

THE MILITANT

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

East Pakistan fights for national independence

— page 8



Indian supporters of East Pakistan independence struggle demonstrate at Pakistan embassy in New Delhi March 27.

Laos: worst defeat since Tet offensive /3
Firsthand report on Palestinian struggle /12

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Laos: worse than Tet
Concern over war crimes
- 4 Antiwar activity
- 5 April 24 countdown
- 8 Behind Pakistan events
- 9 East Bengalis fight for independence
- 10 Why Panthers split
- 11 N.Y. abortion march
Support for Davis
- 12 Report on Jordan
- 13 Indictments in Czech trial
- 14 Socialist campaign '71
- 15 Camejo letter to Daily World
Seale-Huggins trial
- 16 Eqbal Ahmad interview
- 17 SST wings clipped
- 19 Railpax to slash jobs
- 21 Boston women's conference
- 24 Houston SWP fights
rightist moves
Austin gay conference

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion
Letters
- 7 Great Society
National Picket Line
- 8 Third World Liberation
Notes
- 18 Insurgent Majority
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 13
APRIL 9, 1971
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAR. 31

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone 243-6392. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$18.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

SUPREME COURT COPS OUT ON GI RIGHTS: On March 22, the Supreme Court refused to hear two appeals in cases brought by the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Bragg, N.C., and Ft. Jackson, S.C., involving the right of GIs to meet and distribute antiwar literature on military bases. Leonard Boudin, attorney for the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee (GICLDC), which is handling the cases for GIs United, said the case arguing for the right to distribute literature is still in the preliminary stages because the motion for Supreme Court review was made while hearings at the district court level are still pending. Boudin, along with David Rosenberg and Dorian Bowman, is preparing for the district court proceedings in which Gen. John Tolson (who refused to allow Jane Fonda's antiwar entertainment troupe on base) will be ordered to explain how the distribution of **Bragg Briefs** affects the discipline and morale of the base in any way different from other literature permitted on the base, such as **Playboy** magazine. Noting that three justices voted to hear the case even when it was not in "best posture," the GICLDC is pressing ahead with the intention of appealing again if it becomes necessary. **HARRISBURG SIX:** Eqbal Ahmad and Sister Elizabeth McAlister, together with their alleged "co-conspirators" in the frame-up kidnap-bombing indictment, Thomas Davidson and Sister Jogues Egan, spoke to a crowd of 200 at New York's St. Gregory the Great Church March 20, urging those present to continue placing their main attention on ending the Indochina war. Davidson was one of three alleged "co-conspirators" who met with Henry Kissinger March 6 to discuss the case. Pointing out that he believed the three to be deeply committed but naive, Ahmad said they had been taken advantage of by the administration. Speaking at Columbia Law School March 23, Ahmad challenged Kissinger or Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird to a TV debate. Ahmad said, "Private meetings do not reflect the accountability of officials but rather their desire to throw a cloak of darkness on their essentially murderous policies."

LINDA JENNESS IN CALIFORNIA: The speaking tour of Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman Linda Jenness—who is addressing audiences around the country on the relationship of feminsim to revolutionary socialism—has been extremely successful in Southern California so far. Jenness has spoken to Black, Chicano and women audiences in Los Angeles and San Diego. In addition to speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles, she spoke to 125 persons at Los Angeles City College, about half of whom were Black. In San Diego, Jenness spoke to about 70 people from two Chicano Studies classes at San Diego State College in an appearance sponsored by the school's women's studies program; she also spoke to an all-woman audience of about the same size at the San Diego Women's Center. One hundred people attended her talk at the Socialist Forum in San Diego, and she was one of the speakers at a massive Angela Davis defense rally in the city. In Los Angeles, Jenness was interviewed by **Everywoman**.

LETTUCE BOYCOTT ENDS: Cesar Chavez announced at a March 26 news conference in the Salinas, Calif., Labor Temple that the United Farm Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had reached agreement on a division of jurisdiction according to which the UFWOC will organize field workers and the IBT will organize drivers and processing workers. The settling of the jurisdictional dispute may clear the way for a settlement with the lettuce growers, and Chavez ordered a 30-day suspension of the lettuce boycott. **ARRESTS AT MERRITT:** The March 19 San Francisco **Good Times** reports that 10 persons have been arrested in the struggle to keep Merritt College from being moved out of its present site in the west Oakland ghetto to a white, middle-class neighborhood in the Oakland hills. Merritt Resistance staged a sit-in protesting the slated move and the Peralta Board of Education's reneging on promises granted after an earlier sit-in. The Oakland cops moved in March 17 and made the arrests.

KENT 25 DEFENSE: The Kent Legal Defense Fund has done a national mailing, calling attention to the fact that money is still needed in the case of the 25 indicted Kent students and faculty. Their prosecution continues despite the findings of the Scranton Commission and the FBI, and despite the court's repudiation of the grand jury report that accompanied the indictments. Contribu-

tions can be sent to Kent Legal Defense Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240. Copies of the brochure used in the mailing can also be obtained at the same address for those who can help raise funds in their own areas.

THE GIRL IN THE PICTURE: The **Washington Post** ran an article March 21 headlined "Kent's 5th Victim/The Girl in the Picture Finds Only Hate Back Home." It told of the experiences of Mary Vecchio, the 14-year-old woman snapped by an AP photographer last May 5, kneeling over the body of a slain Kent student with her arms outstretched and her face contorted in anguish. In a three-quarter page article, **Post** staff writer Haynes Johnson tells of the unbelievable cruelty with which Vecchio has been treated since returning home to Opa Locka, Fla. The hate mail sent to her family's residence most clearly indicates the morbid neuroses of those who have treated her so savagely, such as the junior high school principal who said, "I was proud of them," when other students refused to associate with Vecchio; or the restaurant manager who refused to serve the Vecchio family, saying, "You and your family are Communists and I don't have to serve any Communists." The letters are full of references to sexual promiscuity and venereal disease, combined with holy damnation and anticommunism. One letter, calling the young woman "a dirty, foul, syphilitic whore," urged, "What you need is a good beating with a strap, beating until you bleed good red blood. . . ." **FLORIDA YSA LEADER MAKES NEWS:** The **St. Petersburg Times** carried a long interview with Tallahassee YSA leader Jack Lieberman on the front page of an inside section of its Sunday, March 21, issue, pegged around his teaching of a noncredit course on "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." at Florida State University in Tallahassee. State legislators have warned the school's administration that if it doesn't stop Lieberman from teaching, they will.

NEW YORK LAWS: A bill banning discrimination in employment against gay people was favorably reported out of committee in the New York state legislature March 24. The bill, introduced by William F. Passannante, is one of a dozen bills related to homosexual civil rights currently before the legislature. The Clingan-Burden-Skolnick-Weiss bill before the New York City Council, also aimed at ending job discrimination against gays, has the pledged support of a majority of council members. Jim Owles, president of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), which has organized actions demanding these and other legislative changes, said that "although the Passannante bill is essential to achieving our human rights, the passage of the entire legislative package in Albany and in the City Council is necessary." Other bills in the package include fair housing and the repeal of laws against sodomy, loitering, solicitation, and impersonation. **LESBIANS PICKET FOR TI-GRACE:** A picket of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City was organized by the Daughters of Bilitis March 23 in support of Ti-Grace Atkinson's charges against the Catholic Church as an oppressor of women. DOB President Ruth Simpson said the demonstrators were "also here to make the statment that the Catholic Church has been one of the major oppressors of homosexuals." **CORRECTION:** A March 26 **In Brief** item incorrectly identified Atkinson as a "Catholic feminist." Actually, she was raised, in her own words, as a "high Episcopalian—which means nothing."

THE WORD OF GOD: A Bible embodying a mixture of the Catholic, Protestant and Hebrew versions—reduced on microfilm to the size of an ordinary color slide—was carried in the spacesuit pocket of moonman Edgar Mitchell on his Apollo 14 flight, according to an item in the March 30 **New York Times**. The item did not say whether he also brought garlic, wolfsbane and incense to protect himself from vampires, werewolves and evil spirits.

MALCOLM'S MUSLIM SPEECHES: Four speeches by Malcolm X from the final year of his affiliation with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam have been collected under the title **The End of White Supremacy**. The 90-page book has been announced for spring publication by Monthly Review Press. Edited by Benjamin Goodman, an associate of Malcolm X before and after he left the Muslims, the book will sell for \$1.95. It can be ordered from MR Press at 116 West 14 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.

— LEE SMITH

Laos: worst defeat since Tet

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 30—*Life* magazine's Far East Bureau Chief John Saar put it this way:

"A rout," says Webster, is 'a state of wild confusion or disorderly retreat.' Had he seen what I saw in South Vietnam's First Military Region last week, I believe that Webster would agree that Operation Lam Son 719 ended in a rout."

New York Times correspondent Gloria Emerson talked to American GIs at Khesanh March 25: "We are too damned scared to sleep," said the platoon medic. . . . 'We don't want to be relieved—we want to get the hell out of here,' Sergeant Stallard said."

Gloria Emerson also talked to retreating South Vietnamese troops at Khesanh two days later, March 27: "The morale of many soldiers in South Vietnam's finest military units, who fought the North Vietnamese in Laos, is shattered," Emerson wrote.

"Men in the crack First Infantry Division, in the marines and in the Airborne Division say that the Laos invasion was a nightmare. . . . Those interviewed were in the state of dejected fatigue that is common to men coming out of a long retreat under heavy enemy fire. . . .

"In Saigon, for example, a paratroop lieutenant who was wounded

early in the campaign said that for the next six months his men would prefer to desert and risk jail rather than go into such a battle again. . . ."

The defeat of the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos is certain to have an impact on the future of the war comparable to that of the Tet offensive of 1968.

Revolutionary forces outnumbered, outmaneuvered, outgunned, and outfought the Saigon regime's army despite the fact that the ARVN was backed by the heaviest U.S. artillery fire and bombing of any battle in the war. Moreover, ARVN was supposed to be "freely mobile" with the aid of the massive fleet of U.S. helicopters that was supplied—as it turned out, at devastating cost to American flight crews.

The full impact of the Laos defeat is taking effect more quickly than was the case after the Tet offensive. As GIs on the battlefield and the American population at home absorb what happened, the Laos rout is certain to add huge additional momentum to the antiwar movement.

After the Tet offensive three years ago, and after the invasion of Cambodia a year ago, it still seemed to most Americans that Washington would and could extricate itself from

the combat without suffering a military defeat.

Thus, Nixon was able to win time with his fraudulent promise of "Vietnamizing" the war—"gradually withdrawing U.S. troops" and "handing the war over to the South Vietnamese."

The events of the last six weeks show that Nixon is totally incapable of carrying this policy out. So long as Washington maintains the goal of stabilizing a pro-Western regime in Saigon, it means indefinite occupation of Southeast Asia by U.S. troops and indefinite prolonging of the slaughterous war.

And it is becoming apparent to millions and millions of Americans that military escalations like the invasion of Cambodia and Laos are not, as Nixon pretends, attempts to "shorten the war." They are designed to extend the war in order to give the U.S. military and its Saigon-army allies further chances to crush the revolution on the battlefield.

Life correspondent John Saar and *New York Times* correspondent Gloria Emerson give the most detailed accounts of the Laos debacle that have appeared in the major press so far.

"An informed source places ARVN casualties at 10,000 killed, wounded and missing," Saar states. "That is almost half the force originally com-

mitted. . . . According to accurate unofficial estimates, the equivalent of no less than 14 ARVN battalions are now inoperative, having sustained casualties of 30 percent or more. Since the units committed to Laos were regarded as ARVN's best, and since recovery will take between six and 12 months, the damage is very serious."

Saar takes issue with some of the Nixon administration claims about the invasion. "The cynical pretension that Lam Som 719 was a South Vietnamese operation shattered into a thousand incredible slivers on its first day."

"It became obvious that the ARVN forces were performing, under the guidance of the U.S. adviser system, as surrogate American troops. Clothed, fed and armed by Americans, they were also totally dependent on U.S. aircraft for combat movement, resupply, and the extraction of their wounded and their dead. Even the zippered olive-drab body bags were stamped 'U.S.'"

Against the claims of large casualties inflicted on the revolutionary forces by ARVN, Saar states, "The troops spent their days and nights running and hiding while U.S. air power struck at the pursuing NVA."

Continued on page 22

Mounting concern over U.S. war crimes

Ruling-class concern about the massive resentment and horror in this country at Washington's military policies in Vietnam was reflected in the editorial columns of the March 30 *New York Times*.

Conceding that Lt. William Calley has been made a scapegoat in the Mylai court-martial, the *New York Times* cited the charges that have been made by Gen. Telford Taylor that, "There is ample precedent at Nuremberg and Tokyo for a much broader assignment of responsibility at higher levels of command for the war crimes committed at Mylai and elsewhere throughout Indochina. . . .

"Beyond Mylai, and in spite of the Mylai disclosures, this nation still has not faced up to the moral and legal implications of additional civilian deaths caused by widespread bombing and shelling of Vietnamese hamlets in so-called free-fire zones, a practice that has been extended to Cambodia and Laos."

An extensive treatment of the question of applying the "war crimes" concept to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was presented in the *New York Times* two days earlier in the form of a unique book review in the Sunday book-review section.

The longest book review in the history of the section, according to *Washington Post* columnist Nicholas von Hoffman, this was written by *New York Times* veteran war correspondent Neil Sheehan. Sheehan reviews no less than 33 books, most of them by antiwar spokespeople and committees, around the theme: "Should We Have War Crime Trials?"

Sheehan is evidently shocked by the evidence compiled in these volumes and at his own previous tacit acceptance of Washington's war policies as a correspondent: "If you credit as factual only a fraction of the information assembled here," Sheehan states, "and if you apply the laws of war to American conduct there, then the leaders of the United States for the past six years at least, including the incumbent Richard Milhous Nixon, may well be guilty of war crimes."

Sheehan singles out for close scrutiny "one of the basic tactics the United States used to prosecute the war in South Vietnam—unrestricted air and

artillery bombardments of peasant hamlets.

"Since 1965, a minimum of 150,000 Vietnamese civilians, an average of 68 men, women and children every day for the past six years, have been killed in the South by American military action or by weapons supplied to the Saigon forces by the United States.

"Another 350,000 Vietnamese civilians have been wounded or permanently maimed. This is a very conservative estimate. It is based on official figures assembled by Senator Edward M. Kennedy's Senate Subcommittee on Refugees. . . ."

Sheehan asks if a "moral and legal" distinction can be drawn between this massive slaughter and the killings by Japanese General Tomoyuki Yamashita of more than 25,000 civilians in the Philippines during World War II (Yamashita was tried and hanged by the U.S. government in 1946):

"Again, if you accept only a portion of the evidence presented in this bibliography, and compare that evidence to the laws of war, the probable answer is, no. And President Nixon has spread this unrestricted bombing through Laos and Cambodia, killing and wounding unknown tens of thousands of civilians in those countries."

Sheehan particularly mentions among the antiwar books, *Against the Crime of Silence*, the publication of the proceedings of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal held in 1967: "The proceedings were widely dismissed in 1967 as a combination of kookery and leftist propaganda. They should not have been. Although the proceedings were one-sided, the perspective was there."

The *New York Times* war correspondent totally dismisses any pretense by high military or civilian officials of ignorance about the bombing slaughter.

"I remember asking one of the most senior American generals in the late summer of 1966 if he was not worried by all the civilian casualties that the bombing and shelling were causing. 'Yes, it is a problem,' he said, 'but it does deprive the enemy of the population, doesn't it?' . . .

"So this was the game. The fire-



power that only American technology can muster, the General Motors of death we invented in World War II, was to defeat the Vietnamese Communists by outright military attrition, the body count, and by obliterating their strategic base, the rural population."

A prior notice about Sheehan's article in the March 26 *Washington Post* indicates the depth of rethinking that is taking place about the war. *Post* columnist Nicholas von Hoffman writes: "What holds true for *The Times*, holds true for most of us. . . . We

didn't want to hear [the authors of these books] because the crimes they accused us of were too nauseating, too disgusting.

"And lastly, we didn't want to hear their guff because if they were right, Lord, if they were right, it means that Johnson, Rostow, Rusk, Nixon, Laird and Kissinger, all, are war criminals. Not war criminals in the oratorical sense, but in the low key, precise and accurate meaning of the word, violators of actual, written laws, both international and domestic."

—DICK ROBERTS

NPAC asks for live TV coverage

By HARRY RING

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 30—James Lafferty, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, and Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) joined today in calling on television and radio stations to provide live coverage of the massive antiwar demonstration to be held here April 24. Lafferty and Sen. Hartke appeared at an NPAC press conference at the Senate Office Building, along with several spokesmen for the Concerned Officers Movement (COM).

Lt. Louis Font of the COM announced plans for an antiwar prayer service to be held at Washington Cathedral April 23. (See story on this page.) Font also expressed his strong support for the April 24 NPAC demonstration. Sen. Hartke announced that he was giving his support to the COM prayer service, as well as to NPAC's April 24 demonstration.

Lt. Font predicted that there would be a large turnout of GIs on both April 23 and 24. He said he had visited a number of bases recently, and his conversations persuaded him of this. He noted that the Concerned Officers Movement, which began here, is now national in scope, and that in the past few weeks it has grown from 200 to 700 members.

Reporters were informed that Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) has announced his endorsement of the April 24 demonstration, making five senators who support the action. Fourteen members of the House of Representatives have also endorsed April 24.

A meeting of the Steering Committee of NPAC, held here March 27, registered the growing support for NPAC's spring antiwar offensive.

Phil Fenty of the NPAC staff reported that a supply of 50,000 April 24 buttons has already been exhausted,

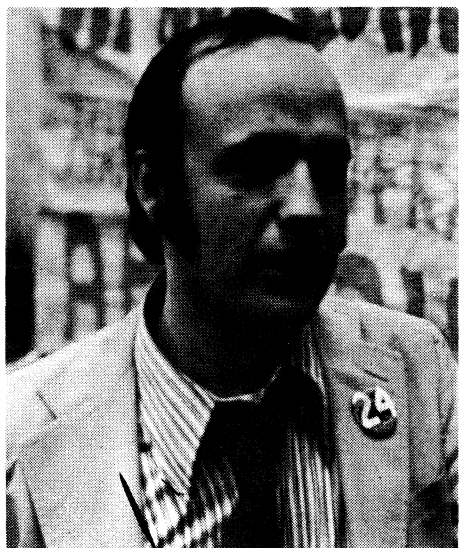


Photo by Dave Saperstan

James Lafferty

and another 100,000 are being ordered. Large amounts of posters, bumper stickers, and other promotional materials are also being re-ordered.

Fenty, who also handled the distribution of promotional material for the New Mobilization Committee prior to the large demonstration last Nov. 15, estimated that a greater amount of material is being ordered for April 24 than was the case for Nov. 15.

In addition to promoting its own spring program—the April 2-4 King memorial actions, the May 5 student moratorium, and the May 16 GI Solidarity Day—NPAC is relating to other antiwar activities being organized. The Steering Committee voted to endorse the legal, peaceful activities being planned by the Vietnam Veterans

Against the War, to be held here April 19-23.

The committee also heard a report from Mark Kurzman of the New York University Law Students Against the War about projected plans for antiwar congressional lobbying the week prior to April 24. Kurzman said he envisioned the project as a building action for April 24, and the committee voted to cooperate with, and help facilitate, the work of those involved in the project.

It was also voted to endorse the April 19 National Day of High School leafletting for April 24 being organized by the High School SMC. The motion to support this project was made by Marvin Rogoff of Washington Area Labor for Peace and seconded by Helen Gurewitz of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition. Both emphasized the vital importance in giving every support to high school students seeking to exercise their right to oppose the war.

Women's contingent moves ahead

Debby Woodroffe from New York City, who is working full time on building the United Women's Contingent for the Washington march, reports a very enthusiastic response, especially from campus women. She has a total of 13 speaking engagements during the next week to explain the idea of the Women's Contingent at teach-ins, before campus women's liberation groups, and in college classes.

On the other side of the country, two well-attended meetings have been held in Los Angeles to organize participation by L.A. women in the Women's Contingent at the San Francisco demonstration. In the past two weeks, the L.A. Women's Contingent has distributed eight different leaflets, contacted over 200 individuals and groups for endorsements, and set up an office and staff. They can be contacted at 715 S. Parkview, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Phone: (213) 389-1352.

In Washington, D.C., the national office of the United Women's Contingent is attempting to raise \$10 apiece from 40 women in order to place a large ad in the *Washington Post*. The Women's Contingent is also looking for women artists who would be willing to design a poster or a button for the Contingent. One poster advertising the Contingents in Washington and San Francisco is already available from the Women's Contingent office (same address as SMC) for 50 cents each, 30 cents each for 10-100, and 25 cents for more than 100.

SMC steps up efforts

By SANDY KNOLL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Student Mobilization Committee has moved full gear into building the April 24 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco and the May 5 action on campuses across the country. A huge amount of material has poured out of the national office in the last few weeks. Twenty-five thousand copies of the latest *Student Mobilizer*, urging activists to "truck on into Washington," have been printed and almost 20,000 were in the hands of SMCers within a day.

One million April 24 SMC buttons are at the printers waiting to be picked up and sent around the country to be handed out. This project was made possible by two donations amounting to \$6,500. People are backing this action financially, because they understand that the SMC is effectively utilizing the fantastic opportunities available to rally antiwar sentiment.

The breadth and scope of the support for April 24 are making it possible to get commitments from student body presidents and other national student figures to work in the SMC national office. The most recent commitment of this sort was received from the student body president of the University of Alabama. In addition, William Sloane, president of the College Young Democrats, is attempting to find some staff members for SMC from his organization and is helping SMC raise funds.

The most dynamic aspect of the organizing work for April 24 is among high school students. Last week, for instance, an SMC representative was turned away from a New York high school where he had come to speak on April 24. He proceeded to leave the school, but when he turned around he discovered that there were 300 students leaving the school with him.

High school students are part of the backbone of the SMC, and a national high school coordinator is being added to the staff.

On April 19, the SMC is sponsoring a National High School Leafletting Day, on which high school students all over the country will be passing out leaflets at their schools on April 24. The idea of this action is that if a great many high school students are leafletting on the same day all over the country and in many schools in each city, it will help high-schoolers establish their right to leaflet, which is often denied by school administrators.

An important sector of SMC organizing is GI work and the amount of GI leaflets and copies of the *GI Press Service* that the SMC turns out are never enough to fill the demand of GIs.

Washington area on-base leafletting has been welcomed by GIs in inverse proportion to the disconcerting effect that it has had on the brass.

The SMC expects to grow substantially from April 24 because it is the student organization most actively involved in building this action. A drive to obtain 15,000 new members has been launched. With the drive less than two weeks old, membership cards are rapidly being mailed into the SMC office.

Wednesday, April 8, the SMC, the Association of Student Governments, and the National Student Association will hold a press conference to announce May 5 campus actions in commemoration of the murders of students on Kent and Jackson State campuses.

April 23 GI action planned

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Members of the armed services are not permitted to participate in demonstrations while in uniform, but they are officially encouraged to attend church services while in uniform.

With this in mind, the Concerned Officers Movement, a fast-growing formation of antiwar commissioned officers, is planning a GI Memorial Service for the War Dead. It will be held on Friday evening, April 23, at Washington Cathedral, one of the city's major churches.

The antiwar service will be conducted by a number of noted clergymen, including such figures as Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Yale University chaplain and antiwar activist; Bishop J. Brooke Mosley of Union Theological Seminary; Rev. Channing Phillips; and others. Father Joseph Duffy (D-Mass.), a critic of the war, is being invited to participate, as is Father Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) also a critic of the war.

Several pews are being reserved for members of Congress who may wish to attend to pay their respects to the war dead, and invitations are being sent by the Concerned Officers to major government figures, including President Nixon.

Announcement of the planned service was made at a Senate Office Building press conference here March 30 by Lt. Louis Font, a spokesman for the Concerned Officers Movement. Font has been the victim of persistent Army harassment because of his outspoken opposition to the war and particularly because of his efforts to invoke Army regulations to have specific officers court-martialed for war crimes.

Font participated in the press conference at the invitation of the National Peace Action Coalition, along with Senators Vance Hartke and Mike Gravel and others.

The Concerned Officers Movement will urge servicepeople participating in the church ceremony to remain in Washington the next day to join the massive antiwar demonstration being organized by NPAC.

A similar church service is being projected by the Concerned Officers Movement for San Francisco on the eve of the April 24 demonstration there.



April 24 countdown

Endorsements of the April 24 marches in Washington and San Francisco continue to pour into the National Peace Action Coalition office in Washington, D.C. Important recent endorsements of the demonstration were made by the national Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the national Americans for Democratic Action. This is the first time that national SANE has endorsed any national antiwar demonstration sponsored by a coalition of organizations. Endorsement has also been received from the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, Local 35 of the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO. This is the second largest ANG local in the country, representing 2,000 employees in D.C., Alexandria, Va., and Baltimore.

The New York Teacher-Student Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia has endorsed the 24th, and is laying plans for mobilizing the greatest possible number of teachers and students in New York City for the Washington march. A statement—issued by Sanford Gerlinter and Martin Lobenthal, members of the Executive Board of the United Federation of Teachers; Richard Parrish, chairman of the UFT Black Caucus; and the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam—states: "The most important lesson teachers can teach in the month of April deals with the April 24 peace demonstration in Washington, D.C."

Labor support for the 24th is increasing in New York City, with new endorsements of the demonstration from: Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Robert Glatzer from Film Industry for Peace; Leon Sverdlow, president of the International Jewelry Workers' Union; Ed Gray, assistant director of Region 9 of the UAW; Sol Silverman, president of Bedding, Curtain and Drapery Workers Local 140; Sid Gilbert, business agent of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 431; and Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The New York Peace Action Coalition has issued a special leaflet oriented toward rank-and-file trade-union members, which they plan to distribute at union meetings, especially at unions whose officials are not attempting to mobilize their members for the 24th. Also planned is an ad for the 24th to be placed in the New York Daily News, signed, hopefully, by hundreds of labor officials, shop stewards and union delegates. The ad will cost \$5,000, and contributions are requested.

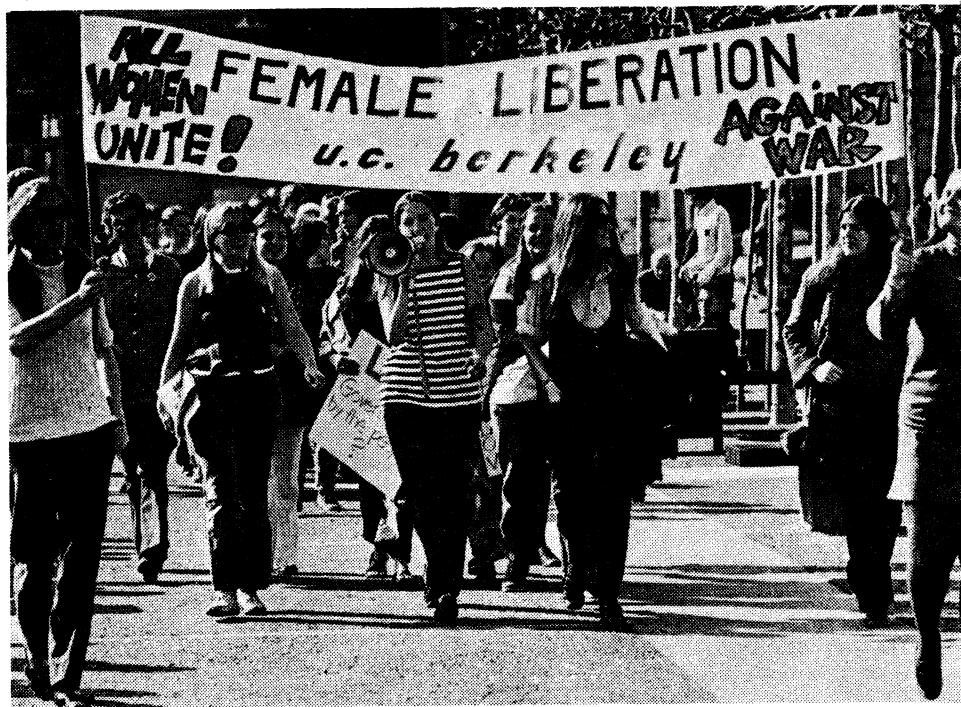


Photo by Jim Yudelton/Daily Californian

Berkeley Female Liberation demonstrates against the invasion of Laos Feb. 14, 1971

The National Peace Action Coalition New York Times ad for April 24 appeared in the Los Angeles Free Press on March 12. The Free Press, with a circulation of 90,000, donated a full page for the ad, and will also run a quarter-page ad each week until the 24th. Four gay liberation organizations in Southern California have now endorsed the April 24 demonstration in San Francisco: the L.A. Gay Liberation Front, Revolutionary Gay Alliance, Venice GLF and Orange County GLF. Through the L.A. GLF they plan to organize a Southland Gay Contingent in the San Francisco demonstration.

Three hundred names were collected at two recent meetings of a new Los Angeles antiwar organization, the Entertainment Industry for Peace and Justice, by the Out Now Coalition. The EIPJ hopes to provide artists in the L.A. area with a vehicle to protest the war in Southeast Asia. Some of the new L.A. endorsers of April 24 are: Southern California Americans for Democratic Action, L.A. Socialist Party, Harbor College Student Senate, Valley State Students for McGovern, Radical Jewish Community, Asian-American Student Alliance at UCLA, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

About 5,000 Bostonians turned out on March 18 to demonstrate against the views of Vice-President Spiro Agnew, despite the fact that a permit for the demonstration was refused by the Boston Traffic Commission on the pretext that the demonstration would disrupt traffic. The demonstration was attacked and disrupted by club-wielding police on horseback. Two demonstrations had originally been called outside the hotel where Agnew was speaking, one by the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition and the other by the Massachusetts Building Trades Council. Permits were denied to both groups.

A public statement protesting the denial of the permits was released by John

Craig, president of Local P-575 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Margaret McCarter, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Dr. Salvador Luria, MIT Nobel Laureate; Professor Noam Chomsky; Citizens for Participation Politics; and the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition.

On April 6, Madison voters will be able to vote on the following motion: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City of Madison that there shall be an immediate ceasefire and immediate withdrawal of all United States troops and military equipment from Southeast Asia so that the people of Southeast Asia can settle their own problems."

In 1968, a total of 46,212 Madisonians voted for a referendum calling for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal from Vietnam, but the referendum was defeated by a margin of 4,800 votes. This year the antiwar sentiment is much deeper.

In 1968, most labor officials in the city opposed approval of the referendum, but on March 18 labor's Committee on Political Education (COPE), composed of 100 representatives from AFL-CIO member unions in the city, voted with only one dissenter to support the current antiwar referendum. For more information on the referendum, contact: Citizens for Immediate Withdrawal, 1039 University Ave., P.O. Box 1291, Madison, Wis. 53701.

On top of this expression of deepening antiwar sentiment among workers, on March 19 the Wisconsin state senate voted 24-4 approving a bill that challenges the right of the government to draft Wisconsin citizens to fight in an undeclared war.

The parade route has been set for the antiwar march on Washington April 24. Demonstrators will assemble at the Ellipse. At 11 a.m., they will begin marching to the Capitol. The rally will take place on the east side of the Capitol. The logistics committee of the NPAC staff has estimated that 10,000 marshals, including medical, legal and communications teams, will be necessary for the march and rally. Areas and contingents are encouraged to assign their own marshals in addition, who will remain with their people throughout the day. Training of NPAC marshals will begin April 7 in Washington with a pilot course for 200 trainers.

Student Mobilization Committee staff member Laura Dertz is presently on a national speaking and organizing tour, concentrating on building the United Women's Contingent for April 24. She has been speaking before women's liberation groups and other women's organizations on the relationship of the war to women's oppression, and urging them to begin organizing for the Women's Contingent.

Laura Dertz will be in the Detroit area March 29-April 2; Cleveland and Toledo area April 3-6; Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee area April 7-16; and in Georgia and Florida April 17-23. If you would like Laura Dertz or another SMC speaker to come to your area, contact the SMC office, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 628-5893.

International actions called for by NPAC

The following is a call for international demonstrations in solidarity with the spring actions of the U.S. antiwar movement issued by the National Peace Action Coalition:

The American people reject the policies of the Nixon administration and call on the people of the world to join in public demonstrations for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops, war planes and materiel from Southeast Asia.

The invasion of Laos has proven for all to see that Nixon is committed to a victory over the people of Indochina, regardless of the cost to the people of Southeast Asia, the United States, or the world. Hoping to lull international sentiment in opposition to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, Nixon talks about 'Vietnamization' and 'withdrawal,' while risking nuclear war in order to impose a military settlement on the Indochinese.

It is the common responsibility of all those who respect the right of the Southeast Asians to self-determination to mobilize massive and powerful opposition to the policies of the U.S. government. Only the unified strength of the people of the world can be an effective answer to Nixon's and the Pentagon's ambitions.

The National Peace Action Coalition is calling for a massive outpouring of international sentiment in opposition to the war around the date of April 24. The April 24th demonstrations in the United States, called by a conference of 1,500, have the endorsement of hundreds of organizations and key individuals, including 15 members of the U.S. Congress. The demands of the U.S. demonstrations will be immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops, war planes and materiel from Southeast Asia, and an immediate end to the draft.

Massive and international public activities around the date of the 24th can be the greatest outcry yet against the war-makers in Washington.

In Our Opinion

CP office bombed

At 4:15 a.m. on March 30, a bomb exploded in front of the New York building housing the national offices of the Communist Party. Minutes before, an anonymous telephone call to the Associated Press ended with the words "Let our people go. Never again."

The last two words are a well-known slogan of the Jewish Defense League. It is usually enunciated in conjunction with any anonymous message transmitted to the press before or after JDL terrorist activity. The slogan refers to the mass murder of six million Jews by German fascism during World War II. The JDL attempts to play on the horror and revulsion at this slaughter in order to try to justify its ultraright terroristic activity.

The JDL, well-known for its racist and Zionist viewpoints, draws courage and strength from the anticommunist crusade of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and Israeli aggression against the Arab people in the Middle East.

This most recent attack is the latest in a pattern of JDL attacks that include among others a June 3, 1970, invasion of the Communist Party's *Daily World* offices; the Oct. 7, 1970, armed beating of 30 Columbia University SDSers picketing a speech by an Israeli official; and the Jan. 8, 1971, bombing of a Russian cultural building in Washington, D.C.

While the government frames up Black Panthers for alleged conspiracies and the FBI conducts an unrelenting search for the Weather-people, the JDL carries out and unashamedly solidarizes itself with terrorist activities with impunity.

This implicit sanctioning of right-wing terrorism by city, state and federal authorities must be protested by all Americans concerned with protecting constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties. Those in the radical movement must expose and oppose the illegal activities of the JDL, demanding that the authorities act against them. Only with this united mass pressure can the activities of the JDL be brought to a halt.

18-year-old vote

On March 23, a proposed constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18 in all elections cleared Congress. A law passed last summer and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court presently permits 18-year-olds to vote in federal but not state and local elections. The constitutional amendment will allow them to vote for local offices as well as for president, senators and representatives.

This latest extension of voting rights is the result of deepening anti-war, nationalist, and youth struggles, particularly the nationwide student strike last May in opposition to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

This concession is an attempt to defuse youth struggles by channeling them into more "legitimate" electoral activity. It is also an attempt to show that American capitalism is democratic, flexible, and still capable of reform. There is no reason to believe this will succeed, because the problems against which young people are rebelling are fundamental to the capitalist system.

The extension of the vote to 18-year-olds also poses the demand that a person old enough to vote is also old enough to run for and hold public office.

Even with the extension of the vote to 18-year-olds, young people will still not be treated like adult human beings capable of running their own lives, because they are legally defined as minors until the age of 21. The legal age of majority should be lowered so that young people will have the full legal rights of adults and be able, for instance, to enter into legal contracts, bring suits, serve on juries, etc. A governor's commission in Michigan has taken a step in this direction by recommending that that state's legal age be lowered to 18. At present, a young person's parents legally have almost total control over his or her life.

In large part, the growing political awareness and social responsibility of youth are a rebellion against a decaying society that offers only war, racism, sexism, unemployment, and cultural sterility in place of a meaningful role in society.

Letters

Women's demonstration

The women from Emmaus House, which is a center for the study and practice of revolutionary nonviolence as a life-style and a political strategy, have gotten together to plan an anniversary celebration for Mary Moylan, who will have been underground for one year April 9.

Mary Moylan is the only one of the Catonsville Nine who is still underground.

The demonstration will be held at the New York Women's House of Detention on Good Friday, April 9, from 3-5 p.m. Marjorie Melville of the Catonsville Nine, Robin Morgan, and Charlene Mitchell will speak.

We are trying to raise bail for sisters in the House of Detention, and contributions toward bail money is desperately needed. Please send us a check or bring one to the demonstration. Checks should be made out to "Emmaus House" with "bail-out" written in the corner. Send to Emmaus House, 241 E. 116 St., New York, N.Y. 10029.

Hopefully, a message from Mary Moylan will be read at the demonstration.

*Phyllis Savino
Emmaus House*

Political prisoners

The Committee to Free Political Prisoners is a newly formed coalition at the University of California, San Diego, dedicated to the unconditional support of all persons persecuted for left-wing political activity. It is composed of members of most San Diego radical organizations plus a large number of unaffiliated individuals. We intend to carry out educational and publicizing activities, political actions where appropriate, and in local cases, fund raising in support of victims of police repression.

We are currently seeking information on cases of political repression throughout the country, which we will use to aid the victims to the best of our resources. Any individual or defense group is invited to send us material.

*Committee to Free Political Prisoners
c/o Marcie Benson
4075D Miramar
La Jolla, Calif. 92037*

Concerned officer

I am a concerned citizen who opposes U.S. policy in S. E. Asia. I also happen to be a lt. jg in the U.S. Navy.

I am willing to speak out and let my feelings be known if it will help influence or encourage others in the military to voice their opinion.

To this end, I am very much interested in the Concerned Officers Movement (COM), and I along with several others tried a few months ago to establish a local chapter of COM. We will continue to try to gain a foothold for COM in this area although resistance is great.

Along the same lines, I am very interested in the Student Mobilization Committee and attempts to build SMC in Pensacola.

*G. B.
Pensacola, Fla.*

Rail negotiations

This is in regard to the very good and informative article by Frank Lovell in your March 19 issue dealing with the impasse of the operating rail workers.

The general anarchy in the railroad industry and in the United Transportation Union makes it dif-

ficult for the workers to know what is going on. The UTU represents a merger of four or five operating rail unions, worked out by bureaucrats for bureaucrats. All the functionaries of all the merging unions remained on the payroll. The fact that they have overlapping jurisdictions, and that most of them are outside of any control by the ranks of the union, fortifies the position of the sole arbiter, UTU president Charles Luna. He alone has the power to call any strike in the UTU.

Luna appears to be searching for a formula for token strikes and a settlement with the carriers that will include a gradual, covert giveaway on the question of our "rules." The rules changes the carriers are demanding would break down the demarcation between yard crews and road crews and extend the runs of the latter.

There is a lot of similarity in the work done by those crews that work only in the rail terminals and those who work in between them. The latter are paid by the mile (with a lower hourly wage); the former are paid by the hour. The carriers want "charity work" [unpaid labor] from the road crews at the beginning and the end of their trip in order to eliminate yard crews altogether.

Luna has shown an agreeable attitude over the years to giving away a bit here and a bit there to the carriers, but now they are demanding it all right now. While the financial manipulators have been bleeding the railroads white, the workers are not going to passively give up their working conditions and their livelihood.

*C. S.
Minneapolis, Minn.*

Danes boycott lettuce

In February, a Danish ex-volunteer with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) reported back to Cesar Chavez that nonunion lettuce was sold in several shops and one large food market chain: IRMA, the A&P of Denmark.

His answer was: Go ahead, boycott; maybe you can deal anti-farm-workers-union growers the final blow that will win our struggle.

Now an intensive press campaign, launched by the new UFWOC representatives in Denmark, has resulted in pledges of support from many individuals and the Black Panther Party Solidarity Committee in Copenhagen. DASF, the largest union in Denmark, has been the first to make a small donation and distribute information about the lettuce struggle to its members.

On Fridays and Saturdays, massive leafletting will take place in front of food stores and at other strategic points.

Through consumer boycott, Danish people will show their solidarity.

*Viva la Huelga!
Gunna Hojgaard
UFWOC in Denmark*

Soviet 'aid'

How much is Russia helping North Vietnam? In the March 11 *York Times* reporter Tad Szulc states it is estimated that Russia gave North Vietnam \$500-million in aid last year.

The United States spends about \$125-million a day in attempting to roll back the Indochinese revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy—if Szulc's figure is accurate—"chips in" in a

The Great Society

full year the equivalent of what the U. S. spends in less than four days.

Surely the Soviet people, if they had access to this information and could know the truth, would insist on supporting those revolutionists who are carrying forward the genuine tradition of the October Revolution.

*Michael Smith
Detroit, Mich.*

Volunteer Army

A great deal of public discussion in recent months has centered on the formation of an all-volunteer Army. Political lines are seemingly blurred by finding George McGovern and Barry Goldwater in favor of such a move, and Edward Kennedy and John Stennis opposed. Their differences, however, are based solely on tactical consideration governing the operation of an imperialist army. Not once do they question the very existence or role that such an army plays. Thus, while the Army is used to suppress struggles for self-determination around the world, Kennedy worries about too many volunteer poor being used in such a task, Stennis worries about not getting enough, while Goldwater and McGovern think it can all be arranged somehow.

The supporters of the "Modern Volunteer Army" concept are ardently pushing for its adoption for a very elementary reason: the Army as it is now structured is in a nascent stage of disintegration. When an army depends heavily upon conscripted troops to fill its ranks, it cannot force GIs to leave behind the ideas, experiences, and lessons they acquired in the society at large. Therefore, as a microcosm of society, the conscript army reflects the same viewpoints that are found in civilian life. As evidence, one has only to look at demonstrations against the war by frontline troops in Vietnam, Black GIs fighting racist Army attacks in Germany, or State-side GI youth chafing under Army discipline and publishing their own newspapers.

This inherent awareness among drafted troops is magnified even further when they are sent into battle for reasons they do not understand or outright disagree with. In Vietnam the consciousness of conscript troops is heightened by the very fact that they are the ones most often called upon to die.

Revolutionaries should expose the "Modern Volunteer Army" for what it is—an attempt to carry on the war in Southeast Asia and to provide an effective tool for further imperialist objectives. If this were not the case, and defense were at issue, popularly elected militias of the Cuban example would suffice. But defense is not the aim of America's rulers—aggression is.

*PV2 Ed Jurenas
Ft. Greely, Alaska*

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.

Consolation Prize—A few folk apparently felt bad when the Council of Protestant Churches had second thoughts about conferring the humanitarian award on Bob Hope, so the Lions laid their 1971 humanitarian award on the hawkish Hope. A spokesman said it was for Hope's work with the blind. He presumably meant political-wise.

No hiding place—The Agriculture Ministers of the European Common Market held their March meeting on the top floor of an eight-story building because their last session had been interrupted by a herd of cows driven in by irate farmers protesting low farm prices. This one was interrupted by irate farmers ripping off a piece of Brussels.

Runs a tight sty—A number of Washington, D.C., cops testified before a Senate subcommittee demanding more bread, etc. Some were critical of the way the police department is being run. Chief Jerry responded that he wasn't about "to engage in a debate with my subordinates."

Nobody loves 'em—A Seattle police department survey indicates that 60 percent of married cops are divorced during their first three years on the job.

Book 'n stick man—The British Em-

pire may have come up with the perfect imperialist representative. A local cop has been ordained as a minister of the Church of England and will continue with both jobs.

Bourgeois copouts—The Oregon House of Representatives voted to ban smoking in its chambers and committee rooms. After 24 hours—like typical capitalist politicians—they voted to rescind the move.

Tough-situation dep't—"You just can't get good help like you used to.



You have to stand over them all the time and they won't do any hard work like scrubbing floors with a rag and so forth."—a St. Louis woman responding to **New York Times** survey on the shortage of domestic workers.

Ripping off the rippers?—More than 270 Penn Central freight cars allegedly vanished from the yards of the bankrupt line and turned up repainted in the yards of the LaSalle Railroad, a tiny Illinois line. The feds said someone juggled Penn Central's computers to cover the disappearance. Meanwhile, a battery of lawyers are trying to recover millions they say was swindled from their clients by Penn Central.

The march of science—A patent has been issued for an electrically-powered rotating spaghetti fork.

Sorry about that—Federal authorities advise that boxes of Farina cereal had turned up containing particles of glass, and more may be around. A company spokesman responded: "This is the kind of thing nobody likes to have happen."

Thought for the week—"We are the greatest peace-keeping nation in the world today."—President Nixon.

—HARRY RING

The National Picket Line

Since I wrote about the inhuman conditions in the migrant labor camps in New Jersey in last week's **Militant**, the American Friends Service Committee issued a report on child labor in the factory-farm fields of this nation. The study was conducted last summer in Ohio, Maine, and three West Coast states—California, Oregon and Washington—in conjunction with the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children in New York.

The study reveals that:

More than one-quarter of all migratory workers are children under 16. Some of these unfortunate children are as young as six years old.

There are 100,000 of these youngsters (who never had a childhood) in California alone. The six-year-olds average 12 cents a crate for strawberries. The older, more experienced teen-agers can earn up to \$1.12 an hour.

In Aroostook County, Me., where the money crop is potatoes, 35 percent of the acreage is handpicked by children.

One of the investigators went into the fields herself and describes what an 11-hour day picking potatoes is like:

"I started picking on my knees the first day . . . the small of my back ached, my legs were sore all over, and my knees were raw by the end of the day. The second day I picked bending over and had a terribly aching back by the end of the day."

The study told of a typical family including six children from 10 to 16, who reported for work at 6 a.m. and worked until 5 p.m. The children picked 200 barrels of potatoes in a day.

In Willamette Valley, Ore., 75 percent of the seasonal force of strawberry and bean pickers are children. In Skagit County, Wash., 4,500 youngsters work in the fields during June and July.

Conditions in the migrant camps have been the subject of many investigations. But little has been changed. The camps are still dirty, with little or no sanitary facilities. Running water, if present, is only a pipe with a faucet. Workers in the fields are not provided with toilets or washing-up facilities.

Few states provide any education for the migrant children. These workers are not covered by either unemployment insurance or social security.

Agriculture, as an industry, stands at the very top in

disabling injuries and occupational diseases. Many of the crops are still dusted with DDT or equally lethal pesticides. Because of their living and working conditions, health standards among these workers are so low they are not even listed. Yet none of them can qualify for Medicaid nor can they afford medical insurance—if any insurance company would accept them.

The Friends' report says, "Except that the work is outdoors, child labor abuse on the farms in the 1970s is reminiscent of the sweatshop conditions of the '30s."

Theoretically child labor is illegal in any industry engaged in interstate commerce. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 specifically forbids "oppressive child labor." This law was passed after the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, passed by Congress in 1924, failed to be ratified by the necessary 36 states.

While neither the amendment nor the Fair Labor Standards Act specifically mention child labor on farms, it was fought viciously by the farm lobby on the grounds that it would exclude small farmers from using their own children in the fields. When the act was finally upheld by the Supreme Court after it was challenged, it was supposed to protect all children from oppressive labor.

That same act set the first minimum wages at 25 cents per hour and maximum hours at 44. It has since been amended several times to reduce the workweek to 40 hours and, as of now, the minimum wage to \$1.60 for most workers but to only \$1.30 for farm labor.

Among the migratory workers, that "minimum" is completely lost sight of as these unorganized, mostly Chicano, Puerto Rican and Black workers compete against machinery for the most backbreaking of jobs—handpicking vegetables and fruits too delicate to be harvested with machinery.

Now, according to Robert D. Moran, administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department, a drive is on to enforce the payment of the \$1.30 per hour minimum wage in agriculture. He said:

"Untold thousands of farm workers are either unaware of the \$1.30 an hour minimum in agriculture or do not call violations to the attention of the Labor Department for fear of losing their jobs." (Emphasis added.)

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Background of the civil war in East Pakistan

By TONY THOMAS

MARCH 29—Civil war has erupted in Pakistan, the result of the national oppression of the Bengali people that has been a central feature of Pakistani life since 1947.

Pakistan was established in 1947, the result of the division of former British India into a predominantly Hindu India and a predominantly Muslim Pakistan. The Muslim religion is the only thing in common between East and West Pakistan. Racially, culturally and linguistically, the Bengalis of East Bengal (East Pakistan) have more in common with the people of West Bengal in India than with the West Pakistanis.

The people of East Bengal and those of West Pakistan are separated by more than the 1,100 miles of Indian territory. Economically and politically East Pakistan is oppressed by West Pakistan. Seventy-five million people inhabit the 55,126 square miles of East Bengal (at the same density, U. S. population would be 4.5 billion), while 55 million people occupy over 310,000 square miles in West Pakistan. Wheat and rice are twice as expensive in Bengal as in West Pakistan, while Bengalis earn half as much.

Six times as much electricity, four times as much foreign aid, three times as many imports, and twice as much in development funds are spent in West Pakistan than in East Bengal. While the Bengalis are the majority of the population, they have only 13 percent of the electrical power, 25 percent of the telephones, 20 percent of the motor vehicles, and 15 percent of the teachers of Pakistan.

Urdu, a tongue spoken in 1951 by only 3.3 percent of the population—all of them West Pakistanis—was declared the official Pakistani language, while Bengali pleas to have the Ben-

gali language placed on an equal level have consistently been refused by the West Pakistani-dominated government.

Opposition to demands for Bengali autonomy, or even for equality within Pakistan, has played an important role in forcing the West Pakistani ruling class to maintain open dictatorships for much of the country's history.

In 1954, when a united anti-West Pakistani front led by the Awami League and the Communist Party gained over 90 percent of the seats in the Bengali parliament, direct rule from the central government in Karachi, West Pakistan, and a fierce repression were initiated. Fear of the Bengali majority exercising its political power played a major role in forcing Ayub Khan to initiate his military dictatorship in 1958.

East Bengali workers and students played an important part in the mass mobilizations of 1968 and 1969 that chased Ayub Khan out of office. Dacca, the capital of East Bengal, was totally shut down in a general strike in December 1968. Mass demonstrations in the cities, and occupations of landholders' houses in the rural areas followed in the first months of 1969.

In December 1970, national elections were held to reestablish a "national" civilian government. These elections resulted in the Awami League, a mainly East Bengal-based nationalist party, taking 167 seats out of the 313 seats in the "national" assembly.

Yahya Khan, Ayub Khan's successor as military dictator, postponed the opening of the assembly scheduled for March 1. Mounting pressure in East Pakistan forced Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League to call a general strike in Dacca for March 2.

According to Javed Hussein, in an article entitled "First Spark in the Indian Revolution?" (in the April 5 *Intercontinental Press*), during these mobilizations "the masses have shown . . . an amazing degree of militancy. Over 1,000,000 people in Dacca have attended the meetings of the Awami League leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, and have demanded in no uncertain terms the independence of their country—A Bengali nation (Bengala Desh), free from the parasites of the West [Pakistan]. . . .

"Rahman would like nothing better than a compromise solution based on acceptance of his six points [his program for the solution of the "national question" in Pakistan]:

"1. A federal system of government, parliamentary in nature and based on adult franchise.

"2. The federal government is to be limited to defense and foreign affairs. All other subjects to be dealt with by the federating states.

"3. (a) Two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two parts of the country; or (b) one currency for the whole country. In the latter case, effective constitutional measures must be taken to prevent the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan.

"4. Power of taxation and revenue collection to be vested in the federating units and not at the center.

"5. Separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two parts of the country under control of the respective governments.

"6. The setting up of a militia or paramilitary force for East Pakistan."

The masses of East Bengal did not limit themselves to these demands, but began to raise slogans like "Independence for the Bengali nation (Bengala Desh)," "National Liberation Now!" and "Down with Yahya."

Hussein points out that the six points are "essentially the expression of the feelings of the deprived Bengali capitalists who want a share of the capitalist cake. It is obvious that a federation of the sort demanded by Mujibur Rahman would seriously curtail the economic and political power of big business in West Pakistan and of the army. The army generals miscalculated if they thought that a show of force would ease the situation. It has done precisely the opposite, and in East Bengal today the question of military rule or people's power is posed very clearly."

On March 15, Yahya visited Dacca to negotiate with Rahman. He was met with massive demonstrations calling for Bengali self-determination and Yahya's ouster. The areas that Yahya passed through were draped in black in protest. Ayub Khan received a similar reception in Dacca during the struggles that led to his ouster.

Meanwhile, West Pakistani troops poured into Bengal. According to a March 18 dispatch from *New York Times* correspondent Sydney H. Schanberg, "Before the crisis, the central government had some 25,000 troops in East Pakistan. The number now is estimated at 40,000 to 60,000."

Three days later, it appeared that Yahya and Rahman had reached a compromise. In a cable dated March 21 Schanberg reported: "Many knowledgeable observers now believe that a temporary solution will emerge from the talks, in which interim civilian governments will be set up in the country's five provinces—East Pakistan plus the four provinces of West Pakistan—until the recently elected National Assembly can draft a new constitutional structure for the nation."

This was seen as an attempt by Rahman and Yahya to channel the mass struggle back into parliamentary forms and to settle the differences between the West Pakistani and Bengali capitalists in behind-the-scenes deals.

Rahman's attempts at compromise down to the last moment were based not only on fear of the West Pakistanis but fear of the effects a mass struggle for national independence or autonomy would have on the Bengali capitalists and landholders.

The revolutionary character of the national liberation struggle in East Bengal is a direct threat to the plans of U. S. imperialism throughout southern Asia. Neighboring India and Ceylon also have their own acute "national problems." The uprising in Bengal and the establishment of a Bengali nation would have a tremendous effect on West Bengal in India, which has been the scene of intense peasant struggles.

The United States, which has been one of the chief sources of arms to the Pakistani military clique, will not sit idly by if the Karachi regime is threatened with the loss of East Bengal in a revolutionary development.

Third World Liberation Notes

On March 21, about 6,000 Africans and Asians marched through London protesting the government's proposed Aliens Bill. The bill is an attempt to keep Britain white by denying entrance to immigrants coming from neocolonies (members of the British Commonwealth) in Africa and Asia. It requires all such immigrants to have work permits for specific jobs.

This permit would have to be renewed every year for four years, after which the immigrant could remain in Britain permanently. But while under surveillance by immigration authorities, the Third World immigrant would also have to register periodically with the police. And if the immigrant wanted to leave, the government would foot the bill for transportation back to his or her original homeland.

For white members of the Commonwealth, who reside in settler states like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia, South Africa, etc., the bill grants free entry into Britain if they have a British parent or grandparent.

The bill is the fruit of a long campaign by both the Conservative government and the previous Labor government to stop the immigration of Africans and Asians, who now number 1.3 million persons in Britain, or only 2.5 percent of the population.

Quota restrictions in recent years have reduced Third World immigration to a trickle. Three years ago, the Labor government issued an outright ban on immigration to England of British citizens of Asian ancestry in East Africa. By denying citizenship to all Third World members of the Commonwealth, the Conservative Party only brings into law what has already become common practice.

But despite the British government's ban on Africans and Asians, we have yet to hear it issue any ban on the agricultural and mineral wealth coming into the country from Africa and Asia, e.g., tea, iron ore, oil, cotton, and most other commodities. For if one takes into account the 400 years of blood, sweat, and labor that Britain profited from in the colonies, then Africans and Asians today have the right to everything in Britain, and much more.

According to news from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), two members of the Alabama Black Liberation Front (ABLF) are scheduled

to go on trial March 29 in Birmingham. The two—Wayland Bryant, 42-years-old, and Ronald Williams, 23—are charged with assaulting policemen with a deadly weapon. The charge carries a possible 20-year sentence. They were arrested last Sept. 15 after sheriff's deputies went to serve an eviction order. The deputies kicked the door in and fired rounds of bullets and tear gas, wounding Williams.

Bryant and Williams were originally charged with assault with intent to murder. But after a preliminary hearing failed to produce any evidence that shots were fired from the house, this charge was dropped and the present one made. The two were helping a Black domestic worker who bought a house in 1960 and signed mortgages for \$4,100. By 1970, despite carefully kept receipts showing payment of \$7,983, the bank demanded \$1,400 more or eviction. Eviction was ordered after the ABLF stepped in to publicize the situation.

At noontime on March 22, about 300 people gathered at Tech Square in Cambridge to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. The rally was sponsored by the National Committee Against Apartheid, a student group at Boston University, and the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRWM).

A South African spoke, and later three Polaroid cameras were burned. After the rally, a group of the demonstrators, led by the PRWM, went over to Polaroid's offices to attempt a citizen's arrest of its president Dr. Edwin H. Land. But the offices were locked.

It was at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, that the police of the white racist regime occupying Southern Africa shot into a crowd of Africans protesting the hated passbook system. Sixty-nine were killed and a couple hundred wounded.

All South Africans (the whites are Europeans, not South Africans) have to carry a passbook. And since 1966, Polaroid photography systems have been used to make the passbook pictures of each South African. The PRWM has called for a boycott of all Polaroid products until the Polaroid Corporation pulls out of South Africa.

—DERRICK MORRISON

East Bengal fights for independence

From Intercontinental Press

Pakistan exploded into civil war during the night of March 25-26 as federal troops attempted to reimpose President Yahya Khan's control over the eastern section of the country. The fighting began with deliberate attacks on civilian areas considered to be strongholds of independence sentiment.

Negotiations between Yahya and Sheik Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League, which favors autonomy for East Pakistan, broke down on March 25. Yahya flew back to Karachi that afternoon.

About 11 o'clock that night, Sydney H. Schanberg reported in the March 28 *New York Times*, intermittent firing was heard in the provincial capital of Dacca as troops began to attack the university and other areas of the city.

Schanberg, like other foreign reporters in the city, was confined in the International Hotel until the army expelled him from the country on the night of March 26. He wrote:

"From the hotel, which is in North Dacca, huge fires could be seen in various parts of the city, including the university area and the barracks of the East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary force made up of Bengalis, the predominant people of East Pakistan. . . .

"On the ride to the airport in a guarded convoy of military trucks, the newsmen saw troops setting fire to the thatched-roof houses of poor Bengalis who live along the road and who are some of the staunchest supporters of the self-rule movement."

Schanberg described West Pakistani troops firing indiscriminately into buildings with machine guns and rockets. Yahya's troops had the advantage of other equipment as well:

"Helicopters wheeled overhead yesterday morning [March 26], apparently on reconnaissance. Four helicopters given to Pakistan by Saudi Arabia for relief work after last November's cyclone and tidal wave in East Pakistan were reported being used for the military operation in the province."

Early on March 26, troops occupied the Dacca radio station, which had previously been under the control of the Awami League. A few hours later, a clandestine radio, apparently located in the northern part of the province, broadcast a declaration of Bengali independence.

The same station later in the day announced that Bengali forces were fighting back against the army and had surrounded the West's troops in the cities of Sylhet, Jessore, Barisal, Khulna, Chittagong, and Comilla. The broadcast continued:

"Sheik Mujibur Rahman is the only leader of the people of independent Bangla Desh [Bengali Homeland] and



East Bengalis demonstrate for independence

his commands should be obeyed by all sections of people to save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis."

A radio report in West Pakistan later claimed that the Awami League leader had been arrested at 1:30 a.m. March 26, but at 5 p.m. the Bengali radio broadcast a statement by the sheik calling on the people to continue the fight.

Yahya's attempt to reimpose his control thus finally pushed Mujibur Rahman into a position where he had to declare independence or be swept aside by the nationalist upsurge of the Bengali masses.

It was clear that nothing short of a bloodbath would be able to put West Pakistan in control of Bangla Desh. Press reports estimated that as many as 10,000 persons, mostly unarmed civilians, may have been killed in the first days of fighting.

The March 29 *New York Times* gave the following account of continuing battles:

"Reports from India said that civilians in East Pakistan were fighting with knives, clubs and scimitars, while the East Pakistan Rifles and police forces were using their limited arms, such as rifles and pistols.

"According to one report, the East Pakistani force was using guerrilla tactics to fight the troops. The civilian population was said to have been denying food and other supplies to the troops, as well as obstructing their

advance by blowing up bridges and railroads.

"The report said West Pakistani troops were continuing their attacks with Soviet Tiger tanks, United States Saber jets and Chinese small arms. Air force helicopters were said to be firing on the populous towns of Comilla and Chittagong."

Estimates of the number of West Pakistani troops involved ranged from 30,000 to as high as 70,000.

The clandestine Bengali radio was said to have announced the formation of a provisional government headed by Major Jia Khan, who was called commander in chief of the Bengali forces. The radio said that he would function under the direction of Mujibur Rahman.

The radio also claimed that Yahya's martial-law administrator for the East and four of his officers had been killed. This was denied by the government radio in West Pakistan.

Most accounts agreed that government forces were in control of Dacca, but they appeared to be hampered by strikes and passive resistance. Schanberg reported in the March 29 *Times*:

"On Friday morning [March 26], 15 rigid new regulations were issued, including one aimed at the noncooperation movement. All Government employees were ordered to report to work by 10 A.M. Saturday or face trial in a military court.

"At 12 noon Saturday, radio Paki-

stan announced that all department heads had to submit the names of absentees to martial-law headquarters. There seemed no reason for this order unless large numbers of Bengalis were still staying away from their Government jobs."

The nationalist radio meanwhile announced that a "liberation army" was marching on Dacca to free it from army control. The radio also said that Bengali forces had captured military barracks in the cities of Khulna, Comilla, and Jessore.

An Indian report that the northern city of Rangpur had been captured by Bengalis after bitter fighting was denied by the government radio, as were nearly all Bengali claims of successes.

Dacca radio, under control of the army, said that several thousand troops had been airlifted into Khulna and Chittagong to "quell disturbances."

In the short run, it appears unlikely that the Bengalis will be able to defeat the superior firepower of the West Pakistani troops, at least so long as Yahya is able to keep them supplied and to pour in reinforcements. Because he is denied the opportunity to fly over Indian territory, Yahya is sending troops by way of Ceylon. By granting landing and refueling rights to the West Pakistanis, the "United Front" government in Colombo has become an accomplice in the military offensive against Bangla Desh.

But in the longer run, Yahya can hardly expect to establish more than isolated garrisons in the major cities unless he is able to win the cooperation of some section of the Bengali population.

While the East Pakistani bourgeoisie might be willing to extend such cooperation in order to restore "normal" conditions, such a betrayal would clearly spur the masses into intensifying their struggle and turning to socialism to win national freedom.

Perhaps an even more important factor in the outcome of the struggle will be the response of other oppressed nationalities in the subcontinent. A continuing and determined fight by the people of Bangla Desh is likely to bring forth a nationalist upsurge among Bengalis in India and destroy the artificial division imposed in 1947 by British imperialism and reactionary religious interests.

Such a process could spark even bigger struggles in India, a fact that has been noted with concern by American imperialism. As the *New York Times* put it in a worried editorial March 28:

"Separatism on the Indian subcontinent threatens to touch off a chain reaction that would render the entire region unstable and insecure in all of its parts."

For the self-determination of East Bengal!

[The following statement was issued March 21 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.]

The massive explosion of popular discontent in East Pakistan, which has claimed the lives of many Bengali workers, peasants, and students, has highlighted once again the political and economic subjugation which has been the lot of the citizens of East Pakistan ever since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947.

It shows very clearly the total inability of the West Pakistan ruling class to solve any of the problems of the 70,000,000 East Pakistani people who represent a majority of the total population of the country. The last desperate resort of the West Pakistani bourgeoisie was to use the army to maintain its privileges in the East, but the magnificent resistance of the East Bengali nation has retarded this process. The continuous general strike has shown the depth of feeling on the national question which has determined the politics of virtually all the

political organizations of East Pakistan.

Bengal has a great historic past: it was in the vanguard of the struggle against British imperialism, a struggle which gave birth to a strong and vigorous revolutionary nationalist tradition. It is this which has made Bengal the best indicator of the future of the entire Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The uprising in East Bengal is therefore only the first spark of a struggle which will ultimately transcend the political boundaries of both

East and West Bengal and have revolutionary repercussions throughout India.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International declares its complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Bengali people in their fight against national oppression.

Self-determination for East Pakistan!

For an independent, socialist East Bengal!

Self-determination for the whole Bengali people!

For a united socialist Bengali republic!

By TONY THOMAS

MARCH 29—In the April 3 *Militant*, we reported on the split in the Black Panther Party between supporters of Huey P. Newton and supporters of Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver. Everyone concerned has recognized that this split and the personal charges and threats of physical violence between the factions are a setback for the Panthers.

While some people have been surprised with this "change" in the Black Panther Party (BPP), the split was the logical outcome of the past few years of the BPP's political development.

Recognition of the revolutionary dynamic of Black nationalism and the promotion of a program to mobilize and organize the Black community around its nationalist demands are the touchstone of revolutionary action in the Black community. It is the Panthers' failure to meet this test that provided the basis for their demise.

Potential of the Panthers

The Black Panther Party was started in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, who were students at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. Eldridge Cleaver, who lived in San Francisco, joined shortly after it was launched.

During the initial period, they operated chiefly as a self-defense group in the Bay Area, protesting police brutality and supporting the right of Blacks to bear arms. It was during this period that they developed their 10-point program centered around Black control of the Black community.

This program was a good beginning toward the development of the kind of program that, if carried out through mass struggles for community control of the schools, police, and other institutions of the Black community, could have led to a big step forward for the Black struggle. The logic of such a struggle would have been a mass Black political movement independent of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The potential for such a party was shown in 1968 when the Panthers rapidly expanded on a nationwide scale, recruiting thousands of members and setting up dozens of chapters.

Political vacillations

Unfortunately, the leading cadres of the BPP were unequal to the task. Their main political characteristic was vacillation between ultraleftism and reformism.

They tended to overemphasize the armed aspects of the Black liberation struggle. In Huey P. Newton's pamphlet *The Correct Handling of a Revolution*, he talks about how the revolutionary movement of Afro-America would be sparked by armed bands of twos and threes, rather than mass mobilizations. In discussing the problem of self-defense, the Panthers seemed to feel that the technical aspects of armed struggle by their members were the key, rather than the mass organization of every segment of the Black community to both politically and physically defend the Black community.

In 1968, they had an opportunity to take a major step toward independent Black political action in the electoral arena, by running their own Black Panther candidates or supporting initiatives to launch a Black slate. Except in a few instances, the Panthers ran on and supported the national and local slates of the Peace and Freedom Party—a hodgepodge of radicals and liberals with a capitalist reform program.

The Panthers also failed to understand the necessity of carrying out united-front actions around such issues as opposition to the Vietnam war, Black community control, and Black studies with other groups in the Black

community. This prevented them from undercutting and challenging the domination of reformist leaders and organizations in the Black community.

As their political disorientation deepened, ultraleft rhetoric about "picking up the gun," "Babylon," "revolutionary suicide," "intercommunalism," etc. became more and more of a substitute for a program of revolutionary nationalist action of a mass character. With such rhetoric, they were unable to relate to activists in Black community struggles who were initially attracted to the BPP by their self-defense orientation and 10-point program.

They began a whole series of maneuvers and gimmicks to take the place of a serious strategy and program for Black liberation.

'United Front Against Fascism'

A typical example was their United

Communist Party members, felt that it was a failure. It called for no action except circulation of a petition for decentralization (Seale, in a motivating speech, said it would not be community control) of police. Even urgently needed discussion on building mass political defense of Black Panther political prisoners was ignored. Instead, a reformist political orientation was foisted on the nascent organization under the guise of combatting "fascism."

These ultraleft and reformist maneuvers became the standard feature of the Black Panther Party, which ceased to have any consistent program for Black liberation.

Leadership cult

None of these gyrations had anything to do with mobilizing Blacks in a fight independent of and in opposition to the Democratic and Re-

to carry out a program by a membership politically educated on that program but on the basis of ultimatums of the Central Committee, which was responsible to nobody. This made it impossible and even dangerous for Panthers to correct or even explain policies that had proven inadequate in the struggle.

These problems were accentuated by the Panthers' pseudomilitary organizational methods and their attraction to Mao Tse-tung, Stalin, Kim Il Sung, and lately, Enver Hoxha of Albania. The rhetoric used by these Stalinist bureaucrats to justify their political maneuvers and political tyranny was adopted by the Black Panther's leaders to rationalize their own actions.

Fail to answer opponents

Lacking a consistent perspective, the Panthers were unable to explain their political differences with other groups within the Black liberation and radical movements except by castigating those with whom they disagreed as "counterrevolutionaries." An organization or individual was either "Part of the solution [with the Panthers] or part of the problem [against them]." This deadly sectarianism isolated them from other sections of the Black liberation movement and prevented them from leading or participating in united-front struggles.

Bobby Seale, in an Aug. 4, 1969, *Berkeley Barb* interview, attacked the criticisms of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party concerning the United Front Against Fascism conference simply by saying, "We don't just relate to the Trotskyists as being our enemies . . . we see them as all being a part of the oppressive fascist power structure that's moving against all the revolutionary forces."

These methods of slander prevailed inside the BPP as well. In January 1969, the BPP announced that it had initiated a "national purge" and that they would refuse to accept new members for many months. Subsequently, the *Black Panther* was filled with "purge notices," with all types of personal and rhetorical insults on the "purged," but absolutely no mention of real political differences.

The March 9, 1969, *Black Panther* carried a typical purge notice, two lists of Panthers purged from the Oakland chapter. One stated, "The following persons are expelled from the Black Panther Party . . . and are thereby classified as Counterrevolutionaries." The other stated, "The following persons are expelled from the Black Panther Party . . . They are thereby classified as renegades . . ."

The April 20, 1969, *Black Panther* carried a notice that two Indiana Panthers had been purged because "Careful investigations found these two filthy-foul-mouthed renegade maggots at work in the treacherous ooze of their avaricious plotting . . ."

Hundreds of people, whole chapters and regions, were expelled in this fashion. In the spring of 1969, there were three complete purges of the Detroit chapter, involving nearly the total membership each time.

The Panthers were also not opposed to using violence to settle differences within the movement. This was most concretely seen at the July 1969 United Front Against Fascism conference. Members of the Independent Socialist Club (now known as International Socialists), the Progressive Labor Party, and others who circulated leaflets critical of the Panthers were beaten by Panthers and their supporters.

Split not based on politics

Neither Cleaver's faction nor Newton's faction provides an answer for Black people. None of the criticism of the other by either of these groups goes beyond the political and organizational confusion that has led them to their current situation—a political and organizational confusion that was produced by the united effort of Cleav-

Continued on page 22

Why did the Black Panther Party split?



Oakland Panthers protesting frame-up trial of Huey Newton on steps of Alameda County Court House July 15, 1968.

Front Against Fascism maneuver. In the spring of 1969, the Panthers discovered that "fascism" had already developed in the United States. They called for a conference of "all opposed to fascism," to meet in Oakland, Calif., July 18-21, 1969, to form a united "antifascist" front.

The Panthers' rhetoric about the existence of fascism was unable to mobilize more than a couple hundred Blacks, including Panthers, to attend the Oakland conference, though several thousand white radicals and liberals did attend. Instead of an open democratic conference, the UFAF conference was totally controlled by the Panthers, without any discussion from the floor. After all the ultraleft verbiage by the Panthers, the principal speakers at the conference were Black Democrats, pro-Democratic-Party Communist Party officials, and other reformists.

Almost everyone who attended the conference, except Black Panther and

publican parties around demands like the Panthers' own 10-point program.

Lacking a program with which to educate their membership, the Panthers attempted to build a cult of their leaders as superheroes to hold their organization together.

An example of this is indicated in an article by Bobby Seale in the April 20, 1969, *Black Panther* newspaper praising both Newton and Cleaver. Seale states: "Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver . . . are the two leading revolutionaries of our time. . . . With Eldridge Cleaver and Huey P. Newton, we have Lumumba and Malcolm X. . . . Our party can see Lenin and Stalin when we want to understand Huey and Eldridge. . . ." Later Seale puts Malcolm X in his place by quoting Cleaver, who said, "Malcolm X preceded Huey P. Newton like John the Baptist preceded Jesus Christ."

The Panthers made their decisions not on the basis of discussion on how

N.Y. women demand right to abortion

By SARA GATES

Nearly a thousand women from throughout the state of New York converged on the state capitol in Albany on Saturday, March 27. They came to initiate a campaign to publicize and fight the threatened alterations in the abortion law that would cut back the limited gains won last year when New York's liberalized abortion law was passed.

The demands of the spirited demonstration were repeal of all abortion and contraception laws and free abortion on demand. Cities represented included Albany, Binghamton, Watertown, Utica, Schenectady, Rochester, New Paltz, and New York.

The New York City-based Women's Strike Coalition, comprising close to 100 organizations, was working under a double handicap in organizing the demonstration. The real work of the demonstration was done in only three weeks following the Columbia-Barnard Women's Liberation Conference, which the Coalition sponsored and helped to organize on March 6-7. Impeding the publicity for the demonstration was the absence of coverage by the capitalist press of the efforts in the state legislature to restrict women's right to abortion.

Led by women carrying the banner "We Demand Power over Our Bodies—Repeal of All Abortion and Contraception Laws," the demonstrators moved along the mile route in a line that stretched several blocks, carrying signs which declared, "Babies are not our only business" and "If men got pregnant, there would be no abortion laws."

The demonstrators paused at the Washington Avenue entrance to the Capitol Mall and chanted, "Free abortion When We Need It, Free Abortion Now," "Hands Off Our Bodies," and "Our Bodies, Our Lives, Our Decision" before proceeding to the foot of the capitol steps.

Ruthann Miller of the Women's Strike Coalition opened the rally by

pointing out that over 30 bills had been introduced in the legislature which would deny women the right of decision and control in abortion. Responding to the fact that the legislators have attempted to restrict the law without consulting women, Miller avowed, "There is no longer going to be a time when they can sit around and discuss what's going to happen to our bodies and our lives without us having a say about it."

Dolores Prida, founder of the Spanish-American Feminists in New York City and active in the Third World Women's Caucus of the Coalition, pointed out that a large percentage of the women who have died from illegal abortions in New York are Black and Puerto Rican. "The mind boggles," Prida stated, "at the fact that at this time and age we have to travel hundreds of miles and spend hundreds of hours protesting and demonstrating for something that is basically our right—the full control of our bodies."

Lisa Cammett spoke on behalf of the High School Women's Coalition. She pointed out the necessity of speaking out on the issues which particularly affect high-school-age women—the high instance of death and permanent injury resulting from self-attempted abortion, the huge, ever-growing number of pregnant students in city schools, and the rapidly climbing rate of illegitimate babies born to teen-age mothers.

Debby Woodroffe, of the United Women's Contingent for the April 24 demonstration against the war, linked the women's liberation movement with the antiwar movement by declaring that women could not achieve their demands or the humane society we are fighting for until we end the slaughter in Vietnam.

Two of the speakers expressed the opinion that the time for demonstrations was over and that what is really significant is the election of women into the state legislature. But another

speaker disagreed, saying that women must not wait until there are 5, 10, or 50 women in the legislature in order to demand our rights. The struggle must continue every day by winning larger numbers of women into an independent movement which exercises direct influence through demonstrations around specific demands.

Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schuler announced the official release of their book *Abortion Rap*. Both were lawyers in the suit brought by New York City women challenging the constitutionality of the New York abortion law.

Other speakers were Assemblywoman Constance Cooke, Cindy Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, Susan Kirkpatrick and Ann Grogan of Capital District Women, Lynn Conesky of the April 10 Women's Committee, Amy Arctander of Women Workers Organizing Committee, and Carol Rosenbaum of International Socialists Women.



Photo by Mark Salinoff

N.Y. women march in Albany March 27 against attempts by legislators to limit right to abortion.

San Diego teach-in for Davis

SAN DIEGO—More than 700 people, mostly students and heavily Third World, attended a teach-in at San Diego State College (SDSC) on March 23 to rally support and raise funds for Angela Davis' defense.

Featured speaker at the teach-in was attorney Terrence Hallinan of the National Committee to Free Angela Davis. He outlined the legal aspects of the frame-up case against Davis.

Roberta Alexander, a Black administrator from the Third College at the University of California at San Diego, chaired the meeting. Other speakers included Valleria Joyner, executive secretary of the SDSC Black Student Council; Katye Anderson, a Black sociologist; Rheta Alexander of the Angela Davis Committee to Defend Women Prisoners; and Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party. Rene Nunez, a Chicano studies administrator, spoke on behalf of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan), the SDSC Chicano student organization.

Jenness said of Davis, "She is on trial because she is Black and has raised her voice against the oppres-

sion of her people. . . . She is on trial because she is a woman and has fought against the indignities suffered by her sisters. . . . She is on trial because she is a Communist and has spoken out against the capitalist system which breeds racism and sexism at every turn.

"And those are the only reasons why Angela Davis is on trial. She is on trial because when Black women, the most oppressed sector of our society, begin to fight against their oppression as Blacks and as women, they represent a force so powerful that it threatens the very foundation of this rotten system."

She added, "It is impossible for Angela Davis to get a fair trial in the U. S. courts and we should have no illusions about that. The courts will not free her—only massive, worldwide protests will free her."

Prof. Morris Starsky gave a fund pitch, which raised \$552.36 in cash and pledges for the Davis defense.

Sponsors of the teach-in included: San Diego Committee to Free Angela Davis; SDSC Women's Union; David Paschal, president of the SDSC Black Student Council; SDSC MECHA; Mike Boyle, president of the SDSC Associated Students; Young Socialist Alliance; and Keith Harrison, president of the SDSC American Civil Liberties Union.

N.Y. forum aids Davis defense

NEW YORK—It was to David Poindexter's upcoming trial that Jane Logan of Black Women for the Freedom of Angela Davis addressed herself at the Militant Labor Forum here March 26.

Other speakers included Haywood Burns, national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) and one of the lawyers working on the case, and Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party.

Logan, who is Poindexter's wife, reported that his trial will take place in federal court on April 5 in New York City. Poindexter was arrested with Davis last Oct. 13 in a New York motel and is charged with harboring a fugitive. The charge carries a maximum penalty of 5 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. He is out now on \$100,000 bail.

Logan ran down the history of the Davis case and described Davis' total isolation in the Marin County courthouse jail. She eats alone, exercises alone, and talks to her visitors alone.

Burns related that the NCBL has been involved in the case from its inception. He was in Marin County

for the recent pretrial hearings. He said the state has not released a ballistics test on the bullets that killed Judge Harold Haley last Aug. 7. Since, according to the defense attorneys, only the police did the firing, such evidence would totally invalidate the prosecution's case.

Burns described the legal history of the case, showing the shoddiness of the state's evidence. He indicated that a new judge had been selected two days ago. He is Judge Alan Lindsay, appointed to the bench in 1967 by Governor Ronald Reagan. New pretrial hearings are slated to begin April 1, he said.

Burns said that bail for Davis is one of the prime objectives of the defense.

Paul Boutelle recounted the international support for Davis and made a pitch for defense funds.

CHICAGO—A "Free Angela Davis" forum was held in Chicago March 5. The speakers were Lorraine Broy of the Angela Davis defense committee and Willie Petty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city treasurer.

Petty remarked, "Only a massive response, massive demonstrations demanding that Angela be free, will be the pressure to release the sister. It is important for political tendencies on the left not to let their differences prevent them from unity in massive struggles to fight for Angela Davis' freedom."

FIRSTHAND REPORT ON JORDAN



Young Palestinian guerrillas

Photo by Jeffrey Blankfort



Palestinian refugee camp

Arab Information Center

By MICHAEL SMITH

Abdeen Jabara is an Arab-American attorney who lives in Detroit. He was counsel to Sirhan Sirhan. He has lived and traveled in the Middle East and is a well-known spokesman in the United States for the Palestinian resistance. He currently edits the newspaper Free Palestine. Jabara returned to the U.S. in late February after participating in a symposium of the Palestinian revolution in Kuwait, organized by the General Union of Palestinian Students. While in Amman, Jordan, Jabara was wounded by gunfire from the Jordanian Army. The following interview was obtained on March 10.

Jabara was shot while riding in a taxi in Amman, a city which is 70 percent Palestinian, 3,500 of whom Jabara estimates were massacred by Hussein's army last September. I asked how it happened that he was shot.

"As we came in to Amman, we stopped to help a car that was stalled beside the road. We were pushing the car and were fired upon by Jordanian

soldiers, wantonly, indiscriminately, and without any cause whatsoever. We were civilians; there were no commandoes or militia in the area. Four people were killed in the attack. I was wounded by 3 bullets in my left arm and right shoulder."

I asked if he was near a Palestinian neighborhood and if that could have been the reason for the attack.

"Yes, in fact to the right of the street where it took place was a large refugee camp. The attack was deliberate, part of a relentless campaign by the Jordanian government and army being waged since September to keep both the resistance and the Palestinians generally on the defensive, to make organizing difficult, to make movement difficult, and to disrupt the normal course of life."

To what extent has this campaign succeeded in demoralizing the Palestinians, I inquired?

"My last visit to Jordan," replied Jabara, "was in the fall of 1969. The resistance movement was operating freely and gaining fantastic support. The situation I found in Amman this February was

quite different. This does not however speak to their morale. Their morale as far as I could determine was as high as it was back in the fall of 1969. In fact, this is one of the most striking things to see. There is a tremendous spirit that infuses these people.

"The people who took me to the hospital were from the Armed Struggle Command, from Fateh. They came in with their Klashinkovs (a Russian made machine gun). The leader of the group had an injured stiff leg; he carried a cane in one hand, a machine gun in the other. And one man—a young Palestinian—looked up brightly at me and said, 'We're from Fateh.'

"Despite the agreement that there would be no public display of arms, that had been signed between the commandoes and the Jordanian monarch, a very interesting thing happened just at the time I arrived in Amman during the Festival of Sacrifice holiday of the Moslems. At that time, which is called Eid-al-Adha, 1,000 commandoes ringed a cemetery outside Amman to honor those buried there who were killed in the September massacre. They surrounded the cemetery fully armed, and 40,000 Palestinians came out to listen to Yasir Arafat deliver a speech. It was a moving thing."

I asked Jabara about the agreement the resistance made with Hussein whereby the militia was to surrender its arms, placing them in depositories.

"This was very alarming to us in the U.S. when we heard about it," said Jabara, "because it meant in point of fact disarming the people, and we initially thought that this was indicative of the erosion of the position of the resistance because disarming the people means disarming the revolution."

"What did I find out about this? And I questioned many people. Fateh says that only a small portion—10 percent—of the militias' arms were in fact collected. These were placed in depositories which are under the supervision and control of the commandoes."

"And we do know that during the recent events in Jordan, which broke out when I was there, these arms were distributed to the militia. Moreover, it is clear that the militia did not turn in all its arms, because the government tried to collect these arms, and these clashes took place as a result."

"Many of the arms are hidden very well in the homes. Secondly, when the government does come to a home, rather than surrender these arms the militia man in the home will put up a battle with the army. And this is inevitably in a Palestinian area, so it creates a whole rapid development of events and a localized conflict emerges."

I asked Jabara to estimate the strength of the resistance movement.

"Basically, its strength derives from the fact that in the last three years the resistance movement has been capable of moulding a specifically Palestinian national consciousness; and not only this national consciousness, but the creation of institutions that shape and give force to it."

He elaborated: "Number one is the Palestinian National Congress, made up of representatives of the various commando groups and other organizations in Palestinian society."

"It met in Cairo in late February, enlarged itself, reorganized itself, and now encompasses various forces in Palestinian society, like labor unions, youth groups, women's organizations, and even an organization of Palestinian lawyers, who now participate in international conferences. Therefore, there is an attempt after September to organize in a more rationalized fashion and to solidify Palestinian national institutions."

I asked about the women's organizations.

"They play a very important part in the resistance. The resistance is organizing women as a force and as energy which has heretofore been untapped and unutilized because of traditional male supremacy in Arab society. Women are now playing an active equalitarian role beside men. And this is not just restricted to welfare or social tasks but actually in the field of battle. During the September events, the women of Wahdat camp stood with machine guns and fought shoulder to shoulder beside the men."

I questioned Jabara on the military strength and strategy of the resistance.

"The strategy, as I understand it," he outlined, "is what Yasir Arafat said at the beginning of the year. He said, 'let us go in to the new year with our finger on the trigger.' And this is in fact what they are doing. They continue to mount raids

against Israel. They are continuing to train commandoes in their bases in Libya, Algeria and Syria."

So their forces are being replenished. Could you say their armed strength is being kept up, I asked?

"Absolutely. They suffered considerable material losses in September, but they have been able to resupply themselves over the mountains from Syria into Jordan, and the organization which the resistance has built is formidable."

"Their status militarily is that while they may have incurred short-term military losses as a result of what happened in September, they also gained a degree of maturity they never had. The resistance in Amman has recognized the need for political work. Given the equilibrium or balance of forces between the government and the resistance, then the strategy within Jordan is a political strategy. It is to engage in political work among the masses, not only Palestinians, but Jordanians as well, to expose the Jordanian regime, and to build support for the resistance. Let me give you two examples."

"When an attack on a refugee camp takes place — and they take place regularly — the people pour out of the camp and hold a huge demonstration and start marching towards the Israeli border saying, 'we would be better off living in Israel.' These are not spontaneous things, they are part and parcel of the political strategy of the resistance."

"If a student is arrested on the street, the whole school will close down to protest the arrest. These types of actions are designed to show the regime the will and solidarity of the people, and that they cannot be crushed. It would be folly for the regime to think so."

So, mass mobilizations of the Palestinians are not only still possible but are in fact taking place.

"Absolutely," confirmed Jabara.

He then discussed the work of the resistance in other Arab countries.

"In every Arab country, Fateh has a political and information bureau as does the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In Libya it has an extremely active one. It acts as a minor embassy for the Palestinians. They issue certificates of being Palestinian, for instance. They handle all contacts between the government in their respective place and the resistance movement. I was just in Libya and there they were extremely busy organizing two exhibitions for the Tripoli International Fair that was opening. It was viewed as a very important part of their program, to reach the Libyan people by showing them photos, literature, captured equipment of the enemy, etc. This was to show what the whole resistance movement was about and to engender and build support among the masses of Libyan people. These efforts are ongoing and organized."

"Another example is fund raising. Of course, the resistance can never be successful if it is dependent upon its financing from this or that Arab government. Not one of them can be relied upon when the chips are down. They recognize that they can exploit various short-term contradictions or political situations to their benefit, but in terms of making any long-term reliance upon those contradictions — this is impossible."

Finally, I asked Jabara about the peace plans now being discussed, which include the possible establishment of a separate Palestinian "mini-state." (This plan would create a separate Palestinian state out of Jordan's West Bank and the Gaza Strip.)

"Because the resistance has been successful in demonstrating the existence of a separate Palestinian national consciousness, that fact must be dealt with in any peace settlement. The West, the Arab countries, Russia, and even Israel fully understand this. It is for this reason that the whole idea of the 'mini-state' has been put forward."

"Yet the resistance has been capable of destroying any possibility of this 'mini-state' being effectuated as a sop to the Palestinian national consciousness. How have they done this? They have done this by waging a relentless campaign to label these plans as a reactionary effort to liquidate the struggle of the Palestinian people, to prevent them from regaining all of their legitimate rights and not only 'a piece of land.'"

"What the Arab bourgeoisie, the Western imperialists, the Israelis, and Russia for that matter would like to forget is that the Palestinian revolution is not merely to get a piece of land. It is a thoroughgoing and uncompromising revolution that encompasses all of the dimensions of Arab society and the social change that that involves."

Summary of charges against Czech 'Trotskyists'

Some 15 months after the arrest of 19 Czechoslovak "Trotskyists," a summary of the charges filed against them has become available. (Sixteen were convicted of "subversion" March 19. One was acquitted and the trials of the other two have been postponed.)

The summary was prepared in Prague on the basis of the official indictment, from which it quotes extensively. It was forwarded to the editors of *Wiener Tagebuch*, who published it in German, and was translated into English by *Intercontinental Press*. The omissions are as interesting as the charges. When the arrests were first announced in January 1970, the defendants were accused of sabotage and arson in addition to political "crimes." But the days when the Stalinist bureaucracy could count on almost automatic acceptance of such slanders are long past. The Husak regime quietly retreated from those charges, and the indictment, dated Jan. 7, 1971, does not mention them.

In spite of this retreat, however, the amalgam prepared for the regime by state's Attorney Dr. Frantisek Stilip actually comes quite close to the standards of the notorious Moscow Trials of the 1930s. The defendants are accused of connections with the Fourth International; with Polish opposition currents; the Evangelical Church of Germany; *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International; the Senate of West Berlin; the German SDS; unnamed "foreign and domestic reaction"; and "right-opportunists" (i.e., Dubcek supporters) in the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The inclusion of the party opposition in the amalgam is accomplished by a trick of mental gymnastics enabling the prosecution to drag the Dubcek wing in as having "consciously or unconsciously" supported an alleged "immediate counterrevolutionary putsch and the tearing of our republic out of the bloc of socialist states."

It is with the same tortured reasoning that the defendants' defense of socialist democracy is linked to foreign imperialism: "... in order to split the moral and political unity of the peoples of the socialist countries, the foreign enemies of socialism support and spread seemingly antiimperialist ideas. Therefore, they also support various ultra-left movements and Trotskyist groups. These, of course, assume seemingly extreme antiimperialist positions, but in reality they harm and discredit the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries. Therefore, in order to weaken socialism, the spreading of Trotskyist and similar literature and its channeling into the socialist countries and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is supported."

The aims attributed to the defendants, however, would hardly seem to justify the "support" of "foreign enemies of socialism." The summary reports: "The indictment says that ... they wanted to replace the state and party apparatus by a system of so-called 'self-management of the entire people.'"

Stilip characterizes this demand for socialist democracy as "pseudoradical slogans and programs spread among us by foreign centers. ..." In Husak's Czechoslovakia, the ideas of Lenin emanate from a dangerous "foreign center"!

Some of the specific acts charged in the indictment are absurdly innocuous. They include:

- Posting the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Youth Movement" in the philosophy faculty of Charles University in Prague.

- A private meeting in Prague at which one of the defendants "expressed radical views and spoke about the possibility of an armed uprising." (Emphasis added.)

- Organizing a demonstration before the East German embassy to protest Ulbricht's expulsion of Burmese students from East Germany.

- Encouraging members of the group to read articles by Trotsky, Bukharin and Djilas.

- Producing 400 mimeographed copies of a book entitled *Bureaucracy No—Revolution Yes*.

- Founding a "historical-sociological club" that was registered with the Communist Party youth organization and received a meeting room from it.

In a socialist democracy, the right of all supporters of socialism to express their views openly would be guaranteed, but in Czechoslovakia such expression is a crime. So is contact with foreign revolutionists.

What really alarms the Husak regime is the group's activity against the Soviet occupation and the Czechoslovak bureaucracy. The summary describes these passages:

"The indictment ... goes into the 'especially strong activity' of the group before the 'first anniversary of the intervention of the allied troops.' It says a leaflet ('Call of the ideological section of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia') agitated for provocative actions on Aug. 2, 1969. It sharply attacked the representatives of the party and the state, the Soviet Union, and other socialist states, and encouraged illegal activity."

"After enumerating additional leaflets, the indictment says that on Aug. 24, 1969, the group brought out a pamphlet under the title 'Partial Report on the Murder Committed by the Repressive Forces during the night of Aug. 20-21, 1969.' This contained 'crude attacks against the state organs.' ..."

"In the period from September to November 1969, the members of the group are alleged to have worked out the so-called 'Programmatic Declaration of the Revolutionary Socialist Party,' in which the state and political order of the republic are described as a 'bureaucratic-centralist and authoritarian system,' and the creation of a 'United Front of Popular Resistance' against this system is called for."

This indictment charges further that the declaration "called for leaflet campaigns, demonstrations, and strikes, not excluding armed battle."

According to the summary, the indictment also includes charges brought against individual members of the group. Among these are the charge against Filipp Serrano, for instance, who is accused of the "crime" of translating works of "Trotskyists and revisionists," including Ernest Mandel's *On Bureaucracy*.

With such an indictment as this, it is hardly surprising that the Husak regime reversed past practices and decided to exclude the press from the trial of the Prague "Trotskyists." Even for hardened Stalinists, it must have been embarrassing to admit publicly that spreading revolutionary ideas constitute "undermining the republic."

Socialist Campaign '71

Big gains in D.C. campaign

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On March 23, District of Columbia voters elected a nonvoting delegate to Congress. Walter Fauntroy, a Black Democrat, became the District's first congressional representative in almost a century.

With a 43 percent turnout of registered voters, the percentages for the six candidates on the ballot were: Fauntroy, 58.5 percent; Nevius, Republican, 25 percent; Hobson, Statehood Party, 13.4 percent; Kameny, Mattachine Society, 1.6 percent; Moore, Black United Front, 1.1 percent; Harris, Socialist Workers Party, .4 percent.

The large number of independents in the race reflected a growing disillusionment with the two-party system.

The Statehood Party received well above the 7,500 votes necessary to appear on the ballot as a "major party" in future elections. The long-standing demand for local self-government and full congressional representation has thus been given added weight.

The turnout for Kameny, the homosexual rights candidate who, along with Harris, was more concerned with issues than other candidates, reflects the growing political consciousness of gay people. "The homosexual community must be freer now because of my candidacy," said Kameny.

The Socialist Workers Party reaped considerable benefits from the campaign, leaving an indelible imprint on the political map of Washington. James Harris, the SWP candidate, confronted the other candidates at over 40 community, university and high school forums, six radio and 10 television forums (a total of 14 hours of TV time). He appeared in the press almost every day during the final weeks of the campaign.

The Harris campaign also received considerable press coverage outside of Washington. Some of the papers that reported his campaign were the *New York Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Seattle Times*, and the *International Herald Tribune*.

Young people were especially interested in the campaign. Harris won a mock election at Alice Deal Junior High School, which has 2,000 students.

An already left-of-center campaign geared to Washington's 71-percent Black majority was moved further to the left by the presence of Harris. All the candidates were thus compelled

to take stands on the *real* issues facing the people of Washington. These included: the right of the Third World Task Force to a parade permit on April 3 and support of April 24 (all the candidates except the Republican came out in support of the above); Black control of Black communities and the need for a Black political party; women's liberation, particularly the right of free abortion on demand; and the undemocratic election laws which discriminate against independents. Even Fauntroy, the antinationalist Democrat, was claiming to be "the Patrice Lumumba of the candidates" by the end of the campaign.

The SWP candidacy even received some gratuitous publicity from the floor of the House of Representatives. Rep. Richard Ichord, head of the House Internal Security Committee (successor to HUAC), delivered a slanderous red-baiting tirade in Congress on the day before the election.

Ichord even attacked the media for not red-baiting Harris: "No attempt was made to explain the aims and purposes" of the SWP. And, he complained, during a TV interview of Harris, "the news commentator indicated that it was refreshing to hear the views expressed by Harris."



Eric Poulos

Blasts Worcester officials

WORCESTER, Mass. — Although his campaign is less than one week old, Eric Poulos, the Socialist Workers Party's 19-year-old candidate for Worcester City Council, is already causing great discomfort to the city's ruling elite.

At a news conference at City Hall March 23, which received front-page coverage in Worcester's leading newspaper, Poulos denounced the city officials, City Clerk Robert O'Keefe in particular, for removing his name from the list of registered voters. Poulos registered to vote March 8. Nine days later, and a mere 90 minutes after he had announced his candidacy, he was mailed a letter informing him that he had been removed from the list. This makes it impossible for his name to appear on the September ballot. City officials claim that Poulos does not "legally" live in Worcester, although he has resided here for almost three years.

Flanked by reporters, Poulos tried to confront O'Keefe and demand an explanation for the clerk's action. O'

Keefe, however, refused to answer any questions from either Poulos or reporters. Poulos accused O'Keefe of "going against the majority of Massachusetts voters who voted in favor of 19-year-olds voting. The voters, unlike Mr. O'Keefe, didn't specify which 19-year-olds could vote and which could not."

"It is amazing," he continued, "that with our housing in Worcester crumbling, our men dying in Vietnam, 6.2 percent of our work force not working, the Black community daily struggling against rats, racist cops and all these problems, the city does nothing. However, two hours after I announce that I am running for City Council as a socialist candidate in opposition to the status quo, the city acts with lightning speed and strikes me from the records as a voter. If the city acted as fast on ending police brutality, jailing slumlords, and getting workers decent jobs as they did on striking my name off the voter registration, then maybe we wouldn't feel the need to run our socialist campaign for City Council."

Poulos stated that he had obtained legal counsel and had filed a petition demanding reinstatement as a registered voter. This petition will be discussed at the March 30 meeting of the City Council. He went on to say that a ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court is expected soon on an ACLU suit that seeks to give students the right to vote in the community in which they attend school, regardless of where their parents live.

In a related development, a federal judge in Boston ruled March 22 that a 19-year-old Boston University student could vote in Brookline, Mass., municipal elections despite the fact that her parents do not live there.

SWP at abortion hearing

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Toba Singer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge City Council, demanded the repeal of all Massachusetts laws relating to abortions, during a hearing at the State House March 23. Abortions should be free on demand and available to all women, she said.

"The most conservative estimate puts the number of abortions performed annually on Massachusetts women at 20,000—yet in 1970, only 2,500 to 3,000 of these procedures were done legally in Massachusetts hospitals. The tremendous discrepancy between these two figures is a strong argument for repeal," Singer asserted.

She also called for a "crash program to build medical facilities to make the abortions available."

GOP backs off on debate

CHICAGO — Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, accused her Republican opponent, Richard Friedman, of being afraid to confront the issues she has raised during her campaign. Friedman has backed down on his agree-

ment to debate her in public. "My office has contacted Mr. Friedman numerous times," Sheppard stated, "and his response has been either to put us off or place qualifications upon his acceptance that he never made at the time I originally challenged him. Obviously, Mr. Friedman does not recognize his obligation to carry through on campaign promises. I feel that the voters of Chicago have a right to hear all sides on the crucial issues of this campaign. By his refusal to set a date for the debate, he is showing himself afraid to confront the issues of my campaign, namely the war in Southeast Asia, women's liberation, and the right of minorities to control their communities."

Austin winds up campaign

By MELISSA SINGLER

AUSTIN — Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and City Council here have been engaging in a spirited campaign despite the refusal of the city to place their names on the ballot for the April 3 election. Mayoral candidate Mariana Hernandez and City Council candidate Karin Salzman were barred from the ballot when they refused to sign a loyalty oath. With the aid of the ACLU, they are fighting the constitutionality of this requirement in the courts.

In the meantime, they and the other two socialist candidates for City Council, Mike Alewitz and Laura Maggi, have been appearing at various meetings and on television. Maggi recently appeared on the Ed Brandon Show, a local TV talk show, along with her opponents for Place 2 on the Council. The other SWP candidates will also be appearing on the show before the election.

Hernandez recently addressed a meeting of all mayoral candidates sponsored by the Democratic Women's Committee. Other meetings she has appeared at include one sponsored by the Sierra Club and other Austin ecology groups; a candidates' meeting before the Student Action Committee (Young Democrats) at the University of Texas; and a luncheon of the ACLU, where she discussed the legal aspects of her court suit as well as the objectives of her campaign.

A campaign windup rally is scheduled for March 30. It will be followed by live entertainment by Icarus, a local band.



Photo from the Daily Texan

Karin Salzman

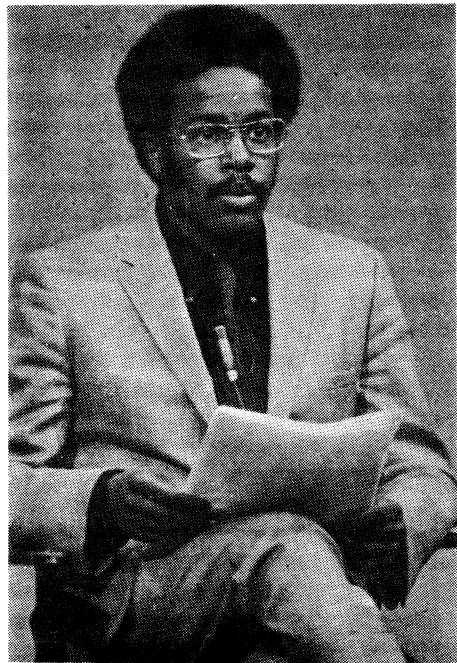


Photo by Bill Etue

James Harris

Camejo answers Daily World 'oversight'

The following is an open letter from Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, to the Daily World, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party.

The April Coalition, referred to in the letter, is a coalition of liberal Democrats, radical youth, and members of the Communist Party, formed in order to build support for liberal candidates in the April 6 Berkeley elections.

The Black Caucus is a group of Black Democrats who were deeply involved in the 1970 campaign of Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums. In the 1967 election, the Black Caucus endorsed Wilmont Sweeney for City Council. Sweeney is now the candidate for mayor supported by the Berkeley conservative community.

In the *Daily World* of March 13, 1971, an article appeared on the election campaign in Berkeley. This article includes a very important error. The anonymous correspondent writes: "The April Coalition and the Black Caucus, an organization also highly instrumental in electing Dellums, has not endorsed a mayoral candidate, since none of the nine seeking the office support the police amendment."

Fortunately for the people of Berkeley, it is not true that no candidate for mayor supports the community control of police charter amendment. As Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, unlike Warren Widener, Wilmont Sweeney or John Debonis, the capitalist candidates, I have been campaigning for passage of the amendment and am firmly committed to assuring its enforcement if I am elected.

I support the charter amendment because it gives the Black and Chicano communities in Berkeley the power to determine the policies, priorities and personnel of the police department. It would create democratically elected government councils which Black and Chicano people could fill with people who support their struggle instead of supporters of the white power structure.

In the predominantly student and youth community, the amendment would give students and others the right to prevent police invasion of the campuses and police harassment of political groups. The elected councils could become a weapon in the fight against the kind of illegal police violence used to drive the community out of People's Park. The amendment could mean the end of police harassment of gay people. It would open up the possibility for people to discuss and decide whether the target of police repression should be marijuana smokers or the wealthy men who organize the destructive flow of heroin into our communities.

The charter amendment challenges the right of the ruling class to use the police power to violate

the civil liberties of their opponents and protect their ill-gotten gains from public exposure and to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim. The passage of the charter amendment, or even a substantial yes vote would set an example for similar struggles throughout the country.

It is true that the April Coalition and the Black Caucus have not endorsed my campaign for mayor, despite our agreement on the charter amendment. Both the April Coalition and the Black Caucus were fully prepared to endorse Warren Widener, a member of the Central Committee of the Alameda County Democratic Party, until he declared his opposition to the amendment, using the phony scare charge that it would "divide Berkeley."

Widener did them a favor. Unlike most liberal capitalist politicians, he betrayed his followers before the election instead of waiting until he was safely in office. The April Coalition and the Black Caucus were willing to endorse Widener, and declined to endorse a revolutionary socialist, because

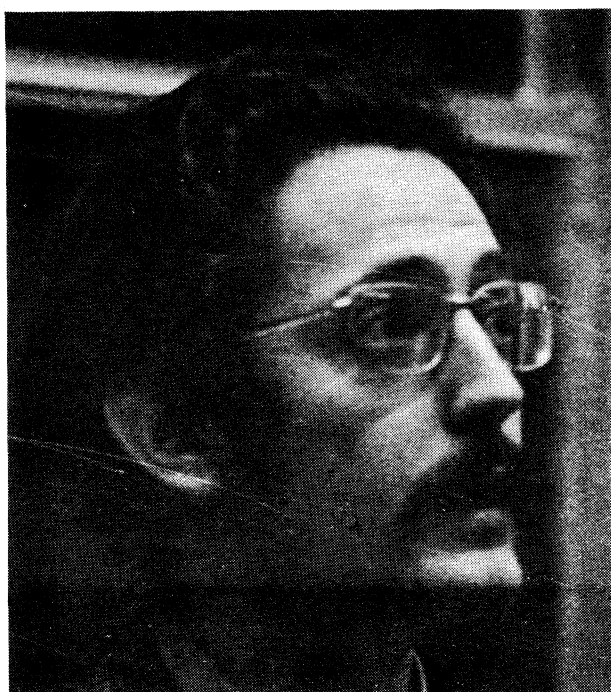
they are still committed to the idea that it is possible to reform the capitalist parties. Many of them still delude themselves that the Democratic bigwigs like Widener are "secretly" on their side.

Unfortunately, the role of the Communist Party in this election has been to encourage these illusions and not to dispel them. My socialist campaign for mayor has been heavily involved in the struggle for community control. I have spoken and debated countless times on this subject.

The April Coalition and the Black Caucus and the Communist Party are aware of my activities, as well as the large number of campaign leaflets we have put out in support of community control of police.

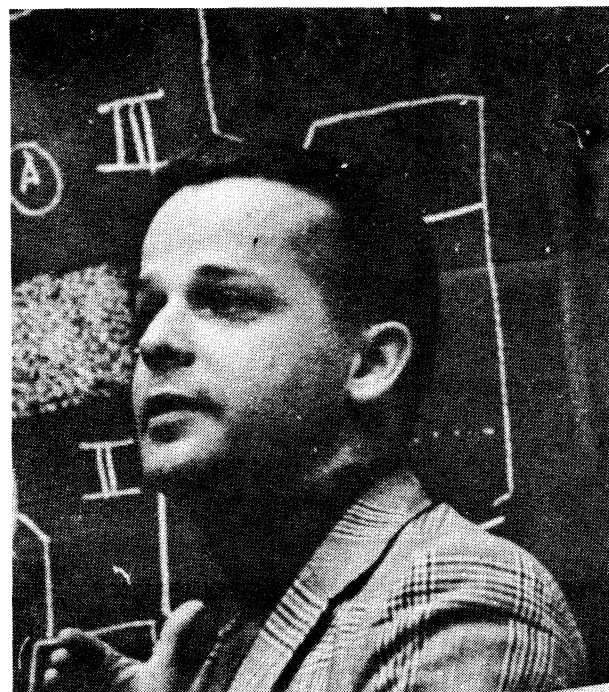
Despite my fundamental difference with the April Coalition, the Black Caucus and the Communist Party about the need for a complete break with capitalist parties and politicians, I look forward to working together with them on the issue of community control of the police as well as other issues where we are in agreement.

Antonio Camejo



Antonio Camejo

Photo by David Warren



Mike Culbert

Photo by David Warren

Antonio Camejo, SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley, and Mike Culbert, editor of the conservative Berkeley Daily Gazette, debated the controversial "Community Control of Police" amendment March 12. Camejo is the only mayoral candidate who is supporting the amendment.

Radical press excluded from Seale trial

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, March 29—As the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins entered its second week, spokespersons for the underground, student, and radical media issued a statement March 26 condemning their exclusion from the trial and the refusal of Judge Harold Mulvey to move the trial to a larger courtroom.

The statement begins: "On Thursday, March 18, the trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins began in New Haven, under circumstances that reflect the repressive, racist atmosphere surrounding the trial of the Chicago Eight, the New York 21, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and other political prisoners. Many representatives of the local and national nonprofit alternate press, in addition to members of the public, were refused admission to the courtroom by New Haven County Sheriff Slavin. Press people who had been covering the trial during the *voir dire* (jury selection) and had been assigned seats in the press section, found that their places had been relabeled for the national news media, that they would not be admitted unless a seat were vacated, and then only at the discretion of the courtroom sheriff. Due

to certain misinformation coming out of the sheriff's office as to whether the seats are being occupied, these pressmen are experiencing serious confusion and difficulty in gaining entrance into the courtroom."

It goes on to describe how the public has been denied entrance to the trial by being limited to just 28 seats. In addition, guards posted at the courthouse door actively discourage anyone from attending.

The statement ends with the demand for a "fair and equal policy regarding press representation, in a courtroom large enough to accommodate those the state claims to represent, the people."

Endorsers of the statement include several underground papers, campus radio stations from Yale and New York University, campus newspapers from Wesleyan, Yale, Clark University, and U of Michigan, *Rutgers Law Journal*, *The Militant*, *The Daily World*, *Black Panther News Service*, and *Liberalized Guardian*.

The key testimony during the first week of the trial was given by Warren Kimbro, one of the original Panthers arrested, who later turned state's witness and pleaded guilty to second-

degree murder. According to Kimbro, defendant Ericka Huggins was present when Alex Rackley, the murder victim, was allegedly beaten and tortured in connection with a "purge" taking place within the party prior to his death. The questioning of Kimbro was stopped when he reached the point where he was going to describe how Rackley was forced to speak into a tape recorder operated by Huggins. At this point, the defense objected to a prosecution motion to enter as evidence the tape recordings seized during the police raids on New Haven Panther headquarters, May 22, 1969.

The defense argued that the raid on Panther headquarters, located in Kimbro's apartment at the time, was illegal since no search warrant had been issued, and that the evidence allegedly seized is consequently inadmissible. Judge Mulvey has ruled, however, that only Huggins, who was present at the time of the raid, has the right to contest the admission of the tapes as evidence, whereas Seale, who was arrested three months later, does not. The judge has proceeded to hear arguments regarding seizure of the tapes without the presence of the jury.

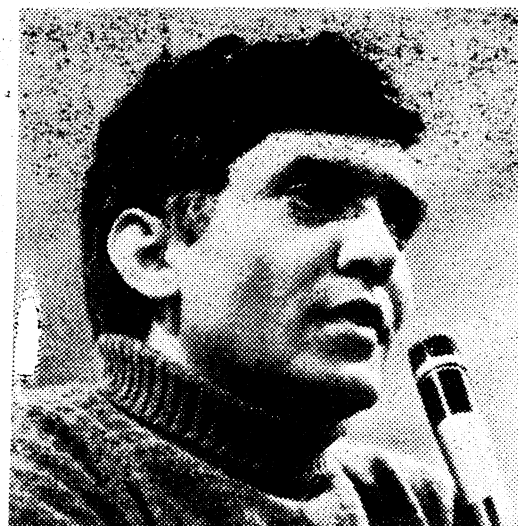
Thus far during this hearing, 17 policemen have testified under subpoe-

na by the defense. They have brought out the fact that police were led to Kimbro's apartment on the basis of information supplied by an as yet unidentified female informant who allegedly acted on information given her by Kimbro.

In connection with the hearings on the raid, Katherine Roraback, defense counsel for Huggins, has attempted unsuccessfully to subpoena the FBI. The agents may have been present during the raid. Judge Mulvey denied her motion after arguments from Assistant U. S. Attorney Peter Clark that the subpoena constituted an "invasion of federal investigatory files."

In a related development, Mulvey ruled earlier in the week that a defense motion to order a second psychiatric examination for prosecution witness George Sams was out of order until such time as Sams is called to the witness stand. Sams was the key prosecution witness in the trial of Lonnie McClucas on the charge of conspiracy to commit murder. McClucas was convicted in August 1970. The Panther defense committee is now attempting to raise McClucas' \$35,000 bail while the case is being appealed to the Connecticut Supreme Court.

Eqbal Ahmad on Berrigan frame-up



Eqbal Ahmad

On March 3, *The Militant* interviewed Eqbal Ahmad, one of the Harrisburg Six defendants, in his office at the University of Chicago, where he is a fellow of the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs. Ahmad and five others have been indicted on frame-up conspiracy charges with virtually no evidence besides the testimony of a police agent.

The other five are the Rev. Philip Berrigan, who, like his brother Daniel, is serving a federal prison sentence for the destruction of draft records; the Rev. Neil McLaughlin, who was removed from his Baltimore parish last year for his role in anti-war and antidraft demonstrations; the Rev. Joseph R. Wenderoth, also relieved of duties because of his antidraft activity; Sister Elizabeth McAlister, a nun from Marymount College, Tarrytown, New York; and Anthony Scoblick, a former priest.

At the March 3 meeting, Ahmad discussed the Harrisburg case, the war in Indochina, and the antiwar movement. The interview which follows is taken from a portion of that discussion.

The Militant: In your opinion, why were you and the other Harrisburg Six defendants singled out by the government for attack at this time?

Ahmad: One way of looking at it is to look at our relationship to the government's policy of "Vietnamization." As the administration has used the term, Vietnamization means the mechanization of the war in Indochina in order to lower the costs and casualties of Americans while increasing the costs and casualties of the enemy. There is no doubt that the United States has been pulling out some troops from Vietnam, but it is also true that every GI platoon pulled out is replaced by a B-52 bomber, an F-104, and helicopter gunships. Vietnamization means replacement of men with machines. Vietnamization means dehumanization of the war so that the destruction of the Vietnamese population and countryside takes place in an automated, mechanized fashion. Militant readers are quite familiar with the figures of the increase in the tonnage of bombing.

Now, into the situation in which Nixon is trying to make people forget the war, put a group of people which has consistently insisted on bringing the war back to the front pages of the newspapers—men like Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, or, for that matter, myself, an Asiatic scholar who speaks of wars and revolutionary warfare with a certain amount of competence—people who have insisted through their writings, their speeches, and their acts of resistance that we shall not allow the Nixon administration to sell the war to the American people and turn it into a forgotten war. We have come under indictment because we have challenged the government.

The indictment was an act of diversion, an act of preparation. The rulers of this country have always had a tendency to stifle and repress dissent when it becomes a menace from their point of view. And since their policy is one of public management and manipulation of the electorate, people who refuse to be managed and manipulated are bound to be seen by these rulers as enemies of the government.

The Militant: Can you describe the terms of the indictment?

Ahmad: The indictment, as you know, charges that five pacifists and priests—one of whom was in prison—and an Asian scholar plotted to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and blow up the heating system of Washington, D. C., as a protest against the war. Those are the charges.

It seems to me that the charges parallel very closely the Tonkin Gulf incident. In 1964, President Johnson had alleged that a North Vietnamese

PT-boat had invaded the powerful Pacific fleet of the United States, which carries 256,000 soldiers and five aircraft carriers. On the face of it, it's very ridiculous. But that allegation was somehow credible to the American people, and even to the Congress, so that Johnson obtained the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which provided him with what he called the legal basis for escalating the war and for bombing North Vietnam.

In our case, five pacifists and one Asian scholar have been charged with plotting to kidnap and bomb—equally as ridiculous! But I think the idea is to achieve the domestic equivalent of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. That is to say, if they get away with our indictment, if the public tolerates it, and if the politicians tolerate it, then it becomes a basis for the Nixon administration to escalate its policy against dissenters generally in this country. In that sense, I think that this indictment is a very significant one.

The Militant: How did you learn of the indictment?

Ahmad: I was sitting here in my office, right where we are having this interview, and the FBI agents came and put handcuffs on me, and they told me I was arrested. I asked them for a warrant of arrest. They said they didn't have it but they would show it to me when I got to their building.

I said, "What am I being arrested for?" They said, "Conspiracy." I asked, "Conspiracy to do what?" They said, "Conspiracy to kidnap." And so I went to the federal building, and then to the police station, and you know the rest.

The Militant: Why do you think J. Edgar Hoover accused you publicly before the indictment was handed down?

Ahmad: Your guess is as good as mine, but my guess is this: Hoover had investigated us for a long time, looking for something on which he could get us. He didn't find it. So he decided that, for whatever little he had on our resistance activity, if he made that statement to the Congress, he would at least get some money that he was looking for (he was looking for \$14-million) and he might impress some congressman with his good work.

Then I think it probably got out of his hands because he did not expect that the Berrigans would challenge him. After he made that statement, the Berrigans threw a very serious challenge out to him through Congressman William Anderson to either put up or shut up.

Despite that, no indictments came for two weeks. Then President Nixon held a news conference. He was questioned about Hoover's statement, and he praised J. Edgar Hoover in very high terms and claimed that the Justice Department was looking into it.

Now, it is obvious that once the president of the United States has made such a statement, you have to do something. A few days later, the grand jury met and the Justice Department issued the indictment.

You might note that even after the indictment, the grand jury has continued its investigation, which seems to give all of us, including the press, the feeling that they are looking for evidence to successfully prosecute us, but they aren't finding it.

I can tell you that the FBI has been more active investigating us now than it was before the indictment. So it's a very strange case, I think, which shows to a certain extent the madness of these people—some of them are pathological cases.

The Militant: What has the international reaction been to the charges against you?

Ahmad: I think all civilized people across the world have been very shocked at the extrajudicial character of the way in which the indictment came.

In all of the press that I have read—the French, British, Middle Eastern, and North African press, and, of course, the press from my own country, Pakistan—I haven't seen a single news item or editorial which hasn't expressed confidence in our innocence and disbelief and criticism for the actions of the government.

The Militant: You recently stated that you and the other defendants intend to introduce a note of civility into the trial. I wonder if you would comment on that?

Ahmad: You are referring to a statement I made on the radio. The interviewer asked me, "What will your style be during the trial?" I said that all of the defendants feel that we live in very difficult times when the rulers of this strongest nation in the world are committing crimes against humanity and are violating some very basic norms of due process and responsibility to the public.

In such times, ordinary people like you and me have a special responsibility to observe a measure of civility, which has become so rare among the rulers of this nation.

Our attitude, in the courtroom and outside, will be the same as it has been before the trial. We shall remain uncompromisingly opposed to America's genocidal war in Indochina.

The Militant: Are you endorsing the April 24 demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco?

Ahmad: I very strongly endorse the April 24 demonstrations. The Student Mobilization Committee has asked me to sign one of their appeals for action and for funds. I had no hesitation signing it, because they are planning a nonviolent demonstration, they are planning it against the war, and they are planning to make it massive. And nobody who is against the war can refuse an effort at organizing a massive nonviolent demonstration against the war.

I also support the effort at the People's Peace Treaty. I feel that we should unite in each other's efforts to oppose the war.

The Militant: Do you see a particular relationship between the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed national minorities and the antiwar movement in this country?

Ahmad: Yes, and I personally wish that the relationship were more clearly established among the Black and Chicano people than it actually is at the moment.

The relationship is very close. In some meaningful ways, the experience of Third World people in this country is that of a colonized people. Therefore, they are in a position to understand our struggle in the Third World—the struggle of the Vietnamese, the struggle of the African people for the end of colonial and imperial exploitation. In our part of the world, we understand and sympathize fully with the problems of the Third World people in America, but we very often just do not know how to help. I think the same is very often true of Black people and other Third World people in this country. They know we are their brothers and sisters, but they often have no idea how to help.

I think April 24 will be very important. It would gladden our hearts, and it would be a big boost psychologically, morally and politically for the Vietnamese people and all peoples in the Third World to see photographs of the April 24 demonstration and see Black and Brown faces there. That would let us know that our brothers and sisters from the Afro-American and the Chicano movements were there in our behalf.

Continued on page 22

The SST gets its wings clipped

By DAVID THORSTAD

MARCH 29—The March 24 Senate decision to vote no more funds for two prototypes of the supersonic transport plane (SST) appeared to clip the plane's wings for good. The 51-46 vote came a few days after the surprising House vote of 215-204 against the plane.

Millions of Americans were glad to see this boondoggle bite the dust. The government had already wasted more than \$865-million on it and this would have soared to \$5-billion if the plane were ever to go into production. In a day when adequate and safe ground transportation is lacking, few could be easily persuaded that the SST was needed.

As it is, one of the main reasons the SST was ultimately scrapped was the universal concern about environmental pollution. Funds for the plane have regularly been appropriated since 1963 without serious opposition. It was the rising concern about ecology among millions that changed that. One prominent aerospace banker in New York, quoted in the March 28 *New York Times*, was piqued at the injection of this unforeseen factor into the far-flung plans of big business: "You don't ask the man in the street who doesn't have any expertise to make a decision on this kind of thing."

The high pressure arguments trotted out were not convincing. Asked why it was necessary to build the plane at all, William Magruder, director of federal SST development, told *U.S. News & World Report* March 15, "We are going to need it and people are going to want it. It's a well-known fact that most people take the fastest plane available to them. From the passenger's standpoint, it will add to his productivity to be able to get from one place to another faster." Most people, however, do not take planes. And even fewer would fly SSTs because of the increased cost. Just how infinitesimal the number of businessmen is whose productivity depends on being able to fly round-trip between New York and London or Paris in one day Magruder did not say.

The grounding of the SST represented a stunning defeat for both the Nixon administration and the special interests—the aerospace industry, the Machinists union and the AFL-CIO—that were attempting to foist the plane on the world. Nixon placed the weight of his administration behind this toy for rich businessmen. Yet while he was twisting arms, he was also doing his best to keep the public in the dark about the plane by suppressing a report on it by a group of investigators he himself commissioned. The report was rumored to contain unkind facts about the SST.

A high-powered advertising and lobbying campaign was begun in late February by a group calling itself



Boeing mockup of supersonic transport

American Industry and Labor for the SST. It later changed its name to place the word labor before industry. The gesture hardly disguised the fact that the group's primary concern lay not with the workers but with the aerospace industry. The concern of those favoring the SST is not merely for the workers, it said in an uncanny understatement. "It's a concern to preserve and foster one of America's most important resources—the aerospace industry." A vote against the SST would be a "breach of faith with industry and the airlines," it warned. And, in a flight of fancy, it asserted, "Scientific studies indicate that our SSTs will not be harmful." In the face of both the facts and Nixon's own refusal to release the report of his hand-picked committee, such a claim was plainly ludicrous.

So was the attempt to stampede the public into supporting the SST when the airlines' newest and biggest passenger craft, the 747s, are often flying at only 30 percent occupancy.

As the crucial vote neared, a scare rumor began to circulate that the Russian supersonic plane, the TU-144, would be going into commercial service on the Moscow-Khabarovsk run next October. The implication was that it was patriotically urgent to fill the "SST gap." However, the *Washington Post* reported March 21 that "Efforts to trace the rumor to its source have wound up in Washington and Paris more than in Soviet officialdom."

One of the most frightening revelations of anti-SST forces in the days leading up to the votes in Congress came in a paper prepared by a government doctor and backed for scientific soundness by the National Institute of Health, a branch of the Department of Health, Education and

Welfare. It predicted that with a fleet of 800 SSTs in operation, an additional 23,000 to 103,000 cases of skin cancer could be expected in the United States each year. Dr. Gio Gori, an associate scientific director at the National Cancer Institute, called the upper estimate "very conservative." He called the increase in skin cancer "one of the simpler and best-known effects" of an increase in ultraviolet radiation that would result from an SST-induced drop in the ozone content of the stratosphere. "Other momentous modifications of the environment may not turn out so tame," he warned.

The health threat posed by the sonic boom was no more encouraging. "The military sonic-boom tests over Oklahoma, which registered 1.3 pounds per square foot of pressure, caused substantial property damage and were seriously disturbing to most people," Sen. Gaylord Nelson said in an interview in *U.S. News & World Report* March 15. "The SST has a boom of 2.5 to 3.5 pounds per square foot. Everybody agrees that that is far beyond tolerable limits." Just what such booms every half hour or so over the Atlantic would do to birds and sea life is impossible to say. At any rate, the answer would not have been provided by the two prototypes.

One might get the impression from the intensity of the pro-SST lobbying effort that in view of the negative vote on the plane, the aerospace companies that have already spent money on it will now be in bad financial shape. Not so. They will be reimbursed—with taxpayers' money. "Subcontractors of the SST appear to be in position to obtain reimbursement for a good part of their expenses in the program," reports the *Wall Street Journal*

March 25. "A few, surprisingly, may reap a short-term benefit from abandonment of the SST."

The ease with which big business will sustain this blow to its schemes will hardly be reassuring to the approximately 9,000 workers among the major contractors and subcontractors alone who will be thrown out of work as a result. One of the major arguments of the Nixon administration in favor of the SST was that if it were discontinued thousands of workers would be unemployed. This argument was especially hypocritical coming as it did from an administration whose tight-money policies have helped boost unemployment from 3.5 percent in 1969 to 6 percent in January 1971. And on March 23, the day before the Senate vote on the SST, it was announced that the government-sponsored Railpax system would result in over 8,000 workers losing their jobs.

One beneficial side effect of the decision to scrap the SST may be heightened pressure to dump the British-French supersonic Concorde as well. In a cable to Sen. William Proxmire, the leader of the anti-SST fight in the Senate, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, influential member of the French National Assembly, said the Concorde "looks to us, on this side of the Atlantic, like an industrial Vietnam."

Now all that is needed to seal the fate of these supersonic monsters is to close them out of the U.S. market by banning them from either flying over or landing on U.S. territory. Such a bill has been introduced by Rep. John Dingell of Michigan, a ranking member of a House transportation and aeronautics subcommittee. Similar legislation is under consideration in 17 states, including the largest, California and New York.

Maoists assault Canadian socialist

[The following report is taken from the March 15 issue of the Toronto revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*.]

On Wednesday, Feb. 24, Dick Fidler, a leading member of the League for Socialist Action [the Canadian Trotskyist organization], was attacked and beaten by three supporters of the Canadian Party of Labor, a small Maoist grouping.

Fidler came upon the three about midnight pasting CPL posters on the League for Socialist Action headquarters in Toronto, and asked them if they had permission to do so. Their

response was to attack him and beat him until diverted by the approach of a passing taxicab driver. Fidler was severely bruised.

The Toronto LSA has distributed the following statement to CPL members and the local radical press.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action protest this attack. In our view it is an attack on and threat to the whole left.

"Such attacks make it easier for the authorities to divide the left and to attack it. They lend justification to charges that those on the left are the source of violence in this society. They can open up the left as a whole to

attack by these authorities—they themselves the promoters and perpetrators of violence in Canada today.

"There are a number of groups within the radical movement which hold widely varying views. Are the differences between these groups to be settled by physical violence until the group with the strongest members wins out? Using physical violence to this end is an old discredited Stalinist tactic and we must make sure that it does not return to plague the left.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action, have important political differences with the Canadian Party of Labor. We are ready at any time to dis-

cuss these differences openly and democratically with CPL.

"We believe that democratic relations between the different left groups are essential to the development of the left as a whole. Do the members of CPL have such a lack of confidence in their political ideas that they must attack their opponents on the left physically rather than participating in democratic debate with them?

"The Canadian Party of Labor must publicly apologize for this attack and commit itself to cease the use of physical violence against its opponents on the left."

Women's liberation struggle in Ireland

By CAROLINE LUND

In March, students at the University College Cork in Ireland were exposed to a display demonstrating the exploitation of women in advertising. The display was set up by the women's liberation group at the university. The exhibit consisted of ads taken from Irish newspapers and magazines, accompanied by a feminist commentary, such as: "Are alcohol and women SOLELY for men's gratification?" written next to an ad associating a near-naked woman with a bottle of vodka. And "Is it really so funny?" written under an ad making fun of a woman's breasts.

The exhibit was attended not only by university students but also by a large number of secondary school

students from the area. It was so successful that the exhibit was held over an extra day.

The University College Cork's women's liberation group is called the Markievicz Society, named after the Countess Markievicz, a woman revolutionary who was one of the leaders of the 1916 uprising in Ireland. Recently, the group—as well as women's liberation in general—has been receiving publicity in the *Irish Times*.

The group has published a pamphlet called *Irishwomen: Chains or Change?* which is available for a donation from 18 Fairfield Road, Dublin 14, Ireland. In this pamphlet, the women attempt to compile the whole range of grievances of Irish women, dealing with the plight of widows, deserted wives and factory women as

well as the inferior education women receive, job barriers, legal discrimination, and oppressive marriage laws.

The Markievicz Society also puts out a magazine. The most recent issue has an article on the family system by Judy Kennedy, in which she advocates the industrialization of housework, the provision of meals at schools and all places of work, and the establishment of child-care centers, which she recognizes will mean a radical change in the whole family system.

Another group member, Mary Maher, explained to the March 9 *Irish Times* that: "The Women's Liberation Movement is political, courageous, imaginative, insulting, impudent, and it has won more notice and more recruits than any other women's civil

rights movement has. At least, this has been the case in other countries. It's up to all of us to see what we can do here. And now."

At the annual conference of the Labour Party held in Galway, women succeeded in getting a resolution passed urging the LP members of Parliament to demand repeal of laws prohibiting the importation of, sale of, or literature about contraceptives. One woman said from the floor that this motion had much wider implications than simply the use of contraceptives. She said there should be no interference whatsoever in the private lives and morality of people, and that the motion related to the rights of women and only began to deal with the oppression women face in all areas of life.

Quebec nationalist draws life sentence

MARCH 27—Canada's Trudeau regime made every effort to use the slaying of Québec labor minister Pierre Laporte last October 16 by a small group of ultraleftists of the Québec Liberation Front (FLQ) as a pretext for widespread repression of the entire nationalist movement. The latest sign of this was the sentencing to life imprisonment of Paul Rose, the Québec nationalist accused of participating in the killing of Laporte. This conviction set an ominous precedent for the upcoming trials of a broad spectrum of Québec independentist leaders who face charges not directly related to Laporte's death.

That the government had political aims going beyond the specific charges in Rose's case was clear from the handling of the prosecution. Rose was not permitted to have the attorney of his choice, Robert Lemieux, who

himself faces charges of belonging to the FLQ. Then, when Rose attempted to speak in his own defense he was barred from the courtroom for the duration of his own trial.

Rose also exposed the alleged confession of his codefendant Francis Simard as a police forgery and pointed out that the news reports of this supposed confession before the trial were highly prejudicial to an "impartial" verdict. The aim of the prosecution was to put the ideas of the separatist movement on trial, not the specific acts attributed to the FLQ.

Although Rose freely admitted participating in the kidnapping of Laporte as an act of political protest, he offered no testimony establishing individual responsibility for the killing. Despite his conviction, his participation in Laporte's death remains unproved.

The government has used the atmosphere of hysteria whipped up around the Rose trial to renew its attack on the "Montréal Five," a group of prominent independentists accused of having connections with the FLQ but not any responsibility for the Laporte killing. The five are trade-union leader Michel Chartrand, author Pierre Vallières, teacher Charles Gagnon, lawyer Robert Lemieux, and former Canadian Broadcasting Company producer Jacques Larue-Langlois. They won an important victory Feb. 12 when charges of seditious conspiracy against them were dropped. At that time, Chartrand and Lemieux were released from jail, although they still face trial on charges of supporting the FLQ.

Nevertheless, on March 10, the other three members of the Montréal Five, who were still in jail, were brought

into court and new frame-up charges similar to the earlier ones of seditious conspiracy were brought against them. In addition, Vallières was confronted with 10 counts of "inciting to kidnap" three federal and provincial cabinet members and "inciting to murder" three judges and a lawyer. According to Robert Lemieux, the "evidence" in the new sedition cases consists of letters, speeches, newspaper articles, and other material that has been public information for months.

Chartrand, who is president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, is on a cross-Canada speaking tour during the month of March to raise money for the defense of the Québec political prisoners. His tour is being sponsored by the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Québec, P. O. Box 58, Station M, Toronto 21, Canada.

♀ The Insurgent Majority

Fay Ordway, an 18-year-old high school senior who is pregnant, has refused to accept her school's policy of expelling pregnant, unmarried students. She says, "I feel I'm being cheated," and she's fighting it. Ordway has filed a suit against school officials of North Middlesex Regional High School in East Pepperell, Mass., charging that she is being denied equal protection of the law.

School officials feebly attempted to explain the policy by arguing that it is for the "protection" of women. "They could be knocked around or jostled," said Joseph Sullivan, chairman of the Middlesex Regional High School Committee.

But this explanation is contradicted by the fact that the policy only applies to unmarried pregnant students. Obviously, the policy is meant to keep unmarried pregnant students out of sight and stigmatized, denying women students the right to make their own decisions about their bodies and lives. Good luck to Fay Ordway!

Office workers, mainly women, are striking against Solidarity House, the headquarters of the United Automobile Workers, which employs the women. The women are members of Local 42 of the Office and Professional Employees Union.

The unit chairman (sic) of Local 42, Beatrice Scott, says of the UAW bureaucrats, "They treat us like pea-brained little girls," reported the March 17 issue of the *Detroit Free Press*.

In this strike of mainly women office workers against mainly male union officials, much resentment against the discriminatory treatment the women have suffered is coming to the surface. The strikers say some union officials don't take them seriously, either as unionists or as skilled workers. "Their attitudes seemed to be: 'Be good little girls and you'll get the goodies,'" said Scott. "Now their attitude seems to be: 'If you're bad little girls, you won't get anything.'"

Some of the women strikers have worked for the UAW since the massive strikes of 1937. "We have strong feelings and we wouldn't want to hurt the UAW." But what they resent is being treated as inferior. "If a girl shows the least ability, she is resented," said one striker. "They even give the female international representative women's work to do."

The women say they have a great deal of support from UAW members.

Even women who have "made it" within the ruling-class parties, such as

U.S. Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York, are not spared the degradation that women face in this society. At a traditional annual dinner at the New York Hilton where former and present City Hall reporters entertain by making fun of public officials, Bella Abzug was ridiculed because she has stated her support for women's liberation demands and because she is a large woman. A *Daily News* reporter with pillows stuffed under his clothes said, "Oh, I'm filled with jubilation/For Women's Liberation/. . . We'll burn a bra and girdle/But dammit there's one hurdle/When we take them off/We all look like hell. . . ." Bella Abzug's husband was portrayed as "henpecked" and wearing a white frilly apron.

Apparently Bella Abzug was not supposed to mind this ridicule because at least she was the first woman official allowed to sit on the main floor at this traditional dinner. In previous years, she would have had to sit up in a balcony with wives of male officials.

A Canadian sister, Alice Lane, sent this column a possible "chauvinist quote of the week," from the mouth of a leading columnist of the *Edmonton Journal* in Alberta, Canada.

Edmonton Women's Liberation had demonstrated at the City Hall, asking the City Council to take a stand in favor of free abortion on demand and to expand city hospital facilities, which are inadequate to cope with the existing demand for abortions even under the present restrictive laws.

The columnist, Barry Westgate, wrote of the demonstrators: "Heck, they even kept their clothes on. Women's Lib gals should be prepared to punctuate the cause by baring all. Or at least some. In itself that attracts attention, if the project never could."

This pathetic man only illustrates the sickness of the society we are up against.

In Montreal, over 100 women marched for free abortion on demand on International Women's Day March 8, chanting "Fin aux boucheries, avortement gratuit! (End the butchery, free abortion!)" The march, which was limited because it took place after three snowstorms in five days, was organized jointly by the abortion action committees of the Front de Liberation des Femmes (French-speaking Quebec women) and the Women's Liberation Movement (the English-speaking group).

— CAROLINE LUND

Railpax system to slash jobs of 8,000 workers

By FRANK LOVELL

A scarcely noted fact of the passenger service take-over by the government-sponsored National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Railpax) on May 1 is the impending layoff of approximately 8,000 railroad workers in this branch of the industry.

The new service will lop off 181 passenger trains from the 366 now running. Deterioration of passenger service since World War II has reduced the number of passenger trains from 11,000 in 1946. Railpax plans to run only 185.

Charles C. Luna, president of the United Transportation Union and one of the Nixon-appointed incorporators of Railpax, has said that unions are meeting with railroads to work out a protective agreement for workers whose jobs are being eliminated. The practice when jobs have been eliminated before has usually been to move workers with high-seniority standing into the freight service and bump more recently hired workers there.

The critical job situation in the railroad industry is further aggravated by the demand of the railroads to revise work rules in order to cut the work force in the freight department.

Luna has protested that if the UTU accepts work-rule revisions now demanded by the carriers under a new contract, "it would amount to our members suffering severe layoffs and pay cuts. We would, in effect, be paying for our wage increases and the increases won by the other unions too."

As chief officer of the largest railroad union and also a part of Railpax management, Luna now occupies an ambivalent position. It has never been clear which side of the bargaining table he was on.

Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski (R-Wisc.), in praise of Luna and the UTU, told the Congress on March 18 that this was a most "responsible" union, citing the fact that it has never called a nationwide rail strike.

Luna has slavishly followed the dictates of the Railway Labor Act, habitually referring all issues to "fact finders" and arbitrators. In the current dispute over rule changes on the railroads, O'Konski reports that Luna is willing to pass this over to an "impartial" standing committee as recommended last November by a Nixon-appointed fact-finding board. According to O'Konski, "The carriers seem to be in favor of the standing committee idea but will not put the interdivisional-run issue before it."

The interdivisional-run issue is one of the key questions in the rule-change dispute. The purpose is to break down the separation of yard and road work, force train crews to do work now done by switchmen in the divisional yards, and extend the distance of a train crew run. The result, if such changes were made, would be to eliminate yard crews wholesale and put roadmen twice as far from their home terminal at the end of a day's work. It would mean that many railroad workers would have to uproot their families and move to new locations. Others would have to find work elsewhere.

If the carriers can get this change in the present rules, they will double up on the work, extend the hours, and lay off thousands of railroad workers.

Typical of Luna's method of negotiating is to shift to a less important question. O'Konski unwittingly provides an example of this in his praise of Luna. The congressman explained

that the UTU would also like some changes in work rules. "One of the most interesting and revealing changes being sought by UTU is a modification of the present away-from-home expense rule. The present rule provides only for one meal allowance—and get this—of \$1.50 during an entire period an employee may be required to be away from home," says labor's friend O'Konski.

The carriers would undoubtedly be happy to raise the meal allowance in exchange for a settlement on their terms of the interdivisional-run issue. A worker who is laid off does not benefit from meal allowances. The problem in the railroad industry is jobs.

This is directly related to the deterioration of the industry under the mismanagement of its banker-owners, who have bled this richly subsidized industry white and now present the federal government with bankrupt companies and requests for more handouts.

Roadbeds are sadly neglected and badly in need of expensive repairs. Rolling stock is ancient and outmoded, practically worthless for most modern transportation needs.

Forty years ago the railroads had 249,433 miles of track. Since then, this figure has been cut back by 40,000 miles. The cutback would have been far greater but for Interstate Commerce Commission regulations.

Few railroads show a profit although railroad management pays itself handsomely. In 1970, three railroads besides Penn Central went into bankruptcy. They were the Boston and Maine, Lehigh Valley, and Central of New Jersey.

The present management has long been anxious to get rid of its passenger service and be free of ICC regulations. It intends to raise rates and hopes to procure large federal subsidies for continued operation. It has strong support in Congress for its goals. It has succeeded through Railpax in ridding itself of passenger service and securing an indirect subsidy in the bargain.

Railroad management appears to be on the great high road to a monumental shakedown of the public treasury, still faithful to the nineteenth century "public be damned" credo of railroad tycoon William H. Vanderbilt.

The whole Railpax scheme is only a start on the drain of federal funds, a modest beginning of \$40-million in cash plus \$100-million in federal loan guarantees. All claims to the contrary, it is obviously not intended to improve or increase rail passenger service, as is clearly demonstrated by the utter disregard of all passenger needs from the outset.

The rail industry needs the aid of a compliant Congress. It could probably get along without the services of Charles Luna, who was put on the Railpax board only to make it look more removed from the railroad industry.

The spectacle of a union official with limited ability who has publicly and officially joined the camp of corporate management, pretending to represent the interests of workers about to be thrown out of their jobs by the gang of thieves who run the railroad industry, is even more ludicrous than the performance of congressmen who are planning to subsidize this privately owned industry while pretending "concern for public interest."



Photo by Howard Petrick

Laura Maggi, SWP candidate for Austin City Council, addressing demonstration against Bauer House March 12.

U of Texas students protest tuition hike

By RICHARD STUART

AUSTIN, Texas—More than 1,500 students gathered on the University of Texas campus here March 12 to protest a proposed tuition hike affecting both Texas and out-of-state students.

While maintaining that increased tuition is "badly needed" because of scarce funds, the UT regents recently squandered nearly one million dollars on the construction of a new house for the UT chancellor and tossed a \$20,000 party for resigning regents chairman Frank C. Erwin.

Erwin and the regents have consistently attacked the political freedoms of students and faculty. Last year, for example, they passed a rule limiting the number of nonstudents who could attend campus meetings sponsored by campus organizations, and they attempted to throw the Young Socialist Alliance off the campus for violating the unconstitutional rule. The regents have continued to deny campus recognition to Austin Gay Liberation despite overwhelming opposi-

tion to this ruling from students and faculty.

The board's hostility to political activity on the campus and Erwin's frequent witch-hunting statements about "troublemakers" have earned the board the hostility of UT students. This hostility boiled over with the announcement of the proposed tuition hike and contributed to the size and spirit of the March 12 rally. The rally was endorsed by the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), Worker-Student Alliance, the People's Peace Treaty Organizing Committee, Direct Action, and the Community Involvement Committee, as well as other groups and individuals.

After the rally, the students moved to the controversial "Bauer House"—the million-dollar home built for the UT chancellor—to view the palace on which the regents place a higher priority than they do on accessible education.

Students fight dress code

By ARTURO RAMIREZ

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—"We are to educate these kids and teach them how to live by the rules, and no damn political group is going to pressure me into voting otherwise!" So spoke Ralph Rich of the San Antonio School Board March 15 as he and a majority of the board's other members cast their votes for restricting the length of male high school students' hair.

The political group he referred to is the Concerned Students for Progress (CSP). CSP spokesman John Paul Gutierrez charged at the March 15 board meeting that the board had intimidated the student council into approving a policy requiring short hair when they knew such a policy was opposed by the overwhelming majority of South San Antonio High School students.

To prove their point, the CSP organized a poll three days later. The students voted 1,165 to 190 against the new grooming policy.

Last month, the board fired principal Carl North who had gone along with a liberalized hair length policy. More than 100 students attended the meeting March 15, which voted to ban hair over the ears, collar or eyebrow. With the majority of students behind it, the CSP is considering what further steps to take in forcing the board to back down.

The battle at South San Antonio High adds another to the ongoing student struggles around dress and grooming codes, free speech, and other democratic rights at Harlandale, John Jay and McCollum high schools. Students at Southside High School are currently striking for more Chicano instructors.

In Review

Books

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation by Abram Leon. Introduction by Nathan Weinstock. With a biographical sketch of Leon by Ernest Germain. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 272 pp. \$7.95. Paper \$2.75.

There are probably few harder mental tasks for Westerners of whatever class or nation than to learn to think clearly about the Jews. Ancient images of the Christ killer and the chosen of God, of the usurer and the witness to righteousness among the nations, of the avaricious schemer and the suffering innocent, mingle in different combinations in the conscious and unconscious minds of Jews and non-Jews alike with the historically newer ideological poison of racism.

Minds so deformed then confront the most recent and contemporary events of Jewish history: the murder of the Six Million, the dispossession and continuing oppression, in the name of the Jews, of a whole people in Palestine; the recrudescence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; the conflict between the precarious privileges enjoyed by many American Jews and the democratic demands of the Black liberation movement. The Jewish problem, it is certain, is by no means "solved," and it is no wonder that mystification prevails.

Such mystification always works to the advantage of the ruling classes of the dying imperialist order. Only a few years ago, the dominant mystifications of the Jewish question were openly anti-Semitic, and they served to deflect the social fury of non-Jewish masses from their real enemy—the exploiting, ruling classes—onto a mythical enemy—the Jew. Today, the prevailing mystifications in the United States and other imperialist countries are Zionist in tendency, and they serve to mobilize support among non-Jews as well as Jews for the imperialist offensive against the colonial revolution. If tomorrow imperialist interests might be served by once again diverting social struggles into pogroms, there is no doubt that the old anti-Semitic myths would come quickly to the fore once more, "enriched," however, by the Zionist experience, by the real crimes perpetrated in the name of the Jews by the Zionist-imperialist alliance.

So attainment of clarity about the Jewish question and unrelenting ideological struggle against the twin mystifications of Zionism and anti-Semitism remain important tasks for radicals and revolutionaries. Republication of Abram Leon's *The Jewish Question*—originally written in the early 1940s—is a great contribution to carrying out this task.

But the importance of Leon's work extends further. For, by presenting the outlines of a comprehensive, rational and materialist account of Jewish history, Leon concretely demonstrated the theoretical power of Marxism. As much as any historical phenomenon, the preservation of the Jewish religion and certain cultural features associated with it under a wide variety of social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances appears to defy a rigorous historical and rigorously materialist interpretation. The simple fact of Jewish survival seems positively to demand a sort of explanation that is openly or covertly racist or theological—that the Jews are "by nature," biologically, different from the peoples they have lived among, and the persistence of Jewish culture simply reflects the persistence of "race" amidst the accidents of history; or else that some special relation of the Jews to a transcendental Power that rules the world and its history accounts for their survival. If historical materialism can show that the Jews, in Marx's words, "have survived not despite but because of their history," and if it can show that this history is a thoroughly mundane one—a history of how real flesh-and-blood Jews have lived and worked and interacted with each other and with the non-Jews around them—and if it can show the origins in this mundane history of the myths and false conceptions about the Jews, then the evidence is compelling that everything historical—that is, human—is accessible to its light. The book shows just these things, and so it is convincing testimony to the truth of Marxist theory and practice in general.

The work is not, of course, a narrative history of the Jews. Rather, by extending and deepening the work of earlier Marxist theoreticians, it develops the methodological keys for any particular investigation of any aspect of Jewish history.

Leon first of all establishes a scientific periodiza-

tion of Jewish history. He distinguishes four great epochs: the precapitalist period, when Jewish communities—sometimes including Jewish states in Palestine, but only incidentally—were spread throughout the ancient and medieval world; then what he unfortunately calls the "period of medieval capitalism," when cities were growing and a non-Jewish merchant class developed in Europe; then the period of manufacture and industrial capitalism; and finally, the period of the decline of capitalism.

The fundamental theoretical tool that Leon develops is the concept of the people-class. The Jews were preserved as a distinct ethnic group throughout the precapitalist era because of a distinctive economic function: They were the bearers of commodity exchange—merchants and dealers in money—in a society which was based not on production for exchange but on production for use, but which nevertheless required a certain extent of exchange of commodities. Wherever Jews ceased to exercise these functions, they were generally quickly assimilated. A process of selection continued through the centuries in the "people" was constantly reproduced on the basis of a particular economic function, the class.

Leon's book is a demonstration of the theoretical power of this concept. His analysis lays the basis for his incisive criticism of Zionism—which has lost none of its force in the face of more recent developments—and for his compelling argument that only worldwide socialist revolution can bring



A German synagogue in the 1950s, when neo-Nazis were first showing their heads. Anti-Semitism can be revived here too if needs of capitalism demand it.

a genuine solution to the Jewish problem.

Nathan Weinstock, the Belgian Marxist whose monumental work *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism Against Israel) which appeared in 1968 and is in many respects a direct continuation of Leon's book, offers in his introduction to this new edition a lucid, compact treatment of some of these recent developments. These include: the utter inability of Zionism through the state of Israel and the dispossession of the Palestinians to offer a solution to the Jewish problem; the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as a consequence of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state; the promise of a genuinely socialist solution that is beginning to take shape in Cuba. Moreover, Weinstock discusses in some detail criticisms recently made by Maxime Rodinson of the people-class concept. In particular, Weinstock argues convincingly that, given a sufficiently flexible interpretation, the concept is able to elucidate the history of the Jews in the Arab world as well as in the West—the region to which Leon confined his attention.

Leon's own life and death were dense with Jewish and revolutionary history. He was born in Warsaw, one of the vital centers of East European Jewry, in 1918, at the very moment that the city was engulfed by the revolutionary wave which flowed out from the new workers' Russia across Eastern and Central Europe. As a small child, he spent a year in Palestine, where his parents' Zionist dreams were disappointed. In the Poland to which they returned, the reaction and its accompanying anti-Semitism which followed the defeat of the revolution were firmly entrenched. Like so many East European Jews before and after them, they turned to the West, where liberal, bourgeois democracy still seemed to flourish and with

it both freedom and opportunity for the Jews. They settled in Brussels in 1926.

The young Abram became an ardent Zionist—and an ardent socialist. He rose quickly to leadership in the Belgian section of Hashomer Hatzair, the most radical of the "socialist" Zionist parties. But finally his integrity and intelligence made it impossible for him to continue to live the absolute contradiction between Zionism and revolutionary Marxism.

In his moving biographical introduction to the book, Ernest Germain wrote of Leon's final and complete transition to revolutionary socialism. "He turned for the last time to his past, resolving to break with it harmoniously, with complete consciousness, after clarifying to himself and to his comrades the profound reasons for his break. . . . He denounced Zionism as a brake upon the revolutionary activity of the Jewish workers throughout the world, as a brake upon the liberation of Palestine from the yoke of English imperialism, as an obstacle to the complete unity of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine. Candidly, without any reservations or evasions, he condemned his own entire past activity. He understood what had completely conditioned it and how it had served as a necessary stage in his own development. . . . Having surmounted the nationalist stage of his own development, Leon rooted out from his thought every vestige of Zionism and his internationalism was of a purity that is rarely met."

The first fruit of this reckoning with his past, of his detailed study of Jewish history, and of his deep understanding of Marxist theory, was a document he presented for discussion to Hashomer Hatzair; *The Jewish Question* is an amplification of that document.

In 1940, when the revolutionary socialist forces seemed utterly defeated everywhere on the face of the earth, when fascism was ascendant throughout Europe and with it the most horrible persecution in Jewish history was moving inexorably toward its then unimaginable climax, when the second imperialist world war was already consuming the human and material substance of Europe and seemed to defer indefinitely any possible revival of revolutionary activity, Leon, with a couple of dozen of his Hashomer comrades whom he had convinced, joined the Belgian section of the Fourth International.

Under the German occupation, working in total illegality, with the constant knowledge that every moment might bring arrest, torture and death, Leon became, as Germain writes, "the principal inspirer of the party," its primary organizer, educator, and editor. At the same time, he was able to continue his theoretical work, above all the work of expanding and developing his theses on the Jewish Question.

While the allied armies were already advancing through France, Leon moved from Brussels to the Charleroi mining region, where Trotskyists were playing a leading role in the underground miners' movement. The day of his arrival he was arrested. A revolutionary militant and a Jew, he was doubly damned. He died in the gas chamber of Auschwitz. He was 26 years old. He left this book and the example of his life. They are worthy of each other.

—ROBERT LANGSTON

...Houston

Continued from page 24

my own campaign headquarters. This accusation has no basis whatsoever in fact!

"Did Pacifica Radio bomb itself off of the air? Did the *Forward Times* bomb itself? Did the Sports Cycle Shop bomb itself? And the art gallery on Taft? Has Fred Brode shot over twenty bullets into his own home, and also tried to burn it down? . . . [These groups and individuals have all been victims of terrorist bombings in the past.]

"We agree with Rev. Robert Lawson of the Wheeler Ave. Baptist Church when he states that if the criminals were Black or Brown or had long hair, they would have been in jail by sundown of the day of the bombing. We demand that action be taken to bring this terrorist spree to a halt and institute complete political freedom in this city."

History of right-wing terrorists

During the past several years, right-wing terrorists have been able to function with total immunity in Houston. The following cases of right-wing attacks and Klan activity, all of which have occurred within the last two years, point to continuing open collusion among the Houston cops, the city administration, the United Klans of America, and other reactionary terrorist organizations:

- *Space City News!*, an underground newspaper, had its offices shot up, burglarized and bombed during 1969-1970. Cars parked on the street outside were riddled with bullets. Staff members were threatened by callers who identified themselves as members of the Klan.

- The home of Dr. Edgar Crane, a University of Houston professor and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, was set afire in January 1970.

Houston Police Chief Herman Short, after publicly advocating driving the ACLU out of Houston, received the Sons of the American Revolution's Good Citizenship Award.

- Pacifica Radio's Houston transmitter was dynamited in May and October, 1970.

- In January 1971, the FBI arrested three men — including James Hutto — outside of Houston on charges of conspiring to blow up Pacifica stations in Los Angeles and Berkeley. The trio's car contained Klan literature and a loaded .45 revolver.

- Before dawn on Oct. 29, 1970, James Hutto and Louis Dean, another known Klansman, were apprehended by Houston police near another radio station, KNUZ, following a bomb threat received by that station. The car had its lights off and contained three semi-automatic rifles, ammunition, flammable liquid, and Klan literature. The police released them without charges.

- Earlier in October, Dean was one of eight men who attempted to enter a Radio Pacifica office. They were turned away by the landlord, but threw a brick through the Pacifica front window while leaving. They were apprehended but were released by the police without charges.

- There were no Houston arrests in any of these cases.

- At a Klan rally in October 1970, Grand Dragon Frank Converse was quoted in the *Houston Chronicle* as stating, "We have them [members] in the police department, in the sheriff's department, and up at City Hall, and these people are working to build up the United Klan."

In reply, Police Chief Short stated that he didn't know of officers who were Klan members, but further said

that he couldn't fault the Klan for its law-and-order stand, and would not fire any officer found to be a Klan member.

Houston's "justice" does, however, include the recent sentencing of two Black student activists at Texas Southern University to 25 years in the state penitentiary for possession of dynamite, allegedly with the intent to make a bomb.

Scope of defense campaign

The March 12 bombing of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign headquarters and bookstore immediately evoked tremendous public protest, unprecedented in this city. The day following the bombing, the *Houston Chronicle* pointed out in a lead editorial that, "Somebody evidently feels threatened by the Harris County Socialist [Workers] Party, which expects to run a full slate of candidates next fall in the city elections.

"But in this country, you don't have to bomb those with whom you disagree. Rather you vote against them at the polls and you vote for the candidate of your choice."

The *Houston Post* also vigorously condemned the bombing of the SWP election headquarters in a March 18 editorial called "A Game for Barbarians." The *Post* pointed to over twenty cases of unsolved right-wing bombings and vigilante attacks in Houston during the past year and adds, "Who prospers in a city where dissent is met with bullets and bombs? And why must Houston continue to be the scene of acts recalling Hitler's Nazi Germany?"

The University of Houston *Daily Cougar* also added its condemnation of the bombings in a lead editorial.

Statements condemning the bombing of the SWP headquarters have not only been received by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee from virtually every antiwar, student, and liberal organization in Houston, but the public outrage at the continued right-wing terrorist campaign has even forced Houston Mayor Welch and the Harris County Democratic and Republican parties to voice a protest against the bombing.

The defense campaign has also resulted in new openings for the SWP campaign. Most recently, Debby Leonard, as the SWP candidate for mayor, was invited to debate Dick Couly, former Harris County chairman of the American Independent Party, at Bellaire High School on March 25.

The response of the more than 100 students at the debate was overwhelmingly in support of the SWP campaign. Students grilled Couly on the American Independent Party's positions on civil rights, the war in Southeast Asia, and state's rights. Following the meeting, a number of students signed mailing lists to become active in the SWP campaign and defense effort.

Telegrams and letters demanding that the right-wing terrorists who bombed the SWP campaign headquarters be arrested and convicted, that Police Chief Short be fired, and that open hearings be held at which police and arson division records would be made available to the public, should be sent to Mayor Louie Welch, Houston City Council, City Hall, Houston, Texas 77002. Copies of all protests should be sent to the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023.

Funds are urgently needed to help pay for the damages caused by the bombing. Contributions to the Rebuilding Fund should be sent to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004.

800 women attend Boston conference

By MARILYN LEVIN

BOSTON—The first New England Congress to Unite Women was held in Boston over the March 27-28 weekend. The highly successful conference drew 800 women from a wide range of organizations and backgrounds.

The plenary session of the Congress discussed and endorsed actions on a wide range of issues. There was unanimous approval of a feminist festival and march to be held in Boston on April 17, which was designated "Women's Liberation Day." This event is being called around the five major demands of the New England Women's Coalition, a coalition of 29 New England organizations which sponsored the Congress. These demands are: free abortion on demand; free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers; an end to sex-role stereotyping in occupations; equal jobs and educational opportunities for women; and an end to laws regulating private sexual behavior.

The Congress proposed to initiate a class action court suit for abortion repeal in Massachusetts, which will center around the constitutional questions involved, and to wage a campaign for abortion repeal using the court case as its focus. A child-care teach-in this spring in Cambridge and a campaign to get a child-care referendum on the Cambridge ballot were also supported.

The Women and the War workshop proposed support for the United Women's Contingent in the April 24 antiwar rally in Washington, D.C., and this was endorsed by the Congress.

The Congress opened with a public rally Friday evening with a variety of speakers, including 84-year-old Florence Luscomb, a former suffragist; Myrna Hill, from the Third World Caucus of the New York Women's Strike Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance; Margaret Benston, a Vancouver feminist; Florynce Kennedy, Black feminist and co-author of *Abortion Rap*; and Jane Pollack,

from the National Organization for Women.

Gay women offered a presentation in song, poetry and film on the joys and freedom involved in coming out.

The second day of the Congress featured consciousness-raising and action-planning workshops and a women's party. Highlights of the workshops included the Gay Women's Workshop, where gay women discussed with other women what gay means in our society and what changes are necessary to bring gay liberation.

The "Is Feminism Revolutionary?" workshop, chaired by Jeanne Lafferty from Female Liberation and the Socialist Workers Party, inspired a spirited discussion on whether the roots of women's oppression are to be found in class society or male psychology.

The most dramatic workshop at the conference was called "Women and Pornography," and featured pornography exhibits, a "stag film," and discussion. The exhibit included a large display of photos, cartoons, and excerpts from articles and stories that showed the extreme ways women are exploited as sex objects and as the subjects of sadomasochistic male fantasies.

"We are not concerned with changing laws governing the degree of obscenity or pornography," said notes accompanying the exhibit. "Instead, we seek a qualitative change in human relationships. . . . We must begin building a society which does not need to dehumanize one-half of its population to serve its own perversions."

The New England Women's Coalition, which sponsored the conference, includes such organizations as NOW, the Black and Third World Women's Alliance, Daughters of Bilitis, Female Liberation, the Feminist Repertory Theater, Women's Liberation Union of Rhode Island, the YWCA, High School Women's Liberation, and the YSA and SWP.



Photo by Theodore Cartiselo

Five hundred students from Bronx High School of Science in New York City rally on March 24 against police brutality. The rally and a school boycott occurred after an incident Monday, March 22, in which a teacher asked a student not of Bronx Science, but with a visitor's pass, to leave. An argument ensued, students gathered, the principal called the police, who on arrival beat and arrested three students, hospitalizing one. Black student leaders and the Student Mobilization Committee are demanding that the principal file a complaint against the cop who assaulted the students.

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

A NATIVE AMERICAN SPEAKS OUT. Hear Rayleen Bay, Boston Indian Council, coordinator of National Day of Mourning (Thanksgiving for Indians), chairwoman of the Eastern Seaboard Coalition of Native Americans. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY. Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes will run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, feminism, etc. For further information, call 536-6981.

CHICAGO

SEXUAL POLITICS. Speaker: Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Inexpensive dinner at 6 p.m. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

CAIRO, ILL., BLACKS FIGHT WHITE VIGILANTE TERROR: Speaker: Rev. Charles Keen, executive director of Cairo United Front. Fri., April 9, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.). Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday at 7 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (Open to Third World people only.) Thurs., April 8: *The Marxist View of Black Power*—a tape by Clifton DeBerry. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WA5-4316.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

AZTLAN AND LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY. Discussion leaders: Woody Diaz, George Resendez, and Gerry Reyna. Tues., April 13, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: Speaker: Peter Camejo, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate who ran against Edward Kennedy. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 626-9958.

TWIN CITIES

THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLE IN IRELAND. Speaker: Wayne Lewis, a leader of the Twin Cities Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For further information, call 332-7781.

...Panthers

Continued from page 10

er, Seale, Newton, Hilliard, and the rest of the Panthers' leaders.

Only by repudiating this whole confusion can anyone attempt to find a way out for the Black liberation movement.

The Newtonites attack the Cleaver group for its refusal to defend Angela Davis, which is only a continuation of the basic sectarianism of the whole Black Panther Party. Newton, who began to disagree with Cleaver on the Davis defense when he recently split with him on organizational issues—has yet to come out for united-front actions in all spheres of defense and struggle, which is the only way to politically answer Cleaver's opposition to the Davis defense.

The Cleaverites attack Newton for acting like a superhero, but it was they themselves who participated in elevating Newton, Cleaver, and Seale to such positions.

Some people, such as the *San Francisco Good Times*, a Bay Area underground paper, claim that Newton represents a "right" wing as distinguished from Cleaver, who represents the "pick up the gun" wing of the BPP.

The facts are that both are responsible for the Panthers' zigs and zags in both directions. It was Cleaver who was the presidential candidate of the reformist Peace and Freedom Party. It was Newton who counterposed forming armed bands of twos and threes to mass action.

The answer to these problems is not primarily in criticizing the organizational moves made by both sides. The organizational life of a political group is related to and flows from its program.

The only answer is the repudiation of the political confusion and vacillation of the Panthers and the adoption of a strategy of mobilizing Black people to "control the institutions of their community," as Malcolm X put it. One of the most important opportunities for such struggle is a broad

united effort to defend the Black Panther Party from the criminal attacks of the U. S. government. Another example of such an action is the Black Moratorium teach-in held in Highland Park, Mich., March 24, the Black antiwar actions called for April 2-5 in commemoration of Martin Luther King, and the continuing defense of the Black community of Cairo, Ill. Through the participation of Black revolutionaries in such struggles, a genuine mass Black political movement and the formation of a Black party will emerge.

...Laos

Continued from page 3

The highly dangerous task of rescuing the South Vietnamese troops under the murderous fire of the guerrilla forces took a heavy toll on GIs and also their attitudes to the job at hand, according to *Life* reporter Saar: A U.S. aircraft commander asked: "That's two of my birds get shot up today. They can stick this flying up their ass. What are they trying to prove?"

"Yet the word comes down for another attempt and the grumbling Ghostriders—that is their unit nickname—climb into their cockpits to crank and fly," Saar continues.

"Again they are beaten off by fire, and this time one craft lands with a seat lying back and fresh blood pooling on the floor. A warrant officer runs over, takes in the scene and flings his combat cap to the oil-slicked ground in anguish. 'The sons o bitches just ain't worth it.'"

Meanwhile, as the Saigon army fled from Laos, the supporting U.S. air base at Khesanh came under heavy attack and ultimately was also abandoned. Gloria Emerson wrote about the feelings of GIs at Khesanh, March 25.

"I don't just want to get out of here—I want to run for it.' . . . This has been an ugly week here. Yesterday was the ninth day in a row that enemy mortar, rocket or artillery fire has crashed into the base. . . .

"Yesterday, on the floor of the aluminum shack by the airstrip here, where a soldier had been waiting for a plane to take him out of Khesanh when a rocket hit the hut and killed him, two snapshots of pretty girls and

one of his new Volkswagen lay near pools of blood. . . .

"The Grim Reapers of Death,' say big black letters on the platoon's calling cards. . . .

"An entire North Vietnamese demolition squad was able to creep inside the perimeter to the Americans' trench lines and bunkers and blow up the United States Air Force control tower overlooking the airstrip."

As U.S. forces were falling back from Khesanh, there were reports indicating a general revolutionary offensive against U. S. military positions throughout the northern provinces. On March 29, guerrillas invaded a U.S. artillery base south of Danang and inflicted the "highest American death toll of the war in an attack on a U. S. installation," according to the Associated Press in Saigon.

A GI gave to John Saar a fitting epitaph for the invasion of Laos: "ARVN is making an orderly withdrawal, they say. In other words, they get their ass kicked and they are high-tailing it back. It's like us saying, 'Pack up and run for your life. Everything's going according to plan.'"

...Eqbal Ahmad

Continued from page 16

The Militant: How can readers of *The Militant* help support your case?

Ahmad: The greatest single support we can receive from people in the United States is to continue the antiwar effort. Ultimately, our case is not half as important as the stopping of the war, because the survival of the Indochinese people is in question at the moment.

I would say continue the antiwar effort, support us with funds and rallies, keep yourself informed about what goes on in Harrisburg when the trial begins.

I hope enough public support will be built up that we shall not only be able to help, in a significant way, the antiwar effort, but that we shall also be able to get rid of Hoover and Nixon. So to *Militant* readers, I can only say, let's keep going, all of us.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 267-8264.

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

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

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953. Address all mail to P.O. Box 33395, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033.

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.

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

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fuls, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o J.C. Brown, Fountain Valley School, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80901.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505.

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.

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

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

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o John Constant, 5219 Wayne St., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 114 Grand St., Albany, N.Y. 12202.

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

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

New York City: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (nr. 4th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5940.

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

Columbus: YSA, 2519 Indianola, Apt. A, Columbus, Ohio 43202. Tel: (614) 267-7948.

Kent: YSA, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U, Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 672-4956.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45056. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

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

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o John Neal, 819 Owl St., Norman, Okla. 73069.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 2014 N.W. Glisan, Room 511, Portland, Ore. 97209. Tel: (503) 223-4830.

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

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

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.

Murfreesboro: YSA, Box 8343, MTSU, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37130.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Mike Leibman, Box 3703 Sta. B, Vanderbilt U, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.

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

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

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

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

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Margot Ramirez, 210 Price Ave., San Antonio, Texas 78211.

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

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

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

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

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

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

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

Classified

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS. Weekly magazine recommended by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events on all continents from the revolutionary Marxist point of view. Special features include translations of hard-to-get documents of interest to the entire left, book reviews, notices of pamphlets, etc. Has been first to publish in English various rare articles by Leon Trotsky. \$15 for one year. Or try 26 issues for only \$7.50. Dept. M, Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.

NEW YORK PEACE ACTION LINE. Call (212) 741-0319 for recorded information on the Spring Anti-war Offensive.

War and Revolution in Vietnam

by Doug Jenness

.35

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.
873 Broadway, New York 10003

THE JEWISH QUESTION:

A Marxist Interpretation

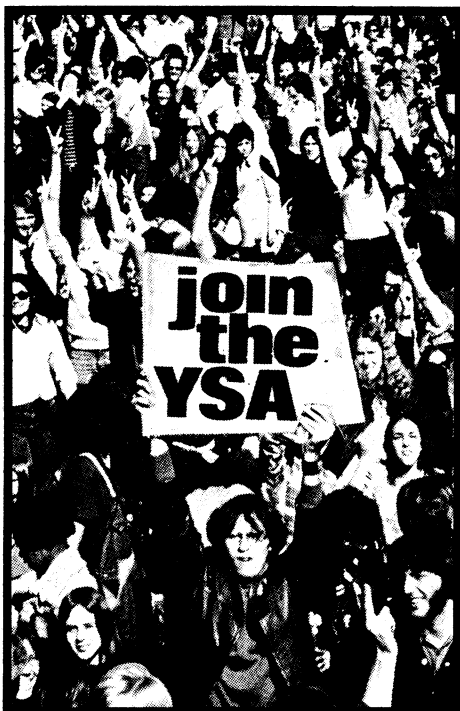
by Abram Leon

introduction by Nathan Weinstock
Relating the phases of Jewish history to the history of capitalist expansion and decay, **The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation** is the only thorough materialist analysis of Jewish history and sociology. It follows the development of the Jewish communities from the days of the Romans.

Leon died in Auschwitz when he was 26. With the publication of the first U.S. edition, this classic is now available to American readers. 272 pp., \$7.95, \$2.75

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York 10003



If you support the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and the struggles for Black and Brown self-determination—if you support the Cuban and Arab revolutions—if you support the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China—if you want a socialist America—then you belong in the Young Socialist Alliance!

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

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

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

The Militant-SUBSCRIBE NOW

SPECIAL TO NEW READERS/10 ISSUES FOR \$1.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

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

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



INVEST IN SOCIALISM.

The Young Socialist Alliance—America's largest, fastest-growing revolutionary youth organization—must raise \$43,000 by May 15. We are rapidly expanding all of our activities—building the mass movements against the war, for women's liberation, for Black and Chicano self-determination—getting out our ideas to hundreds of thousands of radicalizing young people—organizing for the socialist revolution. To carry out these activities requires money, and we are asking for your help.

I WANT TO HELP MAKE THE YSA FUND DRIVE FOR \$43,000.

ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION OF ()\$1 ()\$5 ()\$10 ()\$20 ()\$50 ()\$. (CHECK ONE.)

SEND TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003.

Special Issue of RADICAL AMERICA

Black Working Class History and Current Struggles

Vol. V, #2. Contents include:

Eric Perkins, 'The League of Revolutionary Black Workers (Detroit) and the Coming of Revolution' Extensive documents and analyses from League Publications

Hal Baron, 'The Demand for Black Labor': Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism

Robert Starobin, 'Racism and the American Experience'

120 pp., illustrated. \$1. Or with new subscription to RA: \$5/year.

1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wis. 53703

New Catalog of RA lit available: 15c.

In the April International Socialist review

THE NEW RADICALIZATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY by Jack Barnes. Key aspects of the current radicalization. How they affect the building of the revolutionary party.

"I VOTE AGAINST THE WAR CREDITS . . ." Three speeches on war and revolution in Germany by Karl Liebknecht.

Other articles include: **WOMEN IN IRAN** by Azar 'Asi . . . **CRYSTAL CITY, TEXAS: LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY IN ACTION** by Tony Thomas . . . **THE FATAL FLAW IN "RADICAL" ZIONISM** by Peter Seidman.

CLIP AND MAIL TO:
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW
14 CHARLES LANE
NEW YORK, NY 10014

- ☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER
- ☐ ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

THE MILITANT

Houston SWP fights rightist moves

By RICH FINKEL

HOUSTON, March 30—The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee held a well-attended news conference today denouncing attempts by Houston insurance companies to force the SWP out of its campaign headquarters.

Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, stated: "Houston insurance companies are giving insurance and re-assurance to the terrorists who bombed our campaign headquarters on March 12." Leonard said that the owner of the building that houses the SWP campaign headquarters and bookstore had been notified that unless the SWP was evicted, insurance will not be renewed or granted for the building.

The Socialist Workers campaign announced plans at the news conference to wage a vigorous fight around their right to continue to function at their headquarters. Leonard concluded the conference by stating, "If we give up rather than fight this attack, we would only encourage these elements to make further attacks against others in the Houston community."

In another development, the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, which was formed to wage a public campaign to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the March 12 bombing, announced that it would protest at the City Council and County Commissioners' meeting later this week this latest attempt to further victimize the Socialist Workers campaign.

This new attack on the right of the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee to function openly in Houston comes on the heels of continuing inaction by the city administration and police agencies against the right-wing terrorists who bombed the campaign headquarters.

Although the Houston police's Criminal Intelligence Division has now been assigned to investigate the bombing of the SWP headquarters, and the U.S. Treasury Department has also begun its own investigation, no arrests have been made.

These law enforcement agencies and the Houston City Council have continued to refuse to call public hearings concerning right-wing violence, and have recently joined an organized campaign aimed at trying to make the Socialist Workers Party or other left or Third World organizations appear responsible for the bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters.

These new and ominous accusations were first made in a March 16 article in the University of Houston *Daily Cougar* by Tim Turner, chairman of the University of Houston Young Americans for Freedom. Turner charged that because of the "dynamic philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, the rationalization that the ends justify the means," the SWP has very likely bombed itself for publicity.

The University of Houston "Freedom Studies Club" then circulated a vicious leaflet called, "Plain Facts About the SWP," which names Houston SWP members as "followers of the bloody cutthroat Leon Trotsky." This red-baiting attack went on to describe "the Communist doctrine of terror," and attempted to make the SWP appear as a criminal organization, rather

than as the victim of a violent, right-wing terrorist attack.

Next, the Solid Rock League of Women, a right-wing, fundamentalist organization that had waged a bitter campaign against the right of women to abortion, brought these malicious charges to the Houston City Council. At the Council's March 17 meeting, the Solid Rock League of Women demanded that, "Before you waste our taxpayers' money investigating who bombed the Socialist's building, find out why the Socialists are even here in the first place."

Leona Weber, president of the Solid Rock League, stated, "The rumors are that the persons connected with bombings in Houston are bombing their own places in order to get publicity, and to leave the impression that the law-abiding citizens in our great city are bombing these places because we consider them a threat."

Another Solid Rock member, Gail Van Cleave, questioned at the council meeting the very right of the SWP to exist in Houston: "I dare say they would have been tarred and feathered and run out of town on a rail if they had come to Houston before the turn of the century. May I remind you,

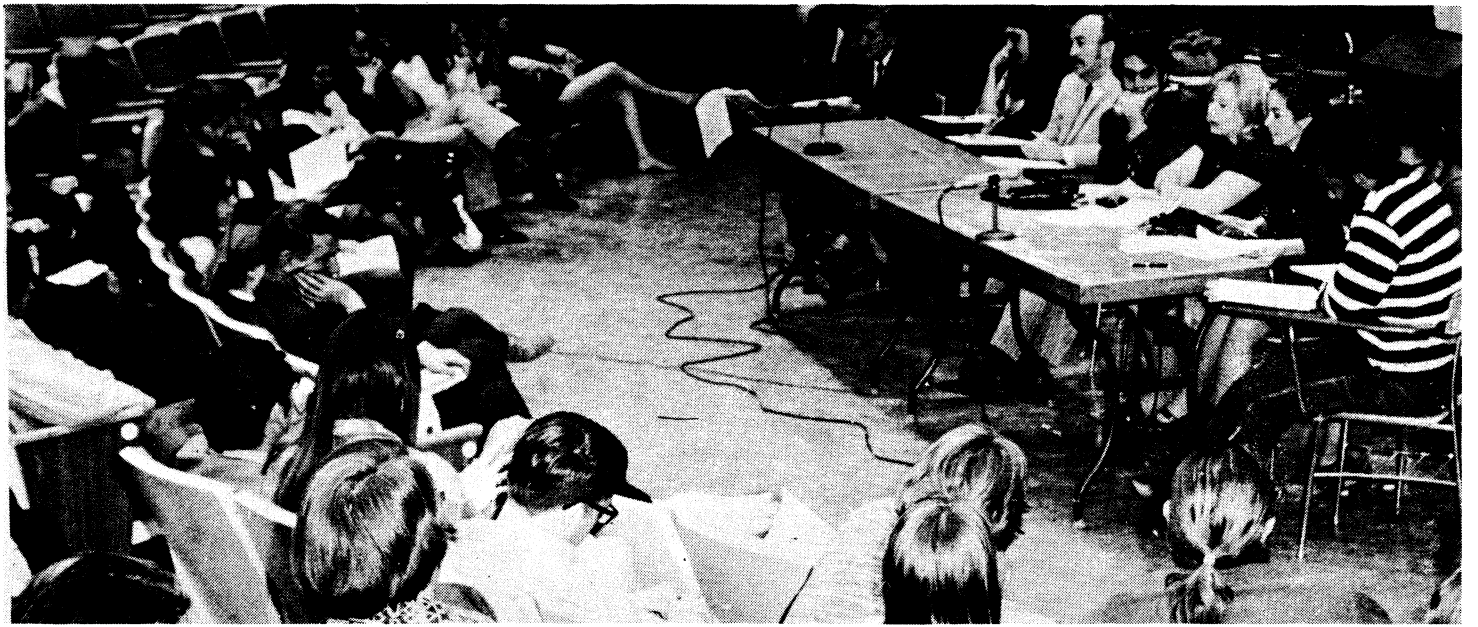
gentlemen, times haven't changed, our leaders have."

A few days later, on March 22, the Criminal Intelligence Division demanded that Debby Leonard, the SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, take a lie-detector test to prove that the SWP did not bomb its own headquarters.

Leonard refused to take this test, not only because polygraph evidence is completely unreliable, but because this demand has become part of a campaign aimed at harassing the victims of terrorist attack and removing the public spotlight from the criminals responsible for the bombing and from the city officials responsible for investigating the bombings and arresting and convicting the bombers.

At the March 24 City Council meeting, Paul McKnight, SWP candidate for City Council, and Debby Leonard responded to these charges. When asked why she and McKnight had refused to take the lie detector test, Debby Leonard stated, "I was asked by the Criminal Intelligence Division to take a polygraph test in which one of the questions related to whether I bombed

Continued on page 21



March 19 meeting plans united community response to bombing of Houston SWP headquarters.

Photo by Ed Weaver

Austin Gay Liberation hosts conference

By LEE SMITH

AUSTIN, Texas—A national gay liberation conference called by Austin Gay Liberation drew more than 200 participants from over 25 organizations in 20 cities for four days of workshops and plenary discussions March 25-28, interspersed with dances, films and picnics.

Austin Gay Liberation called the conference on its own initiative with the modest objective of promoting improved communication among the multiplying gay liberation organizations across the country.

In addition to adopting a proposal that the Bloomington, Ind., Gay Liberation Front take responsibility nationally for collecting and distributing reports on different aspects of the conference, the participants reached informal agreement that the larger and more established organizations will seek to serve as national and regional "clearing houses" for mailings from the newer and smaller groups.

The conference also voted to endorse the gay liberation contingents in Washington and San Francisco for the April 24 antiwar demonstrations, as well as the gay antiwar activities

planned in Washington for May by the Gay May Day Tribe.

Close to half of the 200 participants came from Austin and other cities in Texas; the others came from such places as Lincoln, Neb., and Lawrence, Kan., as well as from cities like New York, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, New Orleans, Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and Oakland.

Most of the participants from outside the Texas region were men, although women were present from Ann Arbor, Mich., New York, and the San Francisco Bay Area. The all-women's workshops at the conference discussed the need of separate gay women's organizations to strengthen both their alliance with gay men in the gay liberation movement and their alliance with other women in the feminist movement.

While everyone recognized the smaller number of women participants as a weakness, the size and geographic representation were generally viewed as signs of the growth and potential of the two-year-old gay liberation movement, especially in light of the

short notice and minimum publicity with which the conference had been called.

The conference agenda provided for an opening plenary to propose topics for workshops which would then take place and possibly bring back proposals for action to a final plenary. A temporary problem arose at the opening plenary March 26 when some members of the New York Gay Liberation Front and others staged a walkout, calling for a "radical caucus." The immediate apparent cause of the walkout was the presence of a handful of persons who had identified themselves as straight. However, Arthur Evans of the New York City Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) charged that the walkout was a "planned disruption" aimed at steering the conference away from dealing with concrete actions into abstract discussions of "struggling against sexism and racism" which led nowhere.

The straights volunteered to leave immediately after the walkout, and the conference majority and the "radical caucus" got back together within a

couple of hours. But the rest of the conference was marked by a tug-of-war between supporters of the differing perspectives outlined by Evans.

While the only concrete actions to come out of the plenary were the antiwar endorsements and the conference report proposal, concrete actions were discussed in a workshop attended by a score of people from a wide range of areas on Saturday, March 27. Entitled "Confrontation Tactics" and led by Morty Manford of Gay People at Columbia University in New York City, the workshop discussed the strategy of visible, nonviolent mass actions as a means of combatting gay oppression and drawing in larger numbers from the gay community.

Manford reported on the activities of GAA in New York City and after soliciting area reports suggested issues and tactics for actions in the other cities represented at the workshop.

Participants in the conference seemed to generally regard it as a success. It achieved its organizers' goal of beginning better communication among the groups around the country.