA could get equal time.

G.P.

Bourgeois democracy exposed

Flint, Mich.
The events of the last few weeks once again expose the contradictions in bourgeois democracy in the United States.

This week Golda Meir was able to speak to and request money from an audience of several thousand Zionists and pro-Zionists. The Nixon administration did not try to stop her. The big dog and its lice live in harmony once again.

A different story took place in December 1969. Tariq Ali and Ernest Mandel were prohibited from speaking to a gathering in Detroit of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG).

A letter in the Sept. 25 *Militant* told of the joint actions of representatives of the U.S. and Israeli governments to get a pro-Zionist resolution passed at the National Student Association convention. The fact that the resolution was not adopted is significant. There is a growing consciousness of the need to support the Palestinian liberation movement.

As revolutionary socialists our job is to build the widest possible support for the liberation of Palestine and the establishment of revolutionary socialist states in that area.

Allen D. Adams

Change requires an informed people

Costa Mesa, Calif.
I wish to commend *The Militant* for the coverage of the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium and the police attack on the people.

The Militant and other media not related with the commercial press once again proved their importance for informing the people of such barbaric acts of the ruling class.

The continuation of the moratorium on Sept. 16 was billed in the commer-

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Closing news date — Sept. 30

cial press as a "Mexican Independence Parade," which was an outright distortion. To me it was 5 percent parade and 95 percent protest. I saw the local Tio Taco (uncle Tom) politicians riding their convertibles, along with a float sponsored by the neighborhood loan company and even a trailer with some missiles courtesy of the Navy recruiter. The rest was people protesting the war and such.

I cannot stress enough the need for people to listen to another viewpoint besides the views of big advertisers. If any change is to come to this country, we must have many, many people on our side, and that can only come through an informed people that have heard both sides of an issue and made up their own minds. The ruling class is getting desperate and bold with their suppression. Witness the L.A. situation, numerous murders of Black Panther Party members around the country, and the kangaroo "inquest" of the murder of Ruben Salazar now in progress.

Raul Y. Rodriguez

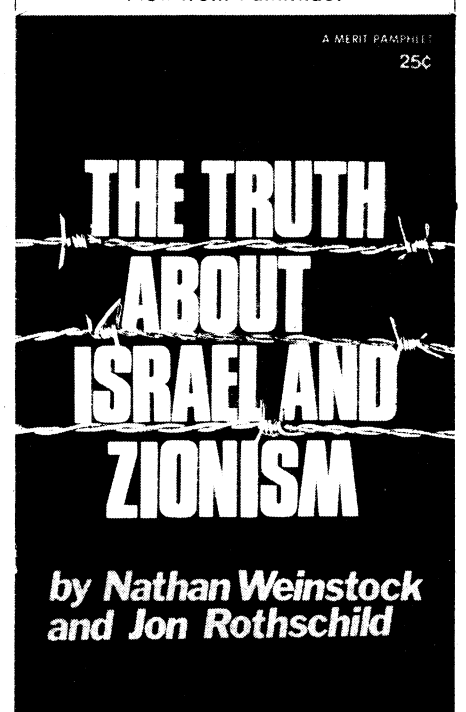
Favorite reading

Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Have subscribed to your excellent paper for about three years since I left your country and find it my favorite reading.

Keep up the good work.

C. R. W.

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Cleveland Sellers on trial in S.C. frame-up

By RANDY FURST

SEPT. 28—It was more than two years ago that state police fired up a grassy slope near Claflin College, in Orangeburg, S. C., killing three unarmed Black students and wounding 27 others.

Two years after the Orangeburg Massacre, South Carolina authorities are still out for blood.

Cleveland Sellers, 26, went on trial in Orangeburg Sept. 24 accused of three counts of rioting. At the time of the massacre Sellers was a field secretary for the Student National Coordinating Committee, working with a Black student organization at South Carolina State in Orangeburg. He was wounded in the attack.

"There's no question of it being a political trial," defense attorney Howard Moore said by telephone. "Cleveland is a scapegoat."

After two days of testimony, Moore had demolished most of the prosecution's case, leading Judge John Grimball to direct a verdict of not guilty on two of the three counts.

Sellers is still accused of being an accessory to rioting, based on the testimony of an agent of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division (SLED). The agent said he had seen Sellers standing on the trunk of an automobile two days before the shootings, exhorting a crowd of Blacks to "Burn baby, burn."

On the night of Feb. 8, 1968, SLED agents opened fire without warning into a crowd of Blacks, killing three unarmed youths, Sam Hammond and Henry Smith, both 18, and Delano Middleton, 17.

Eyewitnesses later told this writer they had seen police beat the wounded Hammond to death by hitting him repeatedly with rifle butts.

Numerous students were shot in the heels as they attempted to flee gunfire which lasted approximately 30 seconds.

Sellers was wounded in the first burst of gunfire. He dived behind a garbage can and waited until the shooting stopped. Later, 12 bullet holes were found in the can.

Some in Orangeburg believe Sellers was the main target of the all-white SLED agents.

"Now they want to make me responsible for what happened," Sellers said by telephone as the trial entered its third day.

"The police did the shooting," Sellers said. "There are three Blacks dead and nobody seems to know who is responsible. Well, there is overwhelming evidence that the police fired those weapons."

"The fact that Black people are accused of having destroyed themselves," said Sellers, "is a kind of insult."

Nine SLED agents were brought to trial last year and found innocent. They maintained that they responded to sniper fire.

But overwhelming evidence indicates that no sniper fired on police.

Pretrial motions were filed in the

court of general sessions of Orangeburg County on Friday, Sept. 18.

A motion for dismissal on the grounds that the state riot laws were unconstitutional was denied. A motion for dismissal on the grounds that Sellers had not been given a speedy trial was also denied as was dismissal based on the insufficient representation of Blacks on the jury panel.

Although the city population is 51.1 percent Black, the panel from which the jury was selected was less than 15 percent Black, Moore told *The Militant*.

A jury of nine whites and three Blacks was selected Sept. 24 in a tightly guarded courtroom. Some 75 Black students watched the proceedings from the spectator section, following a march by students and townspeople on the courthouse.

By the second day, it was apparent that the state had little to offer in its attempt to carry out a legal lynching that would have put Sellers behind bars for eight years.

The prosecution paraded 10 witnesses to the stand including two campus police officers, a deputy sheriff, the former Orangeburg chief of police, the chief deputy sheriff and several SLED agents.

Through cross-examination, Moore showed that Sellers was not connected with any conspiracy or riot, and the two counts were dismissed.

Asked about the charge that Sellers called for burning, Moore said, "That's an outright lie."

"They have no evidence," said Moore. "We destroyed their case."



South Carolina highway patrolmen stand over bodies of two students gunned down in cop attack on Black rally in Orangeburg, S. C., Feb. 8, 1969. Cleveland Sellers, wounded in the attack, now stands trial on frame-up charges stemming from the massacre.

If Sellers is convicted on the one count of accessory to riot which remains, he faces a year in jail.

"We think we are in good legal shape," said Moore as trial reopened Sept. 28.

Contributions to cover the legal costs of the trial are urgently needed. They can be sent to the Southern Legal Assistance Project, Suite 1154, 75 Piedmont Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Fight for day-care centers at Temple U

By PAULA REIMERS

PHILADELPHIA — Under the impact of the student strikes that swept the country last May, Temple University bent to student requests and allocated space for a summer child-care center in the basement of Peabody Hall.

The child-care center operated through the summer, serving about 100 children of Temple students, faculty and employees and parents from the Black community surrounding Temple. The parents provided all the equipment and materials for the center and gave voluntary donations of \$5-10 per week to keep the center functioning. Temple University assigned a few work-study program students to work in the center.

It became obvious toward the end of the summer that the Temple administration was anxious to reverse these gains that were won during May. The work-study students were withdrawn and the day-care center was told to vacate Peabody Hall.

The center then appealed for new facilities to the Student Activities Committee (SAC), composed of students, faculty and administrators. SAC voted unanimously on Sept. 1 to let the center move into a student lounge on a one-year temporary basis.

This apparently enraged Temple University president Paul Anderson, who undemocratically overruled the SAC decision and went to court for an injunction to force the day-care center out of the lounge.

The injunction not only prohibited any child care on university grounds without the express permission of the administration; it also contained blatantly unconstitutional restrictions on the democratic rights of the students, aimed at stifling any protest against the university's decision on day care.

Some of the provisions of the injunction which infringe upon the civil liberties of the students are:

- A prohibition of picketing by more than eight people with less than six feet between them;
- A prohibition against "sitting in, sitting or lying down" or "loitering" around the campus;
- A prohibition against conspiring to interfere with the normal operation of the campus "by force or displays of force or numbers, by threats, by acts of intimidation or violence, by use of opprobrious epithets, jeers, suggestions of danger or taunts." (When the injunction was read to students by the deputy sheriff, one student threw out the question, "What about heavy breathing?")

If even one of these injunction provisions goes unchallenged, it will be used every time the university feels

threatened by a campus movement.

The injunction was protested by the Day-Care Committee through a mass rally of 500 students on Sept. 17 followed by a picket line of 150 in front of the lounge that had formerly housed the day-care center. Four thousand students signed a petition asking the university to provide facilities to the Day-Care Committee.

On Sept. 18 the Day-Care Committee filed a counterinjunction, asking that the university's injunction be dissolved because it denied use of university facilities to a recognized student organization (the Day-Care Committee is a recognized student group) and because it violated students' rights under the First Amendment to the Constitution.

After being shuffled around to various facilities, the day-care center is now housed on the first floor of the Alpha Epsilon Pi fraternity house. The fraternity brothers voted to allow the center to use the house, which is owned by them, until negotiations with the university are concluded.

The university has now projected that it will open a university-controlled day-care center, which will have a parents' "advisory committee." The parents quite rightly want to control the center, as they have been doing, and want decision-making power in the hands of parents and staff, not the university. Also, they cannot wait until the university gets around to setting up a new center.

The next obvious step in this fight is to reach out for support for the day-care center from the Black community surrounding Temple and also from the women's liberation movement in Philadelphia.

A big step forward!

This issue represents a big step forward for The Militant. The size of our press run—which is rapidly increasing—and the number of pages we need have both outstripped our current printing process.

Starting this week, The Militant will be printed on a high-speed, newspaper web press which will enable us to publish 20-page issues whenever our finances are up to it.

Chicano students victorious in struggle at Univ. of Minn.

By DERREL MYERS

MINNEAPOLIS — On Sept. 16, Mexican Independence Day, the Latin Liberation Front (LLF) at the University of Minnesota won a battle in the fight for Third World education. One year ago, of the 43,000 students at the University of Minnesota Minneapolis campus only 8 were Chicanos. The Chicano and Puerto Rican students in the newly formed Latin Liberation Front decided to change that. As a result of their efforts there are today 65 Latino students enrolled in the Minneapolis U of M campus.

In the last year LLF recruiters spoke with hundreds of Chicano high school students and migrant workers to get them to enroll at the university. One of the biggest obstacles, according to Ramona Arreguin, chairwoman of the Latin Liberation Front, is the racism of high school administrators and counselors.

After the first recruitment meeting at Humboldt High School in St. Paul, for example, the principal refused to permit a second meeting. According to him, "One meeting about college is enough for these kids." Five of the six counselors the LLF worked with actively discouraged high school Chicano students from thinking about college on the racist basis that they were "not cut out for it" and "better suited for manual work."

Another obstacle was finances, particularly in the case of migrant youth. Not only is there the problem of college expenses (estimated at \$2,300 per school year at the publicly supported U of M), but to most migrant families

it also means the loss of an income earner.

The LLF began discussions of these financial problems last spring with the U of M administration. The administrators agreed to provide needed funds for 50 youth recruited by the LLF. But in September the new students, who came from as far away as Texas, found the "assistance" was much less than what they had been led by the administrators to believe. Most of the migrant youth decided it would be impossible to get by on such skimpy "assistance."

On Sept. 15, after many fruitless discussions with the administrators, the LLF established a picket in front of the administration building, demanding that the university fulfill its promises.

Caught in an embarrassing lie and fearful of the growing support for the LLF's demands in the Chicano and university communities, the U of M administrators agreed the next day to the following:

- Fulfillment of the original financial commitment as understood by the students;

- Work-study positions for the new students who need additional income (this is work, related to studies, for which students get scholastic credit);

- Funding of a three-day Chicano symposium featuring leaders of the Chicano movement, including Corky Gonzales, Cesar Chavez, Froben Lozada and the Teatro Campesino;

- The appointment of faculty for a Chicano studies department at the U of M;



The fight for Chicano studies program at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., helped initiate a drive that is gaining momentum on campuses. Sept. 16 marked a victory for Chicano students at U of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

- A \$14,500 budget for recruitment of migrant workers to the U of M;

- Hiring of a Chicano counselor at the U of M.

Shortly after the victory was announced, 200 Chicano youth marched to City Hall in a demonstration spontaneously organized by the LLF and the Chicanos United, a community organization. The spirited demonstration, the first of its kind here, joined another 300 Chicanos at the Mexican Independence Day fiesta sponsored by Chicanos United.

When asked what the LLF plans now, Ramona Arreguin replied, "We are only beginning. Because of what

we and the whole Chicano community have done, we are very, very confident and, in fact, inspired. One year ago we started with only 9 students and at Macalester College. Today we are more than 75, with strong ties with the community. We have rented a huge house for migrant worker students and named it Casa Latina. We're helping the community organize a health clinic. We will continue recruitment, but now the university will fund what it should have been funding a long time ago. And we are organizing weekly political discussions to deal with the broader issues of Chicano liberation, including the formation of a Minnesota Raza Unida Party.

Cairo, Ill. — front against racist terror

By MARK UGOLINI

CHICAGO — Lynn Henderson, Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator, and Willy Petty, SWP candidate for sheriff of Cook County, issued a statement demanding that all "frame-up" charges against the leadership of the United Front of Cairo be immediately dropped and the escalating police and vigilante terror against the Black community in Cairo be halted. The candidates also announced a statewide campaign to build support for the United Front and to publicize the facts of the present situation in Cairo.

The two candidates issued this statement upon their return from a visit to Cairo, a town of 6,000, approximately half Black, located at the southern tip of Illinois.

Economically depressed Cairo has long had the reputation of being a "deep South" town, but open white terror began to escalate in July 1967, when the local state's attorney, Peyton Berdling, publicly organized and became president of a white vigilante group called "The White Hats."

Indicative of the atmosphere in Cairo is an incident which occurred the same year, in which Baptist minister Larry Potts beat to death with a baseball bat a man he claimed was raping his wife. The alleged rapist was a 72-year-old man with a 100 percent government disability pension for extensive wounds received in World War I. Potts and his wife are in their early thirties. The state's attorney refused to bring any charge whatsoever against Potts.

Tension continued to rise in the community. The night of March 31, 1969, whites strolled into Pyramid Court, the

public housing project in the Black community, and opened fire on houses and passing automobiles. In the 18 months since this incident, the Black community has been fired upon on 130 different nights. Also in this period, two Black-owned businesses and a number of Black homes have been firebombed and completely destroyed.

In response to the original attack, the Black community in April 1969 organized the United Front of Cairo, which began a boycott and continuous picketing of the downtown white business area, under the slogans "No more money for bullets to be used against us" and "White Hats must go; Blacks will keep their dough." The boycott continues to this day, and with regard to the Black community it is virtually 100 percent effective, with eight white-owned establishments forced out of business as of this date.

The United Front has also begun a cooperative housing construction project and the building of a new cooperative clothing store and has quietly but firmly organized the community to defend itself. Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the United Front, explained, "We do not stand for violence in Cairo." But he reiterated the need for the Black community to defend itself against attack.

The United Front also ran a slate for the school board in the recent elections in opposition to the present board, whose members send their own children to a private, all-white school set up and run by the White Hats. The United Front slate was defeated in an election in which 30 percent more whites voted than there are registered white voters in Cairo.

The latest tactic on the part of the

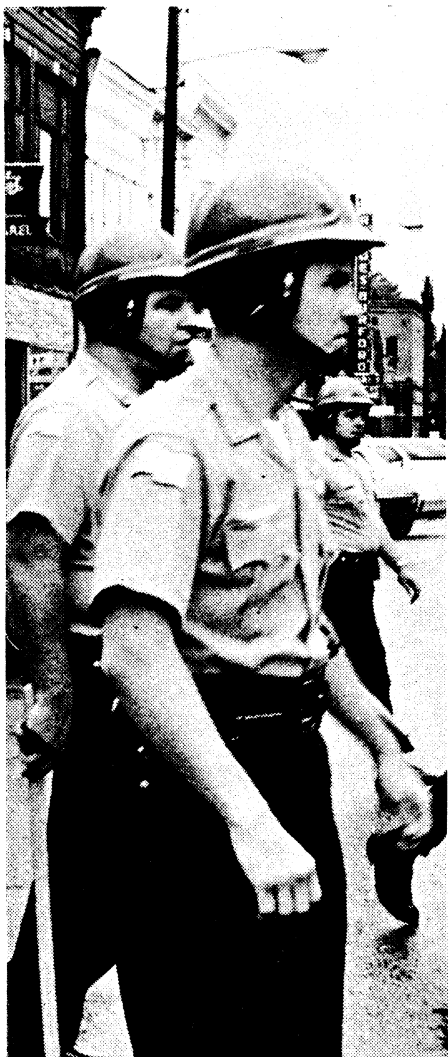
city government and White Hats to suppress the United Front and crush the boycott is a series of trumped-up charges against the leaders of the United Front.

In one case Rev. Manker Harris, public relations director for the United Front, was fired upon from a passing car while standing on a porch in the Black community. When the incident was reported to the Cairo police, with the car's license number, the owner of the car, a Cairo policeman, filed charges against Rev. Harris. The state's attorney and White Hat organizer Peyton Berdling immediately charged Harris with attempted murder and refused to take any action on Harris' original complaint.

Rev. Charles Koen was charged with aggravated battery when he requested firemen to leave Pyramid Court, after 17 "false alarms" were used as pretexts for breaking in, harassing, and searching apartments in the housing project.

Jim Brown, James Switch Wilson, and Frank Washington, all field organizers for the United Front, have also recently been charged with intimidation and aggravated battery.

SWP sheriff candidate Petty in his statement called for an immediate public campaign to force the withdrawal of these trumped-up charges. "The Black people of Cairo are guilty of nothing more than the will to control and rebuild their own communities. The illegal actions of the Cairo city government, Cairo police, and state police to suppress this movement and institute a racist reign of terror against the citizens of Cairo will be exposed in the SWP election campaign."



Whites have been terrorizing the Black community in Cairo, Ill., on a systematic basis since 1967. The community has organized to fight back. One of its methods is boycotting white-owned stores. Photo is from the biweekly United Front News — Box 544, Cairo, Illinois, 62914.

Drive hits 3,500 sales

SEPT. 29—The nationwide *Militant* campaign to gain 15,000 new subscribers rolled into its third week with raw data indicating that things looked good—but not good enough.

With Philadelphia pacing the country in *Militant* sales and Houston a close second, there were these statistics to report:

● The subscription drive passed the 3,500 mark as 1,107 introductory subs came in last week. That put *The Militant* 22 percent of the way towards its 15,000 subscription goal, far enough along under normal conditions, but behind the drive's objective of selling the majority of the subscriptions in the opening few weeks of the drive.

● *Militant* business manager Flax Hermes, who is supervising the drive, estimated that *The Militant* business office would have to receive 75 percent of each area's quota by Oct. 13 in order to fulfill the aim of getting the bulk of subscriptions early.

The 75 percent target was seen as central to the largest *Militant* subscription drive in more than two decades.

Hermes advised that subscription sellers in each area listed on the scoreboard should calculate the number of subs needed to push them over the three-quarters mark by Oct. 13.

The main point, she emphasized, was for *Militant* supporters to put the maximum number of bodies on the line now, or more exactly, put their

bodies in college dormitories where sales are going the fastest.

The drive to encourage individual readers to take quotas was also achieving results. Hermes said that yesterday in the mail she received requests from five persons wanting to take quotas. So far individual readers have taken quotas totaling 290 new subscriptions.

Readers sent in quotas last week from places like Mission Viejo, Calif.; Nacogdoches, Texas, and Selinsgrove, Pa.

Big gainers nationally last week were Boston, which added 165 subscriptions; Chicago, which sold 127; Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) with 66; and Atlanta with 64.

Worcester, Mass., recorded 38 sales last week, Philadelphia chalked up 104. Detroit was selling in the dormitories as well as aiming some efforts at striking auto workers on the picket line at General Motors. At week's end, Detroit had sold 86 more subscriptions toward its quota of 700.

Most of the subscription sales are made on the spot with *Militant* salesmen and saleswomen securing the purchase and mailing in both the dollar and the sub blank to the New York office.

But Hermes noted that some 50 individual subscriptions were coming in daily from individuals who had clipped the coupon from the *Militant* or had obtained a coupon from a seller.

— R. F.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New subs		
Philadelphia, Pa.	500	382	Newark, N.J.	75
Houston, Texas	200	144	Knoxville, Tenn.	50
Austin, Texas	300	211	Ann Arbor, Mich.	100
Northampton, Mass.	20	10	Bloomington, Ind.	100
Worcester, Mass.	100	46	Cheney, Wash.	50
Detroit, Mich.	700	319	St. Louis, Mo.	50
Mansfield, Pa.	50	21	Madison, Wis.	300
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	8	Binghamton, N.Y.	150
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	17	Hayward, Calif.	40
Boston, Mass.	1,000	338	New Haven, Conn.	60
North Boston (146)			Flint, Mich.	50
Cambridge (67)			Oshkosh, Wis.	50
Boston SWP (65)			Riverside, Calif.	150
South Boston (60)			San Diego, Calif.	150
Long Island, N.Y.	75	22	San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50
Tallahassee, Fla.	50	13	Kent, Ohio	100
Twin Cities, Minn.	600	147	Little Rock, Ark.	50
La Crosse, Wis.	50	12	Milwaukee, Wis.	150
New York, N.Y.	2,000	481	Orlando, Fla.	50
Berkeley, Calif.	600	140	Red Hook, N.Y.	50
Logan, Utah	50	11	Paterson, N.J.	60
Oxford, Ohio	50	11	Columbus, Ohio	75
San Francisco, Calif.	750	163	Gainesville, Fla.	75
Atlanta, Ga.	500	107	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	16	Yellow Springs, Ohio	125
Kansas City, Mo.	100	21	Providence, R.I.	150
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	314	Baltimore, Md.	10
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	1	Bellingham, Wash.	40
Middletown, N.Y.	5	1	Fi. Wayne, Ind.	50
Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2	Fullerton, Calif.	50
Cleveland, Ohio	600	104	Grosse Pt., Mich.	20
El Paso, Texas	75	12	Kingsville, Texas	5
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	3	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5
Washington, D.C.	300	45	Nacogdoches, Texas	10
Portland, Ore.	100	14	Oberlin, Ohio	75
Tampa, Fla.	100	13	Selinsgrove, Pa.	5
DeKalb, Ill.	150	19	Venice, Calif.	100
Seattle, Wash.	400	48	Youngstown, Pa.	10
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	118	General	400
			GOAL	15,000

'Excuse me, are you familiar with . . .'

Burns Hollyman, 19, was writing an essay for his freshman English class at the New York University downtown branch.

It was 8:15 p.m. and Weinstein dormitory was quiet.

Suddenly there was a knock at the door.

Hollyman looked up from his desk, which was covered with writing paper, numerous pencils, and a bath towel.

"Come in," he said. And the door opened.

"Hello. Have you seen this newspaper?" said someone Hollyman could observe in the fading light, a young

man, about his own age who was holding a tabloid-size newspaper.

"This is *The Militant*. It has regular coverage of the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, the Black liberation movement. . . ."

Hollyman pushed his chair away from the desk and scrutinized Bruce Kaufman, who said that he was a socialist.

"It's only \$1 for 10 issues," explained Kaufman.

There was only a slight pause. "We have special coverage this week on the Mideast crisis."

Hollyman was thinking. Kaufman

continued. "It's only \$1. You'll also receive this back issue of the International Socialist Review free. It's a Marxist theoretical journal. It gives a socialist point of view. . . ."

Hollyman reached into his pants pocket and pulled out his wallet. "What do I do?" Hollyman wanted to know.

"Just fill out this coupon," said Kaufman, handing him the coupon. "I'll give you a receipt."

Hollyman took the coupon and put it on his desk and began to print his name and address on it.

"Have you heard about Oct. 31?" Kaufman asked Hollyman. "There are

going to be antiwar demonstrations all over the country. There's an article on it in this week's issue."

Hollyman handed Kaufman the sub blank and a dollar.

"It will come in the mail to your dorm every week. Just think," Kaufman joked, "Every Monday you can expect something in the mail."

"The way things are going," said Hollyman, "that's really nice to hear."

Hollyman said he would have to look into socialism more and he hoped this newspaper would give him that opportunity. We assured him that it would.

— RANDY FURST

Want to sell subs?

Just fill out the coupon

The Militant will send you a complete subscription kit, including coupons, posters, etc. Your area will be added to the scoreboard if you wish.

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

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

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

Name (please print)

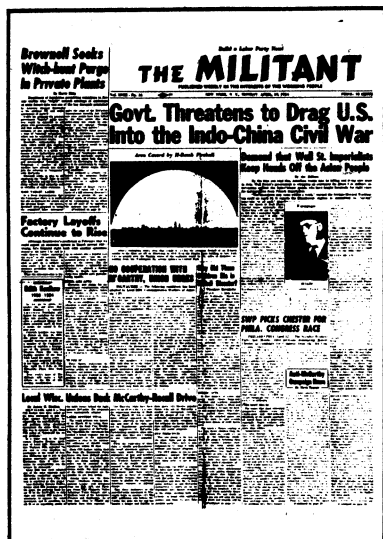
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City State Zip

School

The Militant fights for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina now!

(and we've been fighting for it for a long time)



Front page of the April 19, 1954, issue in which *The Militant* condemned the latest plans of U.S. government to intervene in Southeast Asia.

The Militant has consistently opposed American intervention in Indochina since the U.S. stepped in to crush the Vietnamese revolution following World War II. For the most truthful, thorough analysis of the war and for the most complete coverage of the opposition to the war, don't miss a single issue. A 10-week introductory subscription costs only \$1.

Clip and mail

- Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *THE MILITANT*.
- Enclosed is \$2 for 3 months of *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* and 10 weeks of *THE MILITANT*.
- Send me a full year of *THE MILITANT* for \$6.
- I'm a GI. Send me 6 months of *THE MILITANT* for \$1.

NAME _____

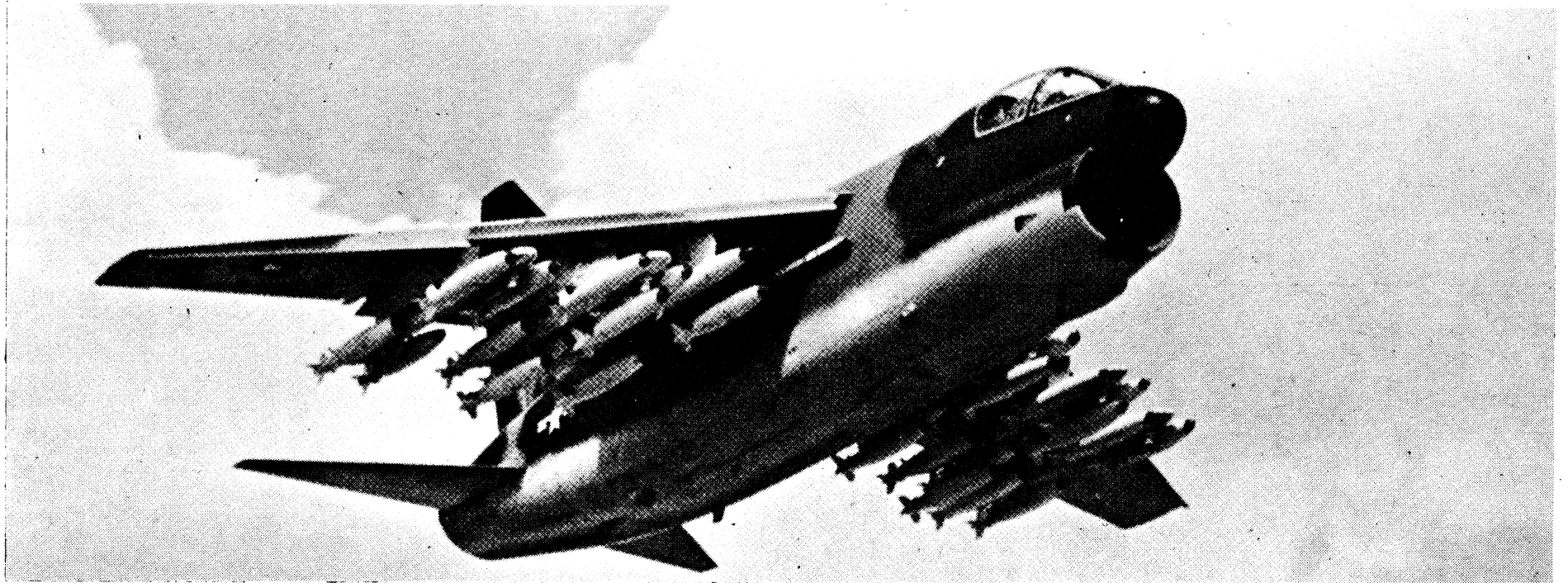
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Make all checks payable to *THE MILITANT*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

General Motors and the U.S. war industry



NAVY A-7 LIGHT ATTACK AIRCRAFT. "The first A-7 entered combat in November 1967, only 44 months after its conception. Twelve squadrons have deployed to Vietnam and the plane has lived up well to our expectations for it in the combat environment. The A-7E represents a major advance in visual bombing and navigation. . . . The extra thrust (from GM's TF-41 engine) will provide considerably better combat maneuvering capability in a hostile environment while heavily loaded with ordnance." — Vice Admiral Thomas F. Connolly, deputy chief of naval operations for air.

By DICK ROBERTS

"What's good for General Motors is good for the country." — Charles E. Wilson, 1953.

The world's largest industrial corporation sells only about 3 percent of its products to the Pentagon. But this alone ranks General Motors the tenth largest U.S. manufacturer of war goods.

GM's 1969 sales of military and space products, at \$700-million, would put its "Defense Division" among the 200 largest corporations in the nation.

This is not to speak of the indirect flow of GM products to war makers. For example, when a Lockheed Corporation buys a GM truck, it is a further case of GM supplying the products necessary for war. But this is not counted in GM's sales to the Pentagon.

In recent years, much public attention has been focused on such makers of nuclear missiles and bombers as Lockheed, General Dynamics and United Aircraft. These corporations do have bigger war contracts than GM. They are the core of the so-called military-industrial complex.

But focusing only on these few corporations, which primarily manufacture war goods, leaves out of view the fact that most of the main bastions of U.S. imperialism, from the "Big Three" auto trusts to Standard Oil, IBM and AT&T, are also manufacturers and suppliers of the deadly weapons in the Pentagon's arsenal.

Even more important, it leaves out of view the fact that virtually every major U.S. corporation has a worldwide network of markets and investments. These multinational corporations are deeply committed to maintaining the world police force of U.S. imperialism because it is this police force which protects their investments abroad and the markets in foreign nations where they sell their goods.

General Motors sells over 25 percent of its products outside the U.S. General Motors Overseas Division counts three major car and truck manufacturing operations: Opel A.G., Germany; GM- Holden, Australia; Vauxhall, England. It lists 15 other subsidiary corporations in Europe; one

each in South Africa, Mexico and New Zealand; and six in South America.

GM is consequently highly concerned, and has the "necessary connections" in Washington to ensure, that the U.S. military machine is well lubricated and that the lucrative weapons contracts with the Pentagon continue to pour tax dollars into its coffers.

A brief survey of the annual reports of GM highlights the main weapons systems its plants are working on:

1965 annual report

"AC Electronics, which became a separate GM division in 1965, delivered the first complete guidance and navigation systems during the year for the Apollo space vehicles. . . . The Division established several firsts in 1965 for performance and reliability of inertial guidance systems in test flights of the Titan III-C space booster and in test firings of the Titan II ICBM.

"Allison Division produces turboprop engines which have become the workhorses for military cargo, anti-submarine and reconnaissance aircraft.

"Allison also has contracts involving more than \$115-million for production of the M109 self-propelled howitzer and the new XM551 General Sheridan armed reconnaissance airborne assault vehicle. Allison is continuing the design, engineering and development testing of the new Main Battle Tank in a joint U.S.-Federal Republic of Germany program."

1966 annual report

"The design stage of the Main Battle Tank . . . was completed in 1966 and pilot models of this vehicle are being assembled by Allison Division.

"AC Electronics Division is developing a computerized weapons control system for the Main Battle Tank. Allison has also received a development and production contract for the TF41 turbofan jet engine and a contract to develop a turbojet lift engine for use in vertical rising aircraft."

1968 annual report

"Allison made significant advances in 1968 in its gas turbine aircraft engine production and development programs. Production of the new TF41 turbofan engine for the USAF A-7D attack bomber began in June. The TF41, developed jointly by Allison and Rolls-Royce of England, will also power the Navy A-7E light attack aircraft. . . .

"Hydra-matic Division received a

contract from the U.S. Army to produce M16A1 5.56mm lightweight rifles. The first delivery of rifles was made in December, 1968."

1969 annual report

"Other Allison products include turboprop engines for large military and commercial planes and small gas turbines for military and commercial helicopters. Allison also produced the lightweight propellant tanks for the Apollo space vehicles and continues to manufacture military vehicles and transmissions.

"Hydra-matic Division began producing U.S. Army M16A1 rifles in 1968, and in 1969 received an additional contract for 229,000, making the total 469,000. The 200,000th weapon was delivered in December, 1969—more than two months ahead of schedule."

The beneficial effect of the Vietnam war on GM military sales, not including space products, can be seen from the following figures published annually by the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*.

(The figures—in millions of dollars—are for fiscal years, that is, from July 1 of the stated year to June 30 of the following year.)

1962	449
1963	444
1964	250
1965	254
1966	508
1967	625
1968	630
1969	584

According to these figures, GM's military sales from 1962 to 1965 averaged \$349-million annually. With the escalation of the U.S. attack on Vietnam, from 1966 to 1969, GM's military sales averaged \$587-million annually—an increase of 68 percent.

Three types of linkages connect the major corporations and the military apparatus of the government: the service of high corporate officials on the key policy-making semi-governmental agencies like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Rand Corporation; the interchange of personnel between corporate boards and the Defense Department; and the appointment of retired military personnel to top corporate posts. GM has its share of all three types of links.

For example, the General Motors Overseas Operations Division is a major contributor to the Council on Foreign Relations. John T. Connor, a

member of the GM board of directors, chairman of the board of the Allied Chemical Corp., serves on the Council on Foreign Relations. Connor was general counsel for the Office of Science Research and Development of the federal government in 1942-44, counsel of the Office of Naval Research, and special assistant to the secretary of the navy, 1945-47.

Stephen D. Bechtel Jr., a second member of the GM board, is a close business associate of John McCone (Bechtel-McCone Corp.), former head of the CIA.

A third GM director, Roger M. Kyes, served as deputy secretary of defense in 1953-54. Kyes was chief of GM's Defense Division in 1965-67.

GM listed 17 retired officers with ranks of colonel or Navy captain or above as employed in February 1969.

Two former long-time members of the GM board of directors merit attention: Charles E. Wilson and Maj. Gen. Lucius Clay.

Wilson, who served as a GM director from 1934 to his death in 1961, served successively as GM vice-president, 1929-39; GM executive vice-president, 1939-40; GM president, 1941-53; U.S. secretary of defense, 1953-57. When Eisenhower appointed Wilson to head up the Pentagon, he declared a GM stockownership worth \$2.5-million.

Gen. Clay, one of the prime architects of cold-war U.S. military strategy, served on the GM board from 1952-66, following his retirement from the military.

Lucius D. Clay—called in some circles a "Georgia aristocrat"—served as commander in chief of U.S. military forces in Europe and military governor of the U.S. Zone in Germany, 1947-49. He was party to the "rehabilitation" of Nazis following the war, the suppression of left movements in the occupied zones, and German rearmament.

Clay also was an original director of Radio Free Europe, a finance chairman of the Republican Party, the Army's deputy for procurement and production, and deputy director for war programs and he headed up the "Clay Committee" appointed by President Kennedy to survey U.S. foreign-aid policy.

Since military production occupies only a portion of GM production, and

(Continued on page 18)

PLAN EARLY FOR XMAS. Are you drawing up a list of people who would appreciate gift subscriptions to The Militant?

Interview with a Palestinian writer

Inside the civil war in Jordan

By FRED HALSTEAD

WASHINGTON, D. C. — In an interview here on Sept. 25, two days before a cease-fire agreement was signed in Cairo, a staff writer for the monthly *Free Palestine* discussed with me the military and political situation in Jordan after 10 days of open warfare between Palestinian forces and King Hussein's army. *Free Palestine* is published here for circulation mainly among Arab students and their friends in the U.S. Its writers have close telephone communication with the Middle East.

I asked the writer, who requested that I not use his name, what the significance of the military aspect of the fighting in Jordan was.

"Actually," he said, "the confrontation is of great strategic importance because of the nature of the troops on which Hussein relies. These are archaic forces, stemming from such groups as the old British Arab Legion. They are mercenaries, used essentially for internal security, and their adversaries are always weak—or always have been. Once they meet a force that is well-armed, well-organized, and with a cause to fight for, their lives are suddenly endangered as never before and they don't stand up because there are no principles involved for them. This explains the difference in their performance in Amman—where they were up against lightly armed guerrillas and civilians, and their performance in the North at the Irbid-Ramtha road junction, where they met well-armed fighting forces. When Hussein's tanks were faced by tanks of the Palestine Liberation Organization they were beaten decisively.

I asked the writer about U.S. claims that the tank battle had involved Syrian forces. He said there was no Syrian involvement but "I wish there were. The U.S. press gives too much credit to the Syrian regime." He said the tank units were part of the Palestine Liberation Army stationed in Syria—as other parts are stationed in Egypt and Iraq—under agreements with the Arab governments.

The PLO tanks pulled back to Syria after the battle as a military maneuver because of their lack of air cover, he said. He said one-third of Hussein's tank forces were put out of action at the Ramtha-Irbid battle, that another third was used to shell Amman, and that the last third—held in strategic reserve at Hussein's headquarters—was sent North after the Ramtha-Irbid battle to prevent Palestinian forces from moving South and to attempt to retake the Northern cities.

The Iraqi units stationed in Jordan, which had moved east, he said, could have cut this unit's supply and immobilized it by moving back west, "and that would have finished Hussein." But the Iraqi forces failed to act and this accounts, he said, for the denunciation of the Iraqi regime by the PLO radio.



Palestinian youth in training at refugee camp

Photo by Paul Boutelle

What is the situation in the cities? I asked. "The guerrillas hold the cities in the North including Irbid, Ramtha, and Zarqa. This is because the settled population of Jordan, both urban and agricultural village, is almost entirely sympathetic with the Palestinians. Indeed, they are ethnic Palestinians. It is the tribal, nomadic bedouins of the South, and not even all of them, who make up Hussein's base, which is nothing but a mercenary military-feudal establishment created by the British and based on playing favorites among tribal chieftains.

"Amman hasn't surrendered, though the loss of life has been terrible. No one really knows how bad. Hussein controls several high points in and around the city. His army can chase the PLO out of a particular area by heavy shelling which involves killing many civilians. Then his forces move into that small area. Then they are fired upon by guerrillas from another area, and they can shell that and move in there, but Hussein's soldiers only control what they stand on. When they move, they lose it. And there aren't enough of them to stand on the whole city.

"And this is one of the most important things. This is the first time in modern Arab history that the people participated in a major battle. Why did Hussein start shelling civilians? Because the population supported the guerrillas, and much of the population was armed. Each man had his automatic weapon and knew how to use it. This isn't the case in Damascus, or Cairo, or Baghdad, but it is the case in Amman, because most of the population is Palestinian, and the Palestinian people are organized to resist.

"This is the first time the mass of the people in an Arab city stood up for their principles and resisted an oppressive regime. In this respect, the chief victory of the guerrillas is that they have inculcated a sense of popular resistance into the Arab masses. And as the news gets out, the effects

of this will mount. They are an example for all Arab peoples who have previously been spectators in the palace coups. They have given an example of what the people can do and how a popular movement cannot be crushed. Of course, they have paid dearly, but this is the price.

"This is the most frightening fact for the Arab regimes, including the petty bourgeois military bureaucracies in the Arab world. Nasser is asking himself: 'What if this happened in Cairo, if the masses became that involved?' So is the Syrian regime. So is the Iraqi regime."

I pointed to a headline in the *Washington Post*: "Even His Cook Was an Enemy Agent, King Says," and asked what that meant.

"The Palestinians have proven how flimsy—actually how ignorant, because they are not without resources—is the CIA and Jordanian intelligence. After three or four years of spying on the guerrillas they entirely underestimated their fire power and their determination. They thought it would be an overnight surgical operation to wipe out the guerrillas. But after a few days Hussein had to admit he was fooled by his own advisors. The papers now say his cook and his driver were against him. Of course they were. This is a people's movement. They are everywhere. He had no idea. He is still being fooled because the end is not in sight. If he really knew he would leave right now. Because this is not where the guerrillas want to stand. They may be forced to accept a cease-fire if only to bury the dead and avoid a plague, but they want his head and they will get it. They want to overthrow the monarchy and get rid of it once and for all.

"This incident in Jordan, for example, absolved Fateh from their agreements of nonintervention in the internal affairs of Arab governments. This has been based on a quid pro quo. Stay out of our way and we'll stay out of yours. But Hussein broke that agreement and the guerrillas are not bound any more by such commitments. They have to reevaluate their strategy and focus more and more on establishing a safe and secure base."

I asked the writer what he thought about the Pete Hamill column in the *New York Post* which said it might be a good thing for Israel if the commandos took over Jordan because then they would have a place, a state, for the Palestinians and the pressure would be off Israel. The writer sighed and said: "The problem is not geography. The Palestinians didn't revolt because they want any piece of land. They want a state, all right, their state, not handed to them by any lackeys or enemies or imperialists. Home means Palestine in the first place. And it means that they will

not acquiesce to the existence of an Israel with its present racist structure.

"It is also a question of the relationship between the peoples of the area and outside. If it is a relationship of equality, not of the oppressor and the oppressed, that is all right. They are against Israel not because Israelis live in Israel but because of Israel's relationship with powers outside the area. They have declared repeatedly that the Israelis can stay as soon as they renounce their Zionism.

"Hussein and Nasser and the rest make it a question of geography, and they can sign agreements and cease-fires until their fingers are worn down, but the will of the masses is that the revolution against imperialism will proceed, and the will of the masses will prevail in the long run. The people do not want imperialism, Zionism, or military bureaucracy.

"The Palestine revolution came about in order to create a radical solution to the problem. It is determined to eliminate the causes of the effects which you see. It will not accept an exclusivist, racist Israel as a pawn of imperialism in its midst. Even if it topples Hussein tomorrow, the Palestine revolution will not be steered away from fighting imperialism as personified by Israel today. Their immediate aim is a national government in Jordan, but this is a means to the end, not the end in itself."

One U.S. news magazine reported the establishment of "soviets" in Irbid. The writer had this to say about the story: "In the sense that 'soviet' means 'council,' it is true. All the North has been divided into local administrative units run by local councils composed of representatives of the population sympathetic to the revolution, with guerrilla political commissioners assigned to each council. Actually, this is not an innovation. This has been under discussion for a long time in the process of organizing the militia in the refugee camps. But this is the first time it has been set up in the permanent settlements and urban centers."

I asked him if he would characterize these councils as organs of power and if so what would their class nature be. He replied: "Definitely a proletarian state, or more accurately a fighters state. Those who are not for the Palestinian revolution are not in power; those who are for it are in power. It will take those measures necessary to carry out the fight. If this requires expropriation, etc., it will be done. Socialism is definitely the goal. Of course, there is no heavy industry in these areas. They are communities of small farmers, and the cities are market and service centers for that sort of economy. But the first step is the fight, arming the people, preparing the defense, and so on."

The primary issue [will be] whether the policies of the U.S. are going to be made by its elected officials or in the streets. — Spiro Agnew

Oct. 10 Philadelphia

SMC Expanded Steering Committee Meeting

All student antiwar activists are invited to attend an expanded national steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee. 10:30 a.m. Fine Arts Auditorium, University of Pennsylvania, 34th and Walnut. For information: SMC, 15 E. 17th St., New York City; tel: (202) 675-6929. In Philadelphia: 928 Chestnut; tel: (215) WA3-0797.

Teach-ins protest U.S. threats in Mideast

By DERRICK MORRISON

Demonstrations and teach-ins mushroomed across the country in the last week in response to possible U.S. troop intervention in the Middle East. These were some of the actions:

In Boston, 550 students turned up Sept. 28 for a teach-in at MIT. Speakers were Professor Noam Chomsky; Fuad Hifawi, an Arab student; and Jon Rothschild, New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor. Members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League were also present.

On Sept. 29, at Northeastern University, a teach-in of over 60 students listened to Peter Camejo, Massachusetts SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and others.

In Cleveland, Ohio, on Sept. 25, at Case Western Reserve University, close to 100 students attended a teach-in entitled "Crisis in the Middle East—Another Vietnam?" The teach-in was centered around a panel consisting of David Mandel, Radical Zionist Alliance (RZA); Ibrahim Bisharat, a Palestinian student; and Syd Stapleton, SWP candidate for Congress (22nd district). All of the speakers were against U.S. intervention. Sponsors included the Hillel Foundation, a Jewish student organization, leaders of the SMC, the RZA, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In the Bay Area, 400 to 500 people attended a rally in front of the federal building in downtown San Francisco. They then marched to the Arab Information Center, the location of the consulates for various Arab governments. Close to two-thirds of the participants were Arab students. Speakers at the rally were from the Arab Student Association, sponsor of the event, and the Iranian Student Association. Other speakers included Herman Fagg, California SWP candidate for governor. One of the big chants was "No Cambodia in Jordan!"



Recent demonstration by Arab students in New York.

In the next two weeks, Fagg and Dave Frankel, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, will be touring northern California speaking on the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian revolution. On Sept. 27, in San Diego, Frankel spoke on the Middle East for two hours on a radio talk show.

Meanwhile plans are being made for teach-ins at San Francisco State College, San Jose State College, and Stanford University.

A teach-in on the Middle East is also scheduled for the University of Houston Sept. 30.

In Jacksonville, Florida, Frank Lord, SWP candidate for governor of the state, called for U.S. "Hands off the Middle East" at a meeting of 50 in a Unitarian church. The Sept. 25 meeting had been scheduled to discuss the youth radicalization. But Lord, instead, spoke to the Middle East conflict.

In New York City, plans are underway for a teach-in at New York University, downtown branch.

SMC: No U.S. Troops to the Mideast!

NEW YORK—In a press release issued here by the national Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the SMC stated:

"The situation in the Middle East . . . with the threat of direct U.S. intervention in Jordan, poses another serious test for the antiwar movement. Those who fight for an end to U.S. aggression in the Far East must respond to the threat of more of the same in the Mideast.

"While there may be deep differences among us about the broader issues involved in the Middle East conflict, we must be able to agree—and act on that agreement—that the U.S. has no more business sending troops to Jordan (or Kuwait, or Lebanon, or anywhere else) than to Vietnam.

"When Nixon sent troops into Cambodia, we knew that the GIs didn't want to die there any more than in Vietnam—and we protested the blatant American interference in Cambodian affairs. Similarly, we know today that American GIs don't want to be brought home from the Far East to be sent to die while intervening in somebody else's business in the Middle East.

"We know that the American people, sick of years of costly adventures in Southeast Asia, are not prepared to accept another aggressive and costly involvement in the Mideast. We therefore have a responsibility to mobilize the antiwar sentiments of masses of Americans to ensure that the Mideast does not become America's second Vietnam."

George Washington SMC in Mideast protest actions

By ELOISE CHASE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On Monday, Sept. 28, the Student Mobilization Committee at George Washington University participated in an emergency rally called by the Fair Play for Palestine Committee.

The FPPC is a coalition of campus groups including the Organization of Arab Students, Student Organization for Black Unity, the Radical Student Union, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

After a discussion at its business meeting, the GW SMC decided that

it was the responsibility of American students to demand that there be no American GIs sent to the Middle East. They also decided to help build educational activities, such as teach-ins and study groups, in order to inform the student community of the issues involved in the Middle East.

Faced with the possibility of U.S. military intervention, the entire Middle East looms as another Vietnam, and it is necessary to respond now in order to prevent the Nixon administration from trying to put down another popular revolution with U.S. troops.

The FPPC rally came after a week of intensified interest in the recent Jordanian events, during which rallies and demonstrations were led by the Organization of Arab Students and their supporters. On Monday, Sept. 21, there was a demonstration of 40 people, including representatives from the Arab-American community, at the Jordanian embassy to protest the genocidal attacks against the Palestinian refugee camps and the liberation movement.

On Sept. 23, there was a rally in support of the Palestinian revolution at the U of Maryland. About 100 stu-

dents listened to speakers from the Organization of Arab Students, the National Association of Black Students, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Arab Information Center. Zionist hecklers attempted to disrupt the meeting but were unable to get control of the microphone or drown out the speakers.

In addition to these activities, Palestine House and representatives of the Red Crescent Society have been collecting medical supplies and organizing doctors and nurses to help relieve the drastic situation in the Palestinian refugee areas.

Antiwar forces hit witch-hunt move against CPer

On Sept. 23, the House of Representatives voted 337 to 14 to cite Communist Party public relations director Arnold Johnson for contempt of Congress. The charge was Johnson's refusal to testify last summer at a House Internal Security Committee hearing on the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The Justice Department could now

convene a grand jury to decide whether to bring Johnson to trial.

A statement by the Student Mobilization Committee called the House action "an attempt by the government to divide and destroy the antiwar movement, and an attempt to renew the anticommunist hysteria of the McCarthy era of the 1950s." That this attempt would be difficult to carry through was made clear

by the immediate response of broad sections of the antiwar movement in condemning the citation.

Socialist Workers Party spokesman Fred Halstead in denouncing the action pointed to the key role played by the antiwar movement in the last five years in destroying the witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s. "From the beginning, the antiwar movement has adhered to

the principle of excluding no group or individual who is opposed to the war, regardless of any other political views or associations.

"It has always functioned on the basis of 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' The congressional action against Johnson represents one more attempt to split the antiwar forces through the age-old device of red-baiting. But it will not succeed."

SPECIAL FOUR-PAGE FEATURE

Al Fateh: Towards a Democratic State in Palestine

The following four pages of *The Militant* are devoted to the first part of a document entitled "Towards a Democratic State in Palestine." It was contributed by Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian national liberation organizations, to the Second World Conference on Palestine. The conference, held in Amman, Sept. 2-6, 1970, was sponsored by the General Union of Palestinian Students. More than 200 people participated, representing nearly 100 national and international organizations, national liberation movements and countries. Conferees came from the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the United States, and Asia.

We are reprinting the document in full for the information of our readers. Subheads are from the original. The final portion will appear next week.

We think it is particularly timely because one of the main lies fostered by imperialism and the supporters of Zionism is that the victory of the Palestinian liberation movement will mean the extermination or expulsion of the Israeli Jews.

The most powerful way to refute such lies is to allow the Palestinian movement to speak for itself.

* * *

The Palestine Revolution and the Jews

It is almost a year since the Palestine Liberation Movement, Fateh, declared, officially and for the first time, a political program spelling out the ultimate objective of the liberation struggle. The declaration stated: "We are fighting today to create the new Palestine of tomorrow; a progressive, democratic and non-sectarian Palestine in which Christian, Moslem and Jew will worship, work, live peacefully and enjoy equal rights." The statement further added, "Our Palestinian revolution still stretches its welcoming hand to all human beings who want to fight for, and live in, a democratic, tolerant Palestine, irrespective of race, color or religion." (1)

The statement was repeated, explained and amplified by Fateh representatives in every international gathering attended by a Fateh delegation. The official spokesman of Fateh, Abu Ammar, was quoted by several journalists as saying that "once we defeat the enemy and liberate Palestine



Yassir Arafat (Abu Ammar), leader of Al Fateh.

we will create a home for all of us." (2)

Abu Iyad, one of the leaders of Fateh, stated in a long interview with the editor of *Al-Taleea* that the Palestinian revolution condemns persecution of human beings and discrimination based on any form or shape and that Fateh would help Jews anywhere if they faced persecution at the hands of racists. Abu Iyad said that he would be willing to give these Jews arms and fight with them. (3)

Such a statement was not just a fantastic propaganda claim, it was put into effect a few weeks later when Fateh students protected Jewish professor Eli Loebel in Frankfurt, Germany, from molestation and attempted murder at the hands of Zionist German thugs last July. Fateh protected Jewish members of Matzpen [the Israeli Socialist Organization] in Germany after their lives were threatened in the same incident.

Revolutionary new idea

If this sounds a little difficult to believe, it is because of the bitterness created by the Palestine tragedy since the Balfour Declaration [1917, committed British government to sponsor the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine] and the Zionist penetration of Palestine ending in the uprooting and evacuation of Palestinians from their homeland in order to create "an exclusively Jewish State": Israel.

The call for an open, new, tolerant Palestine for Jews and non-Jews is a dramatic change in the Palestinian struggle, but it is hardly a new idea. Palestinians suggested the creation of such a state to the Peel Commission in 1937 [one of British commissions of inquiry sent to Palestine in response to independence struggle against British imperialism].

As for the idea of Jew, Moslem and Christian living peacefully and harmoniously in one country, it also is a very old one. The Fateh declaration stated, "This is no utopian dream or false promise, for we have always lived in peace, Moslems, Christians and Jews in the Holy Land. The Palestinian Arabs gave a refuge, a warm shelter and a helping hand to Jews fleeing persecution in Christian Europe, and to the Christian Armenians fleeing persecution in Moslem Turkey; as well as to Greeks, Caucasians and Maltese among others." One need not go to medieval history to elaborate on the idea. (1)

However, what is new is the fact that non-Jewish Arab exiles who have been deprived of their homes and displaced by Jews in Palestine, can still—while holding the guns, and fighting for their land and their very existence—call for a new country that combines the ex-aggressor and persecutor.

Credibility

The idea is revolutionary, and its implications serious and pervasive. In fact it is so revolutionary that few uncommitted people can believe it, let alone support and work for it. It is the objective of this article to discuss, analyze and amplify the idea. Our hypothesis is that the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine is both desirable and feasible, and that once these two aspects are proven val-



A funeral procession for a slain Palestinian commando in Lebanon a year ago demonstrates massive support for fedayeen among Palestinian refugees.

id, the idea becomes credible. Credibility is very important if people are to be motivated to support the idea and work and sacrifice for it to achieve lasting peace and justice in Palestine.

Exiled Palestinians

The exodus of 1948 was a stunning blow to the Palestinians. A whole nation, more than one full million inhabitants of a country, were deliberately terrorized and uprooted from their homes. They were thrown out of their country into a sea of sand surrounding it, in a period of a few months. The fact that many Palestinians knew the Zionist intentions and suspected the British of preparing for the eventual exile of the Arabs of Palestine to "the Transient Countries" did not make the blow less hard or stunning. One can hardly believe that the forced exile of a whole nation is possible in the twentieth century.

For thirty years under the British Mandate [1920-1948], Palestinians knew who the real enemy was. British imperialism and Zionist imperialism were quite linked in the mind of the people. Six bloody revolutions took place between 1919 and 1939. They were basically directed against the British occupiers.

Whatever complicity the British had in the Palestinians' fate—and it was great—the Palestinians were driven out by "Jewish" terrorists. Their uprooting was carried out through massacres such as that of Deir Yassin. Leaders of their tormentors and oppressors called for the creation of an "exclusively Jewish home" and considered them—the exiles—as fifth columnists who deserved to be excluded from this home, "their home." In their misery, humiliation and despair the Palestinians learnt to hate the Jews and everything "Jewish," everything connected with their enemy.

Jews and Zionists

A few sophisticated leaders and most propagandists took pains to differentiate between Jews and Zionists. We are not anti-Jewish, we are anti-Zionists, it was repeated. "We are Semites and Jews are our cousins. . . ."

they stated. They sounded so unreal and phony saying: "some of our best friends are Jews. . . ."

We are against the state of Israel, it was claimed. But the distinction was lost on the suffering "refugees," who were told by the Israelis that all Jews were Zionists anyway. Jewish pressure in the United States, Jewish money and Jewish immigrants were making their enemy as entrenched as ever; and their hopes of an honorable return as dim as ever. No wonder bitterness prevailed and fear dominated.

Reading of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" [probably the most infamous piece of anti-Semitic literature ever written] became fashionable, anti-Semitic literature developed by European racists in a completely different context—i.e. where the Jews were the victims—became quite popular. This wave of bitterness, hate and utter confusion spread to other Arabs. It helped Zionist pressure and propaganda designed to secure the departure of thousands of Arab Jews from their homes to join the ranks of the occupying enemy. Thousands of these Jews would have stayed in their homes under different circumstances, and would have continued to live as they have had for hundreds of years in peace and harmony with their neighbors.

The revolution, a new era

Fateh launched the Palestinian Revolution on Jan. 1, 1965, after nine years of political preparation. However, the first two years were spent in establishing a military "presence" in the Palestinian arena. It was the 1967 traumatic experience and the Second Exodus that shook the Palestinians to the core and put them solidly behind the revolution.

In the nadir of the new humiliating defeat, a new hope was rekindled. The Palestinian carried a gun and reentered home with it. He shot at his enemy's troops and jailors. A new sense of pride and dignity was emerging and rising. With the hope and the pride, self-confidence reappeared. A nation was reborn. Al-Karamfeh and similar victories, the sacrifices

(Continued on page 10)

... Zionism and the Palestinian refu



"The Emerging Arab Commando" was title UPI gave to this 1968 photo of fedayeen.

(Continued from page 9)

and the martyrs and the escalating struggle developed a new sense of belonging to Palestine. The revolution brought maturity to the fighters. As paradoxical as it may seem, people who fight can afford to be more tolerant. Mental and verbal violence usually accompany helplessness and despair.

A new attitude was being formed toward the enemy. Distinction between Jew and Zionist started to have a meaning. Realization that revenge was not a sufficient cause for a liberation war led to further examination of the final objectives of the revolution. The scores of intellectual liberal Jews who came from all over the world to start a dialogue with the revolution caused further rethinking.

New doctrine

Revolutionary leaders engaged in a serious study and discussion around the topic. Relearning old truths emerged. Jews suffered persecution at the hands of racist criminals under Nazism, so did "We" under Zionism. Several revealing parallels were discovered. "How could we hate the Jews qua Jews?" the revolutionaries were saying. How could we fall in the same racist trap?

A study of Jewish history and thought was conducted. Jewish contributions as well as dilemmas were identified. The majority of those who came over to Palestine were fleeing German concentration camps and were told that they are a people without land—going to a land without people. Once they were there, they were told that the Palestinians left Palestine of their own wish, following orders from Arab leaders in a treacherous move to perpetrate a massacre for the remaining Jews.

Further, it was discovered, new Jewish immigrants as well as old settlers were told by the Zionist machine that they had to fight to survive, that the only alternative to a safe "Israel" was a massacre or at best a little sinking boat on the Mediterranean Sea. Even Arab Jews—called oriental by the Zionists—who were discriminated against in "Israel" by the European Zionist oligarchy had to accept the argument and fight for what they considered to be their very survival. Fighting the Zionist revealed the strengths and limitations of the "Jewish" character. Jews were not monsters,

supermen or pigmies. A new, human image of the Jews was being formed. Martin Buber, Isaac Deutcher, Elmer Berger and Moshe Menuhin, all spiritual humane Jewish thinkers were read and reread.

New image

The Palestinian revolutionary has freed himself from most of his old biases. Foreign visitors are amazed to discover this in the commando bases, and in the "Ashbal" camps [composed of Palestinian youth between 8 and 16] in particular. The Palestinian revolutionary is ready to die for the liberation of Palestine and will not accept any substitute to it whatever the cost. But, he is clear about the enemy, and the final goal. When several Jewish students from Europe came to spend part of their summer in a Fateh camp in Jordan, they were embraced as comrades. Fateh looks forward to the day when several thousand Jews will join its fighting ranks for the liberation of Palestine. Given the recent trend of events, this may happen sooner than most people think.

First step

The first step towards the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine has been made by the Palestinian revolutionaries. A change of attitude through relearning is taking place. The long exiled and persecuted Palestinians are redefining their objectives and are finding the goal of creating a new Palestine that encompasses them and the present Jewish settlers a very desirable one. For this goal to become feasible one should take a careful look at the other party: the Jews. How do they feel about it and what could change their mind? This topic will be taken up next.

An approach to the study of Jewish attitudes

Any attempt at studying and interpreting the attitudes and perceptions of any group of people must meet with difficulties and be subjected to accusations of bias and distortions. We don't claim immunity from such shortcomings, but we shall try to minimize their effect. Our approach will be the use of direct quotations—and documentation—whenever possible. No attempt is made here at using Marxist dialectics or purely sociological models. Political motivation is the basic frame of reference.

A final problem besets our study: Most of the attitudes and "images" studied were basically engineered by the Zionists through their propaganda machinery, and they may not have been accepted by all, or a majority, of the Jews in the world. However, one must concede that the Zionists have succeeded to a great extent in identifying Judaism with Zionism in the eyes of a vast majority of Jews, especially in the Western countries.

Nazi horrors and anti-Jewish threats in several countries helped the Zionists maintain their hold over Jewish minds everywhere. Without Jewish money, political influence, votes in certain sensitive places and overall support, "Israel" would not have survived and the Zionist imperialist occupation would not have lasted. In the final analysis, it is the power and influence of world Jewry under Zionist manipulation that perpetuated the tragedy of the Palestinians, their oppression, subjugation and exile. It is thus quite important to find out how do the Jews feel about the Palestinians, how do they view them as people and to what extent was this view essential to the act that led to the expulsion of the Palestinians? What is even more important; can this view be changed and how?

How the Zionists viewed the Palestinians

The early attitude of the Zionists towards the Palestinians was simply to ignore their very existence. Israel Zangwill's famous phrase about "a land without people to a people without land" epitomizes this attitude. Chaim Weizmann had a more colorful statement: "There is a country which happens to be called Palestine, a country without a people, and on the other hand, there exists the Jewish People and it has no country. What else is necessary then, than to fit the gem into the ring, to unite this people with this country?" (4)

Uri Avnery notes that T. Herzl in his book *The Jewish State*, which launched the modern Zionist movement, dealt with working hours, housing for workers, and even the national flag but had not one word to say about the Arabs of Palestine. For the Zionists, the Arab was the Invisible Man. Psychologically he was not there.

(5) However, this attitude became obviously untenable. Palestine—it was discovered—was a prosperous country measured by the standards of the day. Its population was extensive and carried out its tasks of cultivating the soil in relative peace and made its contribution to the Arab community at large.

Achad Ha-am, the Russian Jew and Hebrew philosopher, tried to draw attention to this fact as early as 1891. He stated that Palestine was not an empty territory and that this posed problems. (6)

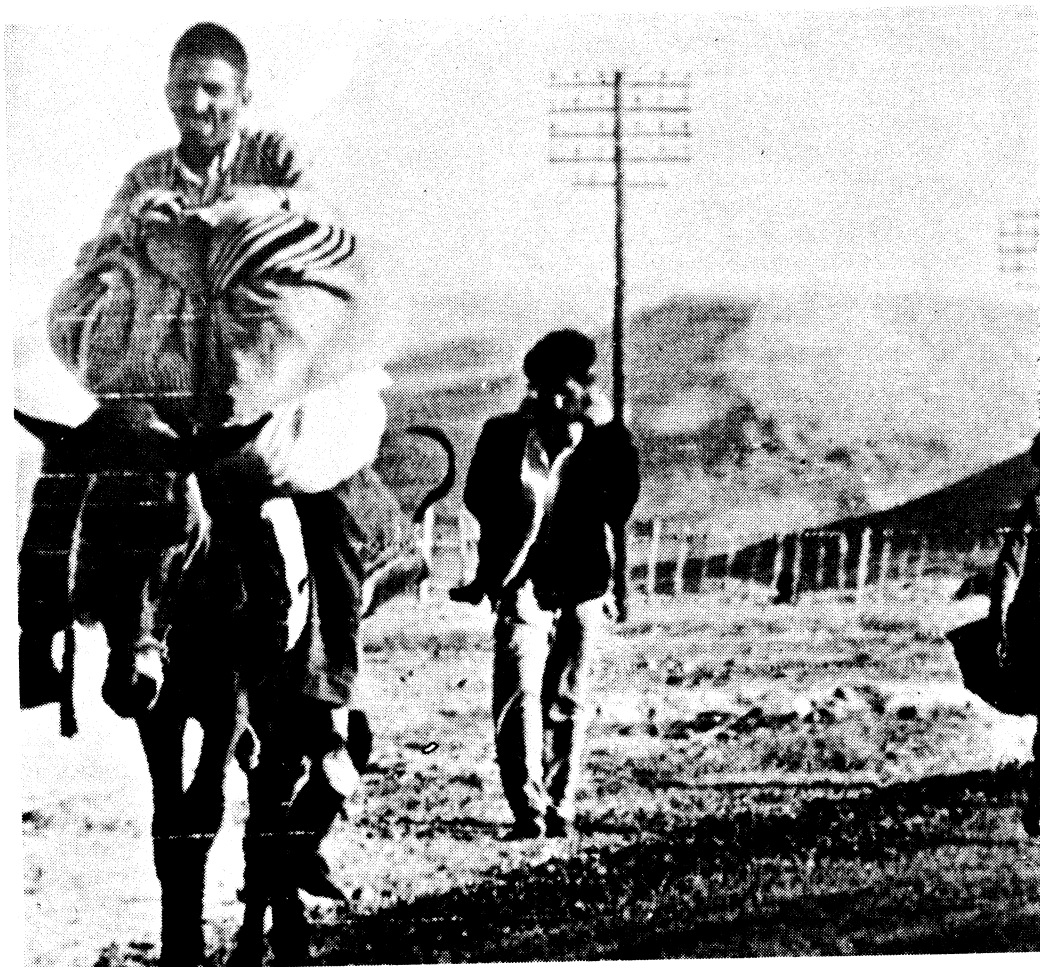
In fact Ha-am reported after a journey through Palestine in 1891 that it was difficult to find any still uncultivated farmland there.

Max Nordau, the prominent Zionist leader, hearing for the first time that there was an Arab population in Palestine, ran to Herzl crying: "I didn't know that—but then we are committing an injustice." (6)

Several reports appearing in the late 19th century and the early 20th century confirmed this fact amply. The Arab Palestinians had a prosperous citrus industry. They grew oranges of exceptional size which attracted attention as early as the 18th century. (7)

Zionist image-making subsequently turned to another theme which was to be accepted by a large number of Jews as well as Christians in Europe and America and thus became a major force in shaping the attitude of Jews toward the Palestinians. The Palestinians were "natives" or "inhabitants" who happened to live in Palestine. There people were subnormal. They lacked any national entity and civilization. Such an image was imbedded in the infamous Balfour Declaration which designated the Palestinians as inhabitants who may have religious and civil rights but no political rights. They were not "real" people.

Later, however, a further character assassination of the Arabs was added. These "inhabitants" were really bedouins, i.e., roving nomads, pillaging the fertile soil of Palestine and bringing about increasing devastation of that beautiful land of milk and honey. (8) European Jews coming to Palestine would indeed be a blessing. "For that European Jew was the carrier of a superior civilization, the master of Eu-



June 10, 1967. Arab refugees flee towards Amman in wake of



June 10, 1967. Arab refugees from the West Bank of the Jordan River flee towards Amman in wake of Israeli blitz.

ees

European technology and was in a position to bestow the blessings of that civilization on the nomadic population of Palestine." (9) A typical "mission civilisatrice" would be attempted by the Jews in Palestine.

A vivid picture of this "native" Palestinian and a depiction of the attitudes engendered by such an image is revealed by Herzl, the Father of Zionism in his famous "Diaries." (9) "We must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries while denying it any employment in our own country. Such process shall be carried out gently and circumspectly." (10) Herzl goes further: "If we move into a region where there are wild animals, to which the Jews are not accustomed, big snakes, etc., I shall use the natives prior to giving them employment in the transit countries, for the extermination of these animals. High premiums for snake skins, etc., as well as their spawn." (11)

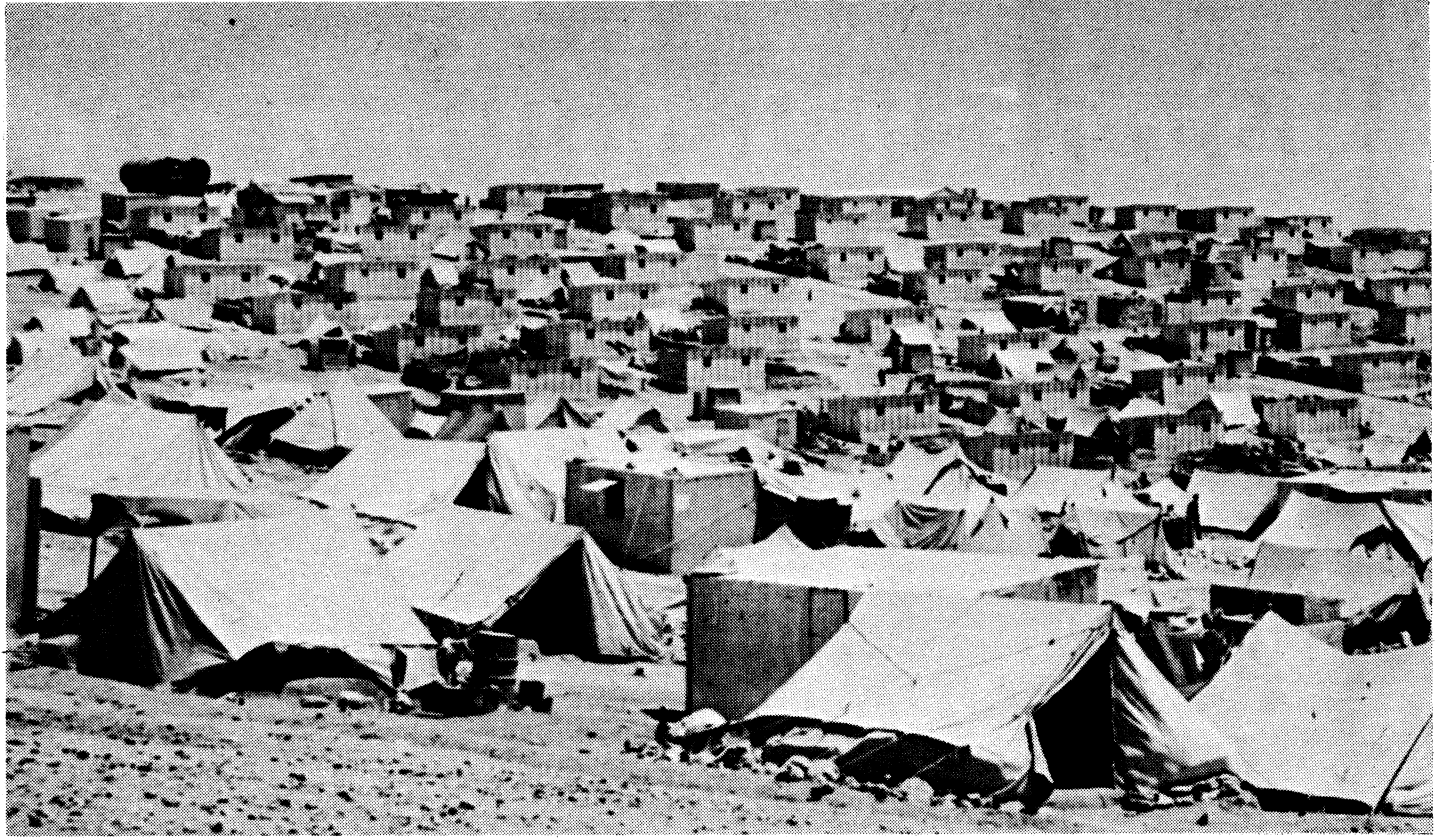
Herzl goes on in his "Diaries" discussing tasks he would assign to the "natives" before spiring them away across the borders. He would let them drain the swamps since they are accustomed to the fever. (11) To the modern reader this all seems fantastic coming from a "Jew," a man who knows about the suffering of people because of racist discrimination. But of course Herzl was as much a European colonialist, a German imperialist, as a Jew.

Herzl himself states: "With the Jews, a German cultural element would come to the Orient. Evidence of this: German writers—even though of Jewish descent—are leading the Zionist movement. The language of the Congress is German. The overwhelming majority of the Jews are part of German culture."

And further: "if it is God's will that we return to our historic fatherland, we should like to do so as representatives of Western civilization, and the well-distilled customs of the Occident to this plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient." (12)

Image of Palestinian leadership

Palestinians did not fit this Zionist-made image and the world was hear-



Palestinian refugee camp

ing about Palestinian uprisings and activism. To this turn of events, Zionist image-making had an easy answer: The Palestinians are basically docile natives had it not been for agitators and fanatics. It is dynastic and family or "tribal" struggles among the wealthy that lead to the agitations. Such struggles will cause the ruin of the common folk and make them pay the price.

The Palestinian leaders are depicted by Maurice Samuel as "an army of idlers, baksheesh artists and parasite coffee-house gossips who are mainly responsible for the existing jumpy and nervous atmosphere." (13) Any political activity in Palestine cannot be initiated by the "inhabitants" who do not understand these things anyway, but by the "agitators." (13)

Attitude towards the Palestinian "refugees"

The colonization of Palestine and the uprooting of the Palestinians was partly achieved by 1948, and completed in 1967. All the Zionist dreams and schemes came true. A Jewish homeland was created in Palestine and the "natives" have become refugees, exiles, deprived of their homes and their national rights. This great human tragedy that brought misery, humiliation and despair to a million people and later to a half-million more, was a dark stain, a premeditated crime.

Image-making, however, was ready for the new situation: Palestinians had "sold their lands to the Jews and then have fled the country to prepare the scene for a massacre of all Jews at the hands of the Arab armies." Those treacherous natives were doing it again. They refused to live in peace with the European bearers of civilization. They again had to listen to the agitators who lusted for a Jewish bloodbath.

The Palestinians do not even deserve sympathy in their misery and homelessness. They must be cursed and mocked. They do not deserve Palestine. They can be absorbed in the Arab countries. Their yearning for Palestine is pathetic, foolish or misguided. They had nothing to yearn for. Their present refugee camps are probably better than their shabby houses in Palestine. They lived in tents then, and they live in tents now!! So why should they complain?

After all they are engaged in a "numbers game" with the U.N., falsifying records to increase their numbers so that they can swindle more U.N. rations. They are the prey of Arab demagogues and agitators who keep them as a pawn in a political game.

They cannot return to Zionist Palestine. It has been civilized and does not belong to them any more. Even if some of them return, they will be fifth columnists, saboteurs and collabora-

tors with the enemy. Anyway, they have been exchanged, swapped with "oriental" Jews from the Arab countries.

This image-making, built on the "mission civilisatrice" assumption and on character assassination of the Palestinians, continues up to the present. Palestinian revolutionaries are "terrorists." After all, the Palestinians are not capable of brave, gallant, patriotic feelings and acts. They are only fit for treachery and intrigue.

This is not the place to refute these "views" of the Palestinians, for scientific research has shown that the Palestinians did not sell their country. By 1948 the Jews had owned less than 6 percent of the land, less than 1 percent acquired from Palestinians. (14) The Palestinians did not leave their country on orders from Arab leaders but after being terrorized and forcibly uprooted by the Zionists. However, the issue at hand is how did the Jews come to accept these images and to form these attitudes?

A Jewish dilemma

The fact that Zionist propaganda was accepted by world Jewry and was allowed to shape the attitude of Jews towards the Palestinians is quite puzzling, in fact astonishing. There were always Jewish dissenters—and we do present their views—but they were in the minority. Jews contributed men, money and influence to make Israel a reality and to perpetuate the crimes committed against the Palestinians. The people of the Book, the men of light, the victims of Russian pogroms, of Nazi genocide, of Dachau and other Polish concentration camps shut their eyes and ears in Palestine and changed roles from oppressed to oppressor. This is THE Jewish dilemma of modern times.

Achad Ha-am wrote at the turn of the century that Jewish behavior shows that Jews evidently learned nothing from their history. He further states: "And what are our brothers in Palestine doing? The very opposite! They were servants in the country of their exile, and they suddenly find themselves in a state of unbounded liberty, of unbridled liberty such as can only be found in Turkey. This sudden change has brought about within them a tendency towards despotism as is always the case when a servant becomes a master and they treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, curtail their rights in an unreasonable manner, insult them without any sufficient reason, and actually pride themselves upon such acts; and nobody takes any action against this despicable and dangerous tendency." (15)

In 1919, another Jew, W. Brunn, wrote: "We who are suffering persecutions throughout the world and who

claim all human rights for ourselves, are going to Palestine reversing the roles." (16)

In 1923, the Jewish-American anthropologist, Goldenweiser, noted with dismay that Jews in Palestine were prejudiced against the Palestinians and considered them inferior. He reports on his visits to Jewish schools where teachers were telling him of Arab congenital stupidity and inferiority. When Goldenweiser asked a Jewish educator whether they teach this to their students, the teacher answered: but they know this by themselves! (17) Arthur Koestler reports that "Each Jew, Marxist or not, regarded himself as a member of the chosen race, and the Arab as his inferior." (18)

Moral schizophrenia

This moral dilemma besetting the Jews in our time is called "moral schizophrenia," "moral myopia" by the noted American Jewish journalist I. F. Stone. Mr. Stone, who was decorated in 1948 by the Irgun [nationalist Jewish organization that carried out terrorist attacks against the Arabs], wrote a very perceptive article in 1967 from which we shall quote presently. He makes the subtle comparisons of Zionist-Nazi behavior and draws soul searching conclusions.

In refuting the Israeli argument against the reasons for the Palestinian exodus, Mr. Stone states: "The argument that the refugees ran away 'voluntarily' or because their leaders urged them to do so until after the fighting was over, not only rests on a myth but is irrelevant. Have refugees no right to return? Have German Jews no right to recover their properties because they too fled?" (19)

Mr. Stone continues: "Jewish terrorism, not only by the Irgun in such savage massacres as Deir Yassin, but in milder form by the Haganah [regular Zionist army] itself 'encouraged' Arabs to leave areas the Jews wished to take over for strategic or demographic reasons. They tried to make as much of Israel as free of Arabs as possible." (19)

As to the "swap" of Palestinians for "Jewish refugees" from the Arab world, Mr. Stone states: "The Palestinian Arabs feel about this 'swap' as German Jews would if denied restitution on the grounds that they had been 'swapped' for German refugees from the Sudetenland."

"The Jewish moral myopia makes it possible for Zionists to dwell on the 1900 years of exile in which the Jews have longed for Palestine, but dismiss as migratory the nineteen years in which Arab refugees have also longed for it."

Homelessness, Stone states further, "is the major theme of Zionism but (Continued on page 12)



the West Bank of the Jordan River Israeli blitz.

... Palestine

(Continued from page 11)

this pathetic passion is denied to Arab refugees."

Those who have known the effects of racism and discrimination in their own flesh and human dignity are less excusably racist than those who can only imagine the negative effects of prejudice. Mr. Stone relates a conversation with Moshe Dayan on American television on June 11, 1967, where Dayan stated then even though Israel can absorb the Palestinians in the "conquered territories" it will not do it because it would turn Israel into either a binational or poly Arab-Jewish state instead of the Jewish state. "We want to have a Jewish state, a Jewish state like the French have a French state."

Mr. Stone comments: "This must deeply disturb the thoughtful Jewish reader. Ferdinand and Isabella, in expelling the Jews and Moors from Spain, were in the same way saying they wanted Spain as Spanish, i.e., Christian as France was French." (19)

In conclusion Stone states: "Israel is creating a kind of moral schizophrenia in world Jewry. In the outside world the welfare of Jewry depends on the maintenance of secular, non-racial, pluralistic societies. In Israel, Jewry finds itself defending a society in which mixed marriages cannot be legalized, in which non-Jews have a lesser status than Jews, and in which the ideal is racial and exclusionist. Jews must fight elsewhere for their very security and existence—against principles and practices they find themselves defending in Israel. Those from the outside world, even in their moments of greatest enthusiasm amid Israeli accomplishments, feel twinges of claustrophobia, not just geographical, but spiritual. Those caught up in prophetic fervor soon begin to feel that the light they hoped to see out of Zion is only that of another narrow nationalism."

"It must also be recognized, despite Zionist ideology, that the periods of greatest Jewish creative accomplishment have been associated with pluralistic civilization in their time of expan-

sion and tolerance: in the Hellenistic period, in the Arab civilization of North Africa and Spain, and in Western Europe and America. Universal values can only be the fruit of a universal vision; the greatness of the prophets lay in their overcoming of ethnocentricity. A Lilliputian nationalism cannot distill truths for all mankind. Here lie the roots of a growing divergence between Jew and Israeli, the former with a sense of mission as a witness in the human wilderness, the latter concerned only with his own tribes' welfare." (19)

Will the Jews change their attitudes?

It was shown, through direct quotations, that there always was a group of Jewish moral dissenters to Zionism. There was never a truly monolithic Jewish opinion. The success of Zionist propaganda in galvanizing the majority of Jews to its side is attributed not to deceit and manipulation alone. Jews must get credit for sufficient intelligence to make manipulation insufficient to sway them. Anti-Semitism in the West and the hypocrisy prevailing in Western societies in dealing with racial and religious issues have helped push the Jews gradually to the moral schizophrenia discussed above.

In all frankness, one must add to these factors Arab attitudes and shortcomings. Before the Palestinian revolution, anti-Jewish attitudes were prevalent in the Arab world—even though it was instigated by Jewish anti-Arab attitudes. The Palestinians could not present a reasonable, humane alternative to Zionist Israel. Jews were finding it hard to live in the Arab countries, and minority problems in several Arab countries were shedding doubt on the possibility of Jews finding security in the Arab midst without a militarist Israel. In the 1948-1967 period, Jews enjoyed security when the Palestinians and eventually all other Arabs with them were deprived of security.

The Palestinian revolution has provided a new set of alternatives, no security in the racist state but all the security in the new democratic Palestine.



A dialogue is developing between the Palestinian revolutionaries and the Jews, liberals, progressives, socialists and even religious conservatives. More and more Jewish friends are opening their arms to embrace the Palestinian Revolution and are being embraced by it.

The Zionists are really worrying about the new phenomenon. In an article published by the *Jerusalem Post* on July 2, 1969, the editors accused those Jews of being traitors to their own people, and consider their alliance with the revolution as most serious and threatening. It is important that the issue of Jewish moral schizophrenia be stressed, that Jewry's conscience be shocked into realization of the consequences of Zionism.

It is, however, more reasonable to expect non-Israeli Jews to come to terms with the Palestinian Revolution before the Israeli Jews do. After all, Frenchmen in Paris found it easier to accept the Algerian revolution than French colons did. But the efforts should continue in Palestine to win over Jews to the revolution.

Escalation of the revolution will have its consequences. Obviously, it is going to harden some Zionist Jews against the Palestinians especially the

oligarchy that stands to lose in a democratic, open Palestine. But escalation will have its shock effect. It will bring the realization that an exclusionist Israel can be a very insecure place indeed, and that it cannot last.

The Palestinian Revolution assumes a great share of the responsibility in winning Jews to the side of the revolution by deeds and not words alone. The revolution should not—and in fact will not—pass any opportunity to prove to world Jewry and to Palestinian Jews that it will stand by them if persecuted and is determined to live and create with them a new Palestine not based on bias, racism, or discrimination, but on cooperation and tolerance.

If such a campaign succeeds—both in the winning of battles and of hearts—the democratic Palestine will become credible, both desirable and feasible. What will this new country look like? What does the Palestinian Revolution really mean by democratic, progressive and non-sectarian? These are serious questions that warrant attention and therefore will be taken up in our following chapter.

(To be concluded)

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1. Address by the Al-Fateh Delegation to the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples, Cairo, Jan. 28, 1969.
2. *Aims of the Palestinian Resistance Movement with Regard to the Jews*, published by the Palestine Research Center and the Fifth of June Society, Beirut, 1970. See also, Leila Kadi (Editor), *Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement*, Palestine Research Center, Beirut, 1970.
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6. See Stone, I. F., *Ibid.*
7. Achad Ha-am: *Am Scheidwege*, Berlin, 1923. See also John Hope Simpson: *Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* (Command paper 3686, 1930), pp. 64, 66 and *Protokoll des XII Zionisten Kongresses* (Berlin, 1922), p. 304. Other sources are quoted by L. M. C. van der Hoever Leonhard, 'Het Palestina-Vraagstuk in Zijn

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10. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89-90 for the complete passage.
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12. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 719. See also Razzouk, A., 'Zionism and Arab Human Rights' in *Zionism and Arab Resistance*, Palestine Research Center, Beirut, 1969. There are several editions of the *Diaries*, the one utilized here is edited by Raphael Patai and is translated from the original German by Harry Zohn.
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14. See Sayigh, Yousef, *The Israeli Economy* (Arabic), Beirut, 1966, p. 77.
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19. Stone, *op. cit.* Mr. Stone's article was reprinted in Ibrahim Al-Abid (Editor), *Selected Essays on the Palestine Question*, Palestine Research Center, Beirut, 1969, and by the Fifth of June Society, Beirut, 1969.

... truce in Jordan

(Continued from page 1)

and his generals expected that the operation could be carried out swiftly.

That expectation proved utterly unfounded. The fedayeen showed such valor, skill and unity in battle that they could not be crushed by Hussein's army—itsself rent with dissension.

The regime then opened a genocidal war against the Palestinian people in order to destroy the social base of the fedayeen. In the words of the Sept. 26 London *Economist's* correspondent, "It is hard to resist the conclusion that the army believes the only way of overcoming the commandos is to wipe out the people they live among." The army began systematically shelling with heavy artillery the Palestinian-populated districts of Amman, the refugee camps on its outskirts, and the northern cities where the fedayeen quickly established full control.

The Palestinians fought mainly without artillery and armor. For several days, tank units of the Palestine Liberation Army, the "regular" military organization of the Palestinians, fought Jordanian tanks in the north. The PLA units, however, were dependent on Syrian logistical support, which was soon withdrawn under pressure by the Soviet Union.

Three days after they entered the battle, the PLA armored forces had to withdraw back over the Syrian frontier.

The number of casualties may never be known precisely. Eric Pace reported from Amman in the Sept. 28 *New York Times*, "According to one Western diplomat, the army has been digging mass graves with bulldozers near a highway five miles outside the city. Opponents of the army say the purpose is to bury Palestinian dead without their numbers being known." Guerrilla spokesmen have estimated casualties in Amman at 30,000 with at least 10,000 dead. More than 100,000 are homeless.

Despite the carnage, though, at this writing the fedayeen appear to be still dug in in Amman—according to some reports they control as much as half of what remains of the city—and the cities of Irbid and Zerka, though more than half destroyed by artillery shelling, still seem to be in Palestinian hands.

The genocidal onslaught was finally halted not only by the military resistance of the Palestinians but also by increasing pressure from the other Arab states. After the ruling Jordanian clique began its attack, the other Arab states temporized for almost a week. An Arab "summit" finally convened in Cairo on Sept. 22. The Sept. 25 cease-fire and Sept. 27 agreement were negotiated. After the cease-fire was announced, however, the Jordanian army continued its artillery barrages on the refugee camps.

Several days before his death, Nasser—the main spokesman in the Arab world for the Rogers plan and Hussein's closest Arab ally in the attempt to implement it—felt compelled to ac-

cuse the king on the night of the 25th of being party to:

"1) The existence of a deliberate decision on the part of the Jordanian regime not to stop fighting despite all efforts to bring this about;

"2) A complete failure to keep any of the promises which have been made;

"3) Implementation of a plan tending to liquidate the Palestinian resistance, in spite of all declarations to the contrary;

"4) The horrible carnage which is now taking place in Jordan in contempt of all human and Arab values."

It is evident from the belated character of this criticism of Hussein that Nasser and leaders of other Arab states were acting under growing mass pressure in their own countries. This intervention by the Arab chiefs of state demonstrates with greater clarity than ever before the overwhelming spontaneous mass support the Palestinians enjoy among the Arab masses and the deep loyalty they have inspired.

Even after the restraining intervention of the Arab states and the conclusion of the Sept. 27 agreements, the Jordanian army's attacks did not cease altogether. Eric Pace, writing from Amman on Sept. 27, cited eyewitness reports that Palestinian refugee camps were continuing to be shelled. Moreover, according to Pace, Jordanian soldiers were still searching for George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Nayef Hawatmeh, head of the Democratic Popular Front. The Jordanian regime put a price on the heads of both men last week.

It is too early to attempt an assessment of either the impact of Nasser's death or the new relationship of forces that is emerging from the battle of the past two weeks. Several things, however, can already be said.

It became obvious to the whole world that the Palestinian resistance is profoundly rooted in the Palestinian masses. To try and crush it, Hussein had to undertake a war of extermination against the Palestinians in Jordan.

The result has been that the Jordanian regime has lost almost all its support among the Palestinians of all classes. Neil Ulman, writing from Cairo in the Sept. *Wall Street Journal*, quotes "an Arab source who has traveled widely in the Middle East": "The Palestinian bourgeoisie in Jordan that cooperated with Hussein for 20 years has turned against him in the last couple of weeks because it could smell what was coming." And Ammon Kapieliouk, surveying attitudes among the Palestinians of the Israeli-occupied territories in the Sept. 25 *Le Monde*, observed: "Even the most faithful partisans of the Hashemite king, who since the beginning of the Israeli occupation have never criticized him, are now expressing their condemnation in the face of the Jordanian army's action against the Palestinians. 'At a single stroke, the king has lost all of his supporters on the West Bank,' one of them told me."

Within Jordan, Hussein is left with no social base except dwindling support from the tribal Bedouin who have traditionally be intensely loyal to the Hashemite family. The events demonstrated the unreliability of some sections of the army. Early in the fighting, the commander and many officers and men of at least one Jordanian army unit—the Hussein Brigade—went over to the Palestinians. For several days, Hussein was unable to throw his air force into the battle; almost all its pilots are Palestinians.

The response—finally—of the Arab heads of state showed with greater force than ever before the overwhelming support the fedayeen have among the Arab masses.



"GETTING READY." UPI photo shows GIs of 82nd Airborne Division preparing for possible invasion of Jordan after Nixon's warning that the U.S. would save Hussein if necessary, Sept. 24, 1970.

Hussein finally was left with only two open allies—the U.S. and Israel. The Zionist rulers made quite clear that they were prepared to intervene in the event of a clear-cut fedayeen military victory, and the U.S. alerted air ground and sea forces for a possible invasion. Nixon, moreover, loudly claimed credit for saving Hussein's throne: On board the USS *Saratoga* in the eastern Mediterranean, the president told the sailors, "The fact that we were successful is the fact that you were there."

On Sept. 25, the U.S. government announced that it would give Hussein weapons to replace those destroyed by the Palestinian forces during the fighting, adding that it was clearly in the interests of Israel to

maintain the "military capability" of Jordan's rulers.

In short, for many more people throughout the Middle East and the world, the basic alliance of U.S. imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reactionary forces represented by the likes of Hussein stands more clearly exposed than ever before. No one of them is going to win much popularity through a clear association with the other two.

Above all, however, despite the horrible slaughter they have endured, the Palestinian people did not capitulate. Their organizations were not crushed, and they have not yielded their positions. They know the battle will be resumed, and they will know better than ever before who their enemies are.

Weekly Calendar

ATLANTA

HOW AND WHY MEN SHOULD SUPPORT WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Peer Vinther, antiwar activist and SWP member. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (at 14th). Donation: 75c.

BOSTON

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR. Every Tuesday, 6-7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1. Tuesday, Oct. 6: Evelyn Reed on "The Problems of Women's Liberation." Tuesday, Oct. 13: Stuart Singer will discuss his recently published pamphlet "The Kennedy Dynasty." For more information call 536-6981.

HOW WOMEN LOST CONTROL OF THEIR DESTINY AND HOW THEY CAN REGAIN IT. Hear Evelyn Reed, noted anthropologist and women's liberation theoretician. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Phone: 536-6981. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speaker: Lynn Henderson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Tel: 641-0147. Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND REPRESSION. Speakers: An ACLU spokesman, to speak on Ohio campus disorders legislation; James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio and YSA regional organizer, to speak on a transitional program for the student movement. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 2921 Pros-

ped Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum

NEW YORK

SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON RADIO-TV: Kipp Dawson, for U.S. senator. Sun., Oct. 4, 5 p.m. WOR-AM (710). . . . Clifton DeBerry, for governor, and Kipp Dawson. Sun., Oct. 4. At 8 p.m. on WNEW-AM (1130); at 11:30 p.m. on WNEW-FM (102.7). . . . Eva Chertov, for Congress (19th CD). Mon., Oct. 5, 7:45 p.m. WBAL-FM (99.5). Oct. 8, 11 p.m. On the Barry Gray Show. WMCA-AM (570). . . . Hear Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Congress (18th CD), debate Jose Stevens, Communist Party candidate for Congress (18th CD). Sun., Oct. 11, 10:30 a.m. WNBC-TV, (ch. 4). . . . Eva Chertov, Joey Adams Show. Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m. WEVD-AM (1330).

MILITANT LABOR FORUM, Fri., Oct. 9, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information call 982-6051.

TWIN CITIES

RALLY TO OPPOSE U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDEAST. Fri., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. Coffman Union, U of Minn. For further information call 331-3413.

THE ISSUES IN THE JORDANIAN CIVIL WAR. Speakers: A Palestinian student; G. Abdulrahman, Egyptian student and pres. of Arab-American Club at U of Minn.; and Nimi Harary, SWP candidate for governor in Minnesota. Sat., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E. Donation: \$1, students 75c. For further information call 332-7781. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Leon Trotsky

on the Jewish Question

Introduction by Peter Buch

These interviews, letters and articles analyze Zionism, Birobidjan, and anti-Semitism in both the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union. 50c



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SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

"Fulks is one of the best candidates in the field. His opinions on everything from minority recruitment to tuition to faculty control are unobjectionable," a recent editorial in the *Colorado Daily* at Colorado University in Boulder said of Lyle Fulks, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the board of regents. The editorial was in reference to a mock election on the Boulder campus the week of Sept. 14. In a field of seven candidates, Fulks won 987 votes, or 10.9 percent of the total.

When the Stokes administration sponsored a Cleveland street festival last month to revive interest in the downtown area, SWP candidates and campaign supporters were able to sell 500 copies of *The Militant* in less than four hours. They also distributed campaign literature.

Scheduled platforms for soapbox oratory by political candidates never materialized. Apparently the SWP candidates were the only ones prepared to speak.

The Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign plans to set up a booth in the middle of the Kent State University campus during a university-sponsored "Think Week" Sept. 28-Oct. 2. Candidates and campaign supporters will be signing up students who want to work on the campaign during the official five-day period this fall when students are being released from classes to participate in such activity.

Minnesota secretary of state Joseph Donovan is seeking a ruling from the state supreme court on whether or not SWP gubernatorial candidate Mimi Harary should be permitted a place on the November ballot. Although



Denver Post photo

Colorado SWP candidate Lyle Fulks.

Harary met the petition requirements for independent candidates, she does not meet the 25-year-old age requirement. She is 22.

Whatever the outcome of the court action, the SWP candidate vowed to continue her campaign, which she termed the only gubernatorial campaign which speaks to the political concerns of young people.

Some former supporters of Minnesota "peace" candidate Earl Craig, who lost the Democratic primary to Hubert Humphrey, have put out bumper strips urging a vote for SWP senatorial candidate Nancy Strebe. They plan to distribute them to former Craig supporters throughout the state.

"The Sad Truth about the 'Politics of Joy,'" a pamphlet on the record of Hubert Humphrey, is available from the Minnesota SWP Campaign Committee, 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis, Minn. 55413. The cost is 20 cents apiece, or 15c each for 10 or more.

The Washington Socialist Workers Party held a successful state nominating convention in Seattle Sept. 15. Well over the required 100 signatures of registered voters who had not voted in the primaries were obtained to place the SWP candidates on the ballot.

The candidates nominated were Bill Massey for U.S. Senate; for U.S. Congress, Stephanie Coontz (1st district), Rick Congress (6th district), and Russell Block (7th district); Sue Shinn for state house (district 32-B); and Harriet Ashton for state senate (district 32).

The social-democratic Young People's Socialist League has been distributing a leaflet on New York City campuses arguing that there is "only one conclusion" that students can come to if they are "seriously interested in moving the country in a more liberal and progressive direction": Support Democrats Arthur Goldberg and Richard Ottinger.

— DAVID THORSTAD

SWP wins right to speak at Atlanta meet

By BILL MORAN

ATLANTA, Sept. 24—The Georgia Socialist Workers campaign won a significant victory Sept. 21 when Frank Grinnon, SWP candidate in the fifth congressional district, was granted permission to speak at a panel of fourth and fifth district candidates here at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel. The National Council of Jewish Women, sponsor of the event, had invited



Atlanta SWP candidate Frank Grinnon.

only the Democratic and Republican party candidates to speak before the gathering of the group's membership.

When Grinnon and Joe Cole, the SWP's candidate in the fourth congressional district, learned of the panel, they requested that they be allowed to participate. Their request was denied by the vice-president of the NCJW who, when informed that Grinnon and Cole were legitimate candidates for the seats, explained, "Anyone can run for these offices, but that doesn't mean we have to listen to what they have to say."

The two candidates and several of their supporters arrived at the Sheraton-Biltmore just before the panel was scheduled to begin. Again they requested permission to speak. When they were refused a second time, they and their supporters began to picket the hotel entrance. Reporters and cameramen who were present to cover the panel interviewed the picketers and filmed some of the action, which included a debate between the NCJW vice-president and SWP gubernatorial candidate Linda Jenness over the reasonable nature of the candidates' request. A compromise was finally reached allowing one of the candidates, Grinnon, to speak.

Grinnon's introductory remarks on women's liberation were well received by the gathering, most of whom (with the notable exception of the chairman) were women.

One of the highlights of the panel was a discussion initiated when a

woman in the audience asked Andrew Young, Black Democratic "peace" candidate in the fifth district, if he found it difficult to be pro-Israeli in the Black community. He replied that "in Atlanta, not a single community leader of prestige would adhere to that position" of support to the Arab struggle. Young also said he favored sending arms to Israel and admitted that Israel "could not survive" without massive U.S. assistance.

Other candidates present took similar positions. The single exception was Frank Grinnon, who declared his support for "the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their land." Though the audience displayed a predictably negative attitude to Grinnon's position, the Atlanta press gave it extensive publicity.

The entire episode, in fact, received broad press and media coverage. Film footage of the picket line was the opener for at least one local television news program.

The importance of this victory for equal time for the Socialist Workers candidates was underlined only a few hours after the candidates had left the panel. A local radio station that had scheduled a debate between the Democratic and Republican candidates for the fourth congressional district seat hastened to telephone the SWP's Joe Cole to invite him to appear on the program. The reason for their change of plans? "We heard about the stink you people raised at the Sheraton-Biltmore."

SWP, CP demand right to confront opponents on TV

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—A united protest of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party was held Sept. 27 demanding that their candidates be permitted to participate on WNBC-TV's "Direct Line" show along with the Democratic, Republican, Conservative and Liberal Party candidates.

WNBC-TV scheduled two panel discussions between the candidates for U.S. Congress in the 18th C.D. and the candidates for Nassau County Executive. Both were to take place Sept. 27. But Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D., Jose Stevens, Communist Party candidate for the same office, and Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for Nassau County Executive, were excluded from the program and scheduled to appear separately at a later date. Repeated requests to appear at the same time as the other candidates were turned down by WNBC-TV.

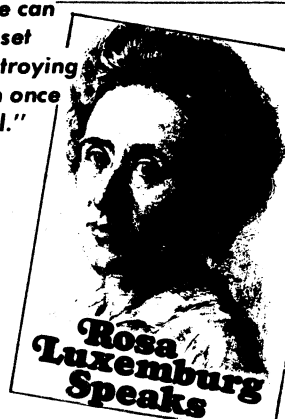
The three candidates showed up with campaign supporters and picket signs immediately prior to the show and again demanded that they be allowed to participate in the program. They were again refused and demanded to see the producer of the show. Several officials came out to talk to the candidates whereupon a loud shouting match occurred, a crowd gathered, and a half-dozen television, radio and newspaper reporters appeared on the scene. Some of the supporters yelled, "Equal time means that all candidates appear at the same time!"

WNBC adamantly refused to allow the CP and SWP candidates to appear, on the grounds that they are "minor party" candidates. This argument sounded particularly hollow since the Conservative Party candidate for the 18th C.D. (Harlem), who is white and not a resident of Harlem, was allowed to appear. When he made the mistake of leaving the studio by the door where the protesters were gathered he was confronted with angry shouts: "Debate us here!", "How can a white conservative be a 'major' candidate in Harlem!" He hastily retreated and exited another way.

Boutelle and Stevens will be appearing together on "Direct Line" on 10:30 a.m., Oct. 11, and Hedda Garza will appear alone on Nov. 1.

Future protests may occur because four televised debates on different stations have been scheduled between U.S. senatorial candidates, Charles Goodell (Rep.), Richard Ottinger (Dem.), and James Buckley (Conservative). Kipp Dawson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, will be allowed equal time but at a different time. She is appealing to the Federal Communications Commission to participate in these debates.

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Rosa Luxemburg Speaks

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SWP candidates fight for basic change

By DAVID THORSTAD

SEPT. 24 — "Too many people have begun to feel that no matter who's in office, things don't change," a top Republican consultant recently told the *Wall Street Journal*. The *Journal* takes a long look at the American voter in its Aug. 27 issue. It concludes that he is "Turned off. Overwhelmed. Confused. Resigned. Frustrated. Worried. Numb."

In his Sept. 9 column, James Reston of the *New York Times* puzzles over the fact that voter participation in this year's primary elections has been the lowest in many years (as few as one-fourth of the registered voters in a number of primaries). "It isn't only the young who are copping out of the political system," he frets, "but also their elders who seem to feel that voting is not the answer to their grievances."

This year's disenchantment with the Democratic and Republican parties is not a freak phenomenon. Rather, it is part of a trend, visible for years, toward a dwindling enthusiasm for both parties. "To a man," says the *Wall Street Journal*, "the experts see party identification and party loyalty dissolving at an increasingly rapid rate; more and more voters identify themselves as independents and boast of ticket-splitting."

Both Reston and the *Journal* arrive at the same conclusion: People are questioning whether the established political system can produce solutions to the problems that confront them.

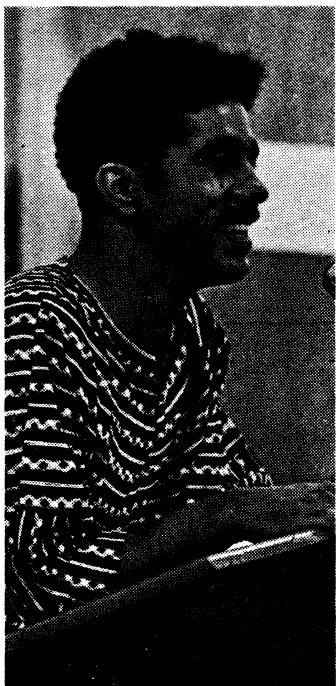
One of the reasons for this disillusionment is that elections do not accurately mirror the real social and political dynamics of society. Neither do the candidates, who more often resemble each other than they do the voter.

The real dynamics of social change are reflected in the mass movements that are developing on the college and high school campuses, in the barracks, and in the shops. And while all the disenchanting may not yet have joined street demonstrations, they are in no way immune to them or to their causes.

Moreover, their mounting abstention from voting may be due less to apathy than to the fact that they know too much to fall for the traditional sops. "We used to think that by increasing the information input about politics and government, we would help the average voter make up his mind more quickly," a leading Republican pollster told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Now I feel the other way—the undecided voter may have far more information than the die-hard partisan, and it's the knowledge and information that are causing his indecision."

The SWP campaigns

Such a discovery in no way disturbs, nor does it surprise the candidates of the Socialist Workers Par-



Joe Miles, Massachusetts congressional candidate, has been a major figure in developing GI antiwar movement.



California candidate Froben Lozada toured Southwest to publicize Chicano Moratorium and new La Raza Unida Party.



New York candidate Ruthann Miller was coordinator of Aug. 26 women's liberation march in New York City.



Massachusetts gubernatorial candidate Mike Kelly addressing April 15 antiwar rally of 100,000 on Boston Common.

Photo by Dave Wulp

ty. To some extent, in fact, they can take credit for helping to develop such attitudes. For, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who traditionally wait until Labor Day to launch their campaigns "in serious," the SWP candidates have been in touch with the pulse of mass movements for social change since long before most of them announced their campaigns earlier this year. And they will continue to be after the election is over.

The SWP is running 75 candidates in 15 states. All of them support, and many have played leading roles in, movements that are having a nationwide and even an international impact. Their primary goal is to *build* these movements, not to coax votes from them. No capitalist candidate, past or present, can say the same.

What are a few of their accomplishments to date in just three important arenas of struggle?

The antiwar movement

● The SWP has been a major force in building the antiwar movement from the outset. Its candidates are not newcomers to the fight against the Vietnam war. This year alone they have been actively involved in building virtually every large nationwide demonstration that has occurred, from April 15 to the commemoration of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August.

● SWP candidates were speakers at almost every major rally during the wave of protest in response to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. They

helped organize hundreds of these rallies and marches. Throughout May they lent their support to the students who were seeking to utilize university facilities to reach out to the Third World communities, the labor movement and the GIs.

Many attended the emergency antiwar conference in Cleveland in June which issued a call for massive demonstrations on Oct. 31. They are now helping to make those demonstrations a success and to prevent the capitalist parties from drowning in their ballot boxes the antiwar energy evidenced in May.

● California congressional candidate Andrew Pulley recently concluded a tour of the Far East undertaken in an effort to strengthen the ties between the American and international antiwar movements.

Chicano liberation

● The SWP welcomes the formation of La Raza Unida parties in Texas and Colorado as an important step toward a mass party that can lead the struggle for self-determination of the Chicano people. Three SWP candidates—Mariana Hernandez (Texas candidate for U.S. senator), Froben Lozada and Antonio Camejo (California candidates for attorney general and superintendent of public instruction)—toured parts of the Southwest earlier this year in an effort to publicize the growth of La Raza Unida and to help mobilize support for the Aug. 29 Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium against the war.

● Following the brutal police attack

on the Chicano Moratorium, Camejo and Lozada took the lead in helping to organize mass protests in the Chicano community.

On the other hand, the response of the capitalist candidates in California to the police assault on the Chicano community was to thump for more "law and order."

Women's liberation

Women in the SWP have been an integral part of and builders of the women's liberation movement since its inception. While all its candidates support it enthusiastically, some are important figures within it. Ruthann Miller, New York candidate for comptroller, for instance, was coordinator of the Aug. 26 march of some 35,000 in New York City. She addressed the rally as a leader of the movement and as a revolutionary-socialist candidate.

The difference between the candidates of the SWP and those of the Democratic and Republican parties is that the former strive to stimulate mass struggles for social change, while the latter attempt to stifle them. Anyone dissatisfied with the status quo need search for no better reason to support the SWP campaigns.

The SWP has already done more to bring about a change than all the "peace candidates" and liberals of the Democratic and Republican parties combined. And when the elections are over and capitalist candidates have closed down their headquarters, the SWP will keep right on fighting for a fundamental social change—until there is one.

Important partial victory won in Ohio ballot suit

CLEVELAND, Sept. 25 — An important partial victory was won in a July 29 ruling by a three-judge federal court in Columbus on a suit challenging provisions of Ohio's election laws that discriminate against independent candidates. The suit challenged the constitutionality of three provisions of the state law regarding the achievement of ballot status: 1) that signatures must be collected totaling 4 percent of the votes cast in the preceding gubernatorial election (a total of around 158,000 for statewide offices); 2) that 200 signatures must be gathered in each of 30 counties, with no more than one-fourth of the required total coming from any one

county; and 3) that petitions must be filed 90 days before the state primary.

The court struck down the 4 percent requirement, stating that the state had demonstrated "no compelling reason" for it, and ruled the distribution requirement unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated the principle of one man, one vote. It upheld the provision on the filing deadline.

This decision is particularly significant inasmuch as it is the first time that a federal court has specifically ruled a state's requirements on the number of signatures unconstitutional. This decision could have a bearing on three other SWP ballot suits

in which a similar provision is being challenged. These are in Massachusetts, Georgia and California, where rulings are expected at anytime.

"The interests the state seeks to preserve may be protected without resort to a statutory scheme so restrictive that a small third party with a long and continuing history of political activity has no objective opportunity to participate in the elective process," the court stated in motivating its decision.

The SWP suit challenging the election provisions governing independent candidates was consolidated by the court with a similar one filed by the Socialist Labor Party concerning achievement of ballot status by third

parties. (Requirements differ for "independent candidates" and "third parties.") The SLP successfully challenged the 7 percent signature requirement for third parties as well as requirements on internal party structure. The court upheld, however, the constitutionality of the loyalty oath provision for third parties.

The SLP was ordered placed on the November ballot. The SWP was not placed on the ballot on the grounds that it had not met the filing deadline which it was challenging.

This and the decision to uphold the constitutionality of the loyalty oath have been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

UAW strikers are in for long, hard grind

By FRANK LOVELL

After two weeks on the picket lines, the 350,000 members of the United Auto Workers who are on strike against General Motors were starting to take a long view of the strike, each in his own way trying to size up the situation.

From the start it was conceded by all who had been close to or directly involved in pre-strike negotiations that there would be no quick settlement. UAW president Leonard Woodcock used a national TV program to notify all UAW members to prepare for a long hard grind.

Government spokesmen gave no indication that the Nixon administration was any more interested in a quick settlement of this strike than it was during the 102-day General Electric strike last winter.

Each side in the strike moved to improve its own position as bargaining resumed. The auto industry, dominated by GM, announced a 5 to 7 percent increase in the price of 1971 cars and promised to raise prices further if auto workers win their wage demands. The price of GM cars in the showroom went up \$245. In this way the auto corporations insured their profits before agreeing to a wage settlement.

Officials of the auto union, led by Woodcock, toured the UAW locals to confer with local officials and get negotiations started on the thousands of local grievances in an attempt to have most of these issues resolved by the time the national agreement is reached, thus avoiding an extension of the strike as has happened in the past.

Reports from all parts of the country confirm that strike enthusiasm is high. But the central weakness of the UAW strike strategy was indicated by the remarks of a striker, Chuck Smith, 55, a 24-year-veteran at GM's South Gate plant in Los Angeles. *Newsweek* quoted him as saying, "Come back and see us in four or six weeks. That's when the bills come due, the rent is late, and the wives really start complaining. Check us then for morale."

And this is precisely what GM is counting on. Most of the strikers know this, especially those who have had previous strike experience in the auto industry.

Those who can are going to work at other jobs. This is encouraged by the UAW because there is no shortage of pickets and it saves strike funds.

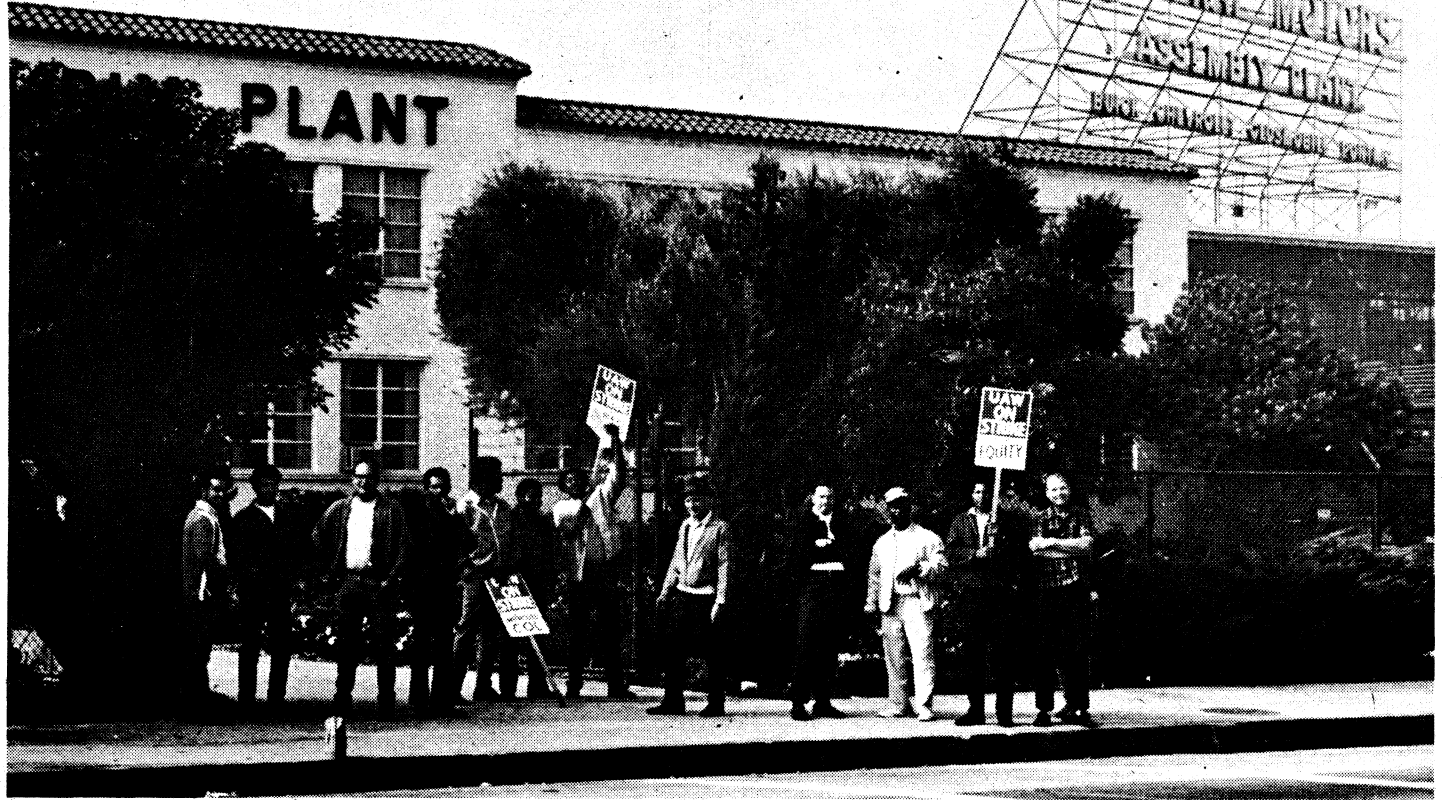


Photo by John Gray

Workers picketing South Gate assembly plant in Los Angeles

But growing unemployment makes jobs hard to find.

Union strike benefits are meager, amounting to \$40 for a married man with children. This helps but it is hardly enough to live on.

The UAW strike fund of \$120-million is not expected to last more than eight weeks. This can be augmented by a strike assessment from the other one million UAW members who are working in plants not on strike, but as yet the need for this has not been raised officially.

The long, slow grinding down of the strikers has begun. It clearly has the sanction of the UAW strike leaders (who devised the strategy to begin with) as well as the auto industry and the government. But why? Many questions are being raised, and were raised even before the strike began.

How can more pressure be brought against the corporation? Why should the GM supplier plants that feed parts to Ford and Chrysler be allowed to continue operating? If these other giants in the auto industry are forced

to close for lack of parts, wouldn't they then put pressure on GM to meet its obligations?

Those UAW members at Ford and Chrysler are wondering now why they must continue to work at the old wage scale when the companies have already raised the price of the cars they build. Why can't those who are working and building the new higher priced cars have their wages raised accordingly? And if GM won't allow Ford and Chrysler to meet the union demands now, will the new wage scale be retroactive when another contract is finally signed? And why can't Ford and Chrysler be forced to sign the retroactive clause now?

The UAW has a rich history and many still in the plants remember that in 1946 almost 25 years ago the union demanded wage raises without price increases.

This was a big issue in the 1946 strike. GM said at that time it couldn't afford to make any such agreement with the union, and besides the price of cars was GM's business. The UAW

then demanded a public examination of the corporation's books. "Open the books" became one of the UAW demands.

The Nixon administration claims to be fighting inflation and all the congressmen — Democrats and Republicans alike — speak against inflation and say they want to curb it. Isn't the big jump in the price of cars inflationary? Why does the Nixon administration say nothing about this?

The UAW has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars over the years to elect "friends of labor" to the Congress. Some of those "good Democrats" are still there. Why doesn't the UAW prod its Democratic friends in government to demand an accounting of the auto industry and explain the exorbitantly high prices these corporations are charging?

None of these questions are new to the auto workers. They will be demanding answers from their local representatives on the national negotiating committee before the strike settles into a second month. And *The Militant* too will be returning to these questions.

Washington farm workers strike

By ELDA MENDOZA and
STEPHANIE COONTZ

SEATTLE—The strike of migrant hop workers in the Yakima Valley continues and is scoring victories. The strike began Sept. 4, when 30 migrant families spontaneously walked off work on one of the Yakima Chief ranches at the height of the hop season. The strike spread quickly, until 250 field workers and their families joined the strike. (See Sept. 18 *Militant*.)

The ranchers attempted to use public high school students as scabs, but when this supply of strike breakers ended, the Yakima Chief ranch signed a contract with the strikers setting a minimum wage of \$2 and recognizing the workers right to form a union. Other ranches have also begun to capitulate.

We arrived in Granger, the center of the strike, on Sept. 9. The farm workers were having a meeting to discuss their problems and successes. One woman complained: "They're only paying women \$1.40 an hour and

they're paying the men \$1.75, but I can drive a tractor as well as any man." Her husband chimed in: "She can, she can!" They agreed that the minimum wage of \$2 must apply to both men and women.

The role of Chicana women has been very significant in this strike. Traditionally, the Chicana has not taken part in political activity, but this is changing. Senora Trevino, for instance, who has played an important role in the strike, described to us the special problems of women in the valley, which involved more than equal pay: "A woman, if she has children, can't take them to the day-care centers because the people in the city take all the places. We don't have babysitters. We don't have bathrooms. Our stoves burn wood, but we can't find any wood or else the wood is green. The children get soot in their eyes and noses. We don't have any refrigerators, so the milk spoils and you can't keep meat."

Maria Elena Villanueva is another

Chicana activist. No one will rent to her because of her political activity, so she lives in a three-room cabin with no heat. She is typical of the new Chicana in her outlook, moving cautiously but steadily toward a more active role in La Causa.

On Saturday, Senora Trevino and Senora Lemos went out to urge the field workers to strike. "The women left the fields immediately," they said, "and then the men came out. The women have been so humiliated for so long. Last year I told the women there was going to be a strike but some were afraid to strike because they had falsified papers. This year there were about 15 women in the first strike. They were the most courageous, except they don't know how to speak out yet."

The activity of these women, and the stamina and insight of such women as Graciella Cisneros, who ran the office in Granger almost single-handedly, has begun to change the traditional concept of Chicanas.

With the involvement of new forces

like the Chicanas and the long range understanding of the present leadership, it seems clear that the hop strike will have far-reaching effects. This is because the strike has proved that people have power when they organize. By moving together, independently of the establishment, the Yakima strikers accomplished in one week more than they did in years of waiting for the system to respond.

Francisco Salinas summed it up: "There's nothing in the present system, be it Democratic or Republican, to show me that we're getting what the people need. I feel that neither party can represent our people the way La Raza Unida will. Once the people see their power they'll want to form their own independent organization."

In the meantime the Yakima farm workers need your support. Most urgently they need money and food to sustain them in their struggle. Please send your contribution to the Western Washington Huelga Support Committee, 4709 35th N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105.

National picket line

Pres. Nixon moves against strike of railroad workers

On the railroad front, President Nixon came through for the carriers as expected. On Sept. 18, he ordered a 60-day "cooling-off" period under authority given him by the Railway Labor Act.

A five-man "emergency board" will be set up to recommend wages and working conditions on the 71 major railroads. Railroad workers now get an average \$3.50 per hour, kept low because these workers have been unable to exercise their right to strike.

Nixon's order headed off a strike on the wages question that could have been called at midnight, Sept. 23. The strike action had been scheduled by the United Transportation Union and three other AFL-CIO affiliates.

These unions, acting together, had sought to conduct a "selective strike" against three companies but were prevented from doing so by a federal court injunction. The carriers, speaking through their National Railway Labor Conference, have repeatedly warned that any strike against one railroad will be their signal to close down all rail transportation. The courts have consistently ruled that "selective strikes" by the railroad unions are "illegal".

The railroads could be tied up in another dispute over firemen in the cabs of diesel engines. This is a dispute of 11-years standing, having been through the arbitration mill and through the 60-day "cooling-off" period, as dictated by an earlier presidential decree.

Given the adamant position of the carriers, a strike over the issue of railroad firemen could tie up the railroad system. Charles Luna, UTU president, earlier announced that the strike would be called Sept. 25. But the deadline was averted when Luna and the carriers, under pressure of government mediators, agreed to continue negotiations for another two weeks. The strike deadline is now Oct. 8.

If strike action is finally taken by the union, the "emergency" will be rou-

tinely referred to the Congress for a speedy back-to-work edict. In the recent past such action has been enthusiastically supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The Mine Safety Act, passed by Congress last year, which became effective on April 1, 1970, is not being and probably will not be enforced for some time to come, if ever.

Immediately after the April 1 deadline for beginning a very gradual enforcement of the new law, mine owners, in a plea that such action would put them out of business, were joined by W.A. Boyle, United Mine Workers president, who asked that enforcement of the Act be put on a "more reasonable" time basis. The owners also immediately brought many suits in federal courts for injunctions to stop enforcement of the law.

The latest act in this tragic and conscienceless sequence is an admission by Henry P. Wheeler, acting chief deputy of the Bureau of Mines, that he had "suggested"—not ordered—that the 300 mine inspectors telephone him or some other Interior official before they closed down any mine in which they found violations.

This procedure, Mr. Wheeler says, is to allow the Bureau of Mines or even the secretary of interior's office to "put pressure from above" on recalcitrant mine owners—a way he feels is more effective than allowing the inspectors to carry out their legal job of closing mines with violations and keeping them closed until those safety hazards have been corrected. Under Secretary of Interior Fred Russell backed up Mr. Wheeler's "suggestion," saying that it is only a method of "supporting the inspectors and the concept of mine safety."

United Mine Workers president Boyle, meanwhile, instead of carrying on a real fight to make the Safety Act an instrument to protect coal miners, cries crocodile tears in the *Mine Workers Journal* every time a coal digger is killed, but spends the rest of his time defending his own inaction from



'More Murder for Profits' was the headline over this photo in the Jan. 26, 1946, *Militant*. Shown is the Havaco coal mine disaster at Welch, West Virginia, which killed 13 miners and injured 38. The "Mine Safety Act"—of 1970—remains to be enforced.

critics inside and outside the union. His main targets are Ralph Nader and the more than 18,000 miners who have walked out of the pits this year in protest against the lack of enforcement of the Safety Act.

During the first six months of 1970, 106 miners met their deaths in the grim tunnels of the Appalachian coal mines. This means that an average of four miners died each week in those six months—killed by "minor" safety infractions—little things like unsupported roofs caving in, rock falls, methane gas, explosions and fires. There have been no major mine disasters since 78 men were entombed in Consol No. 9 in November 1968. But figures show that day by day, in the mines, death marches on.

A temporary injunction against the United Farm Workers union was handed down on Sept. 16 by Monterey, Calif., state supreme court justice Anthony Brazil, at the behest of eight large vegetable growers. The injunction forbids mass picketing by the UFWOC. Judge Brazil ruled that the

unions were conducting a jurisdictional dispute with the teamsters, and not a strike.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

IRA Chief Says Socialism Is Key to Irish Struggle

The September 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries a special, four-page interview with Cathal Goulding, the chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army.

The IRA for nearly fifty years has played a leading role in the struggle to free all of Ireland from British rule. Outlawed in both Northern Ireland and the Irish "Free State," it nevertheless continues to be a major force in Irish politics.

In recent years, the IRA has gone through a political evolution, moving from a program advocating only national independence to a position of working for the creation of a socialist Ireland.

In the interview, Goulding describes his view of the role to be played by different class forces in the independence struggle ("The main forces of native capitalism are in favor of maintaining British rule in Northern Ireland"), the internal structure of the IRA, the attitude of the nationalist movement toward the British troops, and the question of physical violence directed against the ruling class and against other left tendencies.

Goulding also notes a parallel between the struggle in Ireland and the Vietnamese fight for national independence, and discusses the possibility of American intervention in Ireland.

The IRA leader draws further analogies between the Irish movement and the Black liberation movement in the U.S., and lists some of the lessons the two struggles can learn from each other. In doing so, he describes the interrelationship between the attitudes of Irish-Americans toward Black liberation and toward Irish independence.

The interview provides a fascinating insight into the political processes at work within the Irish nationalist movement. It can be obtained by sending 50 cents to *Intercontinental Press*, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Socialist testifies on 'campus violence'

By MARK UGOLINI

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—On Sept. 18, Lynn Henderson, Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, testified at a joint legislative



Lynn Henderson

committee hearing here on campus violence. Both of Henderson's chief opponents, Democrat Adlai Stevenson III and Republican Ralph T. Smith, also testified, as well as 32 others. These included university administrators, police officials, National Guard spokesmen, and intelligence agents. Only one student was invited to testify.

The legislative hearings, which served as a political forum for "law and order" candidates, were chaired by state senator G. William Horsley. Horsley expressed the belief that a statute to govern distribution of campus literature calling for "the overthrow of the U.S. government" would help curb campus unrest. It was also his opinion that student rebellion was caused by "Communist China, dope pushers, and rich do-gooders."

Stevenson, a self-proclaimed "peace candidate," was among the first to testify. He stated that student "disruption" must be stopped by "better and more effective law enforcement," that violence is caused by small groups of "disrupters who roam our nation's campuses leading disorders." Stevenson also showed his opposition to

the antiwar movement when he admitted that he refused last year to support the October and November moratoriums using as an excuse their "susceptibility to violence."

Soon after Stevenson's testimony, Henderson exposed the hearings as a "campaign to confuse the American people and make them forget what happened at Kent, Jackson and Augusta."

"The major political leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties," Henderson explained, "have begun an intense propaganda campaign to make the victims appear as the criminals and the criminals appear as the victims with regard to the questions of violence in America."

Henderson agreed that violence in our society is a real problem and proceeded to clearly trace the source of violence to the police. As evidence he pointed to recent police attacks on the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles and the Black community in Cairo. What we are now witnessing is an attempt to parlay a handful of individual acts into a massive campaign to crush dissent in general, he explained.

Issues at International Typographers' convention

Union ranks face common problems

By JEAN Y. TUSSEY

America's oldest trade union, the 118-year-old International Typographical Union, faces the same problems as the rest of the labor movement. This was evident at the 112th ITU convention in Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 1-7.

How to unite working people to defend their standard of living and their rights, and to improve them, in the face of new attacks by employers and their government agencies—this is the basic issue in the ITU as in every other labor organization.

Differences on this were most sharply expressed at the ITU convention in the debate over the appeal of Erie Typographical Union No. 77 against the decision of the Executive Council denying them strike benefits when they refused to cross the picket lines of the other crafts in a strike at the Erie *Times-News*.

The struggle of the Erie printers to overcome the obstacles of craft division, restrictive labor laws, and conservative union leadership is not an isolated case in the ITU. Rather, it represents a growing dissidence in the ranks.

President John J. Pilch made that clear right at the beginning of the convention in his keynote speech:

"There is a major problem which has developed among the members of the ITU which requires an open and frank discussion," he said. "This is the problem of incipient rebellion against the laws and policies of the ITU and against the administration of those

... GM

(Continued from page 6)

since the corporation is under no obligation to make its accounts known to the public, it is quite difficult to estimate GM's profit rates on its war production.

Undoubtedly indicative, however, was a 1956 hearing conducted by a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee on Aircraft Production and Profits. This revealed a return of more than 200 percent per year on fixed capital invested in the engine production of GM's Allison Motors Division.

Following is a selected list of Pentagon contracts that have been signed with GM in 1970, based on the monthly *Defense Industry Bulletin*, published by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs:

\$7,268,800 (contract modification), Army M551 Sheridan vehicles, Cleveland.

\$1,345,026, 12 volt storage batteries for tanks, Anderson, Ind.

\$2,450,751, rough terrain tractors, Hudson, Ohio.

\$3,344,975, Army one-and-a-quarter-ton cargo trucks, Warren, Mich., and Baltimore.

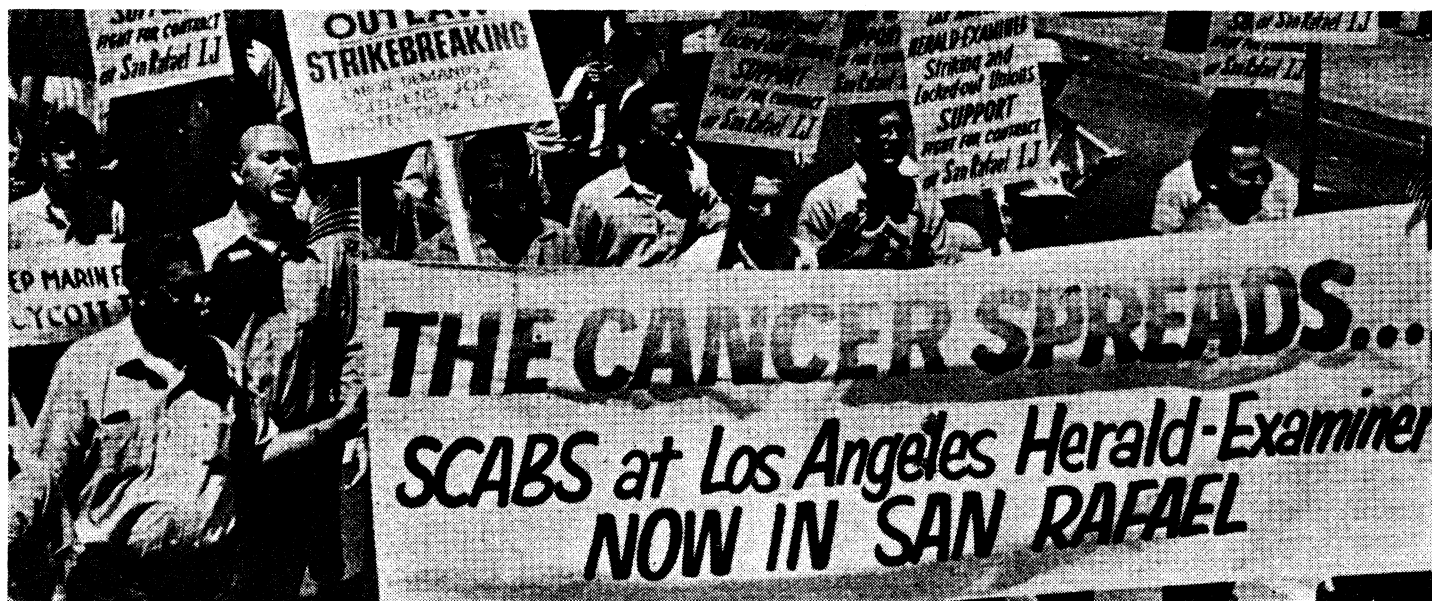
\$3,488,949 (contract modification), service research and development and interim advanced production engineering effort, Army MBT-70/XM803 Main Battle Tank, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Muskegon and Kalamazoo, Mich., and Indianapolis.

\$1,550,000, Navy Mk 107 Mod 0 warheads and associated equipment for use with Mk 48 Mod 1 torpedoes, Goleta, Calif.

\$3,524,776, lay-away and rehabilitation work on facilities, Army Ammunition Plant in St. Louis, Detroit.

\$1,185,581, 8V71-T diesel engines for M109 and M578 Army combat vehicles, Detroit.

\$33,055,424, AF TF41-A-1 turbofan engines, Indianapolis.



San Francisco-Oakland Guild photo by Barney Peterson

Los Angeles newspaper workers held march of 2,000 in support of San Rafael printers last July 25. Article discusses some of the main problems facing workers in printing trades.

laws by the Executive Council. I am referring to actions of members, in several instances, such as respecting other union picket lines during contract periods, or where contract conditions exist, unauthorized extracurricular activities or exercises while on the job during contract negotiations, for the purpose of enforcing contract matters and outright illegal strikes.

"This kind of incident can rapidly snowball to the destruction of this organization. We do not need any legislation to correct this problem. However, these activities must be contained. . . ."

When the committee on appeals finally reported its unfavorable decision on the Erie appeal, on the fifth day of the convention, it ruled:

"We also suggest the Council was correct in assessing the action of the members of the Erie local as being on an individual and voluntary basis without the prior sanction or approval of the Executive Council. Such action negated any legitimate claim for strike or lockout benefits."

Delegate Joseph J. Salorino, one of the two young delegates from Erie, rose to oppose the decision of the committee.

"We feel that we did advance the interest of the International Typographical Union in Erie," he said. "And also did defend the character of our great union by the stand we took. We have been told that no benefits would be paid unless they are legal. But I have not been told of what was done in Erie that was illegal or of any law of the International Typographical Union that we broke. I have heard that we must support unity in the different crafts. Erie was enjoying that unity until we were told to disassociate ourselves with other unions before our representative would be sent back to Erie. . . ."

"We were never told whether we had or had not the permission to take a strike vote. All we were told, and this was almost three weeks after we had asked for the permission, was that the Executive Council was sitting on it. . . ."

The other Erie delegate, Larry Skowronski, reiterated the point that they had attempted to "at all times act within the framework of ITU law. . . . We asked for strike sanction, permission to conduct a strike vote previous to the guild [newspaper writers] strike. We received no action by the Executive Committee on this. We were told in the

letter that it was received and the Executive Committee would act on it. . . ."

Erie unquestionably had the sympathy of delegates from many other unions that have been placed in the same dilemma by the national officers: strike sanction held up until another craft goes out, then, when the printers honor the other workers' picket line, refusal of benefits for going out without sanction from the Executive Council.

Or, as occurred in Cleveland last year, sitting on the request for strike sanction until the membership is worn down to reconsideration of a rejected company proposal, then a referendum vote to get the commercial shop printers, pensioners, and others who don't have to live with it to force acceptance of the newspaper contract.

After a personal and legalistic appeal for support by President Pilch, the convention voted 250 to 69 to uphold the decision against the Erie appeal.

Delegates from thirty different locals filled out the cards necessary to be recorded in opposition.

Other actions of the convention, and their significance, will be discussed in another article.

Georgia Black community in school fight

By LINDA JENNESS

Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Georgia

SPARTA, Ga.—Sparta is a small town of 9,000 in Hancock County. Schools were due to open here Sept. 10 but none of the county's 2,300 Black students and 85 Black teachers showed up. Neither did the Black bus drivers, Black custodial workers, or Black principals. Sparta's Black community, which comprises 85 percent of the population, is protesting the desegregation plan approved by the courts last July.

On Sept. 9, I traveled to Sparta along with two campaign supporters to express support for the protest.

"The plan would not have integrated the schools at all," said Leroy Wiley, the Black clerk of the superior court in Sparta. "All of the 250 white children, along with 261 Black children, would be in one high school (Sparta High) with only two Black teachers; the rest of the 2,000 Black students would be in the other high school (Central High) with all Black teachers. We are not concerned about whether the system should be all-Black

or all-white; we are only interested in a unitary school system."

The Black community began its protest over three weeks ago with daily demonstrations through the town and a boycott of all white businesses. The largest demonstration was joined by over 1,000 persons. "The first day they refused to give us a permit to demonstrate but we decided to do it anyway," Wiley told us. "They met us out there with tear gas, a fire truck, a hose, and about 25 or 30 cops trying to obstruct our route of demonstration. We refused to stop and we haven't had any problem since."

Fifteen white teachers were to be transferred to the Black school under the desegregation plan but the white school superintendent, William Andrews, has refused to transfer the teachers and has ordered the Black principals to fill the positions with Black teachers.

"We don't care about a percentage basis," says Earl Warren, one of the three Black principals in Sparta. "We want one high school, one junior high, and as many elementary schools as necessary to accommodate the students.

We want a unitary school system. This county is too small and does not have enough children to have two high schools."

The boycott of white businesses has been very effective. Some are expected to have to close soon if it continues. "Business is really hurting," said one store owner. Sparta's Black youth have been the main force behind the demonstrations.

The Justice Department has brought suit against the school board, a majority of whose members are Black, for failure to implement the desegregation plan, and against several Black leaders for "frustrating attempts to carry out the plan."

We asked John McCowan, a Black county commissioner and a main leader of the school strike and boycott, if the Blacks would return to school if ordered to do so by the court. "The only equal education that's ever been received in this county is going on when nobody is in school," he said. "If getting an equal education means staying out of school for a year, I personally believe that's what we should do."

Literature on origins of Palestine struggle being offered

A special literature kit on the origins and issues of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination being offered by the Fifth of June Society of Beirut, Lebanon, provides some useful background material for supporters of Third World liberation who want to be better informed on this crucial conflict. The kit should help fill a growing demand for accurate information, spurred by the dramatic development of the Palestinian national liberation struggle.

Included in the kit is a reprint of "The Palestinian Resistance Movement" (in early 1969), an extensive report by the well-known journalist, Gerard Chaliand, published in the French newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The report contains descriptions of the background and ideologies of the different commando groups, interviews with their leaders and rank-and-file members. It describes relations with the Arab masses and gives a historical summary of the conflict.

Another pamphlet is *The Other Exodus*, by Erskine Childers, reprinted from the May 12, 1961, issue of the British liberal weekly *The Spectator*. Mr. Childers, a British journalist, effectively explodes the Israeli claim that the flight of the Palestinians in 1948 was "voluntary," in response to alleged Arab army broadcasts. He cites the extensive evidence of the records of Arab broadcasts monitored throughout 1948 by the BBC and the CIA, and tracks down all the original sources cited by Israeli spokesmen, to show that this propaganda myth was designed to cover up the actual expulsion of the Palestinians and to justify their continued exclusion from their own homeland.

The kit also features a digest of *The Arabs in Israel*, a book-length study of repressive Israeli treatment of the 165,000 Arabs who never left in 1948, written by Sabri Jiryis, a Christian Palestinian Arab living in Israel. Using official Israeli sources, Jiryis describes the network of hostile laws and military courts imposed on the Israeli Arabs. First published in Haifa in Hebrew in 1966, the book was quickly suppressed by Israeli authorities. The British journal, *The Guardian*, commented (Dec. 12, 1968): "A scholarly work, . . . forthright and comprehensive study . . . the fullest and most vivid account yet published of the notorious Kafr Kassim affair in which Israeli soldiers systematically killed 49 Arab villagers as they returned home in ignorance of a curfew which had been imposed at short notice."

A final pamphlet, *Western Public Opinion and the Palestine Conflict*, is a 1969 speech by Father Jean Corbon, professor at the University of St. Louis, Beirut, in which he points to the role of Western chauvinism, racial prejudice, and religious cant in justifying the victimization of the Palestinians.

For readers who want more detailed information, the kit includes a catalog of books, monographs, and original source documents by Arab and non-Arab scholars, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies and available in English or French.

Readers who desire the kit described here should specify the pamphlets included when ordering. Write to: The Fifth of June Society, P. O. B. 7037, Beirut, Lebanon.

—PETER BUCH



These photos were taken Jan. 1, 1970, in Lecumberri Prison during 40-day hunger strike called by Mexican political prisoners to demand they be brought to trial or released. Jose Revueltas, the famous novelist, stands outside his cell in photo at left. At right is a group of unidentified prisoners beneath a banner reading, "Hunger Strike for Freedom."

Protests to mark '68 Mexico massacre

A group of friends of the political prisoners in Mexico have issued an appeal for international solidarity actions on October 2 aimed at winning the release of these victims of repression. The appeal dated August 30 declared:

"October 2, 1970, marks the second anniversary of the massacre at Tlatelolco, Mexico. During the 1968 Mexican student movement (immediately preceding the Olympic games), police and soldiers descended upon a peaceful mass meeting in the Plaza of Three Cultures, shot and bayoneted to death an estimated 500 students, teachers, workers and bystanders. Bodies were carried off unidentified, many of the wounded were killed rather than taken to a hospital, and doctors in hospitals

helplessly watched many bayoneted victims bleed to death while the authorities refused to admit blood donations from friends.

"During the entire 1968 student movement the police consistently terrorized real and suspected leaders of the movement. They were harassed, arrested, tortured, and even murdered.

"Over 150 political prisoners are still being held in Mexico City jails. Most of them have neither been tried nor sentenced. They have been imprisoned for over two years."

The appeal called for a boycott "of Mexico and Mexican products." An international effort is being made to organize demonstrations on October 2 "before Mexican embassies and consulates throughout the world."

Accompanying the appeal were a number of photographs of some of the political prisoners being held at Mexico City's Lecumberri jail, two of which are reproduced on this page.

The friends of the prisoners said they believed the demonstrations could have an important effect in bringing pressure to bear on the lame duck Diaz Ordaz regime:

"The Mexican government is rather sensitive to world opinion. Political repression is not reported in Mexican newspapers, as almost all the dailies toe the government line. Even in the United States, coverage of the political prisoners in Mexico has been scant. October 2 is an attempt to embarrass the Mexican government and demand the release of its political critics."

Intercontinental Press

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

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

Fullerton: YSA c/o K.W. Jeter, 1324 W. Valencia, *F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.

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

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

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

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

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, Andrew Jackson Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415, Denver, Colo. 80218. Tel: (303) 744-6578.

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

Jacksonville: YSA, c/o Neill Wade, Box 8409 Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

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

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Tampa: YSA, c/o Chip Jeffries, 903 E. Robson, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510

(day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullane, 830 E. Berry, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46803.

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

Worcester: YSA, Box 410, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, *A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 217 Spruce St., Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Binghamton College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, P.O. Box 19004, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45219. Tel: (513) 241-9048.

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

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

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

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

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

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8641, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

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

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

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

Houston: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 39196, Houston, Texas 77039.

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WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Ingrid Johansen, Rt. 2, Box 109, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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Regional conferences build Oct. 31 actions

New York

NEW YORK—Close to 200 persons attended a regional conference of the New York Peace Action Coalition (NYPAC) Sept. 26 at New York University.

The gathering warmly greeted the extended opening remarks by Victor Gotbaum, president of the 85,000-member District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Gotbaum announced his support of the antiwar demonstration scheduled for Oct. 31 and outlined plans for involving New York labor in the action.

After speaking of the need for the antiwar movement to seek the official support of trade unions, as well as the participation of individual rank-and-file unionists, Gotbaum emphasized the importance of relating to those forces in organized labor that are beginning to challenge the reactionary leadership of AFL-CIO president George Meany. "It's not some 76-year-old character in Washington who understands, but you do. . . . Somehow, some way, we must coalesce and work together," he stated.

Gotbaum urged the antiwar movement to also make an effort to reach out to the construction workers who have participated in pro-Nixon demonstrations in New York and elsewhere. "That hardhat who doesn't understand why he's involved in this thing is not your enemy," he said.

Gotbaum expressed confidence that a number of New York unions would decide to support the Oct. 31 demonstration.

A brief statement by Ruth Gage-Colby, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), included the announcement that the Iowa-based U. S. Farmers Association had decided to support Oct. 31 and would be joining NPAC.

The conference, which was designed as a working session, then split up into workshops on ways to most effectively build the Oct. 31 action. These included workshops on high schools, the campus, trade unions, GIs and veterans, women, and professional groups. The high school workshop, which was the largest, attracted 75 students from about 30 high schools.

NYPAC held a joint news conference Sept. 24 with the National Strike for Peace, which is planning actions for Oct. 15. The two groups are supporting each other's actions. NYPAC views the Oct. 15 activities as a kickoff point to an antiwar offensive culminating in Oct. 31.

More than 35 area groups and individuals have already endorsed the New York Oct. 31 action, and the list is growing.

—DAVID THORSTAD

Detroit

DETROIT—Close to 100 representatives and individuals from nine cities across Michigan, eight college campuses, and at least nine union locals met on Detroit's Wayne State campus Sept. 26 to coordinate plans for Oct.

31 and the fall offensive. The meeting was a clear reflection of the growth of the antiwar movement in the state.

Groups from around the state now participating in the Oct. 31 action include the Student-Faculty Committee for Peace, which grew out of the May events at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant; the Kalamazoo Peace Watch; and new chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee at Grand Valley State College near Grand Rapids, Hope College in conservative Holland, and Muskegon Community College.

The Ann Arbor Peace Action Coalition representative detailed plans for an Oct. 3 demonstration designed to kick off the statewide antiwar offensive. Organized like its successful predecessor which drew 12,000 last year, the action will begin with a march from the football stadium after that day's game to a rally site on the university campus.

Claudia Morcum, coordinator for Detroiters for Proposition Peace (a newly formed group building support for the Detroit antiwar referendum this fall), reported that it has already secured Black congressman John Conyers and Bishop Walter Schoenherr as its chairmen, and ex-mayor of Detroit Jerome Kavanaugh as its honorary chairman.

The International Socialists left the gathering early when their proposal for the antiwar movement's slogans and tactics was voted down. They held that the demand for immediate withdrawal actually prevented people from radicalizing because it did not indict American imperialism everywhere.

Task forces have been set up to involve labor, women and the Third World communities. The endorsement of Oct. 31 by Doug Fraser, head of the UAW's Chrysler department, and Dorothy Hayner, head of the UAW's women's department, and well-known Black minister Albert Cleage was announced.

—MIKE SMITH

Chicago

CHICAGO—The Chicago Oct. 31 Peace Action Committee held a broad meeting of more than 120 on Sept. 26, with representatives from a large number of groups, campuses and high schools. The purpose of the meeting, held at Roosevelt University, was to lay concrete plans for an Oct. 31 antiwar demonstration in Chicago.

Participants included representatives from Local 1610 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; UAW Local 1065; the American Federation of Government Employees; the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees; Movement for a New Congress; Veterans for Peace; Women for Peace; Student Mobilization Committee; Movement for a Democratic Military; Chicago Women's Liberation Union; Young Socialist Alliance; Marshall High School Black Student Union; University of Illinois Latin-American Student

Third World figures urge support to Oct. 31 actions

SEPT. 30—A letter is being sent this week from the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) to Third World groups and individuals across the country urging them to build Oct. 31, to join NPAC, and to participate in the Oct. 11 steering committee meeting in Philadelphia. A partial list of the signers includes the following:

Lonnie King, President, Atlanta NAACP;

Rev. Joseph Boone, Chairman, Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership Congress;

Ethel Mae Matthews, President, National Welfare Rights Organization of Georgia;

Louise Whatley, Vice-President, Tenants United For Fairness, Atlanta;

Ryburn Stevens, President, American Federation of Teachers, Atlanta;

Muhamed Kenyatta, Black Eco-

nomie Development Conference, Philadelphia;

Rev. Jesse Anderson, St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Philadelphia;

Ann Hampton, Program Director, Mid-City YWCA, Philadelphia;

Altha M. Rigby, Program Director, Southwest Belmont YWCA, Philadelphia;

Rev. Willie Barrows, SCLC, Chicago;

Stanley Tolliver, Attorney, Cleveland;

Jackie Shaeffer, Marshall High School Black Student Union, Chicago.

Union; SCLC; First Unitarian Church; Lawndale People's Planning Action Committee; as well as many high schools and colleges.

The morning plenary, chaired by AFSCME international representative William Banta, was followed by workshops.

The conference unanimously agreed to hold a mass march through the Chicago Loop to the Grant Park bandshell, with feeder marches to be organized wherever feasible.

—GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS—A conference of 120 persons here Sept. 26 formed the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition. The conference adopted a perspective for a mass action in the Twin Cities around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina.

A partial list of the conference sponsors included Elvis Swan, business agent of the Retail Clerks Union; Mike Garza, Latin Liberation Front; Student Mobilization Committee; Pillsbury Employees Against the War; and the Socialist Workers Party.

The University of Minnesota College Republicans have also decided to join the coalition.

Keynote speakers were John T. Williams, vice-president of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208 and a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, and Diana Johnstone of the People's Commission of Inquiry, a group of citizens from various occupations who have held meetings with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Opposition to the mass-action, single-issue perspective for PAC came from a bloc of two groups called the Minnesota Eight Defense Committee and another called Friends of Progressive Labor. Neither had participated in helping to organize the conference.

An energetic debate in the plenary was followed by a vote in which the



John T. Williams

majority of the conference participants rejected some 15 different proposals which they felt would have diluted PAC's effectiveness as an antiwar organization.

—JOE VASS

Austin

AUSTIN, Texas—Close to 200 attended a regional antiwar conference here Sept. 19. The meeting formed the Texas Oct. 31 Antiwar Coalition, which will organize a march in Austin. A parade permit has already been obtained.

GIs participating in the conference came from Ft. Sam Houston, Ft. Hood and Bergstrom Air Force Base. A report by Al Greengold, an active-duty GI from Ft. Hood, on prospects for GI participation was greeted with applause and cheers.

More than 100,000 persons in cities throughout Australia demonstrated against the Vietnam war Sept. 18. The largest demonstration was in Melbourne, where 50,000 participated.

