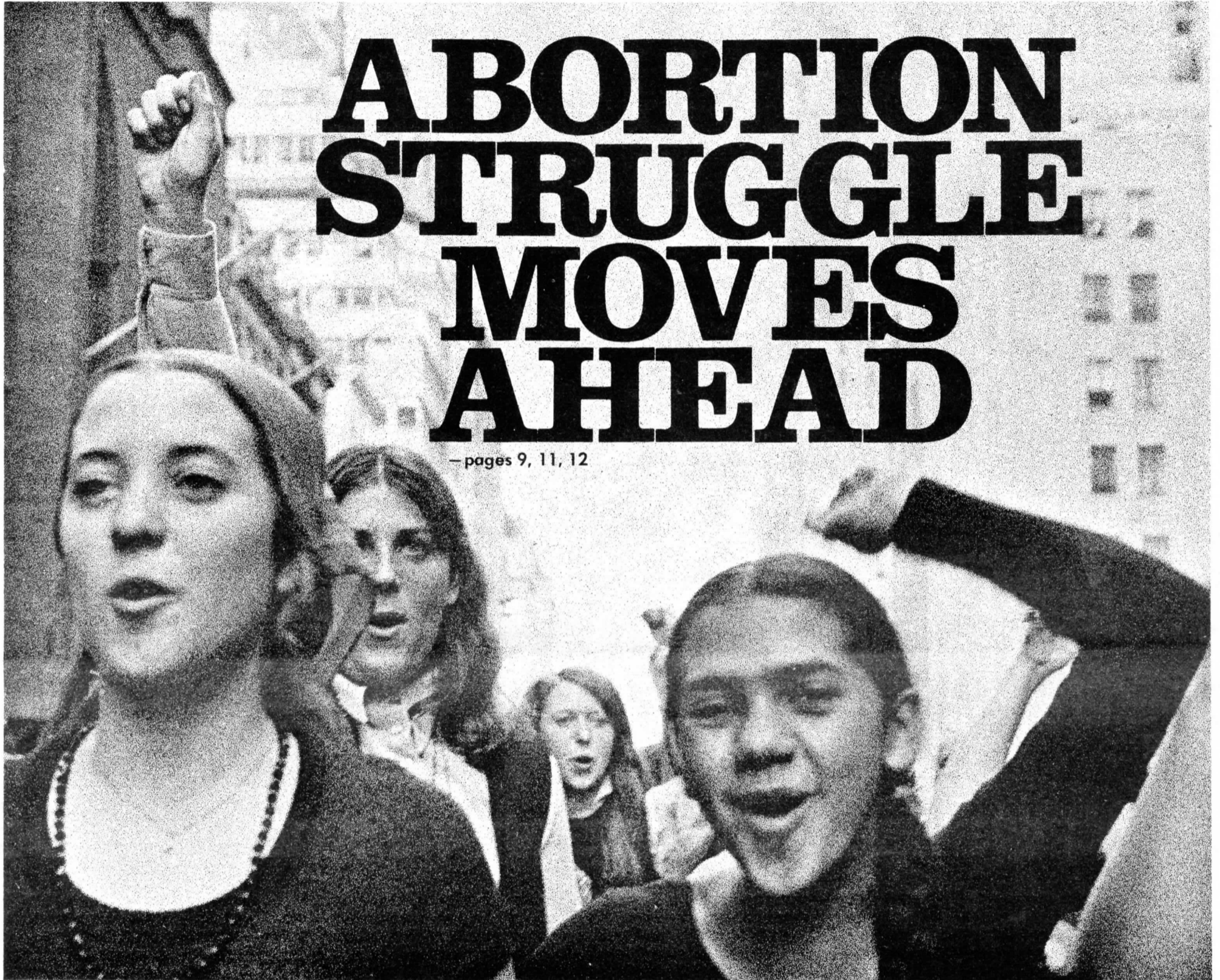


# THE MILITANT

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



## ABORTION STRUGGLE MOVES AHEAD

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## WASHINGTON'S 30 YEAR RECORD IN INDOCHINA



First of special series on Pentagon papers



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## THE MILITANT

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**COURT-MARTIAL CONVICTS CULVER:** In a flagrant denial of basic constitutional rights, an eight-member Air Force court-martial ruled July 13 that Capt. Thomas S. Culver was guilty of taking part in an illegal demonstration and soliciting the participation of others. The ruling came at the conclusion of court-martial proceedings that began July 8 at Lakenheath, England. Culver was among several hundred armed forces personnel in England who presented petitions signed by 1,000 GIs to the U.S. Embassy in London May 31. The petitions called for an end to the war in Vietnam. Among the lawyers defending Culver was Edward Sherman, a civilian expert on military law acting on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU views the Culver court-martial as a key test case and intends to pursue an appeal through all of the military and federal courts to the Supreme Court if necessary, Sherman said.

**TELEPHONE STRIKE:** As this issue is going to press, half a million telephone workers are beginning a national strike against the Bell Telephone System. This includes approximately 400,000 members of the Communications Workers of America and members of smaller, independent unions. Demands in the strike include the elimination of wage differentials discriminating against women operators, making new contract terms retroactive to the expiration of the last contract, increased pension benefits and a wage increase of about 33 percent over three years. Workers in many cities began to go out early on July 13. In San Francisco, 2,500 workers walked off the job July 13 after six employees were fired for wearing T-shirts bearing the legend: "Ma Bell is a cheap mother."

**CLEVELAND PROSECUTOR IN PANTHER TRIAL FINED:** After Anthony Walsh testified for the defense in the frame-up trial of three Black Panthers charged in connection with a cop attack on headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism June 29, 1970, he was accosted by Patrick G. Lazzaro, the assistant county prosecutor in charge of the case. Approaching Walsh in the hallway outside the court after his testimony, Lazzaro shouted that Walsh was a liar and threatened he would see to it that Walsh, a Case Western Reserve Law School graduate, never got admitted to the bar. When the court reconvened, Walsh, who was still on the stand, described the incident that had just occurred, and Judge George W. White fined Lazzaro \$50.

**LIBRARY OF CONGRESS RACISM:** A court hearing was scheduled for July 14 in the case of 13 members of the Black Employees Union arbitrarily fired for their union activity protesting racist employment practices at the Library of Congress. The demands of the year-old Black organization are the reclassification of jobs in the stacks, where most of the disproportionately low number of Black employees work, and an end to racist hiring and promotion practices. (Stack jobs are classified GS-2 to GS-4, paying between \$4,897 and \$6,202 a year.) The union has added reinstatement of those fired to its demands, and has been carrying out picketing, leafletting and slowdowns since the 13 were fired June 28 for staging a sit-in in the main reading room.

**JUAN FARINAS:** The case of Juan Farinas, who was convicted in January on frame-up charges of violating the draft laws, is now being considered by a federal appeals court that heard arguments in the case early this month. The sole basis for the phony charges on which Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League, has been convicted is the fact that he passed out antiwar literature at the time of his scheduled induction. The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is asking that messages urging the overturning of his conviction be sent to Judges Feinberg, Mansfield and Moore, U.S. Court of Appeals, U.S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, N.Y. Contributions can be sent to Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14 St., Sixth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

**COLORADO LAW REFORMED:** On June 2, Colorado's governor signed into law a new penal code to become effective on July 1, 1972. While the new code retains provisions that differentiate between "deviate sexual intercourse" and sexual intercourse, including loitering and public indecency clauses with enough latitude to allow continued harassment of gays, it eliminates the prohibition against consensual homosexual acts in the current code. Under the new law, the age of consent is 16, but the law additionally limits prosecution in cases involving two persons both under 16, or involving one person under 16 and another less than two years older. In March, Idaho adopted similar changes to become effective on Jan. 1, 1972. An Oregon law reform will also become effective on Jan. 1, 1972. The same change in Connecticut takes effect Oct. 1, 1971. The only state where such reforms are already in effect is Illinois.

**GAIN IN HOUSTON EQUAL-PAY FIGHT:** A key demand in recent contract negotiations between Safeway, Inc. in Houston, Texas, and the company's instore bakery production employees has been journeyman's pay for cake decorators—who are almost entirely women. The settlement reached brought the uniform scale for these skilled workers up to 93.5 percent of journeyman's pay, representing a sizable gain compared to the previous scale, which ranged downward from 80 percent. The demand for equal pay has the unanimous backing of men and women workers in the bakery bargaining unit, and it was one of three demands for which strike permission was voted. The partial victory has inspired confidence that cake decorators will win 100 percent of journeyman's pay in the next contract.

**BERNADETTE DEVLIN:** The July 2 *Irish Times* carried an interview with mid-Ulster Member of Parliament Bernadette Devlin, who, it had just been learned, is expecting a child in the fall. Devlin, who is single, was asked by the newspaper why she didn't plan to put the child up for adoption but instead intended to keep it after it is born. She replied, in part: "Society is wrong in penalizing illegitimate children and that very term is a misnomer. There are no illegitimate children, only illegitimate parents, if the term is to be used at all. The self-righteous argue that every child has a right to be born, and, therefore, there is no right to abortion. Yet they call children illegitimate and imply that they have no right to exist, and give scandal by the very fact of living."

**KAHANE COPS A PLEA:** Meir Kahane, racist demagogue and head of the hooligan gang calling itself the Jewish Defense League, made a deal with the government in his trial, along with 12 of his disciples, on federal charges related to the manufacture and possession of bombs, the possession of illegal firearms and the transporting of firearms across state lines. On July 9, Kahane and two other defendants in the case changed their pleas to guilty in Brooklyn federal court. Under the terms of the prearranged deal, they were allowed to plead guilty to one charge in return for the dropping of other charges against them and the dropping of all charges against the 10 others. Sentencing for the three is scheduled for July 23. Despite the fact that he had just concluded such a favorable deal, Kahane used his courtroom appearance to decry the government's attempt "to crush the JDL." The charge to which Kahane and his two cohorts pled guilty is conspiracy to manufacture explosives. On July 12, Kahane called a news conference at which he said, referring to explosives, "We would not hesitate to use these methods against a tyranny that doesn't allow any form of protest." He added, "But we would not use them against Americans." By "tyranny" Kahane meant the Soviet Union, and he projected "a new militant campaign" by the JDL against Soviet representatives.

**DIALECTICS?** The July 3 issue of the *People's World*, a weekly West Coast publication reflecting the views of the Communist Party, explains in a front-page box headlined "Summer expansion plans" that it is cutting its size from 12 to 8 pages per issue. Explaining the cutback as a temporary measure to allow for moving, new equipment, expanded use of the *World Magazine* section (shared with the *Daily World*) and a "contribution to the movement," the *World* staff gets around to mentioning in the final paragraph that its fund drive, scheduled to end July 4, is still \$16,000 short of its goal.

**BARBARA AND DAVID:** David Reuben, the author of the best-selling *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex (But Were Afraid to Ask)*, is married to Barbara Reuben. Among its other faults, David's first best-seller contains some of the most stupidly vicious falsehoods about gay people ever written down. In an interview in the July 13 *New York Times*, Barbara offers some insight into David's view of women and gives us a preview of his next book. "For Barbara Reuben, women's liberation becomes superficial, if not superfluous," says the *Times*. They quote Barbara on *Any Woman Can!* (David's new book): "David and I both know that women are the stronger and gutsier sex. . . . With this book, they will see how to get past the petty arguments of being used as sex objects. They must get to the real question of understanding men and their problems and to stop using sex as a battlefield. . . ."

**IDLE INQUISITORS:** John W. Mahan, who chairs the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB—pronounced "scab"), testified recently before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee. The SACB, created during the witch-hunting McCarthy era to judge whether organizations are "communist-fronts," has an annual budget of \$450,000. Last year, the five-man board heard three witnesses.

— LEE SMITH

# Antiwar GI's tour gets wide publicity

From *Intercontinental Press*

Private Ed Jurenas, the antiwar GI facing court-martial charges for his role in publishing a GI antiwar newspaper at Ft. Greely, Alaska, took the facts in his case before the public in four cities before reporting at his new duty station at the Presidio, Calif., July 12.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee organized a tour for Jurenas during a 10-day leave he obtained when he learned of his transfer. After attending the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York, Jurenas went to Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The Army's evident motive in shipping Jurenas out of Ft. Greely was the hope that antiwar activity would drop off after his departure. However, an active GI's United Against the War in Vietnam group and a 10-person staff for the antiwar *Arctic Arsenal* continue to organize against the war there. Jurenas told audiences on his tour about the GIs at Ft. Greely and about his own case. The charges against him will be "re-preferred" by the command at his new base.

The antiwar GI appeared on TV and radio shows in his hometown of Chicago for a total broadcast time of five hours July 6 and 7. Broadcasters appeared eager to have the antiwar GI on their programs in the wake of the storm created by the Pentagon papers.

Newspaper reporters and the TV and radio interviewers who spoke to Jurenas expressed opinions overwhelmingly in his favor, as did the bulk of callers on the two radio phone-in shows in Chicago that had Jurenas as a guest.

In Detroit, all of the major press, radio and TV attended a news conference at which Jurenas described antiwar activity at Ft. Greely and talked about the charges against him.

In Los Angeles, Jurenas appeared on two TV shows, several radio stations, and gave an interview to the *Los Angeles Free Press*, largest circulation underground paper in the country.

Reporters attended Jurenas' San Francisco news conference from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, UPI, two TV stations and six radio stations. Jurenas later gave interviews to 10 radio stations and four newspapers. Broadcast coverage of the news conference and the interviews totalled three hours.

On July 12, Jurenas reported to the Presidio for duty. The reaction to the antiwar GI's tour in all four cities by the public demonstrates once again how many people resent being lied to by the government and how deeply the majority opposes the war in Southeast Asia.

NEW YORK—The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which organized the Jurenas tour and is publicizing and raising funds for his defense, announced that support for his case has been obtained from Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Congressman Herman Badillo, Congressman Henry Helstoski, Congresswoman Patsy Mink and Senators Philip Hart and George McGovern.

Contributions to help finance the work of the GICLDC in this case can be sent to GICLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011.

# Mexico releases seven more political prisoners from jail

In the wake of the scandal provoked by the murderous attack of government-paid goons on a mass student demonstration June 10, the Echeverría regime has released seven more of the political prisoners jailed in the repression of the 1968 student and popular movement.

The latest group of prisoners released left Lecumberri preventive jail July 6. As in the cases of other witch-hunt victims previously let go, they were freed on parole and remain in jeopardy of reimprisonment at the convenience of the authorities.

The group included Servando José Dávila Jiménez, Raimundo Aranda Velázquez, Nicolás López Martínez, José León Pámanes González, Carlos Sevilla González, and Martín Dosal Jottar.

"The prisoners released by Judge Ferrer Mac Gregor had been sentenced by the same judge to terms that ranged from three to sixteen years in prison on charges of inciting to rebellion, stockpiling arms, assault with a deadly weapon, resistance to arrest, robbery, and homicide," the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* reported July 7.

Another group of twenty-three pris-

oners jailed in the witch-hunt that followed the massacre of Tlatelolco on October 2, 1968, were released a little less than two months ago. This group included the following: Heberto Castillo Martínez, José Revueltas Sánchez, Jessái Díaz Cabrera, Mariano Zamorano Becerril, Miguel Bejarano Garcés, Félix Goded Andreu, Carlos Cagné Mendoza, Cayetano Horta Villa, Salvador Zarco Flores, Juan Robles Armenta, Antulio Fernández Maldonado, Jorge Abaroa Corona, Taurino Urias Jiménez, José Pineiro Guzmán, Rafael Servín Auspuru, Prisciliano Pérez Anguiano, Germán

Alvarez Diaz de León, Carlos Andrade Ruiz, Angel Juan Heredia Espinosa, José Luis Martínez Castillo, Antonio Morales Romero, Roberto Vázquez Camarena, and Bernard Phillip Ames.

Even after the release of these prisoners, as well as other groups, the following twenty-one persons, jailed in the 1968 repression, remain in Lecumberri: Agustín Montiel Montiel, Arturo Ortiz Marban, Gerardo Unzueta Lorenzana, Roberto Miñón Corro, Mario H. Hernández, Fernando Cortés Granados, Gilberto Rincón Gallardo, Américo Saldivar, Joel Arriaga,

Arturo Martínez Nateras, Rodolfo Echeverría Martínez, Ramón Danzós Palomino, Eduardo Montes Manzano, Francisco Comenares César, Rafael Jacobo García, José M. Irene Téllez, Ernesto Olvera Sotres, Ignacio Plata Díaz, Alejandro Ortiz Camacho, Pedro Estrada Vega, and Carlos Medina Sevilla.

In addition, the victims of smaller witch-hunts that preceded the 1968 roundups are continuing to serve long sentences. This category includes Adolfo Gilly and Victor Rico Galán, who have been in prison since 1966. Moreover, nineteen persons were jailed in another case of an alleged guerrilla plot in March 1971.

The prisoners released July 6 have served two and a half years under brutal conditions. Among other things, they were subjected to a savage attack by the common prisoners directed by the prison administration on January 1, 1970. Their comrades still in prison continue to face these pressures. Now that the Echeverría regime has been forced to widen its concessions, it is important to keep up the international campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Mexico.



Mexican student leaders, released in earlier amnesty, returning from exile in Chile.

# Thousands across Australia protest war in Vietnam

From *Intercontinental Press*

Tens of thousands of persons demonstrated across Australia June 30 in opposition to the Indochina war. In every state, the actions were the largest since the May 1970 nationwide protests.

In Melbourne, Dr. Jim Cairns, chairman of the moratorium committee, estimated the huge crowd at 100,000. At the rally that followed, Cairns told the marchers that "Vietnamization" was increasing the number of casualties.

"Probably no war in history has been based on such deceit," he said. "... this war is more than genocide. ... Scientists estimate it will take decades, possibly centuries, for the environment to recover."

The July 1 Melbourne *Age* noted that popular chants were "U.S. out

of Indochina" and "U.S. out of Australia."

In Sydney, Tom Uren, a Labor party member of Parliament who was one of the speakers, estimated that 15,000 joined in the protest. Two marches from different parts of the city converged at Town Hall for a rally. At Newcastle, 100 miles northeast of Sydney, 1,000 persons demonstrated.

In Perth, some 5,000 to 6,000 participated in what the Melbourne *Sun* called the city's "biggest and most peaceful Moratorium march." The demonstration was led by the premier of Western Australia and union officials.

Another 5,000 marched in Brisbane. There were no disorders other than a minor scuffle with a small group of

Nazis who tried to disrupt the protest, but the police minister later announced that the entire march had been filmed "for reference purposes."

Police in Adelaide attempted to block the route of 3,500 demonstrators and several clashes ensued. Thirty-eight persons were arrested.

Five arrests were reported in Hobart, the scene of the smallest of the moratorium protests. The arrests occurred after 600 marchers sat down in the street when police blocked their way.

As in Brisbane, police in Canberra, the federal capital, attempted to intimidate the 2,500 demonstrators by filming the protest, which included street theater performances outside government buildings and in public squares.



# Revolutionary youth plan new national campaigns

By LAURA MILLER

Over 85 leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance met in New York City July 5-8 for the largest midyear plenum of the YSA National Committee ever held. Participants included YSA National Committee members and alternates, YSA local and regional organizers, and special guests from the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes of Canada, and the Ligue Communiste of France.

The plenum agenda contained reports and discussion on 11 areas of work representative of the wide range of activities carried out by the YSA nationally.

The political report, presented by YSA National Chairman Frank Boehm, focused on the 1972 SWP presidential election campaign, which the YSA will actively support by initiating campaign supporter groups on high school and college campuses throughout the country.

In the organization report, delivered by National Executive Committee member Andy Rose, major campaigns were launched in a number of areas to prepare the YSA for intense activity in the fall. First among these is a YSA recruitment drive that will begin this fall and run parallel with the 1972 election campaign; in this drive the YSA expects to surpass the recruitment gains made in the period of the 1968 SWP election campaign, during which the YSA doubled its membership.

Also projected were a campaign to intensify YSA regional expansion and a campaign to increase the sales and distribution of the revolutionary socialist weekly *The Militant*, and the monthly theoretical magazine *International Socialist Review*.

A fall fund drive of \$45,000 was approved in the financial report, given by national office staff member Terry Hardy. Hardy also analyzed the successful campaign launched at the December 1970 YSA national convention to professionalize YSA finances, and the victory achieved in the \$43,000 spring fund drive, which the YSA surpassed.

The women's liberation report, by national women's liberation director Ruth Robinett, concentrated on the national campaign to repeal all abortion laws, which YSAers across the country are helping to build. Many of those in attendance discussed their experiences in building the feminist movement by helping to establish women's liberation groups on the campuses and in the high schools.

Norman Oliver, national Black liberation director, gave the Black struggle report, in which he analyzed the role of the YSA in the Black liberation movement. Especially noted was the work of YSAers in helping to build the Black antiwar movement.

The antiwar report, presented by Dave Frankel, national antiwar director, focused on the Nov. 6 regional mass actions against the war, and the

potential for these actions to be the most massive actions against the war this country has ever witnessed. The report projected active YSA participation in the entire fall offensive against the war and in helping to establish chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee on the campuses and in the high schools.

In the Chicano struggle report, YSA Chicano and Latino liberation director Mirta Vidal discussed the significance of recent developments in the Chicano liberation movement, such as the growth of La Raza Unida parties in the Southwest, the expansion of the Chicano antiwar movement, and the rise of feminist consciousness among Chicana activists. The report projected continuing YSA support to and participation in the Chicano struggle.

The *Young Socialist Organizer* report, presented by Managing Editor Laura Miller, projected an expansion of the YSA's publication from a biweekly to a weekly in the beginning of the fall. This step was considered essential to the success of all of the activities the YSA will be undertaking when the campuses reopen in the fall.

Three major areas of YSA activity were singled out for separate reports, for the first time. These included a high school movement report, by National Secretary Cindy Jaquith; a report on foreign students' organizations and activities in the U. S., by Nancy Cole of the national office staff; and a report by National Executive Committee member Rich Finkel discussing the YSA's policy on how to defend itself and the radical movement in general against attacks by the government or by the ultraright. Finkel also took up the question of violence within the radical movement and why the YSA has always opposed the use of violence as a means of settling political disputes.

The high school movement report analyzed the deepening radicalization among high school students and underscored the fact that the YSA is the leading radical youth organization in the high school movement. The report projected stepped-up YSA participation in all aspects of the high school struggle, particularly the fight for the democratic rights of high school students to organize against the war, and for national liberation, women's liberation, gay liberation and other struggles.

The report on foreign student activities focused on the political struggles of students from other countries and how the YSA can aid them.

Participants in the discussion on the reports came from as far away as Tallahassee, Fla.; Portland, Ore.; and Houston, Texas, and represented nearly all of the 58 YSA locals throughout the country.

The plenum reelected Frank Boehm, Cindy Jaquith, and Norman Oliver as national chairman, national secretary and national organization secretary, respectively.

# Court rules against SWP in election suit

By JUDY UHL

The U. S. Supreme Court has upheld that section of Georgia's Election Code which requires an independent candidate to gather signatures on a nominating petition equal to 5 percent of the number of registered voters. The unanimous decision was delivered June 21 in response to a suit brought by Linda Jenness, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia; Frank Grinnon and Joe Cole, 1970 SWP candidates for U. S. Congress; and two Georgia voters.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates had challenged both the signature requirement and another section of Georgia law requiring a filing fee equal to 5 percent of the annual salary of the office sought. In June 1970, a three-judge federal panel declared the filing fees unconstitutional but upheld the signature requirement. Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party then moved to have the signature requirement reviewed by the Supreme Court.

In defending their case, the Socialist Workers Party candidates pointed out that it is only independent candidates or new political parties that must bear the burden of expensive and time-consuming petition drives. The law discriminates against third parties and independent candidates and favors the established Democratic and Republican parties. Plaintiffs argued that the 88,175 signatures necessary for a gubernatorial candidate to qualify for the ballot in 1970 were far higher than signature requirements in other states. For example, Minnesota requires only 2,000 signatures and New York, while much more populous, requires only 12,000.

Peter Rindskopf, of the Southern Legal Assistance Project and attorney for the plaintiffs, also cited the decision of the Supreme Court in *Williams vs. Rhodes*, which overturned the Ohio election laws, following the 1968 elections, including a provision that independent candidates must have petitions signed by a number of voters equal to 15 percent of those voting in the last election.

The Supreme Court justified its decision upholding the undemocratic Georgia laws by arguing that the laws are relatively straightforward and not at all like the Ohio laws that were declared invalid. The justices also used the feeble excuse that Georgia, unlike Ohio, has a provision for write-in votes, as evidence that a candidate has equal opportunity to present his or her views within the existing law. They noted that Georgia law places no restrictions on the signer of a petition while many other states prevent signers from voting in any primary or signing more than one petition. Ohio law allowed only a short period of time for gathering signatures while Georgia law provides 180 days, they also pointed out. Further, the justices argued that a candidate had to be the nominee of a group which qualified as a "political party" under Ohio law. The stringent Ohio laws regarding political parties made it almost impossible for any candidate other than a Democrat or Republican to qualify. Georgia, on the other hand, they argued, allows independent candidates without party backing to obtain signatures on petitions.

The Supreme Court's reactionary decision, which in effect strengthens the monopoly of the capitalist parties by making it difficult for independent and third parties to gain ballot status, comes at a time when independent electoral action is being considered as a positive alternative by many. The successes of La Raza Unida Party in the Southwest and the growing interest in independent Black candidates in the South have not gone unheeded by the capitalist courts. With the 18-year-old vote giving millions of radicalizing youth access to the ballot box, the rulers of this country are trying hard to guarantee that these new voters be channeled into the traditional parties rather than looking elsewhere.

While the decision in the Georgia case is a setback for all third parties and independent voters, it is not the last fight that will be waged through the courts. The SWP is planning an ambitious campaign to wipe out unconstitutional and discriminatory election laws in many states before the 1972 elections, and a united effort in this direction by all civil liberties forces can have a significant impact.





# Socialist Campaign '71

## Cleveland

John Hawkins and Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and City Council in Cleveland, have been hitting hard at the city's severe budget crisis.

In a recent statement Hawkins pointed out, "On June 14, Council President Anthony J. Garifoli stated that the only way to prevent further reduction in public services was to ask rank-and-file city workers to forego the raises to which they are entitled. The fact that the president of Cleveland's City Council is so blind to the real possibilities for funding the public services necessary to the life of Cleveland's working people is further proof that the Democrats and Republicans are incapable of taking the decisive action necessary to free the people of Cleveland from the city's current crisis."

Hawkins called for shifting the burden of taxation to the huge corporations and demanded they open their books to see how much revenue they can supply to the city budget. "Why should Jones and Laughlin Steel, Republic Steel and other corporations continue to grow rich while Cleveland starves?" he asked.

In a June 27 release to Cleveland's news media, Shangold, running in the 19th Ward, related the financial crisis to the "squandering of public funds on the most unpopular war in American history."

Shangold, who debated a representative of the Ohio Right to Life Society in May, has also been making legalization of abortion a central part of her campaign. She has issued a three page statement entitled "Abortion Repeal," which is available from the Cleveland SWP Campaign Committee, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

## Seattle

At a well-attended news conference on June 25, three young socialists declared their candidacies for Seattle's City Council. They are Russell Block, Rhea Rolfe, and Gary Johnson, all members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Johnson, an 18-year-old senior at Roosevelt High School and the youngest person to run for City Council in the history of Seattle, said he would make passage and implementation of the High School Bill of Rights, drawn up and promoted by the High School Student Mobilization Committee, a goal of his campaign. He was a founder of the High School SMC in Seattle and a major organizer of the first antiwar teach-in at a Seattle high school. He was also active in a recent movement to get narcotics agents out of the high schools.

A few days before the constitutional amendment giving 18-year-olds the



Russell Block

right to vote was ratified, the *Seattle Times* carried an article on Johnson's candidacy entitled, "Can youth, 18, run for City Council?" The article points out that if a person is a qualified voter, he or she can run for office. Thus, with the passage of the 26th amendment Johnson is a legal candidate.

Block, 27, a former teaching assistant at the University of Washington, is part of a growing section of the nation's, and particularly Seattle's, population — the unemployed. He pointed out that the official unemployment rate in Seattle is now 16 percent — the highest of any major city in the nation and almost equal to the national unemployment rate during the depression. "Ending the war in Southeast Asia should be a top priority for Seattle, as a means to ending inflation and unemployment and providing for the needs of the people," Block said. He ran as the SWP candidate from Washington's 7th Congressional District in 1970.

Rolfe, 21, stressed the differences between the three SWP candidates and the capitalist candidates. "Despite the supposedly 'non-partisan' character of these elections, we all know that the Democratic and Republican parties have their say in many of the campaigns."

She explained that these parties are part of the problem and not part of the solution, as both are to blame for the instigation and continued prosecution of the war in Southeast Asia. "Unlike the other candidates," she said, we will use our campaign to build the antiwar and women's liberation movements and to support the just demands of the city's national minorities and unemployed."

The SWP campaign headquarters is at the Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105.

## Boston

On June 24, John Powers, a 27-year old graduate of the University of Michigan and long-time activist in the antiwar and civil rights movements, announced his candidacy for mayor of Boston on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

"My campaign is going to be an action campaign," he stated. "I intend to give support to mass movements for social change today. By that I mean I will participate in the Gay Pride Week to be held in Boston this coming weekend. I will go to New York City on the July 4th weekend to participate in one of the largest antiwar conferences in the history of the country. I will continue to help in gathering signatures for the child-care referendum to be held in Cambridge. I will actively support the strike actions that will undoubtedly arise due to war-caused inflation, and I will also give my support to the July 17th National Abortion Conference."

The Socialist Workers Party campaigns in Boston and Cambridge have published the first issue of a joint newsletter. The newsletter includes a report on a May 13 meeting at Harvard University where Peter Camejo, the 1970 SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, analyzed and explained what's wrong with the "radical" April Coalition, which won City Council seats in the Berkeley elections in April. There's been discussion in Cambridge about forming such a coalition for the November elections. Over 150 people attended the meeting and 60 signed a campaign mailing list.

Also reported was a campaign banquet on June 12 where 100 attended and over \$500 was raised.

The newsletter is available from the SWP Campaign Headquarters, 295 Huntington Ave., #307, Boston, Mass. 02115.

# Farm workers win important victory

By JEANNE McNASSAR

PORTLAND — Oregon farm workers won an important victory July 2 when Governor Tom McCall, under their pressure, vetoed an antiagricultural-union bill. The bill would have created an Oregon Labor Relations Board, to be appointed by the governor, and having the power to investigate the internal structure of the farm workers union.

The bill would also have required the union to register with the board before being allowed to represent workers. Strikes would have been prohibited for 109 days following a union election. In effect this would have meant no strikes until after the harvest was over! The employer would have been able, through forced arbitration, to impose his own terms on any settlement.

The bill would also have prohibited a union contract from limiting the use of pesticides. The Oregon Farm Bureau, which pushed the bill through both the House and the Senate, represents large-scale distributors of pesticides. The pesticides issue has been an important part of the farm workers' struggle since many become sick — and sometimes die — from the poisons they come into contact with in their work.

After approval of the bill by the legislature in mid-June, mass protests began demanding that the governor veto it. The protests were led by several Chicano cultural groups and the

Portland Boycott Committee (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO). A picket of 250 farm workers at the capitol in Salem demanded to speak to the governor, who was told that his signing of the bill would be considered "a declaration of war on farm workers."

The farm workers held a nightly vigil on the capitol steps. Cesar Chavez, head of the UFWOC, spoke to more than 1,000 workers at one of these gatherings. He pledged UFWOC support in organizing a boycott of all Oregon produce "the moment after he signs the bill. . . ." Chavez stated that rather than cooperate with the law, "we will commit civil disobedience." He said that the veto was so important that his union was giving it first priority over all other projects. Phone calls flooded the capitol pressuring McCall to veto the bill.

Two days after Chavez' appearance, the governor vetoed it.

The growers accused McCall of turning "Oregon agriculture and the governor's chair" over to Chavez. "I'm afraid that the governor's action has done nothing but sell the Oregon agricultural industry down the river and left it to the whims and wishes of an unpredictable and ruthless organization," moaned a representative of the Farm Bureau.

In a move to appease the growers and to warn UFWOC to keep it cool this harvest season, McCall has hinted at calling a special session of the legis-

lature this summer to pass an alternate bill.

The same day the bill passed, union organizers collected over 100 authorization cards from one migrant labor camp in only one-and-a-half hours, naming UFWOC as bargaining agent. By the day the bill was vetoed, one strawberry strike had already begun

in Diamond Valley, where 40 workers walked off the job. A full-time UFWOC organizer will be sent into Oregon to take advantage of the momentum generated by the veto.

According to UFWOC Portland Boycott Committee worker Kate Barton, "We can almost certainly guarantee a strike this summer."



UFWOC rally on steps of Oregon capitol last month to protest anti-farm worker bill.

Photo by Joe Digman



## Meany's treachery

When the Democratic Party and prominent capitalist publications like the *New York Times* urge President Nixon to try to halt inflation by imposing stricter controls on wages and prices, as they have been doing the past few months, it comes as no surprise.

But when a top official of the labor movement, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, urges Nixon to establish such controls, as he did on national television July 11, it can only be labeled criminal.

"If I was in his (Nixon's) position, I would impose controls at this time," he stated. "I don't see any other way that this situation (inflation) is going to get under control." Pretending to speak for the entire labor movement, he declared that "we would accept wage and price controls provided that the sacrifice is equal to everyone concerned."

He approved Nixon's earlier move to drive down wage levels—the establishment of a wage-price review board in the construction industry. However, he doesn't believe that such boards imposed on an industry-to-industry basis are adequate for policing wages. He stated, "it has to be the overall approach. I think it has to be the approach we used in wartime. You set up an agency to handle these things in any way they can handle them."

What Meany fails to explain to American workers is that during World War II the Roosevelt administration, under the guise of "equality of sacrifice" between business and labor, put into effect what Meany proposes today, with disastrous consequences for workers.

The Office of Price Administration was formed for the ostensible purpose of controlling prices, but its intentionally loose policies led to sharp price increases. A War Labor Board to regulate wage demands was also established. This body worked diligently and quite effectively to maintain a ceiling on wages.

These wage and price controls were not designed to prevent inordinate increases in the cost of living. In reality they were a well-calculated device for drastically lowering the real wages of workers while corporate profits grew.

Meany, in his July 11 comments, also concealed the fact that in a 1944 report to President Roosevelt, he himself outlined the results of such controls between 1941 and 1944. There was a "discrepancy of 28.5 percent between the rise in living costs and the wage adjustments allowed . . ."

And Meany bore some responsibility for this! Official leaders of the labor movement collaborated with big business in preventing any significant wage increases.

As this experience conclusively proved, wage and price controls based on "equality of sacrifice" do not eliminate the effects of inflation, but rather represent a sharp attack on the standard of living of the entire working class. Today such controls would simply be a method of making the working class pay the costs of the Vietnam war.

This is what Meany treacherously proposes for the labor movement. However, confronted with the double squeeze of inflation and unemployment, the mood of the American workers is not one of sacrificing for the war effort in Vietnam or permitting a deterioration of their standard of living. The majority of workers, unlike Meany, do not support the U.S. government's bloody assault on the Vietnamese people. They see the war as one of the major causes for the acceleration of inflation. In increasing numbers, unions and unionists are participating in antiwar actions.

In addition, the past year has seen a sharp increase in strikes—a trend that can be expected to continue.

The only effective way for the labor movement to combat the cuts in real wages caused by inflation is to fight for major wage hikes to close the gap already created and to fight for "escalator clauses" that will automatically boost wages with each increase in the cost of living.

Union struggles to win contracts incorporating these demands, and the commitment of union forces and resources to the antiwar movement, which is fighting to win the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia—that is the appropriate answer to Meany's treachery.

### Girls' State

Women at the 1971 American Legion Girls' State held in Michigan at Eastern Michigan University made a new inroad when we decided to form an independent party.

Girls' State is set up to allow for only two parties, and every woman is assigned to one or the other when she arrives. Because of the refusal of both parties to take stands on any issues of pertinence, about 18 of us formed the GIP, Girls' Independent Party. The leadership of Girls' State had to make special provisions for our convention and speeches, since we ran candidates for all major offices plus the Senate and House.

While the local press made mention of the GIP, they failed to report our platform: immediate withdrawal of all troops from Southeast Asia and complete repeal of all abortion laws.

While we won no major offices, we had members in the House, Senate and State Bar.

The American Legion and many Girls' Staters apparently weren't prepared for our kind of seriousness in tackling the issues.

G. A.

Farmington, Mich.

### Not tired of marching

It's July, but I just received my issue of *The Militant* containing the complete coverage of the April 24 march. As a former coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee here at the University of Minnesota, I am overjoyed to finally see a story depicting the true character of the April actions. A significant victory was won by antiwar forces, as the country and the administration now realize. The antiwar forces are far from being tired of marching.

Please send my sub to my new address so I will continue to receive the most authoritative reporting of what's happening on the left.

D. M.

St. Paul, Minn.

### Eugene V. Debs

For many years various groups have tried to twist the ideas of Gene Debs to suit their own purposes. Recently, *The Militant* quoted Debs more than half a century out of context on the subject of American war policies.

In 1924 Debs made clear the depth of his feeling against those who would try to distort his basic anti-Communist message:

"Some unscrupulous Communist propagandists are . . . spreading the report that I am really with the Communists and a Socialist in name only. . . . Now if hereafter any Communist whispers it into your ear that I am with the Communists in anything . . . just answer by turning your back upon . . . the vulgar falsifier."

His statement leaves little alternative: abandon Communism or abandon Debs, for they are incompatible.

The statements of Debs which you quoted were out of context because World War I was a war between imperialist powers, unlike the Indochinese conflict, which is a struggle against Stalinism. The different character of these wars makes it impossible for me to support both Debs' and Shachtman's positions in these totally different situations.

Yours in the struggle against Stalinists and their supporters,

Theodore K. Roberts

Western Regional Organizer

Young People's Socialist League

*Editor's reply*—Apparently Roberts is referring to the article "Why leader of Socialist Party joined the SWP," in the April 16 issue of *The Militant*. The author explained that one of the major reasons that led him to quit the SP and join the Socialist Workers Party was that the SP had rejected the position of Debs in opposing imperialist war.

Roberts makes two basic arguments: (1) Debs' central message was anti-Communism; and (2) the Indochinese conflict is a war against Stalinism. Both are false.

The principal feature of Debs' life was his unflinching devotion to the revolutionary socialist movement and the struggle against capitalism. This was marked by his opposition to the imperialist World War I, to the U. S.-backed invasion of the new Soviet republic in 1918-1920, and to the capitalist political parties and their candidates; and by his support to all workers' struggles and defense of class struggle prisoners.

Despite strong differences of opinion with the Communist Party in the last years of his life until his death in 1926 he served on the National Committee of the International Labor Defense, in which members of the Communist Party held leading positions.

For an objective appraisal of both Debs' political contributions and weaknesses, see James Cannon's introduction to *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, Pathfinder Press, 1970, \$2.75.

On the second point, Roberts makes the error of equating the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people with Stalinism. He also misses the key point that the Vietnamese have the right to decide for themselves whether or not they will have a Communist government. Support to the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese is the basis of the antiwar movement in the U. S. Roberts' views put him on the side of U. S. imperialism, a position in which Debs was never found.

### Repeal laws against prostitutes

The Feminists presented a forum on Prostitution June 13 to discuss the relevance of this issue to feminism. The forum grew out of a demonstration of the women's liberation movement at the 18th Police Precinct earlier this year. This demonstration, called by The Feminists on March 29, protested the renewed police drive against prostitutes that followed attacks by women on two prominent European males.

The March 29 demonstration and the forum Sunday called for the repeal of all laws against prostitutes. These two events marked the first attempts of the women's movement to deal with the issue of prostitution. Out of 300 women attending the forum, 50 volunteered to work with The Feminists for the repeal of laws against prostitutes.

A panel discussion at the forum centered around the laws governing prostitution, the history of prostitution and an exposure of male justification for prostitution. Jan Goodman cited the laws which punish women for prostitution but not men. She said that although New York is one of several states penalizing



# The Great Society

clients of prostitutes, this law is virtually never enforced.

She also stated that women are arrested not only on charges of prostitution, but also on charges of loitering, disorderly conduct and vagrancy. Although relatively severe laws exist against procuring, pimps, she said—like clients—are not prosecuted. The pimp's legal immunity is secured by a law requiring corroboration of evidence given by a prostitute against a pimp.

The panelists commented upon the "peculiar" nature of the law, which punishes women for behavior that is not defined as criminal in males. Jan cited as a particularly gross incidence of "discrimination" a juvenile statute which is used to incarcerate girls on suspicion of "sexual promiscuity." The statute, she said, is never invoked to punish a boy's "promiscuity," which is considered natural.

Panelists agreed that women enter prostitution for the same reason they enter marriage—not because they are masochistic but because male society inflicts extreme economic deprivation on women.

Lyn Vincent  
The Feminists  
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## Jury trials for minors

I was interested in the Supreme Court decision upholding the denial of jury trials to juveniles. It is, of course, but one more expression of the legal—as well as social and political—discrimination visited upon the very young by this society.

I also think that one of the things we can soon anticipate in the present process of radicalization is that high school, junior high and elementary school students will be entering into a fight for their rights on a scale comparable to the many other constituencies now challenging the system.

Such things as the high court decision will accelerate that welcome development.

H. R.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## Likes our article

Your article in your July 2 issue by Marvel Scholl on "How does a family of four get by?" is the kind of article I think we *must* have more of. It is very good. It is the kind of article I want to show young co-workers, who are in such debt.

N. J.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

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

**Model free enterpriser**—Not illogically, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has a number of prison chapters. The Oregon State Penitentiary chapter elected Charles Cornelius, who was doing a ten-year stretch, a delegate to the Jaycee's national convention in Portland. While there he gave his guard the slip and split the scene. He is, presumably, setting up a small business in some as yet undesignated area.

**The march of Soviet science**—A group of scientists in the U.S.S.R. were granted a patent on a process for the manufacture of synthetic caviar.

**Uphill fight**—Coffin-nail consumption was five percent higher in April than in January. The Agriculture Dept. explained that the main reason was because as "cigarette commercials on radio and television stopped Jan. 2, anticigarette announcements decreased considerably."

**Naturally**—The boom in bicycle sales has brought a corresponding spurt in bike thefts. "An increase in sales," a New York police official explained philosophically, "will bring a natural

increase in thefts." The silver lining in the ripoffs is the stimulated sales of bike security devices. One New York outfit offers a "foolproof" lock and chain, \$25.

**Self-assault**—Martha Mitchell says freedom of the press is "the greatest thing going for this country," but if the press uses it, as the Times did with the Pentagon papers, "it may result in complete suppression of the press—in which event it will have caused its own death."

**Maybe they lost the wafer contract**—The Vatican's discount bakery was closed as a losing operation.

**Pornography pays**—The state of South Carolina is adding a 20 percent tax to admissions to X-rated movies.

**Must have filled a whole suitcase**—Apparently driven to the wall by current seafood prices, some impoverished New York gourmets ripped off a truck containing \$100,000 of frozen shrimp.

He might have a bit of a point there—

Tom Anderson, a southern publisher, says "the war on poverty is really a war on the American way of life, on capitalism, on freedom, and on Christianity."

—HARRY RING



"I DON'T KNOW—I JUST WENT IN THERE TO DELIVER SOME GUYS' LUNCH"

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

The June issue of *Ramparts* carries an article on women in prisons which exposes "justice" under capitalism for what it really is: a system to enforce the rights of the rich over the rights of the poor. Author Kitsi Burkhart writes: "... most of the women in prison have come from families on welfare. They're poor. And anyone who doesn't understand the term 'political prisoners' should go to prison to find out what it's all about. It's like visiting poorhouses, debtors' prisons, that's what it's all about." In this sense, almost all prisoners in this country are political prisoners, driven into jails and prisons by a system of sexism, racism and exploitation.

A survey done on Pennsylvania prisons and jails found that most women were in for "crimes" that are due to poverty and other social problems. Burkhart reports that, "More than half are charged with disorderly conduct, vagrancy, drunkenness or other minor offenses. Almost every one of the few women charged with homicide is charged with killing her husband or a man she has lived with.

Burkhart says there are about 7,750 women in jails across the country, most awaiting trial. "Some do up to two years in those joints. They do their sentenced time in state prisons and in the federal reformatory. In local and state joints (jails), recreational facilities are almost unheard of. Educational and rehabilitation programs—offered to only an insignificant percentage of men in most of the institutions where they do exist—are not open to women. . . . If men's prisons are an acknowledged failure, then women's joints are a disaster."

On top of the generally inhuman conditions women prisoners face—such as the frequent use of solitary confinement as a punishment, having to scrub floors constantly, and the lack of sanitary supplies—there are other degrading features of prison life for women.

The Pennsylvania study found, for example, that 80 percent of women prisoners have children they are supporting outside. A constant source of agony for women prisoners is not knowing where their children are or whether they are being well cared for.

Officials try to prevent prisoners from forming human relationships and sexual relationships with each other, but cannot. As one prisoner was quoted as saying, "You get to longing for affection—for some kind of meaningful relationship.

"Girls are afraid half the time to even hold hands," said another. "If they (the guards) see you sitting too close, they'll say move over. . . . I think they try to tear down friendships. . . . They're always riding you—either you're antisocial or you're too friendly."

Officials are even less open to the idea of conjugal visits or home furloughs for women prisoners than for men because it is feared that they will get pregnant.

Racism permeates jails and prisons. For instance, at the Muncy, Pa., State Correctional Institute for Women, where 47 percent of the prisoners are Black, the staff is completely white. Puerto Rican and Latin women are not allowed to speak Spanish to each other, to read or write letters in Spanish, to receive Spanish newspapers or talk with visitors in Spanish. This is because none of the guards or censors know other languages.

Kitsi Burkhart's article presents a devastating picture of the system of torture and dehumanization of poor women which—under the capitalist system of property rights over human rights—is held up as "justice" in this society.

Demonstrating his warped sense of "morality," New York Mayor John Lindsay has announced plans to "clean up" the Times Square area in mid-Manhattan by cracking down on prostitutes. Teams of cops have been sent to the area with cameras to take pictures of any women remaining in the area to be used as evidence against them in court. On July 6, a New York judge illegally refused bail for two women charged with being prostitutes.

The women being photographed have justifiably reacted with anger. One woman told *Newsweek*, "This is nothing but out-and-out harassment. Maybe we should get ourselves organized and stage a demonstration."

About 50 women's liberation activists mobilized to appear in criminal court in support of the rights of Helen Shannon, one of the women charged with prostitution and refused bail. After being ejected from the courtroom, the women, mainly from Radical Feminists, held a picket outside, carrying signs saying "Prostitutes are not criminals."

Even the *New York Post*, in its July 8 editorial, noted the hypocrisy of the judge who refused bail to the two women and piously complained that people "cannot walk the streets without being approached by prostitutes." The *Post* wrote: "Let's not panic, Judge. After all, they are grown men who should be able to hold their own in any such encounter if they so choose."

The attitude of capitalist "law and order" toward prostitutes is to make the victim—a woman who is forced by economic conditions to sell herself to a man—into the criminal. All laws victimizing prostitutes should be abolished, and all women should be guaranteed adequately paying jobs.

—CAROLINE LUND



By DICK ROBERTS

The *New York Times* revelations of top-secret government policy on Vietnam provide an unprecedented opportunity to review the history of the war in Indochina and the history of *The Militant's* coverage of the war.

Never before have such detailed accounts and documents on decision making at the highest levels of the administration been available to the American public. They provide valuable material to deepen our present analysis and they confirm virtually every word we said in the past.

*The Militant* has reported on the Indochinese revolution since its opening shots were fired at the close of World War II. For a long period *The Militant* was almost alone in its support of the revolution and in exposing the real aims of the imperialists. While America was largely frightened to silence by the cold war and McCarthyism, *The Militant* told the truth about imperialism and unconditionally supported the colonial revolution against it.

The Pentagon documents summarized by the *New York Times* offer extraordinary proof of the correctness of *The Militant's* analysis over a period of close to 30 years.

The *New York Times* summary was presented in a series of 10 articles from June 13 to July 5, which cover over 50 full pages of the *Times*, including documentation and analysis. Despite its tremendous value and political impact, the *Times* series has major limitations.

In the first place, the series is based on a study that was prepared in the Pentagon and the top-security intelligence specialists who compiled it did

vention against French colonialism.

"There is no record . . . that any of the appeals were answered. 'Nonintervention by the United States on behalf of the Vietnamese was tantamount to acceptance of the French,' the Pentagon account declares."

Was this really the product of "ambivalence and indecision" in the White House? Did revolution in Indochina catch the Truman administration by surprise, without any policies to deal with it?

A glance at the historical record from the pages of *The Militant* should clarify the answers to these questions.

### Revolution flares in Southeast Asia

When Washington brought World War II to a murderous close with the horrendous atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there was a widespread hope and expectancy in the world that a long peace would follow the horrible years of bloodletting.

These illusions were fostered by propaganda from the imperialists and Moscow that the establishment of the United Nations would initiate an epoch of "peaceful coexistence" between Communism and capitalism. The world powers would continue their wartime alliance.

No such illusions were fostered by revolutionists. On Aug. 18, 1945, just a week after the atomic holocaust in Japan, *The Militant* declared in a bold-face headline: "THERE IS NO PEACE!" A front-page editorial stated:

"All the organs of ruling class propaganda are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of war means the dawn of true lasting peace, and that peace can be preserved without

moving against the peoples of the Netherlands East Indies [Indonesia]. . . .

"Virtually all the press correspondents report that the peoples of Java, Malaya, Burma, India, and Siam, as well as Korea and Indochina are setting out on the road to national independence.

"Thus, terrible and sanguinary struggles will wrack these lands [as] the imperialist powers try—as they surely will—to carry out their plans. It is the duty of the American working class to do its utmost to help these people fight for independence. Demand the withdrawal of Allied troops from these areas! Bring the soldiers back home!"

The imperialist counterrevolution in the Far East was brutal and bloody: "British and Dutch troops, equipped with the latest death-dealing weapons, are indiscriminately slaughtering men, women and children of Indonesia. . . . American lend-lease machine guns, artillery and tanks are used by the French imperialist brigands to kill and pillage the people of Indochina.

"American marines are embroiled in the Chinese civil war. American ships, planes and guns—even their technical personnel—are propping up the reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek," *The Militant* reported Nov. 17, 1945.

This was the period when Truman did not answer Ho Chi Minh's letters—but there was no ambiguity in U. S. foreign policy! Washington had opened its postwar march to take over the colonial empires the European powers were no longer capable of dominating.

### The 'Fall of China'

The *New York Times* account makes it clear that from the very beginning the top officials in

# Pentagon papers Washington launches counter- revolution in Indochina 1945-1954

not have access to the files of the White House. The *Times* also "lacked several of the 47 volumes, among them four devoted to the diplomacy that surrounded the war," according to *Times* Washington correspondent Max Frankel.

And most importantly, the *Times* undertook its own responsibilities to the American ruling class in editing the Pentagon report. According to the June 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Officers in the Pentagon who have compared the published reports in the *Times* with the still-guarded and highly classified originals are telling defense officials now that some potentially damaging material, particularly in terms of America's relations with other nations, has been omitted."

### Origins of the war

The *Times* article covering the first decade of the Indochinese revolution, from 1945 up to the Geneva conference in 1954, appeared ninth, next to last in the series. Fox Butterfield, author of the *Times* article, states that it had been derived from "nine lengthy sections [of the Pentagon report on] the nineteen-forties and fifties."

According to Butterfield, "The Pentagon study . . . says that American policy from 1940 to 1950 has been a subject of 'significant misunderstanding.' American policy toward Vietnam during these years . . . was 'less purposeful' than most people have assumed, and more characterized by 'ambivalence and indecision.'"

Yet the *Times* series reveals that "From October 1945, until the following February . . . Ho Chi Minh wrote at least eight letters to President Truman or to the secretary of state, formally appealing for United States and United Nations inter-

revolutionary social change. . . .

"Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. . . . War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits."

The same issue of *The Militant* carried a short article noting that, "Japan's surrender, coming sooner than they expected, has caused considerable uneasiness among the colonial bandits of French imperialism, who have been dreaming of recovering their colony of Indochina, snatched from them by the Japanese imperialists in 1941-42.

"They fear that Indochina will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist 'liberators,' or worse still, the Indochinese people."

World War II did not bring even a single day of peace. Particularly in Asia and the Far East, the defeat of the Japanese gave powerful impetus to struggles of the peoples of the colonial world to win independence once and for all from imperialist overlordship. Revolution swept this region.

The imperialist war victors, led by Washington, immediately and savagely moved in to crush these revolts.

An editorial in the Oct. 6, 1945 *Militant* summarized the situation: "In the Far East, British and American troops are spearheading an assault against the colonial movement for independence. American troops have invaded Korea. American troops have been scheduled for occupation of Chinese cities.

"American, British and French troops, in collaboration with a Japanese army, are shooting down the natives of Indochina. British troops are



Liberation struggle begins. Drawing by famed *Militant* cartoonist Laura Gray first appeared in *The Militant*, Oct. 6, 1945.

Washington were keenly aware of the popular support of the Vietnamese revolution. It states that "Intelligence analysts in the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and sometimes the Pentagon repeatedly warned that the French, Emperor Bao Dai and Premier Diem were weak and unpopular and that the Communists were strong."

This estimate of U. S. intelligence agencies never changed in the course of the following 18 years of U. S. intervention against the Vietnamese revolution.

Fox Butterfield writes that "The Pentagon study does not deal at length with a major question: Why did the policy-makers go ahead despite the intelligence estimates prepared by their most senior intelligence officials?"

"The most important reason advanced by the Pentagon study is that after the fall of China to the Communists in 1949 and the hardening of American anti-Communist attitudes, 'Indochina's importance to U. S. security interests in the Far East was taken for granted.'

"The basic rationale for American involvement—what later came to be called the domino theory—was first clearly enunciated by the National Security Council in February 1950, when it decided to extend military aid to the French in Indochina. "It is important to U. S. security interests," the Council said, "that all practicable measures be taken to prevent further Communist expansion in Southeast Asia. Indochina is a key area and is under immediate threat."

The Pentagon study and *New York Times* account of it thus point to the key reason Truman escalated U. S. aid to the French counterrevolution

in Indochina without giving this reason sufficient emphasis.

*The victory of Mao's revolutionary armies was a major setback to Washington's imperialist aims in the Far East. Washington's aid to France and subsequent intervention in Vietnam flowed from the hope of recouping this loss.*

It has already been pointed out that 1945 found Washington rushing U.S. Marines and military equipment to Chiang Kai-shek's aid. This effort to save the capitalist dictator floundered in the next year because American troops themselves revolted. Already exhausted with years of the world war, the GIs rebelled against being used as pawns in Chiang's counterrevolutionary war. Demonstrations swept U.S. bases demanding that the GIs be brought home.

Ultimately Truman was forced to back down on Chiang. Over one billion dollars worth of U.S. arms failed to stem the tide of the mighty Chinese revolution. In 1949, Mao's armies marched victorious on Shanghai.

U.S. support to the French forces in Indochina was immediately increased, as the *Times* notes. Within one year, Truman had ordered tens of thousands of GIs into Korea to bolster the tottering regime of Syngman Rhee, which MacArthur's forces had set up following the war.

*The Militant* continued to rally the forces in this country who would stand up for the revolutionaries and against the onslaught of U.S. imperialism. In a speech Dec. 12, 1952, reported in *The Militant*, Jan. 12, 1953, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party James P. Cannon declared that U.S. policy in China had "alienated the sympathies of hundreds of millions of people throughout the Orient and the whole colonial world . . . Revolts and revolutions throughout the entire colonial world, starting in Asia, then spreading to the Middle East, then to Africa, and now already leaping across the South Pacific, are being fed today by hatred of American imperialism as gasoline feeds a fire.

"The Korean war is part of the colonial revolution. That is why it has presented so many surprises to the arrogant American militarists. The power of hunger is behind these revolutions—hunger for bread and land and national inde-

pendence—and no power on earth can stop them."

### Washington's secret war plans

The first major foreign-policy statement for this period published by the *Times* is a National Security Council resolution of "early" 1952, entitled "United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Southeast Asia." This is an exceptionally important and revealing document.

The opening paragraph, subheaded "Objective," states: "To prevent the countries of Southeast Asia [Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya and Indonesia] from passing into the communist orbit, and to assist them to develop will and ability to resist communism from within and without and to contribute to the strengthening of the free world."

From the Truman administration, which adopted this document, to the Nixon administration, which is presently in the White House, no chief executive officer of the United States government has questioned it. They have only concerned themselves with how to carry it out.

The 1952 document explained the importance of Southeast Asia as a source of raw materials to the imperialist monopolies:

"Southeast Asia, especially Malaya and Indonesia, is the principal world source of natural rubber and tin, and a producer of petroleum and other strategically important commodities. The rice exports of Burma and Thailand are critically important to Malaya, Ceylon and Hong Kong, and are of considerable significance to Japan and India, all important areas of free Asia."

This National Security Council directive envisioned a series of military interventions in Indochina up to and including war with China. It stated, "[The U.S. must] make clear to the American people the importance of Southeast Asia to the security of the United States so that they may be prepared for any of the courses of action proposed herein."

Actions proposed in the secret report were premised on fighting to an imperialist victory in Indochina. "[The U.S. must] carry out the following minimum [sic] courses of military action, either under the auspices of the UN or in conjunction with France and the United Kingdom. . . .

"(1) A resolute defense of Indochina itself, to

which the U.S. would provide such air and naval assistance as might be practicable.

"(2) Interdiction of Chinese Communist communication lines, including those in China.

"(3) The U.S. would expect to provide the major forces for task (2) above; but would expect the UK and France to provide at least token forces therefor and to render such other assistance as is normal between allies, and France to carry the burden of providing, in conjunction with the Associated States [the Saigon regime] the ground forces for the defense of Indochina. . . .

"In the event the concurrence of the United Kingdom and France to expanded military action against Communist China is not obtained, the United States should consider taking unilateral action."

At the beginning of 1954, *The Militant* reported on Feb. 15, "Only direct U.S. military intervention, including large-scale use of American troops, can now prevent defeat soon for French imperialism's bloody eight-year attempt to seize Indochina and enslave its people.

"A new offensive by the 500,000-man independence army of Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam republic is sweeping across the province of Laos . . . and simultaneously retaking new territory throughout the rest of the country. . . . France is pressing secretly for a substantial force of U.S. military pilots."

An editorial campaign against the stepped-up U.S. intervention being planned by Eisenhower was launched on the front pages of *The Militant*. The Feb. 22 issue declared, "Eisenhower assures us he won't take that 'logical next step.' But did the American people realize what we were getting into when Truman announced the first dispatch of U.S. armed forces to Korea? . . .

"Whether Eisenhower sends only 600 or 6,000 or 600,000 U.S. military personnel to Indochina is not the real issue. If he can send 600 to aid the Indochina invasion, he can send 600,000 . . . Isn't that what Truman did in Korea and who in Congress spoke against it?

"We want no part of this 'dirty war.' Tell Eisenhower: Hands off Indochina. Bring our men back. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for this brutal aggression." [To be continued]

## Abzug hails abortion conference

The following is a statement by New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug, addressed to the Women's National Abortion Conference held in New York July 16-18.

In this nation, founded on respect for the rights of the individual, abortion must also be recognized as a fundamental right for all women.

I believe that all women should have access to abortion as a matter of personal choice, and legal barriers in all the states should be repealed.

It is unfortunate that the president of the United States has shown such ignorance of the reality of women's lives as to issue an order which in effect bars military personnel or military dependents from obtaining abortions in military hospitals.

The issue is not, as the president would have it, to abort or not to abort. The issue is whether millions of women and young girls are to continue to be condemned to back-alley, secret, illegal abortions that are hazardous to their own lives, or whether they are to be allowed the dignity and freedom of a legal, simple, safe medical procedure.

I am introducing an amendment to the U.S. Code providing that there be a uniform policy on abortions for military women personnel and for dependents of servicemen, and that they have free access to abortion procedures in military medical facilities.

I salute the Women's National Abortion Coalition in its efforts to win for women the freedom to control their own bodies, including the right of abortion, and pledge my full support to this goal.

## Women picket D.C. hospital

By JEANNIE REYNOLDS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On July 13, Washington-area women struck another blow for the right of women to decide for themselves whether or not to have an abortion. Women from the Metropolitan Abortion Alliance, the D.C. Family Welfare Rights Organization, National Welfare Rights Organization, and the Women's National Abortion Coalition picketed D.C. General Hospital, a public institution notorious for its indifference to the needs of the mostly poor and Black women who are forced to use it.

Mary Alice Carter, speaking for the Metropolitan Abortion Alliance, called for the hospital to open its facilities to all women, open an outpatient abortion clinic, inform the public about its abortion facilities, and remove age restrictions and requirements for husband or parental consent.

The picketers also demanded that the governing board of the hospital be community controlled, and called for the resignation of Dr. Frank Bepko, chief of obstetrics, because of his failure to provide abortion care to the hospital's capacity.

Elizabeth Parry, from D.C. Family Rights, emphasized that women would continue pressuring the hospital administration until the demands are met.

Speaking for the Women's National Abortion Coalition, Dr. Barbara Roberts said the hospital picket line is part of a nationwide effort being initiated by women for the repeal of all abortion laws. Other speakers were Etta Horne of D.C. Welfare Rights and Ernestine Turner, Northwest Washington Family Rights.

## Detroit strike at Fotomat

By HELEN SCHIFF

DETROIT—The women workers at the Fotomat Corporation, a film seller and processor, had been on strike for two and one-half weeks, and things hadn't been going well. But when a picket line of over 70 people was put up July 9 in front of the company's headquarters, the situation was changed.

The action was supported by and built with Wayne State University Women's Liberation, to whom the strikers turned for support. In the words of one male official of the Retail Clerks International, Local 876, the union to which the women belong, the picket line "turned the strike around."

The Wayne women's group secured much valuable publicity for the strikers, who were able to obtain coverage in the major daily press and the campus and underground press on the corporation's attempt to lower starting salaries by 25 cents from an already slim \$1.90 an hour. They spoke, and the press reported with sympathy, of the dangerous job they have staffing little booths around the city selling film and collecting money for the processing. The women are often robbed, but the company refuses to supply protection or insurance. And they discussed the sexism of the company, which hires only "attractive girls," tells them to sell the product by selling themselves, instructs them in "feminine grooming," and assures them that as experienced "Fotomates" they will make good housewives.

Right after the demonstration, the union informed the strikers that it would pay them \$2 per hour for picketing the various booths. It is widely

believed that the union feels it is now under pressure not to let the strike be beaten. Because of the wide publicity, the union's reputation is at stake.

Business at the booths is off. The customers, many in unions themselves, get leafletted by the strikers and are refusing to do business with Fotomat.

Chris Futro, a young woman strike leader told *The Militant*: "I understand what women's liberation is now."



Fifth Estate photo



At its July 2-4 national convention in New York, the National Peace Action Coalition approved a program of fall activity against the Vietnam war culminating in massive regional demonstrations in key cities throughout the country Nov. 6. Prior to approving this action program, the convention heard and debated some 20 alternative proposals. The following is the text of the remarks made by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon on behalf of the program that was adopted.

I want to begin by discussing two special ingredients of the summer-fall mass antiwar offensive proposed by the NPAC coordinators. The first feature is the constituency buildup actions. In the past, we've always proposed some days of buildup actions before each national or regional demonstration date, and there have been significant things that have occurred. This time we see that it has acquired a different dimension because many of the basic constituencies of the antiwar movement have been in motion.

We saw a good example of this before April 24 when the veterans had their demonstrations in Washington — it just dramatized the whole buildup period. Similarly, before Nov. 6, there will be a Veterans Day on Oct. 25. We see that as being a major part of the buildup. We see the possibility of a Labor Day against the war, special activities by the women's movement and so on.

We have an opportunity, because of the upsurge in sentiment and the growth of opposition to the war by specific constituencies as they relate the war to their special concerns, to involve immense numbers of people around those concerns, and then bring the whole movement together out into the streets on Nov. 6.

The second feature of the fall offensive is the whole question of the unity of the antiwar movement. We are on the verge of a reunification of the movement in action. There are some common calendars and some common dates. We have worked through some major differences — not all, but the major ones — and there is now the opportunity to march together in the summer and the fall without many of the problems which held us back around the spring offensive. The unity statement is part of our resolution and is incorporated in it.

Now, I want to discuss three major questions — political and tactical matters — that have come up in the course of this convention and that affect the thinking behind the coordinators' resolution.

### Mass action

The first of these has to do with the effectiveness of mass demonstrations. You know, it's interesting — there's been much less said at this convention than at some previous conferences about the "futility of mass demonstrations," because the whole movement now knows how potent and how powerful these avenues of expression are in building the movement, in turning consciousness and sentiment against the war, inspiring GIs and working people to act effectively against the war, and in organizing the movement.

Before April 24, many said that people in this country are sick and tired of marching. But what April 24 proved is that people are sick and tired of the war, and they welcome the marches and demonstrations!

I was glad when Brad Lyttle of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice spoke and said in the early part of his remarks, yes, we need big, major, massive, legal peaceful marches in the fall. We have a basis of unity. There's a common agreement that those demonstrations will be antiwar demonstrations.

Now, of course, we've heard some spokespeople say that what we really need is a general strike and that this will end the war. And I would only say to them that if they believe that this will end the war, as indeed it might, and if they believe that the working people of this country are prepared to engage in a general strike, I would strongly encourage them to call such a strike, and if they succeed in ending the war, we'll all be eternal-

year of existence, has developed at a phenomenal pace, it has local Peace Action Coalitions all over the country — over sixty — it was the spearhead of turning out close to a million people in the streets of Washington and San Francisco on the 24th, and why? Because it has the correct policy, because it welcomes all into its ranks, because it doesn't set up barriers or conditions for people to demonstrate against the war.

you've been wondering, "Well, what is the antiwar movement all about?" because you've heard the polemics back and forth. We don't think the antiwar movement has to resolve which of the radical socialist bodies is right or wrong. What we've got to resolve is how to mobilize millions of people to end the war!

Now the NPAC leadership has been charged with selling out the antiwar movement to political leaders, and let me say this: We did attract a number of political leaders to support our April 24 demonstration. Before we involved them, our demand was Out Now! And after we involved them, the demand was Out Now! That doesn't sound like a sell-out to me.

And we've made clear repeatedly that no one is coopting this movement. This is not a movement of politicians based upon opportunism; it's a movement of the American people based upon principle, and that principle is to get out and to get out now!

And as far as the rhetoric about the ruling class, you know that's not a homogeneous entity. There are splits and divisions. An indication is the revelations in the *New York Times*, and if people who are part of the so-called ruling class are prepared to join with the antiwar movement on the basis of our program of Out Now!, we welcome them into our ranks. We have no barriers.

And this fall, we don't want a narrow, small group of super-revolutionaries out in the street against the war. We want millions and millions of Americans marching against the war, and that's the NPAC program!

### Out Now!

On the question of set-the-date versus immediate withdrawal. Somebody said yesterday that what we should do is set the date, and then when the date comes and Nixon doesn't bring all the troops home, well that shows what a liar he is. We don't need to go through that experience to know what a liar Richard Nixon is.

And then there's the argument, which I think is completely false, that, after all, if we want to be loyal to the principle of self-determination, we should advocate set-the-date because this is what the South Vietnamese liberation forces advocate. I think it's perfectly clear to everybody that they are under the gun, and they are prepared to compromise and to end the war in this fashion. But does anyone question that if there was a convention, not made up of ourselves, but of the South Vietnamese liberation forces, and if they were debating the question of set-the-date or out now, knowing that they could have either one, does anybody doubt that they would unanimously vote to get the U. S. troops out now?

I say that for the American antiwar movement to embrace the demand set-the-date is to acquiesce and approve the continued presence of our troops in their country. It is an immoral position, it is against the principles upon which this movement has been built. For years and years we've struggled to win the people to the demand Out Now!, and now that we've won them, it is a stupid time to water down the demand and retreat and talk about set-the-date!

This is the most dynamic movement that this country has seen in many years, and today it has a moral authority because we have proved that we were right, and the lies of the government are now known to the American people. I would urge all of you to pass the coordinators' resolution. We say, into the streets on Nov. 6, turn millions of people out for a united antiwar movement, supporting the demand Out Now!

**'We want millions marching... our demand is OUT NOW! ...and that's the NPAC program'**



Photo by Ed Weaver

**Discussion at July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City where overwhelming majority of 2,300 delegates voted for antiwar campaign building toward regional mass actions in 15 cities Nov. 6.**

ly grateful. For our part, while we favor actions by working people, decided by themselves, along the lines of work stoppages, and while we'd be extremely happy if they would move toward a general strike, we don't see that that is imminent, and when the decision comes for workers to strike in this country against the war, it's a decision that's going to be made by workers through their organizations, and we don't think it's a decision to be made by us.

### Non-exclusion

Now the second general question I wanted to discuss — it's been much debated here — is the question of non-exclusion. You know, the National Peace Action Coalition, in its brief

Our coalition is based primarily upon students, upon working people, upon women, Third World people, veterans, GIs, gays, and the other major constituencies. At the same time, all the media report that the overwhelming bulk of people who participated in the demonstrations are people of a moderate political view. They are not revolutionaries, they are not radicals, they are not socialists. We welcome them into the movement — we don't say they have to be any of these things. All they have to be is human beings who want the war to end and are prepared to participate in the struggle!

I know there are a lot of people at this convention who don't belong to any particular group, and perhaps

# NPAC fall activities begin at a rapid pace

Immediately after the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, the NPAC office in New York began implementing the decisions of the 2,300 delegates, who overwhelmingly approved a summer and fall campaign culminating in massive regional actions in 15 cities on Nov. 6.

The United Women's Contingent has already produced literature on "Women and the War." Aimed at building the fall campaign, it will be distributed at the Women's National Abortion Conference in New York July 16-18.

Other task forces, whose aim is to mobilize different sections of the population in antiwar activities, are being set up and are producing literature. These include Black, Latino, labor, GIs and veterans, and gay task forces.

Buttons and other literature for the program of antiwar actions endorsed by NPAC are already available for orders from the NPAC office. These include an Aug. 6-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki action button (10 cents each for orders over 100); a Nov. 6 "Out Now!" button (10 cents each for orders over 100); a brochure containing the action and organizational resolutions adopted at the July 2-4 convention (\$2 per 100); and three folded leaflets—Nov. 6 "Fall Action," "Mass Action Against the War," and "Why Out Now?"—for mass distribution (\$1 per 100). The "Women and the War" leaflet is also available at \$1 per 100. All of this material can be ordered from NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N. Y. 10003.

In a separate development, the NPAC office released the text of a letter received by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon from three members of the Steering Committee of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The fall action program has also been endorsed by the PCPJ.

The letter, the text of which follows, was in reference to a motion that had been presented at the antiwar convention after a small minority of disrupters from the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society were removed by the marshals for their hooligan-like behavior. The motion, which was overwhelmingly defeated, proposed that the convention condemn the manner in which the marshaling was handled and singled out Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party for special censure. In

rejecting this motion, the convention voted for another motion commending the marshals for their handling of the disruption.

The rejected motion had been presented by a group of people who identified themselves as the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice workshop. Below is the text of the letter, which is dated July 7, 1971:

The People's Coalition's Steering Committee wants you to know that we regret the formation of a People's Coalition caucus and workshop at the NPAC national convention in NYC this past weekend. Initiative for this workshop was unauthorized, and undertaken by a person who was not a member of our official delegation. Delegation members who participated in the workshop have recognized that the workshop was unwise and its subsequent proposals inappropriate.

The Steering Committee wants to thank NPAC for its diligence in affording us the opportunity to make an official and well-timed presentation to a plenary session, and for other courtesies to our delegation.

In regard to the disruptions and conflicts that marred the conference, we believe that these were regrettable and harmful to the movements for peace and justice. Regardless of our opinion of the way in which the disrupters were dealt with, we believe that all disruptions, spontaneous or organized, were unjustified. Movement conferences and other public movement meetings should be able to proceed in an atmosphere of tolerance and reasonable discussion. Such a policy and tradition is necessary to forging that movement unity needed to most effectively oppose the militaristic, exploitative and repressive forces of the Nixon administration.

Sincerely yours,  
Members of the July 6, 1971, meeting of the People's Coalition Steering Committee: (signed) Bradford Lyttle, William Douthard, Sidney Peck.

## Correction

Unfortunately, we made an error in identifying a photograph in last week's issue of *The Militant*. The person shown in the photo on page 14, identified as Arturo Rodriguez from the Colorado Raza Unida Party, was actually Honko Montoya of the Crusade for Justice. Rodriguez is also a member of the Crusade for Justice. Both addressed the opening rally of the NPAC convention.

# 'What about the sanctity of the lives of women?'

The following remarks were made by Marsha Coleman to the July 2-4 conference of the National Peace Action Coalition. Coleman was bringing greetings from the National Women's Abortion Coalition. She is also a participant in a suit by Black Michigan women against the Michigan abortion law.

Nixon's statement denying women the right to abortion because he supposedly believes in the "sanctity of human life," including fetuses, simply exposes the hypocrisy of the American government.

What has priority in this country? Is it really, as Nixon has claimed, "the sanctity of life"? Nixon is simply lying again. Priority really goes to war, the destruction of life, the invasion of other countries, support for reactionary puppet governments—in Vietnam, South Africa and Pakistan—that would otherwise crumble.

Meanwhile, thousands of women—especially Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian-American and Native American women—have died in the back alleys of America because they could not afford a safe abortion.

In New York City before the new liberal abortion law, the maternal death rate for Black and Puerto Rican women was ten times the maternal death rate of white women—largely because a greater proportion of Black and Puerto Rican women are forced into the hands of illegal abortionists.

Nixon stated: "Unrestricted abortion policies, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of life—including the life of the yet unborn." He pleaded for "a good and generous people" to "open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children."

There are at least 200,000 children of American GIs and Vietnamese women in Vietnam. Most are abandoned to beg in the streets or left in orphanages. Neither the brutal Saigon regime nor the American government will help these children. Both the United States and its puppet government

say "They're not our responsibility."

The contradictions, the hypocrisy of this government daily become clearer. Nixon talks about the sanctity of the life of a fetus but not about the sanctity of the lives of millions of women, children and old people in this country and around the world. Nixon speaks about the sanctity of the life of a fetus but not about the thousands of sisters who had to surrender their lives last year to butchers because they did not come from Nixon's economic class and therefore could not pay for a safe abortion.

He doesn't care about the sanctity of life of the 45,000 GIs who have been killed protecting his and his friends' wealth, or the sanctity of the lives of two million Indochinese who have so valiantly defended their country.

Can we rely on such men to end the war in Vietnam? Can we trust our lives and our bodies to schizophrenics who state that they believe in the "sanctity of life" one second, and the next second spend \$60-million per day to destroy Vietnam?

Nixon has labeled the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement un-American. And he's absolutely right. We want to crush his inhumane, deranged "American dream." The women's movement and the antiwar movement are movements in this country that are fighting for the "sanctity of life."

We invite all the women here to attend the National Women's Abortion Conference July 16-18 at Columbia University to help organize a national campaign of action for repeal of all laws restricting the right of women to abortion. There will be a Third World workshop for all the African-American, Asian-American, Native American, Latina and Chicana sisters.

In order to fight against Nixon we are going to have to be just as organized as he is—and internationalized, since the struggle for abortion is an international struggle. We are going to take Nixon head on—and win!

# Antiwar Air Force Sgt. framed in Texas charges

By JAMES BURFEIND

AUSTIN, Texas—Air Force Sgt. Greg Cole, an antiwar activist at Bergstrom Air Force Base here, has been found guilty of frame-up charges clapped on him by the brass after he participated in an antiwar demonstration April 18 that built toward the mass action in Washington, D. C., April 24. Cole is appealing the decision of the court-martial that found him guilty.

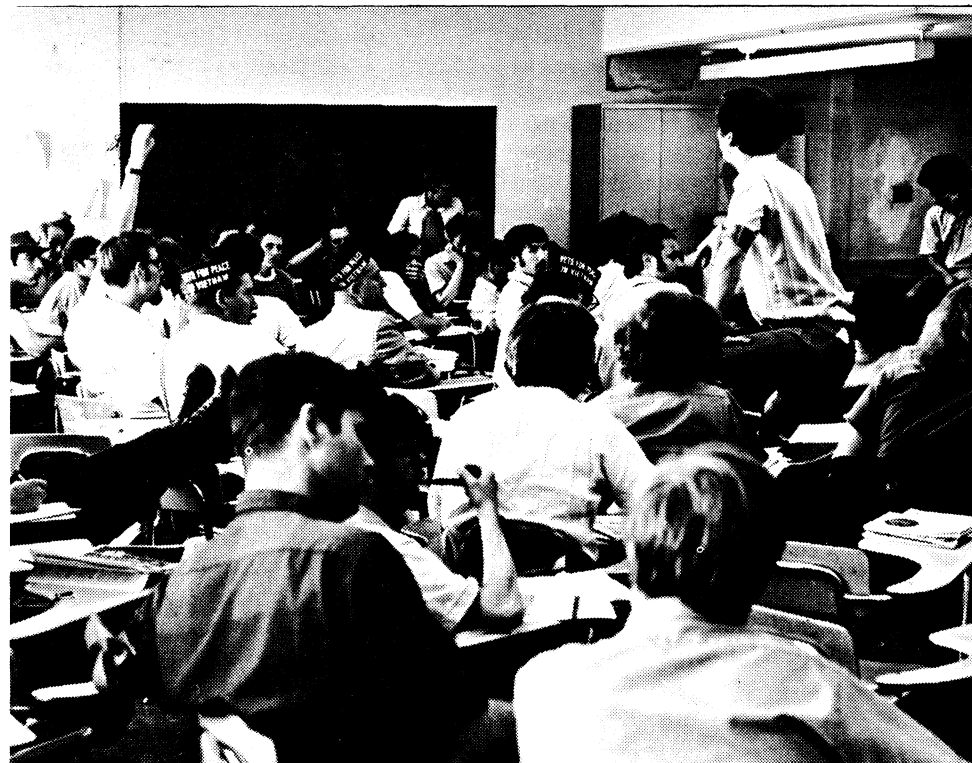
The antiwar sergeant spoke at the April 18 rally, and his speech, urging others to join him in Washington on April 24, was broadcast on the TV news that evening. It was two days after this that the brass charged him with drug violations—the same fake charges the brass had tried to stick Cole with nine months earlier but had been forced to drop because of "insufficient evidence."

The brass offered Cole an Article 15, but he refused and the case went to court-martial. Despite tremendous

support organized with the help of the Austin Student Mobilization Committee, which expressed itself in hundreds of petitions and letters from professors, students, GIs and others, the court-martial found Cole guilty of the frame-up charges.

Throughout this time Cole remained active in the antiwar movement. He participated in the April 24 march in Washington, D. C.; he was one of the organizers of the May 15 antiwar action outside Bergstrom; participated in the protest at the dedication of the LBJ library in Austin; and helped to launch a new GI antiwar newspaper, *Bergstrom Bennies*.

Telegrams and letters of support for Cole's appeal should be addressed to Col. Walter Russell Jr., Base Commander, Bergstrom AFB, Austin, Texas, with copies to the Sgt. Cole Defense Committee c/o SMC, 2330 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas 78705.



Veterans' workshop at NPAC conference

Photo by Ed Weaver



By CAROLINE LUND

In a recent issue of *The Spokeswoman*, a monthly women's liberation newsletter, there appeared a note about a company in Ohio that had placed a "help wanted" ad for women sewer laborers. Two women applied and were hired, but after they had worked satisfactorily for a period, they were fired the day before they would have joined the union.

This ad had been placed by the manager as a joke. He was trying to prove to some of his friends that no woman would want such a hard, dirty job; that women's liberation isn't serious, and that women really don't want equal opportunities because they actually have it much better than men as it is.

What's new about this story is not the fact that the women's liberation movement is often treated as a joke—that's quite common. What's new is that the two women didn't simply accept being fired. They are fighting back for their right to those jobs—which, by the way, pay union wages.

Women, who have always been thought of as helpless, passive creatures, are beginning to destroy this image. We are beginning to organize against our oppression as women.

Revolutionary socialists consider that the question of how to unite masses of women in struggle against their oppression is one of the key questions before the movement. And even the short history of the women's liberation movement so far has demonstrated that we are able to win the greatest gains when we can unite all sections of the movement, all women who are willing to fight for a specific demand. This has been true in struggles around the country to win such demands as women's studies programs, child care, and the repeal of antiabortion laws.

This is why women from the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have been active all over the country in building coalitions and ad hoc formations through which women from all different viewpoints and backgrounds can unite to organize action against their common enemy—coalitions like those that built the Aug. 26 demonstrations, the actions on International Women's Day, and the new Women's National Abortion Coalition.

Why are revolutionary socialists so interested in uniting with women from all different viewpoints and working

with them to build actions that mobilize women in struggle? Why are we willing to fight alongside women who may completely disagree with our socialist perspective? Why do revolutionary socialists in the SWP and YSA support an independent women's movement, regardless of whether this movement is explicitly pro-socialist?

#### Independent struggle

It is important for women to unite in struggle because this is the only way we will ever achieve any gains—either immediate or long-term. It is the only way any oppressed sector of the population can win victories against its oppressors. And revolutionary socialists are always on the side of any group or segment of society that is fighting against any aspect of this inhuman system.

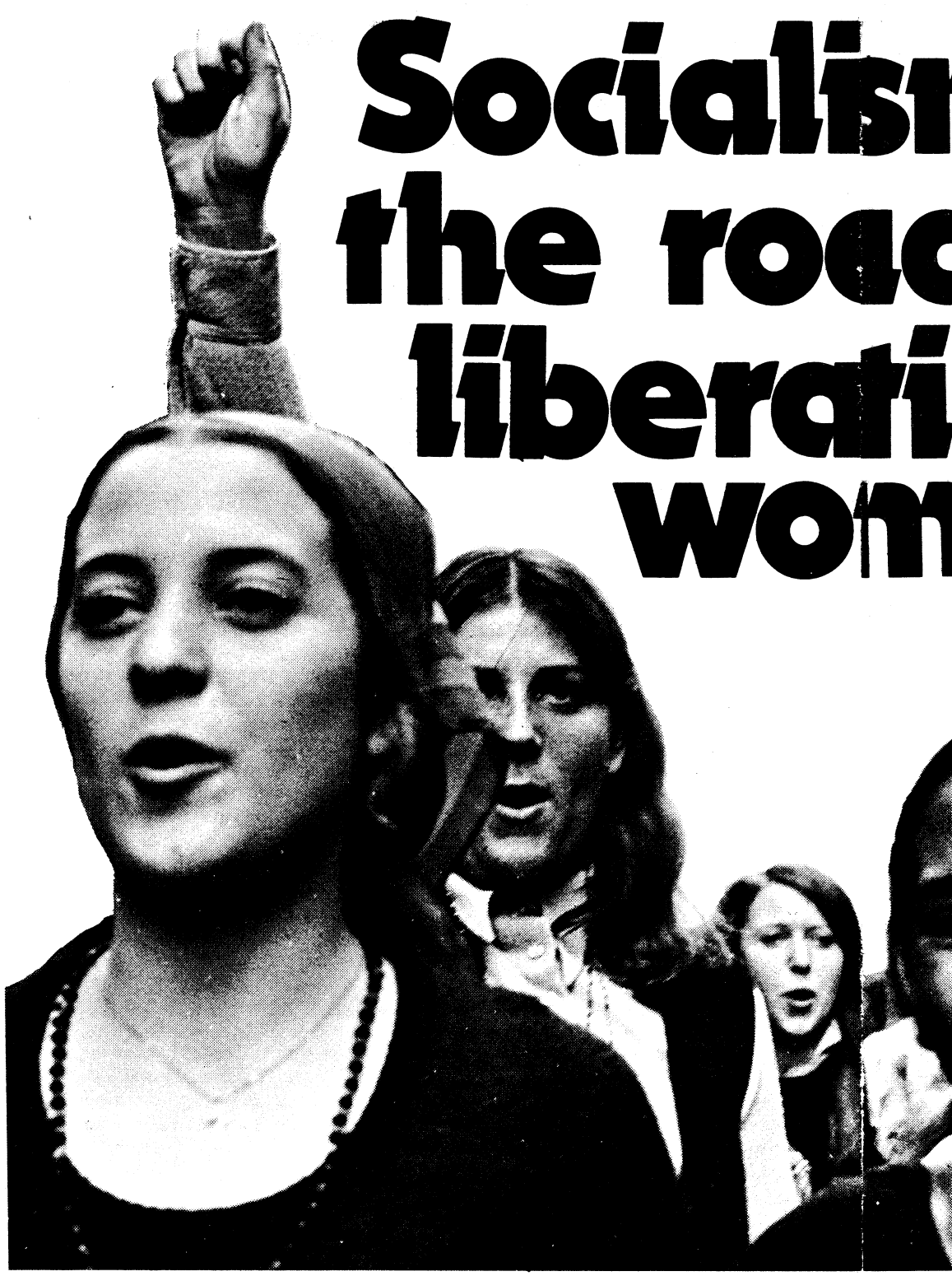
As the women's liberation movement has concluded from the beginning, we must free ourselves; we can depend on no one else to free us; we must build our own organizations and our own power, responsible only to the interests of women.

Women are not the only oppressed sector of society taking this road of independent struggle. Black people, Chicano people, Native Americans, gay people and others are deciding that the only way to move ahead, to assert their human rights against this monstrous system, is through independent struggle against their oppression.

The potential power of the women's liberation movement lies in our ability to reach the masses of women who will support our actions because the women's liberation movement is fighting in their interests. We must find the concrete forms through which we can do this and demonstrate through united action the power that we have as women.

In addition to the fact that it will take the pressure of mass struggle to make any headway, revolutionary socialists also feel that through such struggles millions of women will learn more about our enemy. Who are our oppressors? To what degree can this system satisfy the needs of women? Who can we depend on as allies in struggle? And how can we eliminate our oppression? Women will learn the answers to questions like these through their own experiences in fighting for their needs—not simply

# Socialist the road liberation women



through someone proclaiming what is best for them.

Revolutionary socialists feel that through experience and struggle for our elementary needs, more and more women will come to the conclusion that this whole system must be changed in order to win freedom for women. There is no way to patch it up to meet our needs, it is far too rotten. We are confident that women will come to the conclusion that the fight for feminist goals is also the fight for socialism.

Even in the course of the few years' experience that the current feminist

movement has gone through, it has become more and more obvious that women cannot achieve liberation through any kind of individual arrangement, or change of "life style." The rottenness of this system always breaks through, reducing people to poverty and desperation, poisoning personal relationships, destroying the environment, and keeping the world on the brink of nuclear, chemical or biological war.

The desire to control our own lives has led women directly to the necessity of confronting the government, challenging its power and its priorities,

## A Militant Interview

The following interview with Patricia Maginnis was obtained for *The Militant* on June 25 in San Francisco by Bobby Deur. Patricia Maginnis is president of the Society for Humane Abortion and coauthor of *The Abortion Handbook*. She and Rowena Gurner, cochairwomen of the Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, are presently awaiting sentencing following their trial and conviction on a four-year-old charge stemming from their attempts to educate the public and inform women about abortion procedures. Their abortion classes were held to test the California Business and Professions Code, which makes it a felony for anyone to "willfully write, compose or publish any notice or advertisement of any medicine or means for producing or facilitating a miscarriage or abortion. . . ."

The California abortion law, referred to in the interview, allows abortions only when pregnancy endangers the physical or mental health of the

woman, or was the result of rape or incest, and if the abortion is approved by a committee of three doctors. The class action suit mentioned in the interview is being brought by a large number of California women to challenge the constitutionality of the California abortion law.

**Militant:** How would you describe the changes you've seen in the movement against abortion laws since you've been involved in the struggle?

**Maginnis:** When I first started leafletting and speaking about repeal of all abortion laws, ten years ago, the first question I was always asked was, "Are you married?"

Having an abortion didn't automatically make a woman an abortion fighter then. Many were reluctant to get into it, because starting out to fight it seriously was like a sentence to hard labor. Our old concepts of women are so entrenched that it's hard

for women to get into political action at all. But now we're getting together the class action suit, as a beginning. It must be followed by class action suits in all the states, as Connecticut women have already begun.

The concept behind the suit is to get rid of the laws completely. Hundreds of California women are preparing to file a joint suit, as plaintiffs, challenging the constitutionality of all legal restrictions on abortion. It shouldn't even be "a matter between a woman and her doctor"—it's none of his business.

You notice that I said "his"—women doctors hardly exist, and they're not coming out of the medical schools we have now. Women are continually subjected to bureaucratic medicine; that's the order of the day. With their myopic thinking, doctors never ask for our ideas concerning our medical care, especially when it comes to our needs for abortions or contraceptive information and devices.

# Abortion repeal

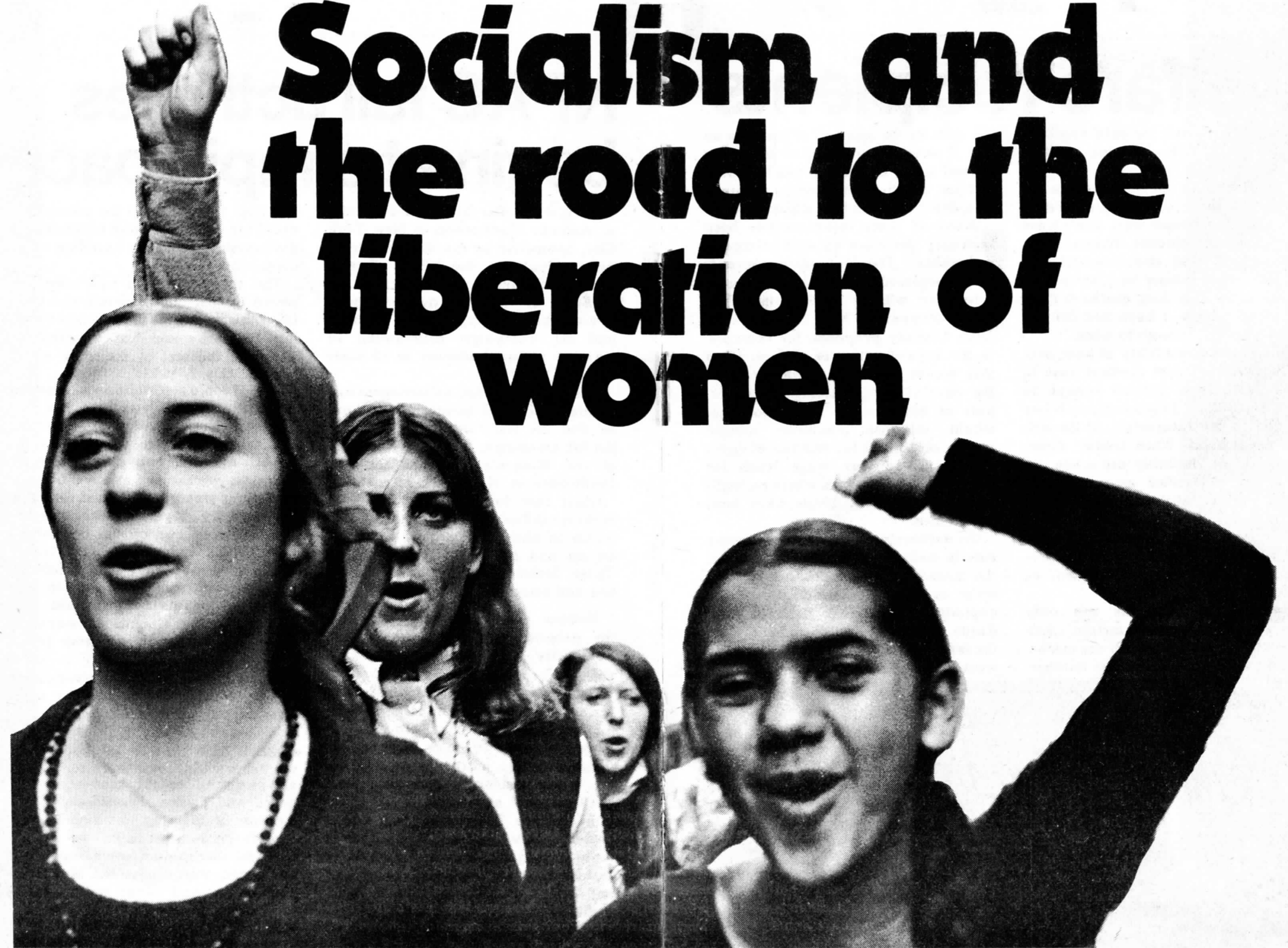
But there's one more problem with the abortion issue: some people are all for abortions, but they also love sterilizations. No woman should be forced to have anything torn out of her—that's an assault on her body. Many women don't realize that Black women are often pressured, overtly and covertly, into being sterilized.

**Militant:** How can abortions be easily available to all women as long as they have to be performed in hospitals?

**Maginnis:** That's just the point. Abortions don't have to be done in hospitals, and some doctors are already doing them in their offices. But most doctors don't want to do office abortions; they want to make more money by keeping it a hospital procedure, and charging "only" \$300 to \$500.

Part of the trouble is that some doctors don't know how to perform abortions. They learn how to do kidney

# **Socialism and the road to the liberation of women**





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challenging profits and private property.

For instance, just to obtain quality, free, 24-hour child care means a struggle against the government, demanding a tremendous reallocation of the wealth of this country. In fighting for this demand, women are raising the concept that every child has the right to the best care society can provide; that a child should not be dependent upon the wealth or poverty of its parents. This concept implicitly challenges the basic organization of this society, which makes the family bear the burden of providing for its mem-

bers, in competition with all other families. For women, children and old people, there is often nowhere else to turn if your family is unable to provide for your needs.

The demand for free child care raises the concept that the care of children should be a *social* responsibility. And shouldn't the care of old people also be a social responsibility? Shouldn't the wealth of this country be used to provide for these human needs rather than for wars and destruction?

Thus, just this one demand being raised by the women's liberation

movement is a challenge to the basic values and organization of this society around private property, profit, competition and the patriarchal nuclear family. This demand implicitly raises the concept that this society should be reorganized around social responsibility for people's needs, which ultimately means a socialist society based on social ownership and democratic control of the wealth of the country.

Free abortion on demand and free medical care likewise raise the whole concept that the medical profession and institutions should respond to people's needs rather than to people's ability to pay and the amount of profits that can be made.

The right of women to full employment at union-scale wages means a direct challenge to the whole organization of this capitalist system. To provide a job to everyone who wants to work means ultimately reducing the work week at no reduction in pay. Naturally this means placing people before profits, which can only be accomplished under a planned, socialist system.

Even to win the fight to legal abortion—to assert our right to be treated as human beings rather than simply as breeders—is requiring an all-out campaign on the part of the women's movement to force the government to recognize this fundamental right. This system resists *any* attempt by women to assert even their most fundamental democratic rights, and will give in only when it is confronted by the power of masses of fighting women.

## The whole system

Feminists are seeing more and more clearly that we are fighting an entire system of schools, laws, prisons, courts, hospitals, and government based on property rights over human rights, which systematically enforces racism, sexism and the rights of the rich over the rights of poor and working people. The priorities of this system are epitomized in the giant war industries and military complex, which absorb about one-half of government resources for wars and destruction.

The rise of the independent women's movement means a powerful force entering the struggle against this rotten system. As women throw off their slave mentality and gain confidence

in themselves as human beings, women will be and are stepping forward as leaders of many different struggles. Women are in the forefront of the Black liberation struggle. Chicana women recently organized a successful national conference, which will spur forward both the struggle of the Chicano people and also the special struggle of Chicanas. Working women are helping to shake up the conservative, bureaucratic trade unions by demanding that the unions fight for their rights as women.

And through their experiences in struggle, more and more women are and will be coming to the conclusion that in order to achieve the goals of feminism it will be necessary to fight for a socialist revolution. They will become convinced by the logic of their own struggles and ideas of the need to work in collaboration with other women and men who agree on this socialist perspective, to participate in all movements against oppression as the most resolute fighters, and to attempt to learn from these movements, always sharpening the struggle against the rulers and encouraging women and other oppressed groups to depend only upon themselves.

By building a revolutionary socialist party, the SWP and the YSA are doing just that—uniting around a common program of struggle all those who are convinced of the need to organize the majority of the American people to take power away from those who own the wealth and who support the racist, sexist, private property system of capitalism.

"Out of the kitchens and into the streets!" has been one of the rallying calls of the women's liberation movement. The spirit of this cry has also been the spirit of the Black liberation struggle, the Chicano struggle, the antiwar movement, the gay liberation movement and the student movement. We are confident that it will increasingly be the spirit of the labor movement as well. It means standing up against your oppression, asserting your rights and abilities as a full human being, and joining in the struggle against this rotten system.

The women's liberation movement is a vital part of the deepening revolutionary process in the United States today. And it has a historic role to play in fighting for our total liberation, before, during and after the American socialist revolution.

# ent struggle moves ahead

transplants and other complex operations, but when it comes to a simple abortion they're poorly trained. We know of women in the Bay Area who have been injured by doctors who couldn't perform an abortion properly. We have heard of general practitioners who don't know how to do pelvic examinations. These things weren't part of their regular medical school training. It's incredible!

**Militant:** How do you think we can improve the quality of our medical care?

**Maginnis:** Medical care for women must become a matter that we control ourselves, personally and socially. Women must be represented in all branches of medicine.

Gynecology is still a male profession, and has done a great disservice to women. The gynecologist's attitude was shown recently when a batch of doctors held a conference in San Fran-

cisco, and a whole section of that discussion dealt with the "aggressive female patient." These men determine the fate of millions of women. At the Big Slab on the Hill (University of California Medical Center in San Francisco) there are about 500 medical students, and perhaps 25 of them are women. If you ask the dean, he is always very much in favor of women students, but the door is never open to them. He'll say they don't apply, but that's hardly the case. The whole process of eliminating them starts early in their education.

**Militant:** Don't you think that the ways that medical care fails to meet our needs are related to the fact that it is still seen as a privilege extended to us by the medical profession, if we have enough money, rather than as our right?

**Maginnis:** Yes, and the ego factor comes in too. In Washington state a

doctor is performing abortions for \$60 to \$80. The ob-gyn men hate him because he is making it harder for them to make as much money. Some doctors in San Francisco, too, are very pleased with the "therapeutic abortion law," and when bills that would have denied abortions to California women were being exposed recently at hearings in Sacramento, some of these doctors got up and defended the present law as if it solved our problems.

When a woman gets an abortion under Medical (California's state version of medicare), the doctor is getting something like \$85 to \$100, and that's too much, if you ask me. And the taxpayers—you and I—are paying some psychiatrist another \$50 to say that the woman is a nut, or at least "severely depressed."

It's about time that this issue was brought out into the open. A woman who goes to get "clearance" for an abortion actually has to prostrate her-

self before some physician.

And Reagan, who's trying to save money, he attacks the victim, not the people who are extorting that kind of money for their "services." I work with a woman who just finished paying off a loan for the abortion she had two years ago. I say we should keep statistics on how much women have to pay, what treatment they get, and how many unwanted pregnancies are carried to term because of the exploitative cost of medical care—it's an atrocity.

**Militant:** What tactics do you think will be most effective for the abortion movement?

**Maginnis:** It's going to take massive actions by women, like what we've already talked about for the class action suit. It's going to take a lot of concerted attacks on the system. The women's coalition we've formed, in-

*Continued on page 22*

# New attack on N.Y. welfare recipients

By HOWARD REED

NEW YORK—On July 1, new legislation went into effect in New York State that subjects welfare recipients to a variety of vicious attacks. These include restrictions on initial eligibility standards, size of welfare payments, and continuation of eligibility.

The measures enacted by the New York legislature are part of a general nationwide offensive against welfare recipients. Payment levels are being cut in at least 10 states, and around the country scores of measures are being instituted to further restrict eligibility and payment levels. These attacks are occurring in the context of increased inflation, unemployment, and, at the same time, massive new outlays for the Indochina war.

Payments for welfare recipients in New York were cut 10 percent effective July 1. The previous payment for a single individual was \$42 semi-monthly to meet food, clothing, electricity, transportation, and all other expenses, excluding rent. This is now \$38 for everyone on welfare except the aged and disabled. However, the standards for disability have at the same time been tightened. To add to the devastating effect of these reductions, there was no compensation for inflation either last year or this year, and given the cost-of-living increase in New York, the cut actually comes to 25 percent.

A one-year residency requirement for welfare eligibility has also been enacted, in spite of the fact that such provisions were supposedly outlawed by a 1969 Supreme Court decision. Since July 1 New York has already rejected applications on the grounds of residency of less than one year. Bus fare to leave New York is provided on the condition that a welfare worker accompany the recipient to the bus station.

New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller signed the bill into law, saying that it was enacted because of the "financial crisis" of the state. The legislation, however, covers a five-year period. Using Rockefeller's argument, the right to vote could also be abridged due to a financial crisis, if the government said it didn't have enough money to print ballots.

Eighteen million dollars out of a state welfare budget of \$1.3 billion will be cut by this measure. This is less than the increase in costs (due to construction delays) of a new state mall in Albany.

Rent payments to recipients, while

not going down, are remaining the same. During the last ten years, rents in New York went up 27.3 percent (as compared to 20.1 percent nationwide). This was before the enactment July 1 of New York's new rent law, which removed the previously imposed ceiling of a 15 percent rent increase each time an apartment changed tenants. Now, on all apartments "voluntarily vacated," landlords can raise rents to whatever the market will bear. Welfare recipients will thus find new rents prohibitive and be forced to remain in buildings with hazardous housing violations.

A particularly offensive aspect of the new welfare legislation is the provision forcing an estimated 60,000 recipients to pick up their checks at State Employment Centers instead of receiving them in the mail. If they refuse to report to the employment centers, they will be removed from the welfare rolls. At the employment centers they will be referred to jobs and will be required to accept any job they are offered.

Recipients under this system of

forced labor won't be paid anything more than their regular welfare checks.

The definition of employable includes all those other than children and elderly persons who don't have a "verified significant illness." This isn't defined, and about one-third of the welfare recipients who have been forced to pick up their checks at these centers since July 1 have told officials they aren't well enough to work.

Given the impossibility of poor people obtaining decent medical care in New York, it is difficult enough to have disabilities diagnosed, much less verified to the satisfaction of the welfare department. When initial determinations of eligibility are made, recipients are classified as employable unless such verification is provided. Even if the verification is obtained one week later, it can take months under the prevailing bureaucratic procedures to reclassify the recipient as disabled.

"Employable" recipients can only pick up their checks at certain specified dates and times, which are mathematically related to their case number.

In spite of the number of foul-ups so far, if recipients don't show up at the correct times their cases can be closed for one month. This literally amounts to a death sentence for recipients.

None of these measures has been seriously protested by any bourgeois politicians. The only disagreements have occurred over the question of how they will be implemented. The main alternative New York Mayor John Lindsay proposes, for example, is the federalization of welfare. What this would mean is apparent from the current congressional consideration of new welfare legislation that would establish maximum annual grants of \$3,600 for families of eight, and \$1.20-an-hour wage levels for "employable" recipients where no higher minimum wage levels have been established.

To decisively counter these massive cuts in welfare payments and services, the masses of people affected by them must organize independently of the capitalist politicians to fight for standards that will enable them to live decently and exercise control over their lives.



New York City neighborhood typical of those in which thousands of welfare recipients are forced to live.

Photo by LNS

# Inflation eats up meager pension hike

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On June 3, 26 million social security pensioners got a 10 percent increase in their piddling checks. The raise was retroactive to Jan. 1, 1971.

Just what does this 10 percent mean to the millions of older people who must exist solely on their social security? Not much.

A survey of 100 elderly people in New York City, where the cost of living is the highest in the continental United States, was made by Marguerite Nugent, a correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*. Here are a few of the facts she uncovered.

Rubin Traub, 72, a retired garment worker, got an additional \$16 a month. His landlord had already raised his rent by \$17. He lives in a dingy basement apartment on the lower East Side.

A retired furrier, Max Silverman, said all but \$4 of his increase will

go to pay his increased rent.

An 80-year-old man reported: "My doctor says I am supposed to eat liver once a week. But when liver went up from 85 cents to \$1.15 a pound, I couldn't afford it any more, even with the increase."

Mrs. Gurtie Shlaknam, who lives in a city-owned housing project, had her rent raised by 20 percent.

Mr. Tobias, a former housepainter, is supposed to take fresh lemon juice with his medication. He had to stop buying lemons because the price went up so high. "Who can afford it?" he asks.

The "average" raise will mean \$125 instead of \$114 for single persons, and \$218.90 instead of \$199 for a couple. But this "average" is a figment of someone's imagination. Several million of the 26 million social security recipients are very, very old—in their late 80s, 90s, and some even

over 100. They went on pension when wages were far lower than they are today.

In 1969, an increase of 15 percent was passed as an amendment to the Social Security Act. Before this increase, the eldest pensioners were getting \$64 for a single person, \$96 for a couple. But during 1969, the cost of living went up by more than 7 percent. And during 1970 it rose another 7.5 percent. So the 15 percent pension increase was used up. Now inflation has already begun to undermine the new 10 percent increase.

As one 80-year-old woman put it: "What they give you with one hand they take away with the other."

On July 1 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare stopped its funding of 26 Golden Age Centers throughout the country. This program was designed to provide nutritionally balanced meals for the elderly. Even

before July 1, nine of the centers had eliminated hot noontime meals which had been available to pensioners for 55 to 65 cents. In many cases, this noon meal was the only food these people got.

The number of people served at each center had been strictly limited from the beginning. An old person could get on the rolls only when someone else left—died, that is.

Nixon has also proposed a radical change in the Medicare program that would require a Medicare recipient to pay for the first two days in the hospital for each illness—about \$200. Currently Medicare patients pay \$60 annually on hospital bills. He has also proposed that hospitalization benefits be cut from the present 60 days for each illness to 14.

These facts are but a peek at what is happening to the growing elder population.



# Railroad union sets strike for July 16

By GUY MILLER

CHICAGO, July 12 — Railroad workers here in the hub of the nation's rail transportation system prepared to defend working conditions and prevent reductions in already below-standard wage scales as their union, the United Transportation Union (UTU), and the railroad companies maneuvered toward a showdown over a new national rail agreement.

The Local Association of UTU Local Chairmen, Chicago Terminal, met on July 10 to hear and discuss union plans for strike action, which is scheduled for Friday, July 16. H.G. Kenyon, a UTU international vice-president in the Chicago area and generally considered a spokesman for UTU President Charles Luna, told the meeting that all members not called out on strike by the union will be expected to abide by all rules imposed by the carriers and to obey all orders issued by management and supervisory personnel. Kenyon also urged that all workers be advised to work safely and to look out for their own welfare.

Several of the large UTU locals — the Milwaukee Line, the Belt, Chicago & North Western — are holding meetings this week to prepare for the crucial days ahead. A leaflet to all members of Milwaukee Line Local 1433 announced a special meeting July 14 "to discuss the work-rule changes . . . and what we can do."

The UTU has set July 16 as the strike date for three selected carriers, the Chicago & North Western, the Union Pacific, and the Southern Railway.

In a countermove, the railroads have announced that they will impose new work rules on all lines July 16.

This question of work-rule changes is at the center of the dispute in the railroad industry. These work-rule changes were drafted by the carriers and endorsed and recommended by a special presidential fact-finding board last year, thus provoking the one-day strike Dec. 10, 1970.

The U. S. Congress then ordered the striking railroad workers back to their jobs but refused to impose the drastic changes in work rules and granted small retroactive wage increases.

Work-rule changes will mean mass layoffs and a reduction in take-home pay for those retained on the job. A summary of the work-rule changes sent to Milwaukee Line workers with the call for a special meeting says, "All extra pay (arbitraries) . . . will be eliminated," and "more than likely . . . the third man on crews."

Two reactions — anger and disbelief — are common among the men affected. Talk in the yards is about how to organize against this attack on jobs and income.

The tactic most commonly discussed is "work to rule," meaning strict observance of the rules of the railroads. On 18 roads, every operating employ-

ee is issued a 186-page book of safety rules, a typical manual. These safety rules are then systematically ignored by the companies. If the workers insist on living up to them, the high-speed, undermanned system in the freight terminals is seriously disrupted because it is an unsafe operation that cannot function without general disregard of elementary safety precautions. It requires additional hands to make it a safe operation, but the drive of the companies is to further cut back the number of workers.

Charles Luna seems unaware of the threat to the union membership in these proposed work-rule changes. His "selective strike" strategy will tie up three roads on July 16. Two more, the Southern Pacific and the Norfolk & Western Railway, will be struck at 6 a.m. July 24. It is not yet clear here whether strikers on the lines first struck will be ordered back to work as union men on the other two lines walk out. However, the "selective strike" strategy is designed to avoid a nationwide tie-up and, at the same time, to apply enough pressure on the carriers to force them to negotiate with the union.

The danger in this strategy is that the carriers are now free to impose their crippling work rules and get rid of thousands now employed in this sick industry. This is why the locals of the UTU are seeking ways to stop the impending layoffs and hope to force an expansion of the work force in a reorganization of the industry. Whether this can be accomplished will depend on how solid the ranks are in the coming fight to enforce safe working conditions and to bring about the long-overdue reorganization of the industry and a complete change in management.

The 265,000-member UTU is facing its first real test of strength since its formation on Jan. 1, 1969, through the amalgamation of the old operating crafts of railroad brotherhoods.

The carriers have attempted to get support of the courts in an effort to restrict union action. In a recent U. S. court decision, the UTU won the legal right to proceed with its "selective strike" strategy, but an appeals court has now held that selective strikes must be used by the union to win an industry-wide national agreement and cannot be used to break up the solid front of the employers' bargaining group, the National Railway Labor Conference.

The course of the present negotiations, under the aegis of court decisions, is evidence that the government still intends to regulate wages and working conditions in this industry, as it has done since enactment of the 1926 Railway Labor Act. This has been disastrous for railroad workers and is partly responsible for the present condition of the industry and the low wage standard that prevails.

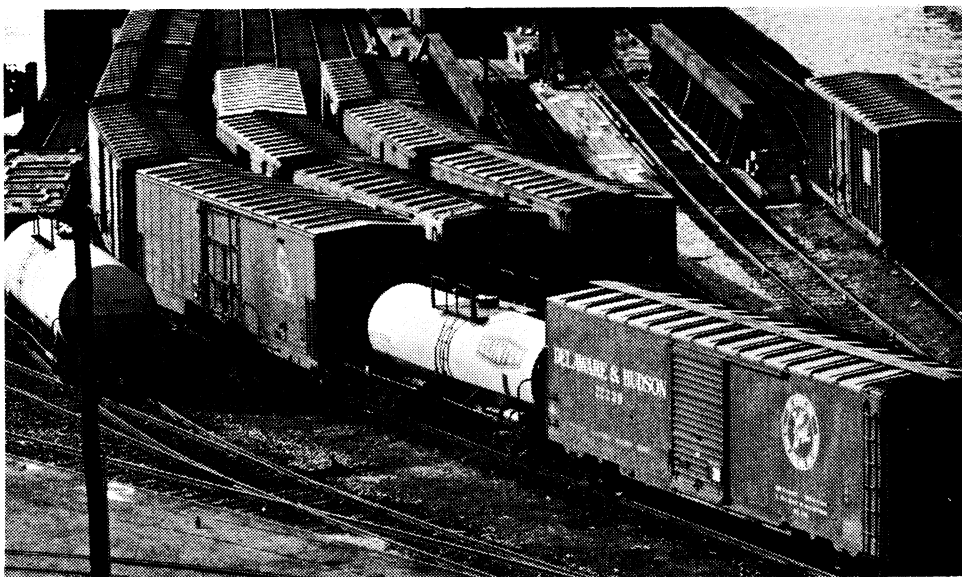


Photo by Howard Petrick

# By Any Means Necessary

A legal drama is unfolding concerning the case of two Black GIs, formerly stationed in the German Federal Republic.

In December of last year, Pfc. Nathaniel Holmes, 22, and Pvt. Bernard Tucker, 21, were convicted in a German court on a charge of attempted rape. They appealed the decision. The conviction was upheld, however, and in the first week in June the two GIs fled to Washington, D. C. They approached Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and on June 9 surrendered to Pentagon officials in her company. The Pentagon agreed to review the case. But on the very next morning, the two were ordered onto a plane back to West Germany to begin serving three-year prison sentences. In response to this knavery, NAACP lawyers, referred to the case by Chisholm, got a last-minute court order from Judge Barrington Parker halting the transfer.

The judge slated a June 21 hearing on a complaint in behalf of the two by NAACP lawyers. But no word has come through on that yet.

The complaint says the two are innocent and were "unfairly tried by the Germans in an anti-Black atmosphere." "Unfairly" is an understatement, however. The GIs were charged with attempted rape in July 1970. They weren't brought to trial until December, after three witnesses in their defense had left West Germany. At the actual trial, the judge, jury, prosecutor, and defense counsel were German. The GIs were denied American counsel. The trial was conducted in German, leaving the defendants absolutely confused as to what was going on — since they spoke and understood only English. And when the alleged victim took the stand, the two were taken out of the courtroom. This whole travesty received the stamp of approval of the U. S. Army. It is further confirmation of the condemnations leveled at the U. S. Army in West Germany by Black GIs.

One of the defense attorneys is Nathaniel R. Jones, who was part of the three-man team the NAACP sent to investigate the conditions of Black GIs in Europe last January.

Rita Notes, a newsletter put out by a group of GIs stationed in West Germany, reported recently on a move by the German government to snuff out the publication of *Voice of the Lumpen*. *Voice of the Lumpen* is put out by Black supporters of the Black Panther Party in West Germany. Supporters include both GIs and residents of West Germany. *VOL* began publication from Frankfurt in December of last year.

On May 11, Larry Barnes, a Black resident of the Federal Republic, was distributing the *VOL* to Black GIs outside a tavern in the city of Augsburg. He was arrested by German police. They first charged him with selling without a license. When that proved too flimsy, the judge went into something about the "security of the Federal Republic of Germany."

To get a full sense of the ridiculousness of the charge, it reads as follows: "Barnes, Lawrence Marvin, allegedly resident in Frankfurt/M, is highly suspicious (sic) to have directed himself in a planned manner to the troops of a non-German pact member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany, and thereby to have undermined their duty-readiness in behalf of the security of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the non-German pact members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and thereby consciously and willfully to have acted in support of tendencies against the existence and the security of a non-German pact member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

"On May 11, 1971, around 10:30 p.m., the accused was encountered by the police at the bar Jagerhaus in Augsburg selling newspapers, books and buttons to the customers present . . . All printed material had subversive contents because they directed themselves against the government of the United States of America and because they call for opposition actions."

"The delict is punishable according to #89 (State-endangering subversion) German Criminal Code . . . in connection with Art. 7 of the 4th Supp. Criminal Act concerning the application of the criminal code in cases involving the security of members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

"Pre-trial confinement during the pending investigation is ordered because of the danger of flight. The accused has a home easily moved and has no special relations. He can at any time flee the country. Furthermore, the length of the sentence to be expected legitimizes the pre-trial confinement."

This reads a bit like the domino theory — from the selling of a street tract to the fall of the empire. The transcript is from *VOL* as it was quoted in Rita Notes. *Voice of the Lumpen* can be contacted at 6 Frankfurt/Main, Adalberstr. 6, West Germany.

A victory for the Black liberation movement was registered June 28 when the Supreme Court unanimously decided to acquit Muhammad Ali of refusing induction into the U. S. Army. The Court charged that the Justice Department "was simply wrong as a matter of law in advising that the petitioner's beliefs were not religiously based and were not sincerely held."

The decision was not only a vindication of Ali, but of the religious sect he belongs to, the Nation of Islam, popularly known as the Black Muslims. Because of the Justice Department's erroneous contention, Ali was convicted by a Houston jury four years ago and sentenced to 5 years in prison. Following this conviction, boxing commissions throughout the country stripped him of his heavyweight championship title and banned him from the ring.

The government claimed Ali wasn't opposed to all wars, but the Court ruled that to be immaterial.

Two days after the Court decision, the draft expired, at least temporarily, because the House and Senate were at loggerheads over the draft extension bill.

— DERRICK MORRISON

# Socialism, nationalism, and revolution in Ireland



British soldier in occupied Northern Ireland.

From *Intercontinental Press*

John Garland, author of the following article, was one of the most prominent leaders in the guerrilla campaign waged by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) against British rule in Northern Ireland 1956-1962, although he was a very young man at the time. The May issue of the *United Irishman*, from which we have taken this article, notes that he has recently been appointed National Organiser of the republican movement.

The "border campaign" that began in 1956 was abortive and disastrous in many respects for the Irish revolutionary vanguard. However, the republican tradition is deeply rooted in the history and reality of the country. Perhaps precisely because of this long tradition and the organizational continuity of the republican movement maintained by a devoted cadre, the survivors of the "physical force" campaigns of the 1950s were able to draw some deepgoing conclusions from their experience. Some of these conclusions are expressed in Garland's article.

The objective of any movement dictates or determines its activity, its work, its demands. It follows, therefore, that for a movement to be a revolutionary one, or aspire to be one, it must have a revolutionary objective.

For us of the Irish Republican Movement we have declared our revolutionary objective to be the establishment in Ireland of a Democratic Socialist Republic. In simple terms this means that without a revolutionary objective there cannot be a revolutionary movement and without a revolutionary movement there cannot be a revolution.

A revolution cannot take place as the result of the desires, dreams or ideals of revolutionary minded people. A revolution requires a level of social/economic contradictions which makes it possible to overthrow the ruling class. A revolution needs the presence of another social class, which because of its place in society, its place in the process of production and its political potential, is able to successfully achieve this revolution.

The most important instrument in the struggle for National Freedom and Socialism is, as we have said, a revolutionary Movement and the most important task a revolutionary movement has is to organise the working class and their allies in order to win the Revolution. Capitalism is a system that can and has absorbed and integrated many reforms and it automatically rejects all reforms that run counter to the logic of the system (such as completely free public services which cover social needs). The structure can only be abolished by overthrowing it, not by reforming it. Here it is that all who belong to the revolutionary movement should fully understand what this revolution is going to mean, in short, to know precisely what a revolution is—THE CHANGE OF STATE POWER FROM ONE CLASS TO ANOTHER CLASS.

The central point of any revolution and particularly in a Socialist revolution, is that the key positions in the State, in Government, Army, Police, Civil Service, Judiciary, Unions, many National Organisations, T. V., Radio and Press should pass out of the hands of those who are loyal to the Establishment and into the hands of those who represent the vast majority of the people who will use this power to build socialism where the means of production, distribution and exchange are socially owned.

At this point of time in our history as a Revolutionary Movement it must be accepted and understood that our Movement must have a national liberation and socialist character. In the past the Republican Movement through concentrating all its energies and resources on the question of national liberation alone, neglected the task of organising the people in their everyday struggles. We left this most important task to those politicians who time after time sold the people out. We, for our part, confused popular sympathy for our cause, the freedom of Ireland, with popular support.

## Active and mass support

It was only when we were beaten to the wall and almost annihilated as a political force that the true meaning of revolution began to dawn on us. We know now, and have begun to organise ourselves on the correct lines, that in order to succeed we need and must have the active and mass support of the people. This support has to be won by helping the people to fight their immediate struggles for jobs, houses, lands and civil liberties and by explaining to people how all of these issues affecting their lives are connected with the nature of capitalism, the need for socialism and above all, gives them leadership in the fight for a revolutionary change.

It is, perhaps, easy to see that many errors were committed over the years from the twenties and that little or nothing was done to correct these errors until the sixties.

In the thirties, in Ireland as in other parts of the world, there was a rise in working class consciousness. More than at any other period in recent Irish history and especially since the end of the civil war was there an opportunity to create out of the Republican Movement a revolutionary organisation with the backing and support of the working people of all Ireland than at this time. The history of the Republican Congress\* proves this. This struggle to create a revolutionary movement of all Ireland was lost for two reasons:

1. The recognised leadership of whatever revolutionary group or potential that was there was not good enough and they were unable to take advantage of the crises in capitalist imperialism and the rise of the workers' consciousness.

2. The grave error that was committed by this leadership and others in separating the National question from the social questions of the people.

From the period from the end of the Civil War until our day Republicans virtually neglected to organise the people who are ultimately going to make the revolution in this country—the workers. We must be conscious and careful that we do not go to the other extreme and forsake or neglect the national question, as happened in the '30s. There is a danger that in our fight to establish ourselves among the people, and in the fight to establish the rights of the people in the everyday issues, we would tend to ignore or not continue to place enough stress or emphasis on the question of National independence.

The centuries old struggle of the Irish people to establish an independent nation is still, today, one of the most potent weapons in the revolutionary arsenal, is in fact the one single issue on which all Irishmen can come together. We must continue to insist on linking the question of national freedom with the question of social justice and socialism.

For those Irish people who, because of their religious upbringing or particular environment with its background of support for British influence and control in Ireland—we must show and prove to them by our words and, more important, our actions in all the other issues that affect them, as well as all other working class people in Ireland, that it is the Republican Movement they have most in common with and least to fear from. We must continue to demonstrate to this large number of people that we stand for the emancipation of all men and women and that our aim is to end forever the exploitation of man by a small exclusive class.

It is regrettable that we still have people in Ireland today, who have not learned from former experiences, who still insist that it is possible to achieve freedom with the weapons and instruments of former times. We have several distinct elements made up of some very sincere and dedicated people who follow this trend. Some on one hand are attempting to re-create the historical period of the twenties, attempting to translate the type of movement and the form of struggle that was partly successful in the twenties. This attempt to have the same in the seventies is doomed to failure.

Those other people who wish to impose 'freedom' on people, who form themselves into an elite without any contact or support from the mass of the people, those elements who make the question of shooting the central point of the struggle are going to find themselves isolated from the people and will surely fail, as other efforts of a similar nature failed in the past. Unfortunately, because of our history as a movement committed to force, we are liable to be brought down along with these elements, for the establishment will have little difficulty in dealing with any movement unless the Irish people are made aware that there is a deep and fundamental difference between the Republican movement and these elements.

## Physical force tactic

As with the failures of the past the enemies of freedom will be delighted at this failure and we can hear their voices now telling the people that force as a solution to the problems of the Irish people was a failure and that it is now finally discredited and rejected by the Irish people. Here it is important that the true voice of the Irish Revolution be heard to point out to the people, to state to the establishment and most important to keep insisting to the revolutionaries, as we have done in the past, that the tactic of physical force fails for certain specific reasons.

We must first recognise that physical force is a tactic and that despite all the errors, all the shortcomings over the years, the history of all successful revolutions proves that the road of armed struggle was and is the only correct one. What we learned and some didn't was that armed struggle on its own is doomed to failure, just as political action or demonstrations on their own are doomed to failure. Force must be linked with, must be integrated with, all the other forms of struggle, legal and illegal that are available to the movement.

We must understand that in all areas of revolutionary work it is often no less imperative to know what not to do as to what to do and how to do it. Such knowledge is acquired as the result of earlier trials and experiences and errors.

If our history and experience have already exposed what ways and means are inadequate to complete our task then it is obvious that correct measures should be applied as soon as these errors become known. It is in this light that we should see the past few years. What had failed in the fifties and sixties was a tactic, not a strategy. What we had to do, and must continue doing, was to correct the tactic in the course of the struggle itself. Over the past few years we have begun to take this tactical turn, to correct our methods of struggle, to deepen and expand our political organisation among the people. To begin to organise the people not for revolt, not for rebellion, not for insurrection but for revolution. A revolution that will change the entire political and social system in the country.

A point I would like to make here is that any revolutionary movement must base itself and their programme

Continued on page 21



# Interview with a Mexican teacher

By DOUG JENNESS

MEXICO CITY—Struggles for open admission of students to universities and colleges and greater control of school facilities by both high school and university students have occurred frequently in the United States. Particularly noteworthy was the May 1970 revolt against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Kent State and Jackson State, when students on many campuses took over many of the facilities and utilized them for organizing the anti-war movement.

Familiar with this experience, it was with great interest that I recently visited the Preparatoria Popular here in Mexico City and interviewed a teacher at this school.

The Preparatoria Popular is a preparatory school for admission to the University of Mexico. It was established in 1968 by students who were rejected from the official preparatory schools. In Mexico, in order to be admitted to a university, students must first graduate from one of these official schools or pass an admission examination.

The shortage of facilities at the university has limited the number of students accepted into the official Preparatoria schools. It was in response to these restrictive admission policies that the Preparatoria Popular was founded just before the gigantic student revolt in 1968.

José Rodríguez, who has been an instructor at the school for three years, showed me around one evening during the night shift.

"There are two buildings," he told me. "This one we're in is on Liverpool Street. It is owned by the university but was not being used when they let us take it over. There is another building in the Tacuba neighborhood, which is primarily a working class area. That building used to be an official Preparatoria but was taken over by students from here when there

was no longer room here at the Liverpool building. Later this occupation was formally recognized by the university authorities."

I asked him how many students were enrolled and what background they came from. "There are about 6,000 students, and I believe most of them come from middle class and working class families. We also have some students that come from very poor sectors of the population. It costs almost nothing to enroll, although the students must buy their own books."

There are three shifts in the Liverpool building, but as we walked through the several floors of classrooms it was apparent that even with these shifts the building is overcrowded. There weren't enough chairs for all the rooms and some students had to stand up during their classes. The students had even built an extra classroom on the roof out of scrap materials.

It was raining and water was leaking into some of the rooms. I asked José if under these conditions the students could obtain as good an education as those at the official Preparatoria schools.

He replied, "Our students are equally well educated because we have the same programs. We have the same kind of education but we lack some material to work with. We don't get any resources from the university like the official schools, and all our teachers work without pay."

"What kind of people become teachers if they aren't paid?" I asked.

"Most of the teachers are university students who have been at the university long enough to legally qualify as teachers. We also have some professional teachers who help out just because they want to do something for the students. Some of the teachers belong to political organizations and also want to help politicize as many students as possible."

I looked into one classroom where a young teacher was putting calculus problems on a blackboard. Across the hall an older teacher was giving a lecture on Immanuel Kant. I asked José what successes they have had in actually getting students from the Preparatoria Popular admitted to the university.

"Recently our first graduating class got into the university. There were about 450 of them. In November about 1,000 will graduate, and we expect to have a struggle with the university authorities because they are not yet willing to accept, without any bureaucratic restrictions, all the students from the Preparatoria Popular. One reason is because our school is a very political school. In addition to the regular curriculum prescribed for admission to the university, we have seminars on Marxism. Many of the students consider themselves revolutionaries. The university knows this very well and is afraid of having too many of us at the university."

When we walked into the building, the first thing I noticed was a large bulletin board covered with pictures and articles about the June 10 demonstration that had been attacked by a fascist-like gang called the Falcons. Radical slogans, particularly about the June 10 action, were written on the walls throughout the building. In one large classroom the entire front wall of the room was covered by a colorful mural depicting the savage massacre of students by government troops in 1968. José indicated that a large contingent of students participated in the June 10 action and several of them were killed during the Falcons' attack.

He said the school had also been attacked several times by the Falcons. "Our papers have also been robbed two or three times and our few machines like typewriters and mimeographs have been destroyed. We know that this has been done with the con-

sent of the government. The Falcons get a truck, drive it right up to the building and rob everything. They even stole 5,000 books from our library. They just couldn't do this if they didn't have the permission of the police. They do this in order to intimidate and destroy our school. But if they attack again we have stated that we will move over into official university facilities."

I asked if there had been any attacks since the June 10 demonstration. "No, all the attacks occurred before June 10. The worst was last year when we had about 20 people injured."

I asked how administrative decisions are made for the school. "There are different methods of making decisions in each building and for each shift. During the night shift at the Liverpool building, the basic administrative decisions are made by the struggle committee. [During the 1968 student revolt such committees were formed in nearly every university and in some high schools. Many of them continue to exist and are coordinated on a city-wide basis.]

I asked if the struggle committee represents the majority of students. "Yes. Not only in the night shift at Liverpool but in all the other shifts. The difference between the night shift and the other shifts is that the struggle committee has actually taken over the administration during that shift."

"We are trying to extend this further by making students conscious of deciding their own future. If this concept spread and took hold in the university, students would be in a position to choose their own curriculum."

As we ended our conversation, I asked if there were other schools in Mexico City or other cities in Mexico like the Preparatoria Popular.

"I know of two other schools," he stated, "that were created after our school. One is in the city of Puebla and the other in Sinola."



Thugs belonging to fascist-like group the Falcons attacking June 10 student demonstration in Mexico City

## Thousands of students jailed in Ethiopia

Some 2,000 to 4,000 Ethiopian high-school students have been jailed in recent weeks, Colin Legum of the London *Observer* reported from Addis Ababa in a dispatch reprinted in the July 7 *New York Post*. Most of the arrests were made immediately before the opening of the conference of the Organization of African Unity in June.

The students, who are confined in four detention camps, had been striking and demonstrating to protest a 20-percent increase in bus fares and a sharp rise in food prices. They also demanded land reforms to benefit the peasantry and an end to arrests of "vagrants" in the capital.

"They roamed the streets," Legum wrote, "attacking buses (76 were damaged). They attacked the cars of a minister and of a princess. They attacked all the Mercedes cars they came across and the Mercedes showroom—the Mercedes is the status symbol of the successful elite—and they attacked the homes of less popular ministers, who include Ras Misfin, one of the country's richest men, who has been singled out as the symbol of 'the man who steals the poor man's cow.'"

The students proved highly adept at winning support from the subjects of Haile Selassie—"Might of the Trinity," "King of Kings," and "Conquering Lion of Judah."

"... it was the children's guerrilla sorties into the capital's market that gained them public sympathy. They would go up to a trader and ask him how much he charged for his butter, which has gone up almost 100 per cent. Faced by intimidating numbers, the trader would quote a figure much below the going price; the children would then call to the people to come and buy at the lower price."

This tactic succeeded in creating disaffection even among the Conquering Lion's cops: Legum reported that they refused to intervene against the students. The emperor was forced to call in the army to arrest the demonstrators.

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the July 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

CALCUTTA—The partisans known as the Mukti Fouj in East Bengal are estimated at about 30,000 men at present. Of these at least 20,000 are former personnel of the East Pakistani Rifles (EPR), the Bengal Regiment (BR), and the auxiliary forces like the police, Ansars, and Mujjahids. About 10,000 newly trained guerrillas have joined the Fouj since April—mostly students and youth who crossed into India as refugees. Another 30,000 guerrillas are under training.

The Fouj is not in physical possession of any big area in East Bengal. It has withdrawn into the borders for tactical reasons. Its main strategy is of guerrilla action—hit and run. Since the Pakistani army, estimated at about 60,000 combat troops, is concentrated only in major cities, cantonments, and towns, the Fouj has easy access to vast rural areas. There are about 62,000 villages in Bangla Desh, of which about 30,000 have been fully or partially destroyed by the Pakistani army.

The Fouj commanders claim that

The Fouj can establish a base in "liberated territory" inside East Bengal if it is supplied with an adequate number of fighter planes and anti-aircraft guns, which they do not possess at present. They have small weapons, some supplied by India and the bulk captured from the Pakistani army. If the Bangla Desh government is recognised by India or any of the "major powers," the character of the freedom struggle will change rapidly. But the fighting forces do not feel demoralised because of the apathy shown by various governments in relation to their struggle.

The Awami League of Sheik Mujibur Rahman still commands the support of the majority of the people in Bangla Desh, although most of the leaders of the party elected to the National and Provincial Assemblies fled the country after the army operations began. Some of them, including Mujib, are in prison.

As a party committed to parliamentary methods, the Awami League was totally unprepared for the situation created by the brutal armed confrontation. It was not at all acquainted with the techniques of partisan war-

NAP led by Maulana Bhashani. In fact, Mohamed Toaha, leader of the Maoist group known as the Communist party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) [CPEP(ML)], the counterpart of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), was the general secretary of Bhashani's NAP. His group broke with the parent organisation when Bhashani decided to put up some candidates to contest the 1970 general elections. Toaha favoured boycotting the elections.

The Toaha group appears to be taking a "neutralist" stand in the present war. It has not openly supported the Yahya regime, as the Chinese government has done. The group characterises Sheik Mujib as an American agent and a bourgeois leader, and has accused him of sabotaging the class struggle by raising the secessionist demand for an independent Bangla Desh. The Toaha group is said to be active in Sylhet and Mymensingh districts in the north, where Bhashani is also powerful.

There are two other pro-Chinese groups, both calling themselves Communist party of East Bengal—one led by Matin Allauddin, a 42-year-old

Khan. He wrote a personal letter to Mao Tsetung, demanding that the Chinese support the liberation war of Bangla Desh. Some of Bhashani's supporters believe that China has not specifically condemned the liberation movement and that the Chinese leadership might even now change their stand if a new leadership emerges in Bangla Desh.

The leaders of the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] in West Bengal have established contacts with Bhashani and are supposed to be assisting his supporters. The Maulana is understood to have assured the Indian authorities that he would not seek any relations with left parties in India. He is now staying somewhere near Calcutta along the Bangla Desh border.

As a regional bourgeois party opposed to communism and communists, the Awami League enjoyed good relations with U. S. imperialism, which has big stakes in East Bengal. American capital investments in the region are estimated at 30,000,000,000 rupees [7.5 rupees equal US\$1].

It has even been reported that Mujib was in constant contact with the American consulate in Dacca during his negotiations with Yahya in January and March. The U. S. officials are said to have a tape recording of the Yahya-Mujib talks. The Americans supposedly gave Mujib every assurance that they would stand by him in the event the negotiations broke down.

When the talks collapsed March 25 and the masses chose independence for Bangla Desh, the U. S. government evidently changed its policy. Washington was not prepared to antagonise Islamabad at that juncture without knowing the future relationship of forces. This has caused a great deal of bitterness among Mujib's supporters, who think that American advice restrained him from countering Yahya's manoeuvres.

Mujib's military experts had two plans. One was to arrest Yahya, Bhutto, and others and to hold them as hostages during negotiations for the withdrawal of the Pakistani army. The second was to capture the Chittagong region with all its military installations and supplies of arms and ammunition (including the ship M.V. Swat, which had anchored in Chittagong harbour) on March 23, when a Bengali officer, Brigadier Mazumdar, was in command of the military in the region. Both these plans were rejected by Mujib, supposedly on the advice of the Americans.

When one meets Awami League leaders today, they ask one question repeatedly: "What are the Americans doing?" There is a great deal of bitterness and disappointment among them over the U. S. role.

They had been led to believe that the Soviet Union and China, as "communist countries," could not be trusted. Soviet President Podgorny's statement condemning the genocide has been well received by the Awami League leaders, but the leftist parties, including the CPEB, are disillusioned that the Soviet Union has not extended any material support in the form of arms. Moscow's reluctance to recognise the Bangla Desh government is also criticised.

The situation along the border is very bad, with more than 5,000,000 refugees having crowded into camps in West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, and Tripura. Already there is a great deal of resentment in the border states against the refugees being settled in their midst. The resentment is particularly vocal in Meghalaya and Assam, where anti-Bengali sentiments are predominant. There are fears of communal and language riots breaking out in these states. This is one of the reasons that compelled the Indian government to shift the refugees to other states. The reactionary capitalist parties in India are trying to give a communal twist to the whole situation.

## East Bengal liberation forces organize national resistance



Refugee camp near Krishnanagar, India

with their present strength and equipment they can easily capture some districts like Sylhet, Comilla, Mymensingh, or Kushtia, but they cannot retain control of these areas against a concentrated attack by the Pakistani army without heavy mortars, artillery, and anti-aircraft guns to meet aerial bombings.

The Mukti Fouj has the support of more than 80 percent of the Bengali population despite the attempts by the army to strike terror among the people. This support is the main strength of the Fouj. The Pakistani army is surrounded by an entirely hostile population of Bengali-speaking people. Non-Bengalis who might help the army constitute less than 5 percent of the population, but are concentrated in big urban centres.

The army is subjected to constant harassment by guerrillas. A number of soldiers are killed by partisans almost daily. Means of communication between different districts have been disrupted. Agricultural and industrial operations have almost come to a standstill. The army has failed to create even the semblance of a civil administration with the help of quislings.

fare, unlike parties such as the Communist party of East Bengal [CPEB] (pro-Moscow), which has been banned since 1952; the leftist National Awami party (NAP) led by Professor Muzaffar Ahmed; the National Awami party led by Maulana Bhashani; and the various Maoist groups (that have broken with Maulana Bhashani), which have worked underground for many years.

All these parties are actively participating in the resistance movement.

Inside Bangla Desh, all-party resistance committees, known as "Sangharsh Samities," have been formed at different levels. Initially only the supporters of the Awami League were allowed to join the Mukti Fouj, but now all those who want to join are encouraged.

The Indian government preferred to deal only with the Awami League, for obvious political reasons. New Delhi's policy has been that of "containing" the Bangla Desh revolution within the framework of bourgeois property relations.

There are three known "pro-Chinese" groups in East Bengal. Until recently, all of them were working inside the

peasant leader who seems to have some base among the peasantry and industrial workers in the Pabna area. The other group is led by Kazi Jafer and Rashid Khan Menon, and has some influence among workers, but more among students in Dacca and Chittagong districts.

The Jafer-Menon group controls the Chhatra (Student Union) of East Pakistan, as opposed to a rival Student Union led by Mrs. Motia Choudhary (belonging to the CPEB). The largest student organisation, the Chhatra League, is led by the Awami League. Both of these one-time Maoist groups are now extremely critical of the Chinese leadership and are supporting the liberation war. Political differences dividing these groups are not clearly known as yet.

By the eve of the 1970 election, Bhashani broke with his Maoist supporters and called for an "independent Bangla Desh" when Sheik Mujib and his Awami League were not prepared to go beyond the demand for autonomy.

After the army launched its offensive on March 25, Bhashani publicly criticised the Chinese support to Yahya



# Apartheid protests in Australia

From *Intercontinental Press*

A July 3 police attack on anti-apartheid demonstrators resulted in what the *Canberra Sunday Australian* called "the wildest clashes between police and civilians ever seen in Melbourne."

The attack came as cops tried to prevent about 5,000 anti-apartheid activists from getting inside a stadium where the South African Springbok Rugby Union was holding a match with an Australian team.

The July 4 *Sunday Australian* described how the melee began:

"The demonstrators who had congregated in the city at 11 am, and marched peacefully through the streets, met the police head-on as they milled around the main gates.

"Most of the 5,000 demonstrators were students.

"Police, some without their numbers and badges, charged into the demonstrators."

Despite the police attempt to exclude the anti-apartheid movement from the match, about 2,000 protesters managed to slip through checkpoints and get inside. There, they were again attacked as they tried to move onto the playing field.

The brutality of the cops has triggered protest from wide sectors of the Australian political spectrum. The Victoria State Opposition Leader Holding called for a Royal Commission to investigate police conduct. G. R. Crawford, president of the Victoria branch of the Labor party, said that the police had "excelled themselves by establishing a new high peak in brutality in handling demonstrators."

One of those beaten by the cops was W. Hartley, a Labor party federal executive member and former secretary of the party. Hartley stated that he intends to bring charges against the cops.

The July 3 demonstration was part of a general campaign against the Australian tour of the South African team, which began in late June.

Although most of the participants in the anti-apartheid actions have been students, support for the anti-apartheid movement has spread well beyond the campuses. In fact, the "Springboks" have had a difficult time even getting waited on by the tourist industry, because of trade-union opposition to the racist South African regime.

The June 30 *Sun* of Melbourne listed some of the problems that the visiting "sportsmen" have run into.

"The union threats . . . banned them from nearly every club and hotel in Adelaide.

"So the team was forced to drive to Elizabeth, 20 miles outside the city, to hold a reception.

"The only place they could find there was the Rugby Union Club.

"When they left more demonstrators were waiting.

"For fifteen minutes the players sat in their bus as 50 protestors shouted insults at them."

Hotel workers forced cancellation of the South Africans' reservations in Victoria. To make matters worse for the "tourists," they cannot receive any words of encouragement from home—Australian postal workers have refused to deliver mail from South Africa during the tour.

Besides making the players' reception off the field less than cordial, the anti-apartheid movement had mobilized several mass actions, in addition to the one in Melbourne, to disrupt their matches.

The June 30 match at Adelaide was halted five times by demonstrators. According to the July 1 *Canberra Australian*, eighty-eight people were arrested at the match. The demonstrators blew whistles, threw smoke bombs, ran

on to the field, and chanted slogans such as "Go Home Racists" and "Sharpeville, Sharpeville." (Sixty-nine Africans were killed when police fired on a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, South Africa, in March 1960.)

The Melbourne *Age* of July 1 reported that "at times the oval looked like a battle field under a haze from smoke bombs thrown on the field."

Tim Dare, the Canberra *Australian* reporter covering the tour, summed up the situation in the July 1 issue of that newspaper:

"If the South Africans left Australia tonight, their chief memories would be of protests, motel rooms and security precautions hardly less stringent than those imposed on their black compatriots back home."

## Appeal for Argentine militant

From *Intercontinental Press*

The following appeal was translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the June 1 issue of *Combate*, the newspaper of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

Ana Maria Villarreal de Santucho is a militant of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [Revolutionary Workers party—the Argentine section of the Fourth International] and of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [Revolutionary Army of the People, the guerrilla organization sponsored by the PRT], who was recently shot by the police, and who is being held in prison at present under the unconstitutional Terrorist Law.

This comrade was wounded and arrested while participating with a commando of the ERP in distributing foodstuffs, which had just been expropriated from a big capitalist, among the people of a slum in the city of Córdoba.

The circumstances and the way in which Ana Maria was wounded show the mentality and methods of the henchmen of the regime, since it occurred when she was leaving the scene of action and was defenseless.

The Argentine dictatorship considers Ana Maria Villarreal to be a dangerous criminal and terrorist. In reality she is a refined and generous revolutionary militant, who has dedicated her life to the cause of national liberation and the socialist revolution.

The circumstances under which she was wounded and arrested are the best proof of that. Some additional facts about her life are sufficient to destroy the repelling and false image of her personality which the dictatorship wants to create.

Compañera Ana Maria Villarreal de Santucho is a well-known sculptress, very active in the cultural field in the province of Salta and throughout northern Argentina both before and after she became a revolutionist.

She graduated as a teacher of painting and drawing at the National University of Tucuman, then taught painting and drawing at the National Academy of Fine Arts in Santiago in the province of Santiago del Estero. She gave many short lecture courses and collaborated with literary magazines as an illustrator. She is the mother of three children.

The dictatorship singled her out, not only because of her activities in behalf of the revolution but because it wanted her as a hostage in reprisal for the consistent, unflinching role played by her husband, and companion in struggle, as a leader of the PRT. The dictatorship is at present

conducting a manhunt for him.

It is for this particular reason that her situation is becoming more precarious—not only her liberty but even her life is at stake.

Her fate must be of concern to all revolutionists; action must be taken to stay the hand of the dictatorship.

We revolutionists of Bolivia, along with the sectors that believe in democracy, must speak out, demanding that the Argentine dictatorship release her, since her only crime is to have struggled for national liberation and to have helped in improving things for the poor of her country.

## Torture in Dominican prison

From *Intercontinental Press*

"From about five in the morning until eleven at night, the terrifying screams of those under torture can be heard without letup, echoing in the gloomy passageways along with the loud laughter of the sadists. . . .

"Eight desperate men have tried to commit suicide.

"Cell No. 11 is called the 'pavilion of the desperate.' Those who are to be tortured are brought here. It is a room about eight meters wide and ten meters long, in which 100 prisoners selected for torture are placed. Farther along is cell No. 9, which is called the 'gas chamber' or 'death chamber.' This is where eight sadists, almost naked, work with electric cables from an inch to an inch and a half thick, clubs, and other objects. They receive the men they are to torture four at a time."

The summer issue of the *USLA Reporter*, the bulletin of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, reprinted—from the Dominican magazine *Renovación*—an exposé of conditions in La Victoria prison outside Santo Domingo. The passage quoted above is from this report.

Since the government of President Joaquin Balaguer was installed under the watchful eye of American military forces sent in to crush the April 1965 revolution, terror has continued against all opposition political groups.

A large percentage of the approximately 2,000 prisoners in La Victoria are "politicals."

In an interview in the June 21 issue of the Santo Domingo weekly *Ahora*, ex-President Juan Bosch discussed the scope and purpose of the repression that has been going on.

The interviewer, Carlos María Gutiérrez of *Prensa Latina*, began by saying: "I have found in the last few days by reading the papers and speaking to some people that there is a situation here that can be called 'white terror.' That is, people are being murdered at the indirect instigation of the government and police. What is your view of the situation?"

The moderate former president answered: "I do not think the repression has been instigated by the government and the police. I think that it is being carried out by the police, tolerated by the government, and directed by U.S. elements—by the CIA. It is a very severe terror. . . .

"The terror goes on every day. People are arrested, attacked, kept in prison even when the judges order their release, even when they are considered innocent, even when they have served their terms. . . .

"The Americans are eliminating, annihilating the revolutionists, because they think that is the way to rule out

the possibility of a revolution in the Dominican Republic. As you know, they have put this method into practice in Guatemala and other Latin American countries, apparently with some success."

A typical recent case of political victimization is the jailing of Domingo Quezada, a thirty-four-year-old member of the Sindicato Artes Gráficas [Graphic Arts Union]. Quezada was arrested in late May on the charge of "Communist activity" and sent to La Victoria. He has been held in La Victoria for about a month already, and it is not yet clear whether he will get a trial. Of course, even if a judge orders him released, that is no guarantee the prison officials will let him go, as other cases have demonstrated.

At about the same time Quezada was sent to La Victoria, a committee of political and common-law prisoners in that institution smuggled out an appeal, which was published in the May 30 issue of *Renovación*. Among other things, the appeal said: "It is essential that political, cultural, trade-union, student, and professional organizations mobilize in order to halt the terrorism and crimes against the prisoners. We do not know how long we can prevent the kind of situation Colonel Soto Pimentel is waiting for to justify a mass machine-gunning.

"Hundreds of prisoners are jammed into a single cell; from five to six are dragged out each day, asphyxiated. These cells are nothing but hog pens. The prison has been converted into a ghetto for experiments in torture reminiscent of the Nazis. . . .

"We appeal in particular to the press and other media to aid us in reaching public opinion."

## New from Pathfinder

### Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth

by Mirta Vidal

Outlining the oppression of the Chicano people, the author discusses the relationship of the anti-war and student movements to La Raza. She sets forth the strategy of independent political action, seeing the experience of the La Raza Unida parties as a tool for implementing community control.

25c

### Documents of the Palestinian Resistance Movement

This collection of documents by Palestinian resistance organizations explains the analysis and goals of Fateh, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. 40c

### Lenin as Election Campaign Manager

by Doug Jenness

While many radicals reject electoral action, and even use quotations from Lenin to justify their stand, the author traces Lenin's position. Recognizing mass action as the primary tool for mobilizing the masses, Lenin utilized parliamentary tactics as a way of reaching out and explaining his revolutionary program to the entire population. The author documents Lenin's strategy. 25c

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# In Review

## Books

**Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy** by Telford Taylor. Bantam Books. New York, 1971. 224 pp. Paper \$1.25.

Telford Taylor was the U. S. chief counsel at the Nuremberg trials following World War II and brings this legal background to bear on a study of U. S. war crimes in Vietnam.

The real question Taylor discusses is: When does a war crime exist? Does it exist, for instance, only when the policy makers are finally brought to trial, as the Japanese and German leaders were after the war? Or is there such a thing as a war crime in and of itself—whether or not trial and punishment occur? And, who is to determine what constitutes a war crime? These, of course, are purely legal questions, and while Taylor's discussion of them is often enlightening, they nevertheless define the book's limitations.

Taylor points out that in existing international law, a nation cannot be legally judged as a nation by any authority higher than itself because no such authority exists. Thus, in a strictly legal sense, there can be no war crime for the actions of the United States unless the various administrations responsible can be brought to trial—which is extremely unlikely no matter what the outcome of the war.

Taylor then demonstrates how a case could be built against the United States and its leadership, and leaves the reader in no doubt as to the extent of U. S. war crimes in Vietnam. He does this through strictly legal comparisons between the events in Vietnam and German and Japanese war crimes.

Taylor's analysis of the parallels between the case of General Yamashita in 1944 and the Mylai massacre case is particularly enlightening. (Yamashita was executed for his failure to control his troops so as to prevent the atrocities they committed.) Taylor recalls that Yamashita's army was in such



**A house destroyed by U. S. bombing raid in Vinh region of North Vietnam.**

disarray that he was not even in communication with most of its units—a thought that American generals might find sobering since they too—despite improvements in communications—use the excuse that the command cannot know all the actions in the field.

*Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* raises numerous legal questions. For instance: Are the so-called "free-fire" and "free-strike" zones a "legal" means for dealing with guerrilla warfare? Yet, narrow legalistic questions like this seem rather sterile in light of the fact that such concepts as "free-fire" and "free-strike" zones, whether or not they are considered "legal," are nothing more than fancy terms for U. S. imperialism's barbarous effort to impose an unpopular government on the people of Vietnam.

The book's discussion of aerial bombardment is too brief and inadequate. Aerial bombardment is, after all, a key aspect of the U. S. military assault on Vietnam, and it has been widely used against civilian as well as military targets. But Taylor hardly discusses it because it has no established precedent in law. (Despite the horror of the bombings of Nagasaki and Dresden, for instance, no one was ever tried or punished for these crimes.) Taylor's legalistic method leads him not only to pay no attention to the universal outrage caused by the bombings of Guernica and the destruction of the dams and dikes in Holland during World War II (not to mention the destruction in Vietnam); it also leads him to conclude that "I can see no sufficient basis for war crimes charges based on the bombing of North Vietnam!"

It is in the area of politics that Taylor's book is weakest. He understandably deplores the moral weakness and cynicism of the Rusks, the McNamaras, the Bundys, and the Rostows, as well as their role in the war. (This cynicism is now being driven home to the vast majority of the American people with the publication of parts of the secret Pentagon study by the major capitalist newspapers.) But his book never leaves the legal world to explore the historical causes and ideological justification for the war.

— GARRET ORMISTON

**Europe versus America? Contradictions of Imperialism** by Ernest Mandel. New Left Books. London, 1970. (Distributed in the U. S. by Monthly Review Press.) 139 pp. with bibliography. Cloth \$4.50.

*Europe versus America?* focuses attention on a limited but highly important theme: the sharp increase of competition between U. S. and European capitalism beginning in the early sixties. Ernest Mandel, the internationally known Belgian Marxist, completed the manuscript in 1967 and *Europe versus America?* was first published in Germany in 1968.

But its delayed appearance in this country (it became available late last year) does not detract from the value of Mandel's book. This is because the subject is taking on an ever greater importance in the interplay of world economics and politics. The crisis of the U. S. dollar in European money markets in early May, and the first agreements between Paris and London about the entry of Britain into the European Economic Community (EEC) later in the same month are only the most recent reminders of the increasingly important role of U. S.-European competition in determining international developments.

Mandel shows that the starting point for understanding this competition must be the accumulation and concentration of capital. Today, no less so than when Marx first explained it over a century ago, the driving force of the capitalist economy is the concentration of ever larger masses of competing capital, within each nation and across national boundaries.

On one side are the mighty U. S. monopolies: "In 1964," states Mandel, "of the 100 largest businesses in the capitalist world, 65 were American, 18 belonged to the EEC, 11 were British and five were Japanese. . . . The turnover of the 20 largest American corporations almost equals the gross national product of West Germany, and the turnover of the five largest American corporations is almost the same as the gross national product of Italy. . . . The turnover of General Motors is equal to the sum total of the turnover of the 13 largest German companies."

In order to compete against these giants, which have deeply penetrated European markets, and in order to sell their own goods in the lucrative U. S. market, European firms have been forced to merge, not only within each nation, but in combinations that span the continent. Mandel gives a number of examples. For instance:

". . . the main French chemical company, Rhône Poulenc, works in close collaboration with the Germany Bayer company, and another giant of the German chemical industry, Farbwerke Hoechst, is working in close association with Roussel UCLAF, the second largest French pharmaceutical company. The Compagnie Française des Pétroles (France) and the German Huels company (now taken over by the Bayer Trust) are building a polyethylene plant together at Le Havre."

It is the logic of these combinations that lies behind the formation of the EEC, or Common Market, as it is often called. It also inevitably leads to "EEC" necessities that stand over and above the needs of particular nations within the EEC, and ineluctably draws Britain into the Common Market. The case of the computer industry—which is ever becoming a more crucial ingredient of modern technology—reveals these pressures. States Mandel:

"80 percent of the computers now in use in the EEC are American. An explosion is now forecast in the electronic computers' market. It is estimated that the number of computers required is going to increase three to four times in the coming years inside the Common Market. . . . In Western Europe the only feasible competitor of the American corporations is the British computer industry, and broken up as it is into a number of medium-sized firms, is hardly a serious rival."

Mandel emphasizes that the battle for North American markets is just as important in international capitalist competition as the battle for European markets. "If the interpenetration of capital continues in Western Europe and capital concentration continues in Japan, and if industrial colossi arise in these areas with a production capacity comparable to that of the American giants, they will be poised for successful conquests in the American domestic market. For, with equal technology and productivity, they have a trump card to play: labor costs two to four times lower than those in the United States."

Thus, the intensification of international competition accompanied by ever greater concentration of capital on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific inevitably points toward intensification of the class struggle: "An attack by European and Japanese big business on the American home market must unleash the classic capitalist response," writes Mandel, "—an attempt to cut back the growth of real wages and to impose an incomes policy, in other words, reducing wages and union rights. This could profoundly alter the attitude of the U. S. white working class to the system."

Mandel concludes *Europe versus America?* with a vigorous critique of the argument that the lot of the European masses would be improved by strengthening European capital against the penetration of American capital. To Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's appeal for a more powerful supranational institution of the EEC, Mandel replies,

"[Servan-Schreiber] admits that it is reasonable to fear that some of these huge corporations will abuse their economic power. But he answers this objection by saying that the authority of the state must be strengthened against this danger; as if strengthening the monopolies and putting more economic power into fewer hands will not tighten the grasp of these same monopolies on the state! . . ."

"Both forms of international capital concentration, the interpenetration of capital within Europe and the mergers between European and American capital with the latter in charge, profoundly contradict the demands of modern technology, and the establishment of a more humane society. Bourgeois economists have made the chilling prediction that within a few years the whole economy of the West will be dominated by 300 multinational trusts.

"The socialist answer to that prediction is that we do not wish to choose between 300 American or 300 European masters to govern 350 million Europeans. We would rather see European labor, free from all masters, organized in a free association of producers."

—DICK ROBERTS



# ...Ireland

Continued from page 16

on its own people and their needs, the conditions in their own country. We have a lot to learn from many other countries in the world who have made a successful revolution or in some cases are like ourselves, trying to make a revolution. But as I said, if we cannot translate conditions and movements from our own past then it should be just as obvious that we cannot borrow or get a carbon copy of revolution from other countries. We must deal with the situation as it is today in Ireland, and build our movement accordingly.

The only hope the ruling class has is if it can isolate the revolutionary completely from the rest of the people. That is why the number one task today for those revolutionaries who really want to change the system is to know how to reach people. We must build a movement of people who are aware and conscious of all the many avenues that are open to the movement; a movement with the realisation that we need to get involved in and build on these issues to that final confrontation with the forces of the establishment. This will be a long road but if we build our foundations on a conscious people we cannot but succeed.

We do not know what will be the spark for the Irish revolution but it is certain as I said before, that unless there is a revolutionary movement there to lead the people and direct them towards that central goal—'Political Power' for the working class—it will fail as it failed so before. This is a fundamental, the key role played by the building of a revolutionary movement. There is another key and this is that there must be a certain level of class consciousness and revolutionary self activity. Without this a revolutionary movement cannot transform a struggle for immediate demands into a struggle challenging the very existence of the system.

One of the basic problems of revolutionary strategy today is this lack of class consciousness among the people of Ireland and elsewhere. We, as revolutionary socialist



Cops stone Bogside residents

republicans do not believe that capitalist imperialism will suddenly collapse as a result of some miracle or inner contradictions. We do not believe that the task of revolutionaries is to sit on the sidelines and interpret current events hoping for some happening. We believe in the conscious intervention, in the key teaching role that struggle has and of the experience born from such struggles. We believe that it is only by trying to expand actual living working class struggles towards an incipient challenge against the authority of the employers and of the capitalist system, can a rise be achieved in working class consciousness. Only through such struggles can the workers build the actual organs through which they can tomorrow take over the administration of the economy and the State, freely elected workers committees at factory or street level which will federate themselves afterwards locally, regionally, and then nationally. That is what the conquest of political power by the working class really means.

You cannot build a revolutionary movement without a revolutionary programme for, in fact, in time the programme will create the movement, but it is here that the role of conscious leadership enters into it, to save time.

The present generation of Irish revolutionaries has the supreme duty now to examine the past and take note of the many tragic mistakes committed, in order to avoid them in the future and to replace haphazard methods by a conscious theory and a deliberate design.

## Conclusion

To conclude, over the past five years many changes have taken place in the Republican Movement. During that time we have clarified our objective, we know where we want to go, we know what we must do, what action we must take in order to achieve this objective. We must continue to learn from the past and our experiences, but not allow ourselves to be bound or tied to the past. Above all, it must be borne in mind that whatever actions we engage in, housing agitations, land and fishery agitations, civil rights or cultural agitations, all are bound up with and must be linked with the fight for freedom and socialism, and that in all of these fights to establish the rights of the ordinary people there is a class fight. We must demonstrate to all the Irish people that our movement expresses the interests of that most exploited class, the working class, and that we have the programme and the policy, the aim to make that class victorious at last, in the long struggle for Freedom and Socialism.

# Mexican novelist on Padilla case

From *Intercontinental Press*

The well-known Mexican novelist José Revueltas wrote the following letter May 3 from Lecumberri prison in Mexico City. He was sentenced November 12, 1970, to sixteen years in prison as the "intellectual instigator" of the 1968 student and popular movement. Revueltas was released from prison on May 13 as part of the new government's policy of freeing the most prominent political prisoners jailed when the 1968 movement was repressed.

The prize-winning novelist was held in prison for about two and a half years. He was one of the victims of the January 1, 1970, assault on political prisoners by drug-crazed convicts.

This was not the first time Revueltas, an old revolutionary militant, had been jailed for his political ideas. In the early thirties, at the age of fourteen, he was sent to the infamous prison colony of Islas Marias for being a member of the Communist youth organization.

Revueltas broke with Stalinism in the early 1950s over the question of "socialist realism" and artistic freedom. We have translated his letter from the May 19 issue of the weekly magazine *Siempre*, published in Mexico City.

In recent days two events have distressed the revolutionary writers of all countries, that is, all of us who have a clear-eyed love of the Cuban revolution, and who, because of this love and this understanding, have not lost our confidence in this revolution and will never do so.

The first of these developments was the letter that the poet Heberto Padilla addressed April 26 to the revolutionary government of Cuba. The second was that part of the speech Compañero Fidel Castro gave May 1 to the First National Congress on Education and Culture in which he made contemptuous and offensive references to the problems created by the imprisonment of this poet.

I used the word "distress" and I meant it in its strict sense, "sadness and moral anguish." Not anger, not desperation—only anguish and sadness. Writers have no weapon but the word. It is as good as a hammer, a sickle, or a tractor. But it is different—it has its special function.

The materials shaped by this tool are the feelings and thoughts of men, of Man. Through feelings we try to discover thought; and through thought, clarify feelings. We only clarify feelings, discover their deeper meaning hidden from the eyes of those who are busy with other things—from the eyes of the blacksmith, the public accountant, or the politician or the street sweeper—although all of their eyes are perceptive too.

Our job then as writers is only to clarify feelings. This, of course, is not a simple task. It is no simpler than the jobs of the blacksmith, the street sweeper, or the politician. That is, the writer's work—as much as anyone else's—needs to be checked by a critical eye, to see that it is done with integrity.

Integrity does not come easy. The streets have to be swept clean. Iron has to be forged skillfully. The people have to be led in a principled way. We have to write with authenticity. That is, we writers must immerse ourselves in undertakings that are by nature contradictory. In seeking truth, we must delve for it in the real world where it is mixed in with its opposites

—filth, unscrupulousness, and falsity.

What unites us all is the need to gain an understanding of our work, the struggle to master its mysteries. Streets that are clean, yes; and iron that is well wrought. But we are not going to make street cleaning a matter of national security (unless political prisoners are forced to sweep them), nor political policies into literary or aesthetic truths.

A limpid result requires that each one abide by the discipline of his work. Thus, the government cannot subordinate literary work to its political needs. The writer cannot try to be like a street sweeper instead of writing; nor can he be obliged to join with the party and the state in an area of political activities that is not properly his and which it is his duty to struggle against—unless he wants to compromise his own professional integrity. A writer must raise his voice against the element in a party or a state that resists criticism, that combats it, that represses it—thereby repressing, silencing, or mythologizing the very function of a writer. Writers seek to gain understanding, to clarify their thoughts and feelings. But in this they must have freedom, because without it the task is impossible.

So, we were distressed by these two developments, which aroused sadness and anxiety in us—Heberto Padilla's letter and Fidel's words on May 1. But this was not because of the subjective material of our work as writers—feelings. It was because of the rational process we want to illuminate through them. Our sadness and anxiety were *political*.

No, the poet Padilla's letter is not the outcome of physical torture. In his letter Heberto Padilla asserts one truth as the basis for renouncing the truth as such. He repents that he tried to achieve understanding, clarity. And



Jose Revueltas

so he defines himself in a mythologized way, in terms of state security. What greater torture is there for a writer than counterposing his work to *that*? And all the more when the state is a socialist one. The "heretics" of the Middle Ages in recanting offered much less resistance to Jesuit sophistry than to boiling lead poured into their eye sockets.

This is not an "insignificant" problem, as Compañero Fidel Castro presented it at the Congress on Education, when he said that "some intellectuals" thought it should be considered by an assembly devoted to discussing the problems of culture. Unless there is freedom in this sphere, then, in essence, nothing else can be significant.

# Calendar

## AMHERST, MASS.

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

## BOSTON

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

## BROOKLYN, N.Y.

**BLOODBATH IN BANGLA DESH.** Speakers: Dr. Alamgir, Bangla Desh League of America; Nick Gruenberg, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 23, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 596-2849.

## LOS ANGELES

**LOS ANGELES SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEAD-QUARTERS OPENING CELEBRATION.** Sat., July 24. Guest speaker: Clifton DeBerry, 1970 SWP candidate for governor of New York. Refreshments served at 6:30 p.m., dinner served at 7 p.m. and program begins at 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$4, students \$3.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE DEBSIAN TRADITION.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

## Socialist summer school

### ATLANTA

**THE NEW FEMINIST MOVEMENT:** Women and the family under slavery and feudalism, Wed., July 21, 8 p.m. Evolution and social role of the family under capitalism. Mon., July 26, 8 p.m. at 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 876-2330.

### AUSTIN

**HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** Regular classes Tuesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m., U of Texas Student Union. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

### BAY AREA (CALIF.)

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Women's Liberation. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. San Francisco State College, Education building, Room 117. For more information, call 626-9958 (San Francisco) or 654-9728 (Berkeley). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

### BOSTON

**FRANCE IN REVOLUTION.** Series on French history from the 1789 revolution to the present. The May-June events of 1968. Sun., July 25, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Inflation, unemployment

and the war. Wed., July 21, 7:30 p.m. at Boston University School of Public Communication, 640 Commonwealth Ave., Room 206. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 536-6981.

## BROOKLYN, N.Y.

**SERIES OF CLASSES.** Socialist electoral politics, every Tuesday, 7 p.m. July 13-Aug. 3 at 1015 Washington Ave., Apt. 6. History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, every Sunday, June 17-Aug. 1, call 596-2849 for exact time. Strategies and tactics for the 70s, every Tuesday, 7 p.m., June 13-Aug. 3. Permanent revolution, every Wednesday, 7 p.m., July 14-Aug. 4. At 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## CHICAGO

**HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U.S.** A series of classes. Stalinism: the popular front—from Spain to Indonesia, Tues., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Stalinist betrayal of the post-World War II revolutionary wave, Tues., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 180 North Wacker Drive, Room 310. For more information, call 641-0147. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## CLEVELAND

**HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM.** A series of classes. History of the Fourth International, Mon., July 26 and Wed., July 28, 8 p.m. Debs Hall Forum, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for more information. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## DENVER

**HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.** Post-war radical upsurge: its lessons for today, Thurs., July 22, 8 p.m. The fifties: revolutionaries and the witch-hunt, Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Contact Rocky Mountain Socialist Summer School, 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505.

## DETROIT

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND ON NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION.** Fri., July 23, 7:30 p.m.: Derrick Morrison on The Theoretical Roots of Black Nationalism. Sat., July 24, noon: Derrick Morrison on The Transitional Program for Black Liberation. Banquet: Saturday at 6 p.m. Refreshments served. Gourmet Dinner. Talk by Barry Sheppard on The Coming American Revolution. Slide show on Cuba by Robin Maisel. Party afterwards. Debs Hall Forum, 3737 Woodward Ave. For tickets and reservations, call (313) TE1-6135.

## LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Feminism and Marxism, Thurs., July 22, 8 p.m. The international youth revolt, Sun., July 25, 4 p.m. Socialist electoral politics, Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., For more information, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

## MADISON, WIS.

**MARXIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Stalinism—past and present: Thermidor and beyond, Sat., July 24, 1:30 p.m., at Che Guevara Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman St. For more information, call 256-0857.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED.** Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 3. Nationalism, feminism and the campuses in revolt, Sat., Sun., and Mon., July 24-26. For more details, call 332-7781. At 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## NEW YORK

**CITY-WIDE WEEKEND EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION.** Sat., July 24, 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. Speaker: Tony Thomas.

Party at 8 p.m. Sun., July 25, 12 noon. Speaker to be announced. 2744 Broadway (106th St.). Contribution: 50c per session. For further information, call 663-3000, 982-6051, or 596-2849. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.** Series 1—World War II and the Shachtman fight, Sun., July 25 and Sun., Aug. 1, 1 p.m. Series 2—Defense policies of the SWP, Tues., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Trade union politics in the Debsian period and the 1930s, Tues., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Series 3—History of the SWP's campaigns, Thurs., July 22, 7:30 p.m. The Debsian tradition, Fri., July 23, 8:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA Socialist Summer School. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. For more information, call 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Socialist electoral policy, Tues., July 20, 7 p.m. The new radicalization: feminism, Wed., July 21, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Phone 663-3000 for details.

## PHILADELPHIA

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** The student movement and the rebellion of women, Wed., July 21, 7:30 p.m. The current radicalization compared with those of the past, Wed., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For more information, call WA5-4316. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## PORTLAND

**THREE EDUCATIONAL SERIES.** The revolutionary party, Mondays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 2. Marxism and the struggle for national liberation, Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 4. Marxist economic theory, Thursdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 5. Portland State University, room 323 SMC. For more information, call 288-1063. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

## SAN DIEGO

**SUMMER EDUCATIONAL SERIES.** The transitional program, Thurs., July 22, 7:30 p.m. The united front, Mon., July 26, 7:30 p.m. San Diego State College New Library, room 307. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 286-9885.

## SEATTLE

**THREE SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES.** Dialectical materialism and political economy—Imperialism, Wed., July 21, 8 p.m. History of the American left—rise and fall of the New Left, Thurs., July 22, 8 p.m. Revolutionary socialism in action—Internationalism, Sat., July 24, 11 a.m. U of Washington HUB. For more information, call 523-2555. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

# ...Maginnis

Continued from page 13

cluding all women who want to work for repeal of abortion laws and no forced sterilization; the national coalition we're working with; public meetings like the speak-out we held recently—all forms of organizing ourselves and other women. We are saying that we don't like the system as it is, but many women still think the therapeutic abortion law is just great, and we want to reach them too.

**Militant: How do you feel about large demonstrations of women?**

**Maginnis:** That's a good tactic. Another one we might try is the sort of caravan that Vancouver women set up, traveling all across Canada with abortion information. In every small town they stopped in, they distributed leaflets, and talked to women and to the local press. We all have to do what we do best.



We don't want to just pressure the legislature, I have very little faith in them. But all kinds of actions are meaningful to the women who participate in them, and they all help. We want to combine all sorts of tactics, doing the same thing in different ways. To be strong, we need a broad base, and at the speak-out we found that all sorts of women were eager to speak up and join us.

**Militant: Do you think it will be easy to win the kind of medical care that we need?**

**Maginnis:** Frankly, no. The politics of pregnancy are so insidious—manipulating the uterus.

Our society has really run aground. We need fundamental social change, and a lot of that depends on women, our strength and our ingenuity. We are going to be constantly grappling with it, but I would definitely like to see socialism become a reality.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.  
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.  
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.  
Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.  
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.  
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.  
San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.  
**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.  
**FLORIDA:** Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.  
Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.  
Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.  
**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.  
**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.  
DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).  
**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.  
**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.  
Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.  
Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.  
Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.  
**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.  
Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.  
East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.  
**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.  
**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.  
**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.  
**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.  
Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.  
Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.  
New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.  
Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP—(212) 982-6051, YSA—(212) 260-0976, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.  
Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.  
**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sarabeth Carr, 3653 Shaw, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 871-4725.  
Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.  
Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.  
**OREGON:** Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 1944 N.W. Johnson, Room 103, Portland, Ore. 97209.  
**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.  
**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.  
**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, c/o Charles Kelly, Box 187, Melrose Hall, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.  
**TEXAS:** Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.  
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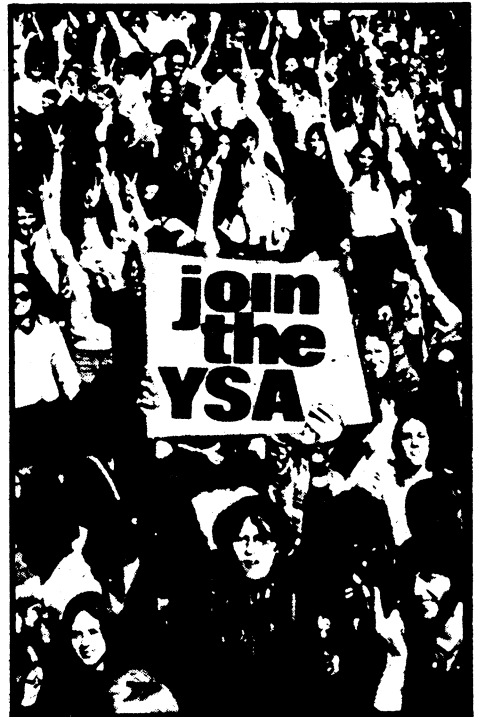
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# THE MILITANT

## Longshore strike: no end in sight

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, July 13 — The West Coast longshoremen's strike, now in its second week with no end in sight, was unavoidable. Everyone knew this except the top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges.

The rank-and-file longshoremen and ship clerks have seen their job conditions and economic security deteriorate to the point where the situation is unacceptable. For some time there has been general agreement that only a victorious strike could change things. A 96.4-percent vote for a strike confirmed this.

Under the contract that has been in effect since 1961, the shipowners and stevedoring companies, comprising the Pacific Coast Maritime Association (PMA), have grown fat and arrogant. With Bridges riding shotgun, the PMA has virtually eliminated union job control and other formerly union prerogatives.

The "gang system," wherein men get their orders from a union gang boss, has almost disappeared. In many cases, non-union "supervisors" are supplanting both union gang bosses and supervisors. A "steady-man" system, bypassing the rotational hiring halls won in the great 1934 strike, has undermined equalization of earnings. The number of men per job is now the boss' decision.

The PMA and ILWU have developed such a comfortable relationship that some years ago the union eliminated its strike fund as unnecessary. As a result hundreds of waterfront workers have been forced to build their personal strike funds. Some began this process as long as two years ago. The union is instructing the financially unprepared to acquaint themselves with the food-stamp welfare program.

Several times prior to the strike deadline of July 1, the international leadership under Bridges tried to head off a showdown by arbitrarily watering down the demands set up by the delegated Coastwise Caucus of October 1970.

Caucus demands were: 1) a two-year contract with \$1-an-hour increase per year; 2) union control of stuffing and of freight containers (such containers, holding up to 20 tons of pre-packaged cargo, are gradually replacing loose, individually handled cargo); 3) a 40-hour guaranteed work week for seniority men (A-men) and a 32-hour guarantee for new men (B-men); and 4) a \$500-per-month pension with 25 years of service, beginning at 55 years of age.

As the strike deadline neared, the negotiating committee, without approval of the local, lowered the wage demand to 85 cents and 75 cents and offered to extend the present agreement on containers for two years.

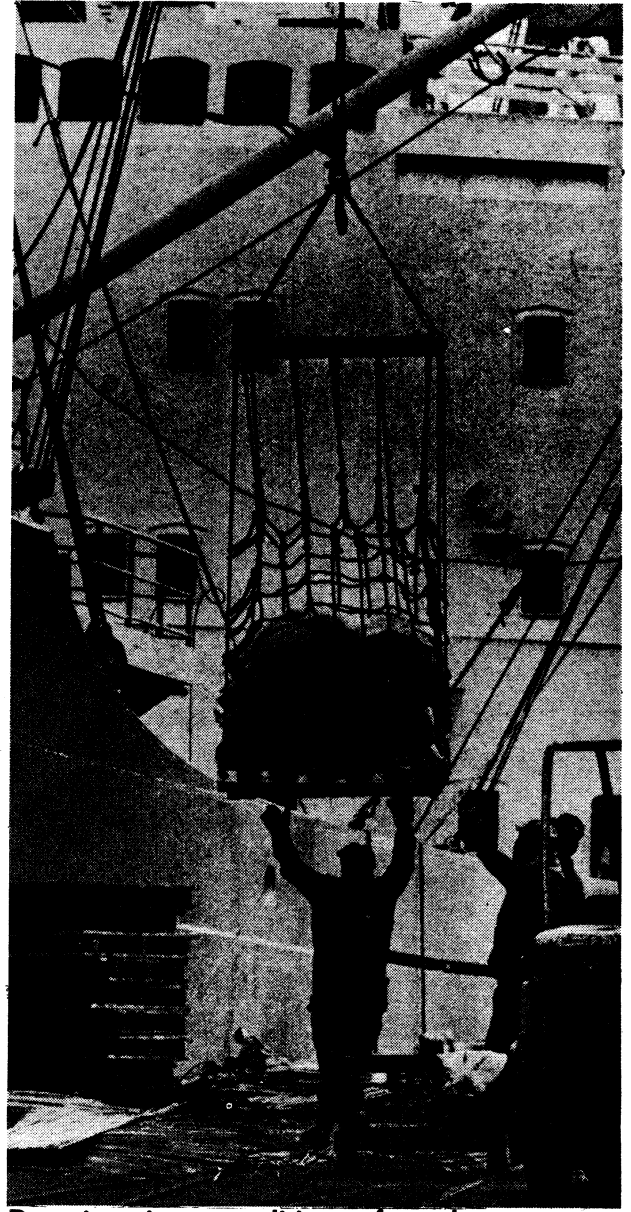
Bridges was immediately denounced by the rank and file up and down the coast and was forced to reinstate the original demands.

Leaves of younger men brought into the industry between 1959 and 1969 are the basis of the opposition to further knuckling under to the PMA. They call Bridges' approach "pro-PMA" and a "be kind to the shipowners" policy.

Bridges and his lieutenants are often greeted with insults and foul language when they appear at local meetings. There are now open discussions on the picket lines regarding the necessity of shoving the old leadership aside if the strike is to be won.

In the meantime, the "be kind" policy prevails. Military cargo, carried on PMA ships, is being worked. Passenger ships are being worked. Commercial cargo diverted to Canadian and Mexican ports is being worked by affiliated unions. Hawaii is serving as a transshipment port for the PMA. Hawaii is working even though its contract has expired.

The militants on the picket line know that only the policy of a "tight strike" — stop everything — can win. A collision is inevitable between them and the old leadership.



Deteriorating conditions forced longshoremen to strike July 1.

## Judge rejects petition by Angela Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO — U. S. District Court Judge Samuel Conti rejected on July 9 Angela Davis' petition to remove her trial from state to federal court for the protection of her civil rights. The petition had maintained that officials of the state of California, from Reagan on down, had conspired to terminate her employment in the state university system because of her race and political beliefs, and to finally silence her by means of the present murder-kidnap-conspiracy trial.

Davis asked the federal courts to hear her case in order to either dismiss charges because of lack of evidence, or to transfer trial proceedings to the federal level. Judge Conti also rejected Davis' petition asking that he be disqualified for prejudice and continued his order restraining codefendant Ruchell Magee from filing further petitions with the federal court.

In order to avoid alleged "legal abuse of the courts," Magee is permitted only to lodge petitions with a federal judge, who then may determine if they have legal merit for filing.

It is obvious that Judge Conti set up a show trial in San Francisco not only for the press but for the state courts, to halt — in his own words — their "horsing around over there." Chief counsel for Angela Davis, How-

ard Moore Jr., said later that Conti "shows signs of Judge Hoffman [who presided over the conspiracy trial of the Chicago Eight]. I think the judge appeared to be impatient and to have his mind made up."

Conti seemed to want to rely on his own judicial artistry, since there were no uniformed police in the courtroom, no frisking of spectators, no chains about Magee, and no other visible paraphernalia of repression that characterized the pretrial sessions in state superior court.

Earlier in the session, Magee's court-appointed attorney Ernest Graves refused Judge Conti's order to represent Magee in the federal proceedings. Graves declared that he had been hired solely to handle aspects of the case in the state courts. In addition, he maintained that he is ignorant of removal law and ill-equipped to discuss it in court. After suggesting that ignorance of the law made little difference, Judge Conti finally said, "If you can't explain today's proceedings to Mr. Magee, I think perhaps you ought to disqualify yourself from the bar."

Graves informed the press that since the judge had held him up to public ridicule, he was considering withdrawing entirely from the case.

When Ruchell Magee tried to submit

a petition to disqualify Conti on the basis of prejudice, the judge cut him off, with the warning that Magee should merely listen to the arguments concerning Davis' petition. "If I'm not here for a hearing," Magee demanded, "why did you order me to come?"

The judge refused to answer the question; to do so would have been to admit that the incorrigible Magee was brought to San Francisco only so Judge Conti could display "proper" courtroom tactics at Magee's expense.

Magee was soon removed to a nearby holding cell, but was returned to the courtroom after being asked if he could "behave himself."

Magee then announced that he was asking the federal court of appeals to restrain this court from proceeding on grounds of conspiracy with state officials. He noted that Conti had publicly ridiculed him by statements to the news media.

When Conti responded, "I sat here and listened to you call me a racist," Magee suggested that Conti wasn't listening, because he hadn't called him a racist at all. The judge bellowed that Magee was simply using the courtroom as a political forum, and since the defendant refused to be quieted, he was ordered once again to be removed to a cell.

Originally, Angela Davis was included in Judge Conti's order enjoin-

ing Magee from filing petitions directly to the federal court. Prosecuting attorney Albert Harris, however, requested separate treatment for Davis on the contention that including Davis in the order would prompt her attorneys to file another petition as a test case.

Defense counsel Howard Moore announced that Judge Conti's decision will be appealed to the U. S. court of appeals, and ultimately to the Supreme Court. Despite objections of the defendants, however, pretrial motions are scheduled to resume at the Marin County court of Judge Richard E. Arnason on July 19.

On July 8, Angela Davis was allowed to confer with George Jackson, one of the Soledad brothers charged with murdering a guard at Soledad prison in California. The state is accusing Davis of conspiracy to kidnap court officials as hostages for the release of Jackson and two other Soledad brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette. In the shoot-out which ensued, George Jackson's brother Jonathan was killed.

This meeting was the first time that Angela Davis and George Jackson had met, although some of their correspondence is included in the book *The Prison Letters of George Jackson*.