

# THE MILITANT

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

## GIs in Alaska fight for free speech

By LARRY SEIGLE

FT. GREELY, Alaska, May 25—At this remote military post, more than 100 miles south of Fairbanks, the fight for GI rights has erupted as a major issue. The appearance of the first issue of the Arctic Arsenal, a paper published by and for GIs at Ft. Greely, has been greeted by a harsh reaction from the brass here. At least one GI, Pvt. Ed Jurenas, is being threatened with a court-martial.

Ft. Greely is the home of the Northern Warfare Training Center, which trains soldiers for combat under arctic conditions. The post also operates the Arctic Test Center, which evaluates the performance of weapons, vehicles, clothing, and other materiel in extreme cold. The population of this isolated military reservation is only about 1,000 GIs and officers.

Yet here, as everywhere in the armed forces, GIs are organizing and standing up for their rights to speak out against the war in Southeast Asia.

Pvt. Jurenas, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance when he was drafted last year, is assigned to the 526th Military Police Detachment here. He and a number of other GIs, including many MPs, are now in the midst of a major fight for their constitutional right to publish and distribute an antiwar newspaper on post.

The first issue of the paper arrived here last Thursday, May 20. The following day, agents of the Criminal Investigation Division (CID) descended on GIs "suspected" of possessing or distributing the paper, confiscating copies of the paper and other literature, questioning GIs about their involvement with the paper, and generally attempting to intimidate and harass GIs.

In an interview, Jurenas described the objectives of the paper and the response of the brass to it. "The basic tenets which unite us in this common effort are expressed in the first issue of the paper: an immediate end to the war, an immediate end to the draft, and a full defense of our rights as citizen-soldiers," Jurenas said. He explained that the antiwar sentiment of the population as a whole was also reflected in the attitudes of the troops. "The GIs are overwhelmingly opposed to the war in Vietnam. They are overwhelmingly opposed to the draft. After all, they are the ones being drafted. They are the ones being forced to kill and die in Southeast Asia.

"The idea for the Arsenal originated with the desire of a number of GIs to reach out to other soldiers," he said. "We want to encourage them to speak out against the war. We not only want to show the brass that we are against the war, but we want

to add the energies and efforts of the GIs to a common struggle with civilians throughout the United States. Our goal is to unite GIs so that our voices can be heard."

The GIs involved with the paper here are totally convinced that they are within their rights under the Constitution and under the Army's own regulations. They are determined to fight any move by the brass to interfere with those rights.

Jurenas described the illegal harassment which the brass has resorted to. The paper was prepared openly in an attempt to involve as many GIs as possible, thus many people knew about it. "We found out that CID was very interested in knowing when the papers would arrive on post. MPs at the gate told us that CID wanted to know when the papers came through."

On Thursday, May 20, the papers arrived. That morning, under the initiative of Lt. Col. Williamson, acting post commandant, a Ft. Greely supplement to the Army regulations concerning distribution of literature was posted on all the bulletin boards on base.

The supplement stated: "The distribution of publications, including pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, handbills, fliers, and other printed material on the Ft. Greely Military Reservation is prohibited, except

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## Seale, Huggins charges dropped

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Ericka Huggins



Bobby Seale

# In Brief

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## THE MILITANT

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**BLACK GIs DEMONSTRATE IN KOREA:** The May 20 New York Times reported, in a 16-line item, that about 150 Black GIs staged a rally at Eighth Army headquarters in Seoul May 19 in observance of the birthday of Malcolm X. The men, from the Army and the Air Force, demanded an end to racist discrimination in the military.

**"PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY":** Last year, the Detroit Common Council was forced to respond to pressure organized by the Detroit antiwar coalition affiliated with the National Peace Action Coalition to place on the city ballot an immediate withdrawal referendum. Immediate withdrawal was voted for by 63 percent of the voters. This year, the proponents of the People's Peace Treaty offered the council the opportunity to retreat from that position. On April 27, the council ratified the treaty, emphasizing in its resolution the "bilateral concessions" called for in the treaty and urging the government to use the principles of the treaty to "negotiate" an "honorable" end to the war. "By conceding in advance that the U. S. has any right to negotiate anything with the Vietnamese," says Michael Smith, who sent us this information, "irrespective of their sincerity, the advocates of the People's Peace Treaty have done a disservice to the antiwar movement and thus to the Vietnamese."

**EVIL SPIRITS ON THE RISE:** According to the Rev. Christopher Neil-Smith, one of six clergymen in the Church of England authorized by the Archbishop of Canterbury to exorcise demons, "I've been casting out demons and spirits like that for 20 years, about 1,000 in all, but it worries me that 800 of my cases have occurred within the past three years." He believes the "growing menace of evil" can be attributed to "modern laxity in moral standards . . . making it easy for evil to enter."

**JDL GANG INVADES CP OFFICE:** The eastern Pennsylvania district office of the Communist Party in Philadelphia was damaged May 19 when a group of hooligans from the right-wing Jewish Defense League stormed in and provoked a fight with two members of the Young Workers Liberation League.

**SACB PROTEST:** The witch-hunting Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB—pronounced "scab") held hearings in New York May 18 to smear the Young Workers Liberation League and Center for Marxist Education as "Communist fronts." Pickets from the Socialist Workers Party and from the New York Peace Action Coalition joined a demonstration outside organized by the two groups under attack.

**DICK AND JANE IN VIETNAM:** A reader from Huntington Park, Calif., has forwarded to us a four-page pamphlet put out by the U. S. State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs for use in the public school system. Entitled "An Explanation of the War in Vietnam for Primary School Children," the pamphlet says such things as the following: "The Vietnamese communists are especially dangerous because they believe in the use of armed force and terror. . . . In May and June last year, American and South Vietnamese soldiers destroyed communist bases in the next-door country of Cambodia. . . . Our action in Cambodia made it safe to go on bringing our men home. . . ."

**BERRIGAN INFORMER:** Boyd F. Douglas, the agent-informer on whom the government's frame-up charges of the Harrisburg Eight heavily depend, spoke to the Philadelphia Inquirer over the May 22-23 weekend to "unequivocally state that I am an American who believes in the democratic system and does not condone violence and subversive destruction of our present form of government." Perhaps he meant to argue that FBI money had less to do with motivating his activities as an agent-provocateur than patriotism.

**PRISON PROTEST LEADERS CHARGED:** Six leaders of the uprising by men kept caged while awaiting trial in the Queens House of Detention last October were arraigned on outrageous charges of kidnap, conspiracy, attempted grand larceny, and unlawful imprisonment in the Queens branch of the New York Supreme Court May 13. The six frame-up victims are Lumumba Abdol Shakur, Quando Mbiassi Kinshasa (William King), Jack Daniels, John Powell, James Capers, and Robert Drake.

**BEING 18 IN TENNESSEE:** A new "adult responsibilities law" in Tennessee gives 18-year-old residents most of the rights and responsibilities previously reserved for

those over 21, such as jury duty, right to make contracts, etc. The right to run for office is included but not the right to vote. Because the voting age is set by the state's constitution, candidates for public office who are 18-20 would not be able to vote for themselves (unless of course the U. S. constitutional amendment that is currently making the rounds of the state legislatures passes).

**DAILY CAL:** On May 15, 41 persons were arrested in a demonstration at People's Park in Berkeley. The University of California's Publishers Board fired the editors of the Daily Californian, charging that a May 11 editorial in the paper was responsible for "violence" at the demonstration. The editors' terms were due to expire in a couple of weeks, but the paper's staff decided to ignore the decision as a matter of principle. On May 19, the Associated Students of the University of California senate voted to support the unanimous decision of the Daily Cal staff. Now the administration has charged the editors with violations of the school's disciplinary code for the May 11 editorial and for ignoring the Publishers Board decision. A defense committee is being formed to defend freedom of the press at Cal, Berkeley.

**COURT DISMISSES CHARGE AGAINST HILLIARD:** David Hilliard, chief of staff of the Black Panther Party, who had been charged with threatening Nixon's life in an antiwar rally speech on Nov. 15, 1969, was freed May 4 by a federal district court. The court ruled that Hilliard had the right to hear tapes obtained with illegal wiretaps by the prosecution and, when the government refused to turn over the tapes, it dismissed the charges.

**VIETNAM AND ECOLOGY:** Here are some of the points noted in a leaflet produced by the Environmental Revolutionary Aspects Committee (ERA): 1) 20 percent of Vietnam's forests have been devastated by defoliation; 2) Enough rice to feed 600,000 Vietnamese for one year has been eliminated; 3) 200,000 acres of cultivated land have been destroyed; 4) Fish and animal habitats have been ruined for 25 to 100 years; 5) Permanent damage to much of the half million acres of forest land sprayed since 1961; 6) Sharp rise in congenital malformations, such as cleft palate and spina bifida, at Saigon hospitals.

**NEW MERIT BADGE?** One of the Media, Pa., FBI documents allegedly seized from the bureau's office there and being periodically released by the anonymous Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI indicates that the FBI encourages the use of Boy Scouts as informers, urging them to keep an eye out for "suspicious acts" on the part of their neighbors and school mates.

**S. F. BOARD PRESIDENT ADDRESSES GAYS:** "For the first time in history," according to Jim Foster, political chairman of the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) in San Francisco, a president of the city's Board of Supervisors addressed a public meeting of the gay community on May 19. Dianne Feinstein, the board president, spoke to 400 persons at a meeting organized by SIR. She requested the meeting to answer charges made by George Mendenhall in SIR's magazine Vector. Mendenhall accused Feinstein of "demonstrat(ing) a public image of prejudice against the gay community" in statements she made about outlawing pornographic films.

**GAA DENIED INCORPORATION:** New York City's Gay Activists Alliance, seeking to incorporate for tax purposes and to legally protect its individual members from liability for debts and obligations incurred by the group, was turned down by the secretary of state's office last October because its name was deemed suggestive of activities inappropriate for a corporation. GAA sued for its right to incorporate. On May 21, State Supreme Court Justice T. Paul Kane ruled the secretary of state's action justified, saying, "While the court has no personal experience upon which to rely, it would seem that in order to be a homosexual the prohibited act must at some time have been committed or at least presently contemplated," and therefore, GAA should not be incorporated. GAA attorney Harold Weiner said the decision would be appealed "until we win."

**BEST IN THREE YEARS:** New York City's air was the cleanest it had been in three years on Sunday, May 23. Every day New York weather reporters give the day's air rating as part of their reports. The air May 23 rated "good," the highest rating in the scale used.

— LEE SMITH

# L.A. antiwar activist given savage beating

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Jack Barrett, 29, staff worker for the Out Now Coalition, was savagely beaten in his home here the morning of May 23. The Out Now Coalition is the Los Angeles affiliate of the National Peace Action Coalition, principal organizer of the April 24 antiwar demonstrations. NPAC and other antiwar forces are now under congressional, red-baiting attack.

An industrial engineer, Barrett has devoted his time in recent months to activity in the Student Mobilization Committee and the Out Now Coalition. At a May 12 Out Now meeting, he was elected as the coalition's full-time staff member.

The attack on Barrett came within 48 hours after an Out Now press statement was issued over his name assailing recent attacks on NPAC and others by Representative Ichord's House Internal Security Committee, which has been holding hearings to establish that the antiwar movement is "Communist dominated."

On Sunday morning, May 23, at about 9 o'clock, Barrett's phone rang. He answered and someone asked if Jack Barrett was at home. When he said yes, the person hung up.

About a half hour later, his doorbell rang. When he opened the door, two men forced their way in, seized him and in a matter of a minute or so gave him a savage beating.

A medical examination revealed a slight concussion, severe bruising of one eye, and the loosening of scar tissue in a previously injured ear.

The manager of the apartment complex, who lives a few doors away, heard the noise of the attack, but it was so swift that by the time he arrived at the apartment, the assailants were already fleeing. The manager later told police that the two men had first come to his door and asked Barrett's apartment number. The manager told police he could make a positive identification of at least one of the men.

At a well-attended press conference May 25, Barrett said he and his attorney had just come from the police station where they found that, apart from the filing of a report by a patrolman who visited him after his original call to the police, nothing had been done to track down the assailants in the 48 hours that had since elapsed. At the suggestion of Barrett and his attorney, the police agreed it would be a good idea to have Barrett and the apartment manager go through police photo files to see if the attackers are among them.

Barrett told the press conference he was convinced that the attack was related to his antiwar activity. He said there was nothing in his personal life that could evoke such an assault and that there was no likelihood of mistaken identity, since the assailants were precise in identifying him by name both in the phone call and in the inquiry to the apartment manager.

Participating in the press conference was John T. Williams, an NPAC national coordinator and Teamster

unionist. The conference was chaired by Dan Styron, Out Now coordinator. Also participating was Les Pine, the screenwriter who wrote the script for Alan Arkin's prizewinning film *Popi*. Other participants were John Longville of Americans for Democratic Action and Alan Butcher of the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front. A statement to the press was read from Paul Schrade, Western Regional Director of the United Auto Workers.

John T. Williams said the attack on Barrett was "an example of what this war is about." He said the antiwar movement would respond to the attack and would do so by actively involving even more people in the antiwar movement and utilizing the attack to help show people what this war is about.

The statement from Paul Schrade said in part, "Nixon, Agnew and Reagan, this nation's greatest agitators for repression, have laid the groundwork for violence. The atmosphere created by the government in this situation has paved the way for the senseless beating of an innocent person. Thus far, no segment of government seems interested in the arrest and prosecution of those responsible."

A statement from Irving Sarnoff, coordinator of the Peace Action Council, said: "This kind of attack is reminiscent of goon-type Nazi attacks that took place . . . in Nazi Germany. We demand the Police Department apprehend whoever did this. An attack on one part of the antiwar movement is an attack on all of the antiwar movement."

There were other statements of solidarity with Barrett and demands for action from the police from Bill Smith, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the Social Services Union; Marty Morgenstern, area director of the state, county and municipal employees; novelist Ray Bradbury; George Slaff, former president of the Southern California ACLU; the Rev. Blase Bonpane of the Berrigan Defense Committee; and the Socialist Workers Party.

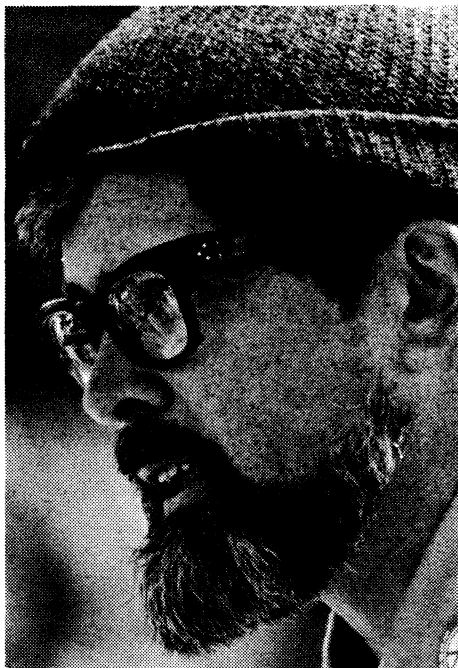


Photo by John Gray

**Paul Schrade, UAW Western Region Director, called Nixon responsible for May 23 attack on L.A. antiwar activist.**

# Witch-hunt committee smears NPAC, PCPJ

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24 — Last week saw the latest round in a series of attempts in recent months to conjure up a witch-hunt hysteria against the antiwar movement.

The House Internal Security Committee (HISC), successor to the House Un-American Activities Committee, held public hearings May 18-21, ostensibly to expose "red" influence in the antiwar movement. Mainly, the

along with Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), HISC chairman, repeatedly attacked the press for its failure to adequately red-bait the antiwar movement before April 24 so as to frighten away "innocent" antiwar Americans from the "red-controlled" demonstration.

The most insidious aspect of HISC's witch-hunt was its illegal subpoena of the bank records of NPAC and PCPJ. The fact that two members of NPAC,

The following are major excerpts from the statement made by Jerry Gordon, National Peace Action Coalition coordinator, at a press conference in Washington, D. C., May 18.

*There is no mystery whatever regarding the House Internal Security Committee's hearings on the American peace movement which are slated to begin today. Their intent is not to investigate the National Peace Action Coalition or the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, since the activities of both groups have been conducted in the full glare of national publicity. Nor is the purpose to "discover" that there are radicals of various stripes active in the antiwar movement. This has long since been acknowledged. Nor is the aim of the House Committee to prepare necessary legislation. Decades of experience with the House Un-American Activities Committee convincingly prove that neither the committee nor its investigations serve any legitimate legislative objectives whatever. The object of the House Committee, pure and simple, is to smear the antiwar movement.*

*The Nixon administration's silent majority is long since gone—if it ever existed. The American people, in their great majority, are fed up with Nixon's war. They want out now, and they increasingly look to the organized antiwar movement for leadership to end the war. April 24 proved the ability of the peace movement to mobilize hundreds of thousands of people and bring them into the streets in antiwar demonstrations.*

*To continue the war abroad, Nixon and the reactionary congressmen who support him are waging war at home—this one against the peace movement. They are prepared to scuttle the constitutional guarantees of free speech, free assembly, and freedom of association to silence the voices of peace. But it will not work.*

*The antiwar movement is too powerful to be repressed. We will continue to welcome all opponents of the war into our ranks, whether they are conservative, moderate, liberal or radical of political outlook. Our policy of nonexclusion will not be compromised to accommodate the "un-Americans."*

committee claimed that the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the main builder of the massive April 24 demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers Party; and that the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), which sponsored actions the last week of April and the first week of May, was under the influence of the Communist Party. HISC's red-baiting, a blend of lies, half-truths and innuendo, was obviously aimed at the growing power of the antiwar movement.

Those testifying before the committee were: the editor of a right-wing newsletter, *Combat*, who deduced Trotskyist control by counting the number of Young Socialist Alliance banners on April 24; a self-appointed undercover agent who worked three evenings at the NPAC office and discovered that Fred Halstead (head marshal for the 24th and a member of the SWP) was the "big boss" because he had the key to the coke machine; and HISC committee investigators who dug up old HUAC "testimony" going back to the early 1950s to make a connection between Sidney Peck (PCPJ coordinator) and the CP.

A star performer in the four-day circus was Representative John Schmitz (R-Calif.) an avowed member of the John Birch Society. Schmitz,

who were also members of the SWP, were authorized to sign NPAC checks was offered as conclusive proof that NPAC was "Trotskyite dominated."

NPAC responded to HISC's seizure of its bank records by obtaining on May 21 a temporary court injunction prohibiting the Public National Bank from giving the committee any more records of its accounts. (HISC thus obtained only copies of about five checks deposited after May 1 in addition to the names of the NPAC signatories.) A class suit filed by NPAC charging "blatant invasion of privacy" seeks damages from HISC and the bank (which did not even notify its depositor when the subpoena was issued) in the amount of \$500,000.

NPAC also responded to HISC's attacks on the antiwar movement by holding two national news conferences during the week of red-baiting. At the May 18 conference, Representative Don Edwards appeared with Representatives Bella Abzug, John Conyers and Parren Mitchell to read a statement by 13 members of Congress, "expressing abhorrence at this latest and most outrageous action of this committee." They said that "HISC has determined to ignore the First Amendment rights of every citizen and will attempt to intimidate those who would

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# D.C. women launch abortion campaign

By NANCY MAKLER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — At a rally of over 200 on May 15, the Metropolitan Abortion Alliance (MAA) initiated a campaign here for free abortion on demand—no forced sterilization.

MAA, initiated by George Washington University Women's Liberation and including representatives of the National Organization for Women, Federally Employed Women, and other women's groups, plans to publicize the abortion policies of the major hospitals in D. C. as part of a continuing effort to build a strong movement against abortion laws.

Mary Alice Carter spoke first at the rally and emphasized that Black women both need and want free abortions. The majority of women forced to suffer complications of illegal abortions, she said, are Black.

Tina Hobson of Federally Employed Women asked, "Why shouldn't we control our own bodies when society destroys the life of our children? You cannot ask a woman to have a child when society refuses to provide for that child." She added that the federal government does not even provide maternity leave for its female employees. "You have to either be sick or on vacation to have a child."

Florynce Kennedy, a New York lawyer and co-author of *Abortion Rap*, called for rally participants to become plaintiffs in a suit challenging

the tax-exempt status of the Catholic Church because of its antiabortion lobbying. Quoting a recent letter to *Newsweek*, Kennedy said no "right to life" includes the right to use another person's body against her will. Her suit is part of a general response to the attacks on the women's movement by forces she termed the "fetus fetishists."

Cindy Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal also focused on the media. She protested the scanty coverage of her group's fight against state laws prohibiting the dissemination of contraceptive devices and information to women under 16.

Representing northern Virginia NOW, Jane Morris decried the illegal abortion rackets, which she said "would put Al Capone to shame."

Ti-Grace Atkinson asserted that only the women's movement can stop the abortion counterrevolution led by the church hierarchy. On her last visit to Washington, Atkinson was attacked physically by antiabortion partisans. Referring to the "right to life" argument, she said that when antiabortion people talk about reverence for life, "they mean life before and after, not in between. . . . The church and government are coconspirators claiming to speak for the speechless: the fetus and the war dead."

Other speakers at the rally represented high school women, GWU Women's Liberation, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

# Black women favor feminist goals

A Louis Harris poll released May 20 found that 42 percent of women "favor efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society," while 43 percent oppose these efforts. Among Black women, however, Harris found 62 percent agreed and only 20 percent disagreed.

Sixty-two percent felt that "if women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about these problems," but 58 percent thought "women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children."

Harris concluded that: "Clearly, the

close division among women as a whole masks a much deeper division among different segments of the female population. . . . Pressing most for change are Black women, the young and the best educated.

"This segmenting. . . parallels the division among the entire public on issues such as the war in Vietnam, nonconformity among the young, and racial progress for Blacks."

Harris also noted, "it appears that the recent demonstrations and protests have struck a chord of pent-up frustrations among women about the way they have fared in American life."

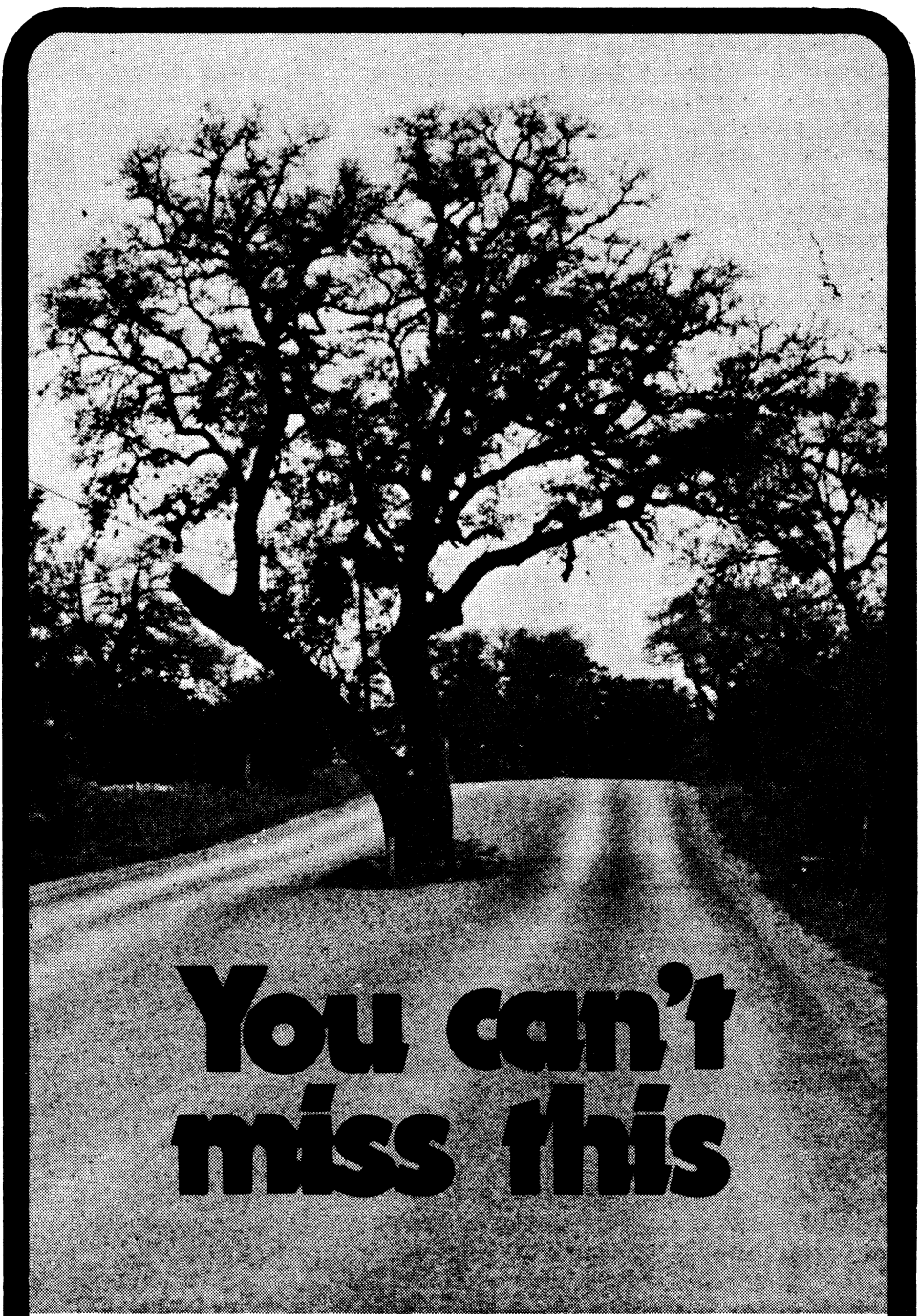
## Changing Women's Role

Question: "All in all, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?"

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
TOTAL WOMEN	42%	43%	15%
By marital status—			
Single	55	34	11
Married	40	46	14
Divorced, separated	63	28	9
Widowed	38	42	20
By age—			
Under 30	48	40	12
30-49	41	45	14
50 and over	37	46	17
By education—			
8th grade or less	38	39	23
High school	40	46	14
College	53	38	9
By race—			
White	39	46	15
Black	62	20	18

## Women's Views on Women's Activist Groups

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
Leaders of women's organizations are trying to turn women into men and that won't work.	62%	27%	11%
If women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about them.	62	29	9
Women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children.	58	29	13
Women are right to be unhappy with their role in American society, but wrong in the way they're protesting.	57	32	11
It's women who have nothing better to do who are causing all the trouble.	47	40	13
It's about time women protested the real injustices they've faced for years.	47	40	13



**You can't miss this**

You don't run into opportunities like this every day.

## Give to the Militant Improvement Fund

The \$257 our readers contributed within the past week brought to \$3,640.50 the total amount we have received. This still leaves us with \$1,359.50 to go if we are to reach our projected goal of \$5,000. Although we had hoped to reach it by this week, supporters in several areas have indicated that if they had a little more time, the goal would be easier to make. As a result, we are extending our appeal for one more week.

We need this money so we can purchase two time- and labor-saving machines: A Cheshire labeling machine, which will automate the current process of stamping each subscriber's name and address onto **The Militant** by hand; and a photo typositor, which will enable us to make **The Militant** look even better than it now does by placing at our fingertips virtually any style of headline type available.

We are sure you will want to do everything possible to help us meet this goal. Send in your contribution today.

I want to help expand and improve **The Militant**.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

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Militant Improvement Fund

14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

# 1,200 protest warmakers in Austin

By JAMES BURFEIND

AUSTIN, Texas—The 3,700 guests invited to the May 22 dedication of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas here were described by Frank C. Erwin, former chairman of the Board of Regents, as "the greatest collection of political power and wealth outside of a presidential inauguration."

Antiwar Texans were conscious of how the "power and wealth" of this group, including Nixon, Agnew, Humphrey and LBJ, have been used to continue the bloody war in Vietnam. Despite the efforts of the state and local authorities to intimidate protesters and despite the dedication plans announcement coming after students had left for their summer vacation, more than 1,200 people demonstrated against the war and the warmakers assembled at the library ceremony.

Nixon's appearance at the dedication was not publicly announced until one week before the event. With this short notice, the Texas Peace Action Coalition, the Austin Student Mobilization Committee, the Austin Armadillo Mayday Tribe, Vietnam Veterans for Peace, and other groups called for a statewide action in Austin to express the opposition of Texans to the barbaric war in Southeast Asia and to demand that Nixon bring the troops home now.

The University of Texas administration turned down five applications in four days for permission for the SMC to sponsor a legal, peaceful demonstration on the campus the day of the ceremony. While broad opposition was mobilized to this illegal attempt at denying students their right to free

assembly, the school officials persisted.

Despite telegrams of protest from Michigan Congressman John Conyers, a member of the Austin City Council, and many others, the UT regents, instead of granting permission to demonstrate, asked for and received from federal district court a restraining order against the antiwar groups that called for the demonstration. Handed down at 4:40 p.m. the day before the demonstration, the order named 15 groups and 25 individuals as "unauthorized persons" who were enjoined from entering a two-block radius of the library and from "causing or inciting" anyone else to enter the area or "disrupt" the ceremony.

The SMC immediately released a statement reaffirming its intention to have a legal and peaceful demonstration, organizing enough support to force the City Council into emergency session the morning of the action to discuss an SMC request for permission to rally on city property.

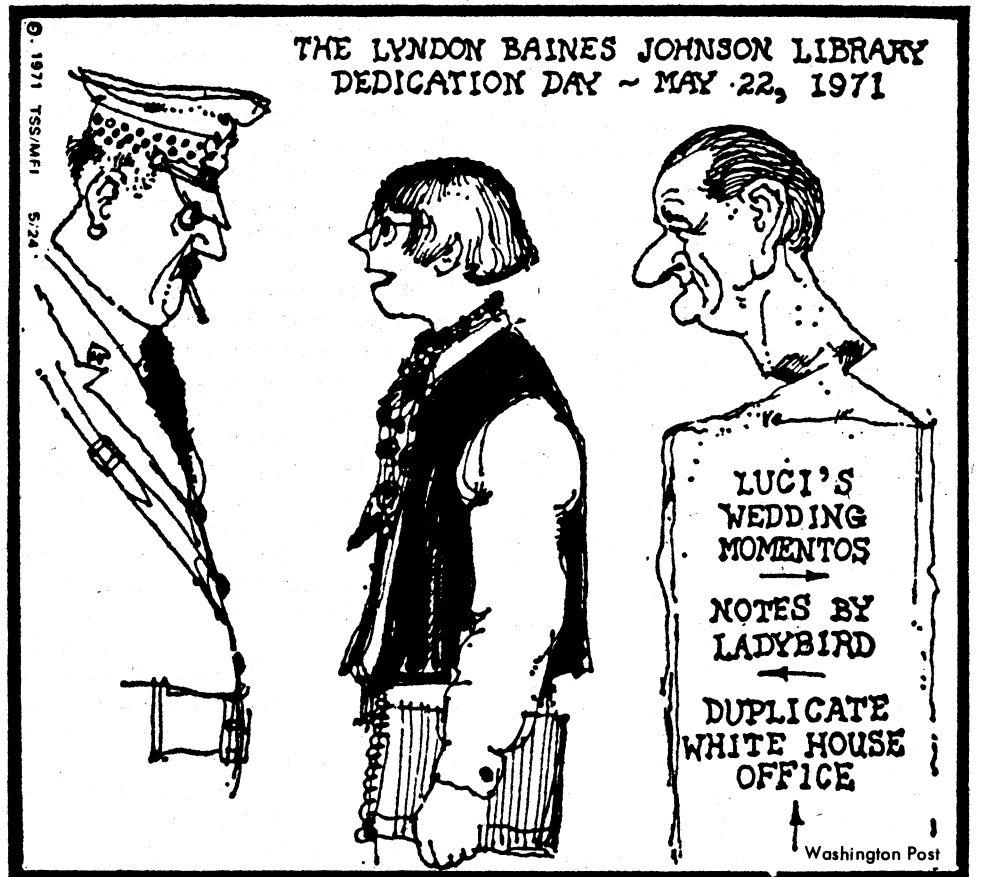
The council granted the SMC permission to rally on four blocks of Guadalupe, the main street bordering the UT campus, but an area out of sight of the dedication ceremony.

Meanwhile, the campus had become a virtual armed camp. Hundreds of state and city police patrolled the campus along with FBI and Secret Service agents. Larger contingents of armed police were available for deployment at a moment's notice. Campus buildings were closed to everyone except the armed agents using them as vantage points. Rows of cops wearing gas masks lined Guadalupe.

Despite this show of force, hundreds of people turned out to protest. Because of the pressure that had been built up by the antiwar movement, the authorities permitted the action to be held at the East Mall area on the campus, for which permits had previously been denied. The East Mall is just outside the area specified in the federal court order and is clearly visible from the library.

The action was highlighted by the throwing away of medals by Vietnam veterans to the accompaniment of loud antiwar chants.

The turnout in the face of official intimidation and the short notice on which the action was built testified to the fact that there is no place in the country Nixon and his henchmen can go without being met by a massive display of antiwar sentiment.



"Where will I find statistical information on the total number of lives lost in Vietnam during Mr. Johnson's administration?"

## Detroit SMC fights harassment

DETROIT—The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) has launched an all-out defense effort on behalf of the Ferndale High School SMC in the face of a vicious smear campaign and intimidation of Ferndale SMC member Julia Goodman by a right-wing, prowar group.

When the SMC at Ferndale was denied school recognition last fall, the students took the case to court, demonstrating their awareness of students' constitutional rights and their willingness to fight to protect those rights.

Responding to the SMC's recognition fight in the wake of the massive April 24 antiwar actions, a handful of right-wingers, calling themselves Support Our Nation (SON), began distributing leaflets urging "Kick Out the Student Mobe!" These red-baiting leaflets repeated the charges of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that the SMC is "controlled" by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SON leaflets also contained personal slanders of SMC activist Julia Goodman, including her home address as an intimidation measure.

The city-wide SMC's defense effort was launched by a mass leafletting of Ferndale with a fact sheet on the SMC. A news conference is also planned at which the SMC will call for a demonstration in front of the Ferndale Board of Education office.

Challenging SON to make their manufactured charges in the open where they can be refuted, the SMC has said it wants to publicly debate a spokesperson from the right-wing group.

## NPAC leader on nat'l tour

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Jerry Gordon, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition and a key organizer of the massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations, has undertaken a whirlwind national tour to raise funds for NPAC and to publicize and build the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York.

Gordon's tour began in the Southeast May 27-30, according to a schedule announced by NPAC in Washington May 25. He will visit Miami, Tampa and Atlanta before moving on to Texas and Arizona May 31-June 1. On June 2, 3 and 4 he will be in Southern California. From there, he will travel to Salt Lake City for a large regional antiwar conference on June 5 and then to the Seattle, Wash., area on June 6, 7 and the morning of June 8. The evening of June 8 and the next two days are slated for Northern California. On June 11 and 12, Gordon will attend the NPAC Steering Committee meeting in Chicago. After a three-day rest in Cleveland, Gordon will proceed to New England, then to Philadelphia, and finally to New York where he will remain from June 21 through the July 2-4 convention.

Gordon will be meeting with political, community and peace leaders in the cities on his tour, as well as speaking to antiwar activists and the news media in each area.

Gordon is emphasizing the July antiwar conference as the answer to what he calls the "need for renewed massive street demonstrations protesting against the war." This kind of continuing activity is necessary, Gordon says, to counter "Nixon's attempt to cover up his escalation of the war and

his attempt to intimidate the antiwar movement" through such means as the investigations by the House Internal Security Committee.

In urging people to attend and build the conference, Gordon will be stressing that the conference is open to everyone who opposes the war. The gathering, he states, will "bring together organized labor, students from the colleges and high schools, Black people, Chicanos, women, gays, GIs, veterans, and others to plan for massive actions in the fall, demanding the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina and the immediate abolition of the draft."

In addition to publicizing the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention, a goal of the tour is to raise funds to help finance the convention and to kick off the implementation of the convention's decisions.

## SWP forms three N.Y. branches

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party in New York voted unanimously May 19 to launch an ambitious expansion drive in this city. Involved is the establishment of two new offices in addition to the current one.

Meeting in a City Convention, the New York area membership voted to open offices on the Upper West Side of Manhattan and in Brooklyn. The current office will continue to be maintained but will be an organizing center for lower Manhattan instead of the city as a whole.

Lew Jones, acting as city organizer, presented the report outlining the project to the City Convention. His report and the discussion indicated that this

expansion has been made possible by the growing radicalization and the SWP's rapid growth. Successful campaigns building the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and other mass struggles, as well as the SWP's literature sales, subscription drives for *The Militant*, and public meetings were factors cited as key to the next step of expansion.

The SWP City Convention looked to stepped-up campaigns of activity to launch the expansion. Included were a campaign to build the National Peace Action Coalition in New York City, particularly around the NPAC convention to be held here July 2-4 and an autumn antiwar demonstration, as well as increased efforts to build the feminist movement, especially by supporting the growing struggle for abortion and the right of women to control their own bodies.

Each new office of the SWP will conduct a special summer educational program for members and interested supporters, as well as establish bookstores to meet the growing demand for revolutionary literature. Regular public forums are planned for the near future.

Increased sales of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* were seen as an especially important aspect of the expansion plan.

The Young Socialist Alliance in New York has prepared a similar ambitious plan to expand its influence. Acting City Organizer Steve Chainey explained that the YSA has grown steadily in recent months, especially since the December 1970 YSA National Convention in New York. Chainey felt the YSA's expansion would not be limited to New York City proper but would extend throughout the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut region.

The new SWP offices will be at the following locations: Upper West Side, 2744 Broadway (between 105th and 106th St.); Lower Manhattan, 706 Broadway (near 4th St.); Brooklyn, 136 Lawrence St. (corner of Willoughby St.).

# In Our Opinion

## Abortion on demand

In the past few weeks, several important victories have been won in the continuing struggle to eliminate all legal restrictions on the right of women to abortion. On May 18, the New York Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional an order by Governor Rockefeller to deny state payments for abortions requested by women who currently receive medicaid assistance. In another court victory, a New York Supreme Court justice ruled unconstitutional an attempt by the Town Council of Orangetown, N.Y., to declare abortions done in doctors' offices illegal. Still another concession won was the decision of the California Supreme Court on May 20 that a pregnant minor does not need her parents' consent to have a therapeutic abortion (California law permits only "therapeutic" abortions, which are abortions performed to preserve the physical or mental health of the woman).

Rockefeller's attempt to deny medicaid for abortions was a concession to reactionary antiabortion forces in a crass deal to get support for his budget. If this directive had been upheld, it would have created tremendous suffering for thousands of women. From last July to March of this year, medicaid paid for 10,008 of the 23,530 abortions performed in New York's municipal hospitals. The fact that Rockefeller would so cynically bargain with the lives of thousands of women to further his won political career exposes his disgusting contempt for the human rights of these women.

The ruling that abortions done in doctors' offices in Orangetown, N.Y., are legal will help many women for whom a hospital abortion is too expensive. Abortion is now one of the safest operations, if done in the early stages of pregnancy. It is safer, for example, than dental surgery, which is done in doctors' offices. The attempt to limit abortions to hospitals only has the effect of increasing the cost and preventing the building of safe, inexpensive abortion clinics.

The California decision eliminating the need for parental consent for an abortion requested by a minor is an important precedent for other states. All females, no matter how young, should be able to decide for themselves whether or not they want to have children.

These victories, although modest, are a reflection of the widespread public support for the right of women to abortion. They show that the women's movement can win gains through a consistent struggle to mobilize masses of women and win public opinion for the repeal of all antiabortion laws.

The mobilization of women to fight for this right is crucial in view of the counter-mobilization of reactionary forces who oppose the right to abortion. As the New York medicaid case showed, the women's movement can prevent concessions to the antiabortion movement that would reverse gains already won. By mobilizing the mass power of women, we can wipe all barbaric anti-abortion laws off the books.

A successful campaign to repeal the reactionary laws against abortion, involving hundreds of thousands of women, is needed to create the united strength and confidence to continue the fight for making abortions free on demand. This is the only way that all women will have control over their own bodies regardless of their financial status.

## No forced sterilization

An ominous ploy used by many opponents of abortion--and unfortunately even by some supporters of abortion--is to link abortion with "population control." In Nixon's April 3 statement against abortion, for example, he termed abortion "an unacceptable form of population control." Politicians like Nixon refuse to recognize abortion as a woman's right to choose whether or not to have a child; they can only conceive of "controlling" women's lives--either by forcing them to be breeders through restrictive abortion laws, or by forcing them not to have children, through forced or pressured sterilization.

In the past several weeks, bills that would in effect prescribe forced sterilization for welfare mothers as a condition for continuing to receive welfare payments have been introduced into the Tennessee, Illinois and North Carolina legislatures. These bills, proposed as "population control" measures and also as a means of decreasing the welfare rolls, clearly illustrate how far these racist and class-prejudiced politicians will go in oppressing poor working-class women--Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and white--whom they consider less than human.

These diabolical attempts at manipulating women demonstrate that the demand of "No Forced Sterilization" is a crucial part of the struggle for legal abortions. The women's movement must make it absolutely clear that the movement for repeal of reactionary abortion laws supports the right of the woman--and no one else--to control her own body.

# Letters

## Outrage

Since the age of 18, when I attempted to obtain birth control pills as a young single person, I have had nothing but contempt for the backward and belligerent doctors I was forced to confront in order to protect myself from pregnancy.

However, none of this in the least compares to the plight of the 10 women who became pregnant because of Dr. Goldzieher's racist and sexist "research." Your article [*The Militant*, May 14, "I Could Never Explain This to Mrs. Gomez"] noting this outrage has sent shock waves through the bodies and minds of sisters here.

Each one of us can all too easily imagine with horror the helplessness and rage these women face in a country that denies us the human right of control of our own bodies. Compounding this is the anguish of having had some hope of control denied at the whim of some man who claims he is a doctor.

Obviously, his license to practice medicine should be revoked. But beyond this, he should be sued for the entire cost of rearing these 10 children, as well as the additional unpayable cost of mental cruelty and servitude he has inflicted upon these women.

Jane Melton  
Pasadena, Calif.

## Nit-picking

The reply by Doug Jenness to Stephen Snell and John Roedel [*The Militant*, May 14, 1971] is without question one of the classic pieces of nit-picking bullshit. How that "reply" (which was in every respect a re-statement of the attack on the May-day operation, which Snell accurately called "backbiting") could coexist with the essentially accurate account by Calvin Zon of the roundup of peace partisans in D.C. is beyond my understanding.

I have been for the most part enjoying an introductory subscription to *The Militant*. In most aspects, I have found it lively and informative. But the Jenness piece is too much to swallow, and I shall consequently not renew.

W. K.  
University Park, Pa.

## Bring the war home

In view of your criticism of Mayday activities on the grounds of potential alienation, it is ironic that you succeeded in alienating 10 to 12,000 participants in these activities. I was such a participant and all to whom I spoke of the matter of your attacks resented them.

You have created a rift in the solidarity of the antiwar, anti-imperialism, anticapitalism movements. I do not think you understood our purpose in Washington. We went there to, in effect "bring the war home." We feel that for too long the American people have been allowed to sit back and comfortably say "yes, we want to destroy the people's revolution," without feeling the effects of war directly.

We will make it disadvantageous for people to continue this war.  
Member of Mayday Tribe  
Newburgh, N. Y.

## Rally size

I would like to make a correction of something which has been stated three times by *The Militant* concerning the May 5 demonstration in New York City at Bryant Park. *The Militant* stated that the size of May 5 in New York was 10,000. As a builder and participant in May 5, I believe this figure to be incorrect. I believe that May 5 numbered closer to 20,000 people.

I base this figure on two factors: one, the *New York Times* reported May 5 as 10,000. The *New York Times*, in my experience, always reports antiwar demonstrations much smaller than they are.

Point two is that CBS reported it as 20,000 to 25,000 persons, based on the premise that two people can occupy one square yard of area. I believe that the demonstration in Bryant Park was sufficiently crowded to consider this premise valid.

I believe that the movement should not take bourgeois press figures point blank as fact. The movement should make its own computations as part of a meaningful and realistic evaluation of mass movements. Methods of counting masses have to be searched out to be used and understood by everyone.

S. M.  
New York

Editor's reply—*The Militant's* figure of 10,000 for the size of the Bryant Park rally was not based, as the reader seems to imply, on the estimates made by the bourgeois press, but on the estimate made by our own reporters who covered the rally. Conflicting opinions as to the size of an action are not surprising when many thousands are involved—especially given the meager resources for counting available to the movement. Our only concern is to be as accurate as possible.

## Newark teachers

Surely it is high time to admit that not everything labeled "union" is good, and that not every strike is good. Just as everything else in our society today, unions too have misused their power to the point where it is today almost impossible to differentiate between union and management. Most strong unions in the U.S. today are racist and sexist. Only the rich and powerful unions are able to strike.

I refer in particular to your piece on the end of the Newark teachers' strike [*The Militant*, May 7]. If ever something that is mis-called a union should be "busted," it is the NTU. They turned their backs on the young people of the nation's worst ghetto, making an already dubious future for these students even more difficult. They cursed, spat at, and threatened, as well as damaging the cars of, many of the teachers who came in during the 11-week strike.

As a substitute teacher who came in during the strike, and who openly opposed the fascistic tactics of the strikers, I have myself been on the receiving end of the childish antics of those so-called "teachers."

# The Great Society

Is it not also time to say that teachers are *not* "workers"—they deal not with things but with people, and their actions affect impressionable young people for the rest of their lives. What kind of a miserable example are these "teachers" setting?

One can only say All Power to Jesse Jacob and those members of the Board of Education (and all other people of like persuasion) who wanted to "bust" that particular "union"!

F. A.  
West Orange, N.J.

*Editor's reply*—Our view of the Newark teachers' strike, as expressed in numerous articles, was that it represented a defensive struggle against an attempt by the reformist administration of Mayor Kenneth Gibson to destroy the Newark Teachers Union. If successful, the destruction of the NTU would have paved the way for further attacks on organized labor in Newark, driving down the standard of living in the city even more.

In order to effectively combat this attack, the NTU, a relatively small and weak (not "rich and powerful") union, needed to win as much support as possible from other social forces, particularly Newark's Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The racist refusal of the NTU bureaucrats to mobilize support for the demands of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to control the schools in their communities created deep hostility, which a majority of the school board, headed by Jesse Jacobs, was able to take advantage of in order to isolate and deal the NTU a blow.

We strongly disagree with the demand "All Power to Jesse Jacob." We support the independent struggle of the Black community against the city administration to control its own schools.

Teachers, rather than abdicating their right to organize themselves into unions, should throw out those misleaders who are racist and sexist, and struggle to change their unions from institutions preserving privilege to instruments for social change, especially Black control of Black schools. Such a program could help forge a united struggle between teachers and the Black community against Gibson's procapitalist administration and his appointed school board.

**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.**

**Now, if we each breathe a bit less**—Los Angeles residents were pleased to learn that daily production of aerial filth has declined in the past 15 years from 4.9 pounds per person to 3.7. The per capita decrease is due, curiously, not to a decline in pollution, but an increase in population. Actually, pollution has increased by more than one million pounds a day.

**Non-coffin-nail bonus**—The manager of an Arlington, Texas, apartment complex is offering a \$10 monthly rent reduction to tenants who quit smoking. "Cigarette smokers invariably burn holes in rugs and furniture," she said. Not to speak of their lungs.

**That's a comfort**—Discussing the reported Soviet declaration of intent to intervene with military force during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, a U.S. official was asked if the situation was comparable to the Cuban missile cri-

sis. "No," he responded. "During the missile crisis, everyone knew we were at the brink. This time we didn't know where we were."

**Security leak**—California's attorney general launched a probe to determine how a reporter learned that Gov. Reagan was able to avoid 1970 state income taxes on the basis of "investment losses."

**How concerned can you get?**—If a bill now before the California legislature wins passage, ambulances and fire trucks will no longer have to stop in the middle of an emergency to pay bridge tolls.

**Prefers green on green**—New York Times fashion editor Marylou Luther says: "American designers are well on their way to going beyond fashion in its look-of-the-moment context and into a true awareness of real women

who appreciate the simple joy of finding something good to wear." She cites designer Chester Weinberg: "This season, my Chester Weinberg collection leaves nostalgia . . . to those who find it amusing. . . . We have a healthy couture business here and I'm going to fight for it. These clothes start at about \$140 and go up—and up."

**Aw, shucks!**—In keeping with the private, sentimental character of the occasion, there will be no live television coverage of the wedding of Tricia Nixon and Edward Finch Cox. Portions, however, will be carried on newscasts later in the day.

**The Freudian view**—A random survey on "What do you love most about smoking" was conducted by Women West, a Studio City, Calif., publication. One response: "It feeds my masochism to spend 50 cents a pack to wreck my health."

—HARRY RING

## Women: The Insurgent Majority

The last few weeks have seen some important legal decisions concerning the right of women to abortion. On May 18, a New York Supreme Court justice ruled against the State Social Services Commissioner, who had issued a directive that poor women could not have their abortions paid for by Medicaid unless the abortions were "medically indicated." The judge ruled that Medicaid must be provided for all legal abortions.

The suit against the state directive was brought by 14 nonprofit health, welfare, and civic agencies—including the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies—as well as by two poor women.

The judge ruled that: "The effect of the directive is clearly to discriminate against the poor in their effort to obtain legal abortions. . . ." and that "the statute is unconstitutional in that it deprives indigent women of their constitutionally protected right of privacy, which includes the right to decide whether or not to have a child."

In another decision, the state Supreme Court ruled May 13 that commercial abortion referral agencies are illegal. Justice Sidney H. Asch declared: "The law which sought to emancipate women from servitude as unwilling breeders did not intend to deliver them as helpless victims of commercial operators for the exploitation of their misery."

The reason that referral services have become a multi-million-dollar business, however, is that women have a hard time finding out about where they can get abortions. The state should now give financial aid to nonprofit referral services, such as the Women's Abortion Project, Planned Parenthood, and the Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion, to meet the need that makes private abortion agencies so profitable.

**More legal actions:** Elizabeth Barrett, a widowed mother of a nine-year-old girl, is defending her 1965 tax deductions for child-care expenses in a test case that may go eventually to the U.S. Supreme Court. Her suit was to be heard in U.S. Tax Court on May 19. The maximum amount a couple can now deduct for child-care expenses for one child is \$600, and only if their joint income does not exceed \$6,000. Since Elizabeth Barrett and her husband made more than that, they could not even deduct \$600 of the \$2,800 they had to spend on babysitting.

Barrett told the *New York Post*, "It seems to me the law had to be written by a man who didn't want women to work and felt they should stay at home. But it was imperative that I go back to work when Michael temporarily lost his job. We paid a woman \$55 a week plus transportation to look after Amy, who was two and one-half."

Barrett got in touch with Betty Friedan, and through

the National Organization for Women she found a lawyer to represent her for free. Her lawyer told the *Post* that, "because the burdens of child-care expenses fall on women far more than on men, we believe that the effect of the tax code is to deny women the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution."

In another action, three women students at Harvard Law School filed a petition last month with the U.S. Patent Office asking that a trademark be banned as "degrading to the image of women in the public eye." The trademark, which originated with the Cattle Baron Steak and Roast Beef Parlor in New York City, shows a nude woman with her body marked off into sections labeled "chuck," "loin," etc., as if it were a chunk of meat.

The information on this suit came from the *Female Liberation Newsletter*, Box 303, Boston, Mass. 02215

The following are excerpts from a letter to the editor of the Chicano magazine *La Raza* (Vol. 1, No. 5) concerning Chicana women's liberation:

Dear Editor: When I became involved in the Movement I began to hate men (**Machos**). It was my silence, now fully grown into a public scream. It is the silence, I presume, of many other Chicanas as well who are Brown feminists and don't know it.

Sadly, most Chicanos tend to think of a feminist as a white, thick-calved, lesbian-oriented, eye-glassed gal. In truth, a Chicana simply wants to be loved by a Chicano and to be an equal member of the Movement. . . .

A typical Chicano set-up: a few words of **Movimiento** (movement) talk (if you're lucky), and then (he thinks) we go to bed. If you're good, I'll probably call again. Well, if you're smart? Who gives a damn? If I want to talk about barrio problems why do I need a Chicana?

The Chicana refuses to accept each experience as a lesson, and so she learns **NADA** (nothing).

Physically, to coax a Chicano your attributions should be as follows: stacked, big assed, and if possible huera (blond). . . .

The question here is not one of sex. I (and most Chicanas, I hope) enjoy it as much as the next Chicana. To me the most valid argument for Chicana Women's Lib is simply that the Chicana is not supposed to be an intellectual. The majority of Chicanos think of Chicanas in sexual terms only.

The Chicana Women's Lib is here and here to stay. It is for every Chicana who wants to be treated as a human being. . . .

Signed/A Chicana

—CAROLINE LUND

# Detention camp law may be repealed

By LEE SMITH

The April 24 *Washington Post* carried an editorial headlined "Detention Camps" in which the *Post* editors declare their support for the House companion bill to Senate Resolution 592, calling for repeal of Title 2 of the reactionary McCarran Act. This law, otherwise known as the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, provides for the maintenance of concentration camps in which potential "subversives" could be thrown in case of a "national security emergency"—a state of affairs that can be brought about by the president's arbitrary declaration, according to the same law.

The move to repeal this law even has the support of Nixon's Justice Department. On March 18, a Justice Department spokesman told the House Judiciary subcommittee his department was "unequivocally in favor of repealing" the police-state measure.

The Senate version of the repeal bill was introduced on Feb. 4 by Senator Daniel K. Inouye, a Hawaii Democrat, on behalf of himself and 24 other senators, including Hubert Humphrey. Humphrey, in 1950, was one of the original sponsors and most energetic backers of the Kilgore bill, which provided for the concentration camps and became Title 2 of the McCarran Act.

It is significant that the *Washington Post* endorsed the repeal move on April 24, the day Morton Sobell—codefendant of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 on trumped-up espionage charges—was introduced as an honored guest to more than 500,000 antiwar demonstrators in Washington, D. C. The repeal bill, like Sobell's appearance at the antiwar action, is a reflection of the deepening radicalization among young people, women, and oppressed national minorities. Capitalist politicians, hoping that few people will remember what really went on 21 years ago when the law was passed, are cynically trying to make political hay with the repeal measure.

The remarks made by representative Glenn M. Anderson from California when he introduced the House bill for repeal on behalf of himself and two fellow Democrats on Feb. 10, were calculated to distort the real history behind the concentration-camp Emergency Detention Act. In motivating passage of the bill, Anderson quoted Pat McCarran, who called the law "a concentration-camp measure, pure and simple." He quoted South Dakota Senator Karl Mundt, who said the act provided for "establishing concentration camps into which people might be put without benefit of trial, but merely by executive fiat." And he cited Harry Truman's veto message, noting that the veto had been overridden.

A casual reader of representative Anderson's remark might wonder why the act was included as a title of the law bearing Pat McCarran's name if the late senator felt the way he did about it. If one knew that both Mundt and McCarran had voted for the bill, he or she might wonder even more. And if one knew that the compromise which combined Title 2 with the rest of the bill had been proposed by Truman's whip, majority leader Scott Lucas—and that earlier Truman's men in Congress had favored passage of the provisions in Title 2 without the rest of the act—then Truman's veto

would seem to be the most confusing thing of all.

A brief history of the making of the 1950 witch-hunt package will clear up any such possible confusion and expose the deep cynicism of men like Humphrey and Nixon, whose assistant attorney-general today is "unequivocally in favor" of repealing antisubversive legislation of the type on which, two decades ago, Nixon built his career.

Congress became embroiled in developing police-state legislation in the late summer and early fall of 1950. The stage had been set in the first half of the year and earlier with "loyalty oath" and anticommunist purges in government, unions and education orchestrated by a combined Democratic and Republican symphony, with each party trying to out-red-bait the other. The same competition characterized the legislative "fight" that led to the combined Internal Security Act of 1950.

In August, the House passed the Wood-Mundt-Nixon registration bill. Pat McCarran introduced a companion measure in the Senate calling for the registration of "Communists and Communist-fronts," and defining these categories in catch-all language. Truman's "fair-dealers" in the Senate opposed the McCarran-Nixon proposal on the grounds that it was "ineffective." McCarran baited Humphrey and Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois: "Is the Senator from Illinois trying to defend the Communist-front organizations now? . . . now the Senator from Minnesota wants to defend Communist-front organizations."

Truman's supporters went all-out to demonstrate that they were not "soft on Communism" by proposing their own measure—the Kilgore bill, which provoked from McCarran and the registration bill backers the "concentration camp" language quoted above. The Kilgore bill, introduced by the West Virginia senator along with Humphrey, Douglas, Estes Kefauver and other "Fair Deal" liberals, provided for the construction of detention camps to be used in case of a "national security emergency," which could be declared by the president. The declaration of such an emergency would give the attorney general the authority to detain indefinitely and without due process any person deemed a subversive or a "potential" subversive.

This bill was favored by Truman and the liberals. It was editorially endorsed by the *New York Times*. However, a compromise was quickly achieved, combining both the registration and concentration-camp bills into the McCarran-Kilgore bill. The margin by which Congress passed the bill was so large that Truman could comfortably cover himself by vetoing the bill without endangering its chances. The Kilgore bill became Title 2 of the law, the Emergency Detention Act, which Humphrey, a main backer of the measure 21 years ago, now wants to repeal.

It will be a victory if this reactionary law is repealed, but the credit for the victory should not go to the chameleons in Congress, whose only motive is cashing in for some votes. The pressure from the growing mass movements is really the force responsible for this move to get rid of the Emergency Detention Act.

# Women's action in Chicago draws 500

By SALM KOLIS

CHICAGO—Five hundred women came out of the kitchens and into the streets of downtown Chicago Sat., May 15, in a march and rally for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour day-care centers, and equal opportunities in education and employment. The women were restaging a similar march their mothers and grandmothers made down Michigan Avenue in 1914 for women's suffrage.

In order to add a sense of history to the day, women in suffragist outfits led the march. Chants of "Join Us, It's Your Fight Too" and a special "Join Us" leaflet distributed along the march route brought many women from the sidewalks into the march. As women surged into the Civic Center, the site of the rally, the marshals from the stage and women already there led chants of "Free Abortion on Demand, Sisterhood is Powerful." Florence Luscomb, 84-year-old suffragist, opened the rally with a brief history of the women's movement and then told the 700 women there that they are the fifth generation of feminists.

Kitty Cone of the Women's Day Co-

alition pointed out the need to unite women in struggle for repeal of all abortion laws. "Those few men who sit in their legislatures and courts and make life-and-death decisions affecting millions of women have no right to that control, that power over us," she said, "and we must take it away from them."

Other speakers included 14-year-old Black high school feminist Sherri Tyler; Florence Criley, international representative of the United Electrical Workers; Day Creamer from the Action Committee for Decent Child Care; Magda Ramirez from the Latin-American Student Union; Marge Sloan from Black Women's Liberation Alliance; Eva Jefferson, Northwestern University student body president; and Lorraine Broy from Power of People and the Angela Davis Defense Committee.

The overriding theme of the day was the breadth of the women's movement and the idea that sisterhood is powerful. Women of all ages and colors united to demonstrate for their rights, and that fight will continue and grow until women have the right to control their bodies and their lives.

# Denver conference backs abortion repeal

By CAROLYN JASIN

DENVER—The first Mayor's Conference on Women was held here May 7-8 at Temple Buell College. Approximately 400 women registered representing 55 different women's organizations throughout the city, including church groups, Republican Roundtable, National Organization for Women, Junior League of Denver, Colorado Dietetic Assoc., Federally Employed Women, and the Campfire Girls.

The purpose of the conference was to identify specific problems of women in Denver and to propose solutions.

The Mayor's Conference on Women was initiated, controlled and run by women. But, of course, Denver's mayor, who was running for reelection on May 18, also hoped it would provide some campaign publicity for him.

A keynote address by Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and nine panel presentations introduced workshops on Women and Politics, Careers for Women, Day-care Centers, Women and the Law, The Feminine Image, Social Services, Family Structure, and Women in Organized Religion.

Organizers of the conference tried to gear the conference to young women, welfare women, and women from oppressed nationalities by having no registration fee and by making free bus transportation to and from the conference available at various community action centers. Child care was also provided.

This attempt to attract a broader range of participants was unsuccessful; particularly obvious was the absence of young women even though the conference was held at a wom-

en's college. Reasons for the lack of interest could be traced to the title of the conference and to the lack of invited speakers from the women's liberation movement.

Despite the limited character of this conference, many important proposals were adopted at the plenary session, where workshop resolutions were presented for a vote.

Among the resolutions overwhelmingly passed were immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia, repeal of Colorado's abortion laws, and support for 24-hour child-care centers. In addition, the conference endorsed the class action suit against sex discrimination on the job that has been brought by Esther Goodyear against Gates Rubber Co., and voted to support the Women's Legal Defense Fund, a committee recently formed to help pay legal expenses for women fighting sex discrimination.

The Women's Legal Defense Fund will be raising money for the legal expenses of Esther Goodyear, who is suing Gates Rubber for \$2,856,000 in back pay due women workers. Goodyear is charging Gates with discrimination against women in pay, hiring, training, promotion and termination practices.

Esther Goodyear was fired from her job on April 16 in retaliation for her active support of women's rights. Donations are urgently needed and can be sent to: Women's Legal Defense Fund, P. O. Box 782, Evergreen, Colo. 80439

The demands passed at this conference are just another example of the growing awareness of women of all ages and backgrounds for the need to change society.



# Intellectuals declare support for Padilla



Heberto Padilla

The following is the New York Times translation of a statement by 60 European and North and South American intellectuals criticizing the Cuban government's treatment of the poet Heberto Padilla. For a story on the Padilla case, see *The Militant*, May 21.

The signers of this statement have all been supporters of the Cuban revolution. They include Simone de Beauvoir, Tamara Deutscher, Marguerite Duras, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Carlos Fuentes, Andre Gorz, Alberto Moravia, Jose Revueltas, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Susan Sontag.

The official text of Heberto Padilla's "confession" is published in the May 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Beginning with its May 31 issue, *Intercontinental Press* is reprinting in two parts an important document that is related to the Padilla case. This is the full text of the declaration adopted by the First National Congress on Education and Culture held in Havana April 23-30.

We hold that it is our duty to inform you of our shame and anger.

The deplorable text of the confession signed by Heberto Padilla can only have been obtained by means that amount to the negation of revolutionary legality and justice.

The contents of this confession, with its absurd accusations and delirious assertions, as well as the pitiable parody of self-criticism to which Heberto Padilla and Comrades Belkis Cuza, Diaz Martinez, César López and Pablo Armando Fernández submitted to at the seat of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, recall the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch-hunts.

[It is] with the same vehemence that from the very first day was ours in defending the Cuban revolution, which seemed to us exemplary in its respect for the human being and in its struggle for liberation, that we exhort you to spare Cuba dogmatic obscurantism, cultural xenophobia, and the repressive system imposed by Stalinism on the socialist countries and of which events similar to those now occurring in Cuba were flagrant manifestations.

The contempt for human dignity implied in the act of forcing a man into ludicrously accusing himself of the worst treasons and indignities does not alert us because it concerns a writer but because any Cuban comrade—peasant, worker, technician or intellectual—can also become the victim of similar violence and humiliations.

We would want the Cuban revolution to return to what made us consider it as a model in the realm of socialism.

## Juan Mari Bras' speech at April 24 action

The following speech was given to the massive April 24 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C., by Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI). The speech was reprinted in the May 2 issue of *Claridad*, the weekly publication of the MPI, and has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.

People of the United States, I bring a message from one of the most significant frontiers of the Third World: the island of Puerto Rico. I represent the movement for national liberation of my country.

The freedom-seeking people of Puerto Rico have always been in active solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle to

drive the foreign invaders out of their country; and the people of Puerto Rico take the same stand today in solidarity with the peoples of Indochina who are struggling for the same objective. More than conventional solidarity, for us the cause of Indochina is our own cause. Its victories are ours, because we are struggling for the same aim and against the same enemy.

We too have suffered North American intervention in our country. The right of our people to self-determination is being denied and we are forcefully subjected to the dictates of imperialism.

As for Vietnam and Indochina in general, we believe that the issue should not be posed in terms of saying that the imperialist troops ought

to get out, because the Indochinese are already undertaking to drive them out by blood and fire. They have no other recourse but to leave Indochina, defeated.

Thus they will have to leave all parts of the world, defeated—wherever they have put their snouts in, including my Puerto Rican country.

The peoples of the Third World, those of Latin America, of which Puerto Rico forms a part, and humanity in general want to live in peace with the people of the United States. In you lies the hope of realizing this peaceful living together.

In order to achieve this, you must unite, organize yourselves, and overcome imperialism from within. Otherwise, we people of the world will have

to unite to destroy the United States. A monster lives here, conspiring against humanity and bringing war, slaughter and crime to various areas of our planet. The world cannot permit this monster to succeed in enslaving everyone. You here within, and we in all parts of the globe, have the joint responsibility of destroying the monster—Yankee imperialism.

In Puerto Rico we are struggling to free our soil from the North American invaders. If they don't go and leave us free and tranquil, they will get the same treatment there that they have got in Vietnam. And the same fate. In view of this, upon assembling at your call for an end now to the war in Indochina, we likewise say, Independence for Puerto Rico, Now!

## The National Picket Line

In a "symbolic gesture," I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, handed his gavel to a young dissident delegate at a recent Washington, D. C., meeting of 650 leaders from all the big locals of the union.

This gesture on the part of Abel was supposedly to demonstrate his determination to "force" local leaders to assume more responsibility for the forthcoming steel negotiations.

Abel says he is tired of being the goat. He claims that the majority of local leaders approved and recommended the 19 percent (over three years) wage increase in 1968. When rising costs of living robbed the steelworkers of these insufficient wage gains, it was not the local leaders who got the blame but Abel himself.

One of the biggest factors in the new contract must be a revision of the grievance procedure—according to Abel and to most local union officers.

For many years, each national contract has contained a no-strike clause forbidding the workers to walk out over local issues or unresolved grievances during the life of the contract. Now even Abel agrees that there must be some "modification" of this.

Officially, steel negotiations began in Washington on May 20 between the union's negotiating team and nine of the major steel corporations.

According to some sources, the wage demands of the rank-and-file steelworkers go beyond the \$1.50 per hour (over three years) in the can company settlements of last winter. In addition to the wage increase, workers in the can industry also won a cost-of-living escalator clause.

Even though formal talks have begun, "real" bargaining in the steel industry begins July 1.

On May 21, a TV news broadcast reported that the Consumer Price Index for March showed an increase of 0.3 percent, the largest rise in three months. Food costs went up 0.9 percent.

In the midst of inflation, unemployment continues to rise, especially among Blacks and Latinos in New York City.

A survey by the New York State Labor Department Division of Employment is probably closer to the truth than most reports in that it is not merely based on workers drawing unemployment compensation but also includes those who have used up all these benefits. In addition, a new feature was added to the bare statistics—home surveys to discover how many workers have given up trying to find nonexistent jobs. The report showed a 157.7 percent rise for Blacks—excluding those of Latino background—receiving unemployment insurance in New York City from an October 1968 low of 5,574 to 14,365 last December. The Latino rise, both whites and Blacks, was 162.5 percent—from 6,258 (December 1968) to 16,525.

While the national unemployment rate for Blacks is 10 percent, in Newark, N. J., which has a 60 percent Black population, a rough estimate of the unemployment rate—according to the N. J. State Labor Department—is 14.2 percent for April, with 23,000 jobless out of a total working population of 163,800. This compares with 8.8 percent for April 1970.

In his *Introduction to Dialectics of Nature*, Frederick Engels says that since man began making his own history "we find that there exists. . . a colossal disproportion between the proposed aims and the results arrived at, that unforeseen effects predominate and that the uncontrolled forces are far more powerful than those set in motion according to plan. . . ."

One graphic example of those uncontrolled forces can be seen in what has happened to Governor Rockefeller's company union, the Civil Service Association, since Rockefeller announced plans to lop off more than 8,000 of the CSA's 16,000 membership.

This "safe" organization was set up by the state administration in an attempt to prevent the organization of state employees into the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union.

Now the head of CSA, Dr. Theodore Wenzl, announced that unless the 8,000 civil servants who have already been notified of their dismissal because of budget cuts are kept on their jobs, the CSA will call a strike on June 16.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

By FRANK LOVELL

The swift action by Congress at 10:40 p.m., Tuesday, May 18, to stop the one-day strike of railway signalmen was another sorry incident in the long history of governmental wage fixing and assaults on the working conditions in the rail industry. Behind this latest congressional strikebreaking move is the traditional assumption of the ruling class, concurred in by both capitalist parties, that strikes in the strategic transportation industry must not be tolerated.

The 1926 Railway Labor Act was a milestone legislative expression of this attitude. The government is now moving to outlaw strikes throughout

talk much of striking and go through the motions of calling strikes, they have done nothing to organize the necessary machinery for a successful strike and invariably back down when ordered to do so by the government.

Charles J. Chamberlain, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, says his union will strike Oct. 1 unless the railroad carriers grant substantial wage increases. He knows the carriers will not grant the union's demands. His only purpose in threatening strike action is to try to get the U.S. Congress to establish higher wage rates, an unlikely prospect.

The largest union of the rail workers, the 180,000-member United Transportation Union, is presently continuing its nearly two years of

ordered the Army to seize the railroads.

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson assured the railroad corporations that the government had no intention of interfering with their management and profits. He set up seven regional headquarters for the railroads, each headed by a railroad corporation president who was given a colonel's commission in the U.S. Army.

This strikebreaking precedent was followed by every Democratic president who has occupied the White House since Roosevelt's day.

### Truman smashes rail strikes

On May 15, 1946, Truman commandeered the railroads in advance of a strike. The strike was set for

### Kennedy and Johnson

During the Kennedy administration, a threatened railroad strike was blocked on August 28, 1963. The form of intervention was an administration-sponsored railroad labor bill, enacted by Congress, effective for six months, which for the first time legalized compulsory arbitration. It was used to eliminate locomotive firemen from the railroads, as demanded by management.

While Johnson was in the White House, he halted a 1967 walkout of six railroad shop craft unions representing 150,000 workers by invoking the Railway Labor Act.

On April 12, 1967, he signed emergency legislation passed by Congress prohibiting strike action for 60 days, and on June 19 Congress passed legislation extending negotiations for another 90 days. Finally, in September the issues in dispute were resolved by the Morse Railway Board, fixing wage rates below the national average for skilled workers in the shop craft categories.

In all these negotiations, maneuvers and dictatorial edicts, the Congress and a succession of presidents have proved that when dealing with wage raises and social welfare measures of any kind they always move at a snail's pace. But when it comes to the art of strikebreaking on the railroads, they are past masters and move with lightning speed.

### Nixon and the Democrats

During the most recent period, hardly more than a year, three special acts of a Democratic Congress urged by a Republican president have thwarted railroad strikes. The federal courts also intervened against the railroad unions in another strike during this same period.

On April 8, 1970, special legislation fixing the wage scale of 48,000 railroad shop workers at \$4.28 per hour and forcing upon them onerous changes in their working conditions sailed through Congress without a hitch.

On Sept. 15, 1970, four rail unions attempted a selective strike against three carriers. The railroad industry responded with a general lockout, refusing to operate rail service until all strike action ended. A federal judge ruled reflexively in favor of the carriers at their request, holding that selective strikes are illegal, forcing the strikers back to work under provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

On December 10, 1970, the Congress passed emergency legislation to halt an 18-hour strike of railway clerks.

Ordering the striking railway signalmen back to work May 18 was only the most recent "standard procedure" congressional strikebreaking action, anticipated and accepted by all parties in railroad negotiations.

The demand of the Nixon administration for new legislation outlawing strikes in the transportation industry is an old proposal of the Johnson administration, drafted by Willard Wirtz, then secretary of labor and now a trustee of Penn Central Transportation Corporation.

This legislation will be fought by the union movement because the Teamsters and Longshoremens, both strong unions and accustomed to strike action, see their future in the present plight of railroad workers if they submit to compulsory arbitration.

Any of the railroad unions, especially the United Transportation Union, the largest, could shatter the no-strike tradition in the railroad industry now if it were prepared to defy for once these ritualistic congressional edicts and keep the railroads tied up until the carriers show some respect for unions and agree to raise wages and improve working conditions.

# Gov't strikebreaking on the railroads



Railroad electrical workers who refused to cross picket lines of signalmen on strike May 17, 1971.

the entire transportation industry under the pretext that recurrent strikes and threats of strikes by railroad workers have rendered the Railway Labor Act obsolete.

In his message to Congress deploring the May 17 strike action of railway signalmen, Nixon found it "inexcusable that the nation should continue to pay the price for archaic procedures. . . ."

Nixon not withstanding, these "archaic procedures" have functioned with streamlined precision to thwart at every turn the needs of railroad workers. These workers are paying their share of "the price" as the current wage scale of \$3.78 per hour for highly skilled electrician-signalmen testifies.

Paying hypocritical respect to the needs of these workers by granting a minimal wage raise, the Congress voted to deprive them of their basic right to strike "until Oct. 1."

Senator Harrison Williams, the New Jersey Democrat who heads the Senate Labor Committee and who owes his 1970 election victory to union support, promised hearings on the proposed antiunion legislation before July 5. Chairman Harley Staggers (D-W. Va.) of the House Commerce Committee, also a "friend of labor," likewise promised early hearings but did not specify when.

### Bureaucrats trust Congress

The AFL-CIO lobby in Washington has attempted to forestall hearings on all bills designed to impose compulsory arbitration on the transport unions, prohibiting strikes of teamsters, longshoremens, seamen, and railroad and airline workers.

Although railroad union officials

counterproductive "negotiations" with the carriers. The UTU is threatened with work-rule changes recommended by a presidential fact-finding panel last Nov. 9, which if imposed will mean the loss of many thousands of jobs. Although not accepting these changes in work rules, the union leaders refuse to act on the present low wage rates until the work-rules issue is resolved. It can strike anytime to force the carriers to conduct meaningful negotiations and grant higher wages and better working conditions, but it has done nothing to prepare for strike action. Instead, it waits for the Congress to enact special legislation legalizing "selective strikes," and to intervene in an overall reorganization of rail transportation. Meanwhile, railroad workers are the lowest paid in any transportation industry.

This condition results from the history of government intervention against railroad workers, who relative to other workers were well off when the 1926 Railway Labor Act was passed.

Since World War II, wages and working conditions for railroad workers have gone downhill with the sharp decline of the railroads. Under Roosevelt's wartime wage-freeze, the earnings of railroad workers slipped far below the national average. In an effort to catch up with war-produced price rises, the old railroad brotherhoods called for a nationwide strike Dec. 30, 1943.

Roosevelt offered to personally arbitrate the wage dispute, an offer that was accepted by officials of two brotherhoods. The others threatened to strike on schedule, but Roosevelt did not wait for the strike deadline. He

May 18, but minutes before the deadline A. F. Whitney and Alvanley Johnson, heads respectively of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, postponed the strike. Railroad workers walked out anyway but were driven back.

Again, on May 10, 1948, Truman seized the railroads, this time under a 1916 law covering "wartime emergencies." Like Roosevelt before him, Truman made colonels of railroad presidents.

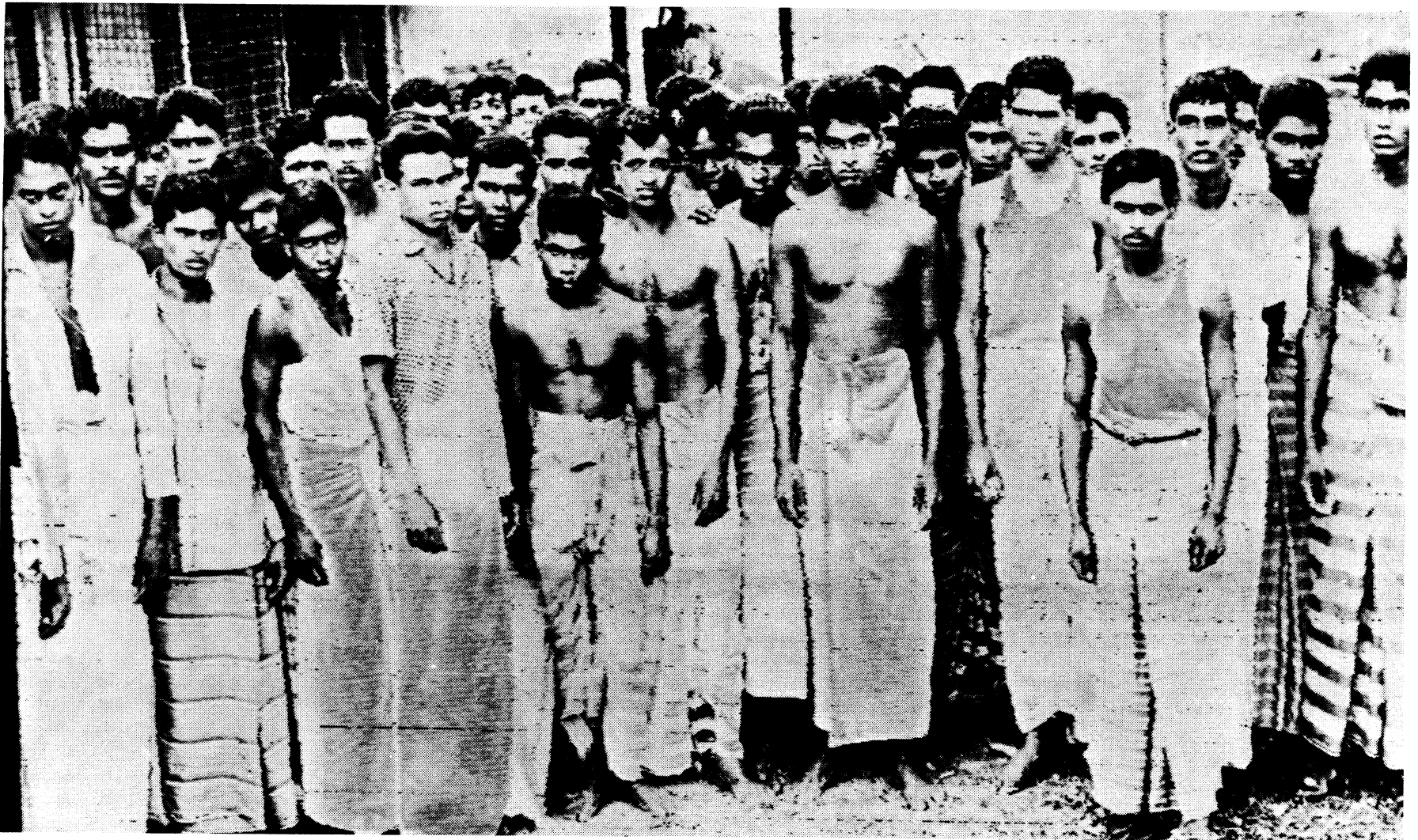
Two years later, Truman for the third time broke the back of a railroad strike. This one began the same day as the Korean war, June 25, 1950, when the switchmen walked off the property of five railroads. They were demanding a workweek of 40 hours instead of 48.

On July 6, Truman ordered "drastic action," and when the strike continued against one of the lines, the Rock Island, he "seized" it and ordered the workers back under the same conditions they were striking against.

Truman took over the entire railroad system on August 28, 1950, to prevent a nationwide strike, putting a million railroad workers under military control. Seven railroad magnates were vested with military authority as regional directors of the rail system. Six of them were simply recalled to "active duty," having been made colonels in the 1948 rail strike.

Truman's military operations against railroad workers fully protected profits, forbidding any changes in wages, hours, and working conditions except as agreed to by management. The 48-hour workweek remained.

# Behind the rebellion in Ceylon



Rebels captured in Anuradhapura, Ceylon, during antigovernment upsurge this spring

By CAROLINE LUND

Since March 16, when a state of emergency was declared in Ceylon by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Ceylonese coalition government has carried out a bloody and brutal campaign to suppress opposition to its policies. The predominantly young forces who are resisting the government's attempts to physically liquidate them are followers of the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front), an organization which has demanded that the Ceylonese government—which calls itself "socialist"—institute a socialist planned economy in Ceylon.

The toll in lives and destruction has risen steadily since the repression began. Government officials claimed May 9 that 1,000 rebels had been killed. But Tillman Durdin of the *New York Times* reported as early as April 14 that, "Military action in heavily populated rural areas has resulted in the killing of some insurgents, but with heavy casualties among innocent civilians. One estimate by a Defense Ministry official has put the dead on both sides at 6,000."

The May 9 *Washington Post* quoted an official who admitted that, "For every insurgent killed, five or 10 vil-

lagers are detained and beaten, maybe killed."

The April 24 *New York Times* reported government use of "mass arrests, torture, executions, and other terror tactics" in attempting to crush the revolt, which is mainly supported by the young people in their teens and early 20s. The same article reported clusters of bodies floating down rivers into the sea, some decapitated and others riddled with bullets.

The Bandaranaike government has sent armored columns, artillery, fighter planes, helicopters, and soldiers and police with submachine guns into the cities and countryside against the insurgent forces.

The emergency measures taken to help stem the revolt have included a 24-hour curfew, the death penalty for aiding the insurgents, the outlawing of the JVP, the death penalty for people involved in "unlawful assembly," and strict censorship of all news reports and any literature or leaflets distributed. Trade-union rallies and meetings have been banned.

The scope of the insurrection and the degree of sympathy for the rebels have been masked by the strict government censorship of all news coming out of Ceylon. However, it is clear that the rebels have significant support

and that the JVP's demands—that the government fulfill its socialist promises and alleviate the severe economic problems of the country—voice the aspirations of the masses of the Ceylonese people.

The May 9 *Washington Post* reported that, "even the most optimistic army officers believe it will take two years of military operations to wipe out all the insurgents." In early April, the rebel forces were estimated to be as many as 80,000—compared with the 25,000 soldiers and police under the government's command.

*New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba, in an April 24 dispatch relayed from Singapore to bypass censorship in Ceylon, testified to the popular support for the rebels. He wrote: "Villagers who talked reluctantly to this reporter on trips into the countryside appeared far more afraid of the police than of the insurgents."

Although the government has tried to use Ceylon's Buddhist traditions against the rebels, the May 10 *New York Times* reported that even some of the younger Buddhist monks were taking the side of the insurgents.

The effort to crush the insurgents has been supported by an alliance of reactionary and supposedly "leftist"

groups in Ceylon, as well as by imperialist countries and workers states on an international scale.

In Ceylon, the coalition government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, which has carried out the repression, includes the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Ceylon and the LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party—Ceylon Equal Society Party), which many press reports have erroneously labeled a "Trotskyist" party, as well as Bandaranaike's SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party—Holy Ceylon Freedom Party), a liberal capitalist party. The LSSP was expelled from the world Trotskyist movement in 1964 and is in no sense a "Trotskyist" organization.

On an international scale, arms, ships, ammunition, spare parts, aircraft, and even soldiers have been provided by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan and Egypt to help crush the insurrection.

### Questions raised

The events of the last few months in Ceylon raise many important questions. What is this coalition government in Ceylon, which claims to be leftist and even socialist but which is now butchering the youth of the country, who have simply demanded that

the coalition carry out its "socialist" promises?

Who are the Trotskyists in Ceylon? Are they for or against the coalition government that is engaged in this savage repression and denial of all democratic liberties? What is their relationship to the JVP?

Who are the rebels? What is the meaning of the fact that a significant section of the youth of Ceylon have organized such strong and determined opposition to the government?

And finally, why is there such a broad, international agreement among both capitalist countries and countries that claim to be socialist on the need to crush this revolutionary youth movement of Ceylon?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to look back into the history of the labor movement and radical movement of Ceylon.

The first working-class party in Ceylon, and for some time the only working-class party, was the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, which was formed in the late 1930s by some young Ceylonese intellectuals who had studied at universities in Britain. The formation of the LSSP occurred around the time of the Moscow frame-up trials, at the height of the struggle that took place within the Soviet Union between the bureaucratic rulers led by Stalin—who favored "socialism in one country"—and the forces led by Leon Trotsky, which supported an international revolutionary perspective. The founders of the LSSP sided with the Trotskyist tendency.

During World War II, the LSSP was in the leadership of the struggle for independence of Ceylon from Britain, and LSSP leaders were imprisoned for their role. Some escaped to India and continued to work underground, helping to found the revolutionary-socialist movement there. After the war, the LSSP won mass support because of its part in the fight for national independence.

A small grouping of pro-Stalinists was expelled from the LSSP during the war because they opposed the fight for independence. The Stalinists took the position that the struggle for independence from Britain might jeopardize the alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union in the war, and so they wanted to sacrifice the anti-imperialist struggle in Ceylon. The LSSP, to the contrary, saw that a revolutionary struggle for independence in Ceylon would be of much greater help to the international struggle for socialism than subordinating the needs of the Ceylonese masses to the diplomatic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Stalinists, led by Pieter Keuneman, then formed the Communist Party of Ceylon in 1943.

The LSSP became the largest working-class party in Ceylon because of its reputation as the leadership of the popular mass opposition first to the British imperialist regime and then to the postwar regime of the "national" Ceylonese capitalist class, represented by the UNP (United National Party, the party representing those capitalists most closely tied to the British imperialists). Following the end of World War II, the LSSP was recognized as the Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist organization.

### Tamil people

One of the reasons for the popularity of the LSSP was its position concerning the rights of the Tamil people in Ceylon. Some 22 percent of Ceylon's 12,600,000 people speak the Tamil language, having originated in Southern India. About half this number migrated to Ceylon many gen-

erations ago; most of the rest were brought from India in the nineteenth century to work on British tea plantations. Most of the Tamil-speaking people are of the Hindu religion. They form the bulk of the plantation workers, which is the main sector of the Ceylonese working class.

Under British rule, the Tamil and Sinhalese peoples were artificially brought together under one government, and divisions between them have been used by the ruling class in Ceylon to enforce its rule. An anti-Indian movement started in the early 1930s. In the 1950s, there were language riots and open violence and pogroms against the Tamils.

From its founding, the LSSP staunchly defended the rights of the oppressed Tamil minority against the chauvinism of the Buddhist majority, which speaks Sinhalese. In 1936, the LSSP was the first party to demand that the government and the courts use both Sinhalese and Tamil, rather than English, as official languages.

In the 1950s, a new party was formed in Ceylon, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. It originated in a split from the conservative capitalist party, the UNP, and was led by W. R. D. Bandaranaike, then the husband of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the present prime minister. The SLFP was based on the masses of peasants and merchants in the countryside and the new Sinhalese intelligentsia which had arisen, as opposed to the more established representatives of the ruling class, which had been educated in England.

### Wavering to capitulation

The formation of this liberal capitalist party, and the support it received from the peasantry in the countryside, disoriented the LSSP. When the SLFP was formed, the LSSP correctly labeled it a capitalist party, a party based on preserving the capitalist system in Ceylon. But as the SLFP increased its influence, winning the elections and forming a government in 1956, the LSSP began to waver and adapt to the ideas of the SLFP. In 1956, the LSSP voted to give "responsive co-operation" to the SLFP government.

In 1960, Prime Minister W. R. D. Bandaranaike was murdered as part of an attempted army coup. In the elections that followed in July 1960, the SLFP won the elections again, led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike. In these elections, the LSSP joined a tripartisan electoral bloc with the SLFP and the CP. The new SLFP government did not, however, include representatives from either of the two working-class parties.

The Oct. 3, 1960, issue of *The Militant* carried the following appraisal of the evolution of the LSSP:

"The support accorded the Bandaranaike party by the Ceylonese Trotskyists, and their entry into an electoral alliance with it, constituted a complete reversal of previous policy. In the national elections last March, the LSSP, the most influential working-class party in Ceylon, campaigned against the SLFP and all other parties on a program of revolutionary socialism under the slogan of "Elect a Sama Samaja Government." This line of independent working-class political action received an impressive 10 percent of the popular vote. . . .

"The LSSP had consistently condemned the policy of backing one group of rival capitalist politicians like the SLFP against another, explaining that such a policy deceives the masses. It counterposed to collaboration with capitalist parties or governments the objective of putting an anticapitalist workers and peasants

government in power. Yet in July, it reversed its electoral policy of March.

"This new political course not only overturned the past position of the LSSP but is at variance with the traditional socialist principles of the Trotskyist movement, which has opposed collaboration with capitalist parties as injurious to working-class interests. It follows the pattern of 'Popular Front' combinations in many countries whereby working-class parties have been lined up, with disastrous results, behind a section of the capitalist rulers.

"After the elections, the secretary of the LSSP, Leslie Goonewardene, issued a statement, published in the Aug. 4 *Ceylon News*, which read in part:

"The LSSP will cooperate with the SLFP government as an independent party in every activity which carries the country forward along progressive lines. The LSSP will assist the SLFP government to defeat and overcome any and every saboteur effort of Big Capital and the foreign imperialists. The LSSP will particularly assist the SLFP government in every anticapitalist step it takes. The LSSP will resist to the utmost any effort from any quarter to throw the masses back in their struggle to go forward to a socialist society.



Joint strike meeting of dock workers' unions votes to continue strike for high wages

"In accordance with the above, the LSSP Parliamentary Group will not join the Opposition but will function as an independent group in Parliament."

"It appears from this statement, which contained no criticism of the capitalist SLFP or warning to the people against the consequences of its actions, that the LSSP leadership is continuing its false policy of political support to the SLFP.

"The LSSP has correctly maintained in the past that abandonment of independent working-class politics and trailing behind capitalist politicians can only bear evil fruits. Further developments of the class struggle within the settings of the ascending revolution in Asia must also soon make this manifest in the present situation in Ceylon."

A split had taken place in the international Trotskyist movement in 1954, which lasted until 1963. Therefore, at the time of these developments in Ceylon, the world Trotskyist move-

ment consisted of two factions—with the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, together with other forces, supporting the International Committee of the Fourth International, and most European sections organized as the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. Both factions of the Fourth International condemned the moves made by the LSSP in 1960 toward support to a capitalist government.

In December of 1960, a congress of the forces supporting the International Secretariat of the Fourth International adopted a resolution that read in part: "The Fourth International does not exclude support for the adoption of progressive measures, even by a national bourgeois or petty-bourgeois government in a colonial or semicolonial country. But the social nature, composition and general program of the Bandaranaike government does not justify the support which was accorded to it."

The LSSP's adaptation to this capitalist party and its betrayal of revolutionary-socialist principles reached a qualitative turning point at an LSSP conference June 6-7, 1964, when a majority of the LSSP voted to accept the offer of the SLFP to form a joint government.

Present at this conference was Pierre

Frank, a founding member of the Fourth International and formerly a secretary of Leon Trotsky. Frank was sent to represent the United Secretariat of the now reunified Fourth International, and he tried to convince the conference to repudiate the proposal by LSSP leader N.M. Perera to join the procapitalist coalition government.

### LSSP(R)

A motion submitted by the Left Wing tendency of the LSSP, proposing no support whatsoever to the SLFP government, received 159 votes, which represented 25 percent of the party. After losing the vote, the Left Wing walked out of the conference and proceeded to form a new organization, the LSSP (Revolutionary).

Although the LSSP had been the largest, most influential section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement did not hesitate to expel this section when it betrayed the struggle for socialism by participating in a capitalist government. The



Joint strike meeting of dock workers' unions votes to continue strike for high wages in Colombo, Jan. 16, 1970

Photo by Allen Myers

LSSP(R) was recognized as the new Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

From 1964 to the present time, the LSSP(R) has been a firm opponent of both the UNP, which ruled Ceylon from 1965-70, and the SLFP coalition governments, which held power for four months in 1964 and then came to power again in the May 1970 elections. It has been the only party to pose a clear socialist alternative for Ceylon.

A statement released by the LSSP(R) after leaving the June 1964 conference said: "The decision of the reformist majority of the LSSP to enter into a coalition with the capitalist SLFP government and thereby to become an instrument of the capitalist class in Ceylon, constitutes a complete violation of the basic principles of Trotskyism on which the revolutionary program of the party is based."

Just how far the LSSP leadership had departed from socialist principles can be seen by looking at the conditions the LSSP agreed to accept in order to join the 1964 coalition. These conditions, laid down by the SLFP, were 1) a "rightful" place for Buddhism; 2) acceptance of Sinhala as the only official language; 3) recognition of the 1948 anti-Tamil citizenship laws; and 4) veto power by the

prompted Bandaranaike to approach the leftist parties to join her coalition government in 1964. In 1963, the Ceylon trade unions had taken steps toward united action, adopting a common platform of 21 demands. This gave rise to a formation called the United Left Front, which included only working-class parties—the LSSP, the CP and another group called the MEP (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna).

The SLFP's offer to the working-class parties to join a coalition government had the desired effect of splitting up the anticapitalist forces and bringing sections of the left into the government to help take responsibility for the crisis of capitalism in Ceylon. In addition to the split in the LSSP over the question of the coalition government, the United Left Front split, and the Communist Party split, giving rise to a pro-Peking Communist Party.

The real power in the coalition government remained firmly in the hands of the SLFP; the former cabinet of 12 SLFP members was simply widened to 15 to include the new LSSP ministers.

The purpose of the coalition government quickly became clear: to enable the government to more efficiently carry out anti-working-class policies to try to stave off the economic crisis of the country. Bandaranaike

While mouthing phrases against reactionaries, the SLFP had taken every possible step to prop up the capitalist economy and class rule.

Under the UNP regime, the crisis of capitalism in Ceylon continued to deepen. In 1969, a wave of big strikes culminated in a state of emergency being declared by the government on Sept. 16.

In October and November, there were simultaneous eruptions and student strikes at three of Ceylon's four universities. The students demanded that Sinhalese and Tamil be spoken in classrooms rather than English, improvement of facilities, the right to hold political meetings, and a solution to the unemployment problem. When the government tried to make the students sign loyalty oaths as a condition of reopening the universities, the students refused.

### May 1970 elections

By the time of the May elections in 1970, the candidates of both the SLFP and the UNP were promising socialism in order to try to convince the workers once again to support them. The SLFP claimed to be for "socialist democracy," while the UNP said it was for "democratic socialism"! The UNP explained that their "democratic socialism" meant that "private ownership and management" must be "sensitive to its responsibilities for the welfare of the community." The SLFP leaders promised nationalization of the banks and the newspaper printing plants, recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam, expulsion of the Peace Corps, and other anti-imperialist measures.

Almost all left-wing parties except the LSSP(R) threw their support behind the SLFP coalition government. The LSSP joined the coalition, as did the CP for the first time. The small Maoist Communist Party, although rebuffed from joining the coalition, supported the capitalist SLFP candidates.

The JVP, now engaged in the current struggle, also supported the coalition, and the votes of the thousands of unemployed youth they influenced probably were a significant factor in bringing the coalition to power.

The SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition won by a landslide vote, and the election results were greeted by mass demonstrations and massive physical attacks on buildings representing pro-imperialist institutions.

Again, the developments after the coalition came to power showed clearly why the capitalist class wanted to bring the working-class parties into the government. Only three months after the May elections, Bandaranaike attacked some members of parliament for calling for nationalization of foreign-owned estates and newspapers. She accused them of "embarrassing the government." The Sept. 19 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* quoted N.M. Perera, minister of finance and member of the LSSP, as saying that he felt it was "not advisable" to nationalize the tea estates. He spoke of how the "gruelling track to socialism" takes a long time, and said, "I do not like the private sector. But if in the process of making money the private sector will help to build houses the people want, I am prepared to go with them."

Unemployment had grown to 800,000 out of the population of less than 13 million. The government, however, presented no proposals for dealing with this problem.

Rather, the coalition proposed an "austerity program," asking the trade unions for voluntary no-strike pledges and imposing wage restraints and higher taxes on the workers. At the same time, it gave a five-year tax holiday to certain industries it wanted

to encourage.

Several months after the elections the JVP began to turn against the coalition government, demanding that it fulfill its campaign promises and that it institute measures leading toward a planned, socialist economy. The "socialist" LSSP, CP and SLFP leaders denounced the JVP youth as "CIA agents" and had them arrested for putting up posters, holding political meetings, and engaging in other political activities.

On Aug. 25, 1970, 63 youths were arrested simply for participating in a political meeting in a private home. The Sept. 3 *Ceylon News* reported the "evidence" against them: "In their possession were found maps, communist literature and books by Fidel Castro and Mao Tsetung in addition to a handbook on guerrilla warfare." More than 400 youths were arrested in March 1971 shortly before the fighting began, reported the May 9 *Washington Post*.

This crackdown on some of the most vocal opponents of the coalition government led up to the current attempt by the coalition to completely crush the JVP as well as any opposition activity by trade unions or other political organizations. The *Christian Science Monitor* wrote April 15:

"Students of seesaw politics of Ceylon, who foresaw as long ago as four or five months the declaration of an emergency and the crackdown of the extreme left, view the current crisis as a *calculated effort* by Mrs. Bandaranaike and the nationalist partisans in her coalition government to show the world as well as her own Trotskyite [sic] allies that her government will not be dragged or pushed any further leftward than her democratic socialist image demands." (Emphasis added.)

Bandaranaike used an incident at the American embassy March 6 as a pretext for declaring the state of emergency, supposedly to stop an imminent conspiratorial attack on the government. But before this incident, on Feb. 27, the JVP held a mass rally of well over 10,000 in Colombo, at which JVP leaders explained that "the JVP is no underground movement and does not propose to stage coups." In fact, there was no armed resistance to the government repression until April 5—almost three weeks after the state of emergency was declared and after many JVP leaders were already in jail.

The brutal repression to which the coalition government has resorted provides bloody confirmation of the impasse in which the capitalist rulers of Ceylon find themselves. The problems facing the country cannot be solved short of revolutionary-socialist measures; hence the need to destroy those forces seeking such a solution. The role of the so-called socialist or communist parties—like the LSSP and the CP—who have supported the present capitalist coalition government has been to whitewash the capitalist system, to deceive the working people and peasants of Ceylon about the road to socialism, and to prepare the way for and now to lead the counterrevolution.

### International youth revolt

Similarly to the process taking place throughout the world, the youth of Ceylon, and especially the student youth, have been in the vanguard of the struggle against capitalism. The May 9 *Washington Post* calls the rebellion Ceylon's "youth revolt." The army command has estimated that 90 percent of the rebels are under 25 years old. Many are either students or are among the 18,000 university graduates who have been unable to find jobs in the stagnant economy. Many are in their early teens.



high wages in Colombo, Jan. 16, 1970

Photo by Allen Myers

SLFP over all electoral candidates selected by any of the coalition partners.

The LSSP's acceptance of these conditions illustrated their abject capitulation to the SLFP, a party which was built upon demagogic, communalistic attacks on the Tamil people. In 1958, the SLFP had even incited pogroms against the Tamils.

The 1948 Citizenship Acts stripped nearly one million Tamils of their Ceylonese citizenship, making them stateless persons, unable to vote and excluded from free education, unemployment benefits, poor relief and other social services.

In 1964, under the first LSSP-SLFP government, the Sirima-Shastri Pact was concluded with India. This pact ordered the forcible deportation of some 525,000 Tamils back to India so that their jobs could be given to Sinhalese.

The LSSP(R) pointed out that it was an acute government crisis due to the growing threat of strikes and working-class political action that

announced that: "Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows, must be eliminated and the development of the country must proceed." One of the first acts of the government in 1964 was to lock out 3,000 workers in the nationalized transport industry.

The coalition government was in power for only four months before the UNP was elected in the March 22, 1965 elections. During this period, the LSSP was co-responsible for enforcing a wage-freeze policy, encouraging racism against the Tamils, opposing working-class demands, high prices, growing unemployment, and very poor housing conditions. At the same time, many concessions were made to the right, such as special aid to capitalists and tax reductions for tea estates and rich homeowners.

Leaders of the LSSP(R) pointed out that the UNP victory in the March 1965 elections proved that the capitalist forces had been strengthened, not weakened, during the nine years (1956-64) the SLFP was in power.

In calling for volunteers to help the regular army in fighting the rebels, the government has refused to accept anyone under 35 because they fear anyone under that age may well be a rebel "infiltrator."

The April 24 *Washington Post* reported that all four of Ceylon's universities have been closed down by the government.

According to Bala Tampoe, the central leader of the LSSP (Revolutionary), the JVP has since last August been holding public mass meetings throughout the island, explaining their opposition to the coalition government. In an interview printed in the March issue of *Direct Action*, journal of the Australian Socialist Youth Alliance, Tampoe said: "When [the JVP] held their meeting on Aug. 10, it was quite clear that it was entirely a genuine mass movement of Sinhala youth. There were about 10,000 people at that first meeting. Every subsequent public meeting throughout the country had a minimum attendance of 5,000, culminating in a mass meeting in the hill capital of Kandy . . . with an attendance of 15,000 to 20,000, nearly all between the ages of 15 and 20. There is no doubt that this is a mass manifestation of political radicalization and is most significant for the future of the Ceylonese revolution."

In another interview, printed in the March 17 *Tribune*, newspaper of the Australian Communist Party, Tampoe pointed out that hundreds of young women participated in these rallies. This was, he said, "the first time in Ceylon that large numbers of young girls have been active politically."

Since last fall, the LSSP(R) has been working with the JVP; the two organizations sponsored a joint meeting in defense of two Tamil plantation workers who had been shot last November, and the LSSP(R), through its newspaper and other activities, has spoken out in defense of the democratic rights of the JVP.

Support for the rights of the JVP and opposition to the state of emergency has also been voiced by trade unions. For instance, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, one of the largest and most important unions, headed by Bala Tampoe, held a General Council meeting on March 20, attended by 362 members representing 157 union branches, at which a resolution was passed opposing the state of emergency and the attacks on the JVP.

Addressed to Prime Minister Bandaranaike, the resolution read in part: "In justification of the declaration of the State of Emergency you have alleged that 'a small minority of our population have banded themselves together, in secret cells, and are making preparations to cause bloodshed and chaos in this country.' . . .

"The only specific instance you have mentioned of any action by anyone, which could be construed as amounting to politically motivated violence, was the attack on the United States Embassy in Colombo on 6th March. Several persons were arrested by the police and produced as suspects before a magistrate's court, in that connection; but none of them has even been identified in court, up to now, as an alleged participant in that attack. Nevertheless, while the matter is sub judice, you have used your parliamentary privilege to refer to that attack as being 'the culmination of indications of an imminent attack on the government in different parts of Ceylon.' . . .

"We would urge you, in conclusion, to end the State of Emergency forthwith, since the people cannot effectively give voice to their mounting grie-

vances in regard to the cost of living, unemployment and other matters, or seek effective remedies for them through mass organizations like ours, under the conditions created by the Emergency."

As in many other parts of the world, the radical Ceylonese youth have rejected the politics of organizations which claim to be Marxist but in fact help perpetuate capitalist rule. They have rejected the LSSP and CP, which have so blatantly and criminally betrayed the revolutionary ideas they claim to represent.

Also demonstrated by the events in Ceylon is the power possessed by the youth movement of today—the social weight that makes it possible for the student movement in particular to have a significant impact on the politics of the country by linking its struggle and demands up with the struggles of other sectors of the population. This new factor in the international class struggle was evidenced in the May 1968 upsurge in France, in the 1968-69 struggle in East and West Pakistan that led to the downfall of Ayub Khan, in Latin American social upheavals of the past few years, and in the May 1970 upsurge in the United States against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

### Counterrevolutionary alliance

The struggle now proceeding in Ceylon reveals clearly which side of the class struggle every organization and political tendency is on. The reformist LSSP, the Communist Party, and the two capitalist parties—the SLFP and UNP—have unequivocally come to the defense of the capitalist system. The JVP rebels and the LSSP(R) have stood squarely against the ruling class and its political agents.

In the face of this threat to the capitalist system in Ceylon, imperialist countries like the United States and Great Britain have come to the aid of the Ceylon government as have countries which claim to be anti-capitalist, such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The leaders of all these countries are thus revealing their fear of any movement that could possibly lead toward a mass revolutionary seizure of power and the socialist transformation of Ceylon. Obviously, a victorious revolutionary upsurge in that country would have a tremendously inspiring effect throughout Southeast Asia, spurring on socialist movements in other countries, especially India and Pakistan.

The rulers of all countries that have given aid to the Ceylonese regime—including governments that claim to be "anti-imperialist," such as India, Pakistan and the United Arab Republic, and those that claim to be socialist, such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and China—have shown that when it comes to action they will be the first to place their own needs and interests above those of the Ceylonese masses.

The Indian government, for example, rightly fears that a revolutionary upsurge in Ceylon would help inspire the Indian masses to take control of their own country.

The bureaucratic regime of the Soviet Union is demonstrating once again by its support to the Ceylonese government that it will use its influence and military might if necessary to oppose an anticapitalist struggle in another country if that struggle comes in conflict with the narrow, diplomatic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. In this case, the rulers of the U. S. S. R. are striving to keep the Bandaranaike government as a diplomatic ally. In addition, they are deeply

concerned with any development that might upset the political status quo on a world scale, as this would jeopardize their strategy of peaceful co-existence with imperialism.

The current behavior of the Ceylonese CP and the Soviet Union is a repeat of their position during World War II, when the CP refused to fight for independence from Britain because the Soviet Union thought such a struggle might jeopardize the U. S. S. R.'s wartime alliance with England.

Pieter Keuneman, housing minister in the coalition government and leader of the pro-Moscow CP, has attacked the young rebels as "fascist terrorists."

The Soviet Union has sent the Bandaranaike government six MIG-17 fighter planes—complete with flight and ground crews—which are being used to slaughter the insurgents, their supporters, and innocent bystanders uninvolved in the conflict. Eric Pace in the May 8 *New York Times* reports that delivery of 20 Soviet armored cars, two helicopters, and a military training mission is expected shortly.

Mao Tsetung's regime has also refused to support the insurgents in Ceylon and has given diplomatic support to the Bandaranaike government. The April 26 issue of *Selected News Items*, weekly publication of the Peking news agency, Hsinhua, reported that, "Ceylon Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike today [April 18] received Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Ma Tzu-ching.

"They had a cordial and friendly talk."

The Bandaranaike regime issued a denial of Chinese complicity in the insurgent movement, saying that this was a rumor spread by "interested parties anxious to prejudice good relations between Ceylon and China."

Hsinhua's comment on this was: "The Ceylon radio broadcast yesterday a communique issued by the Government of Ceylon refuting malicious rumors aimed at disrupting Ceylon-China relations."

### American CP

By taking the side of the Ceylonese CP and the Soviet Union, the American Communist Party has also been exposed by the events in Ceylon. It has tried to justify the brutal government repression, while repeating slanders about the JVP leveled by the Stalinists and the rest of the coalition government in Ceylon.

In its coverage of the May 27, 1970, Ceylon elections, through which the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition came to power, the May 29 *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the American Communist Party, ran a story with the headline "Left Wins in Ceylon." It said: "Intensified U. S. exploitation of Ceylon steadily widened the gap between rich and poor and led to immense suffering, especially in the



Sirimavo Bandaranaike, prime minister of Ceylon.

countryside. The Communist Party of Ceylon joined with Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP and other groups on the understanding that the United Left Front they formed would work decisively to end this state of affairs." They leave out the fact that this so-called "left" government was based on a program of preserving capitalism in Ceylon.

On April 14 of this year, the *Daily World* tried to cover up for the complicity of the Ceylonese CP in the victimization of the JVP. It said: "Although the U. S. capitalist news media is [sic] now referring to the 'Guevarists' as 'leftists' and 'Marxists,' at the beginning of the revolt it was pointed out [by whom?] that they were unemployed young people with ties to reactionary elements in Ceylon."

The April 9 *Daily World* calls the rebels "terrorist gangs" and quotes Prime Minister Bandaranaike as saying the rebels were "organized by 'reactionary forces' to try to overthrow the United Left Front government of Premier Bandaranaike. It was noted that one of the first attacks the terrorists made was on the Tulhiriya textile factory, 45 miles from Colombo, which was built with aid from the German Democratic Republic."

The Ceylon events have once again exposed the reactionary politics of the Stalinists of both the Moscow and Peking variety and their willingness to participate in the bloody suppression of a movement fighting against a capitalist government.

Some of the best of the new generation of revolutionary-minded Ceylonese youth have unfortunately paid a heavy price in learning this lesson and learning how far the defenders of capitalism will go to preserve their wealth and power. In doing so, however, the Ceylonese youth have written a new and important chapter in the history of the anticapitalist struggle in Ceylon.

It is impossible to tell from afar how strong the revolutionary forces are now, how well some of the crucial lessons of the events of the last year have been absorbed, or what the perspectives for the struggle in the next period may be. Such questions will be answered in time by the Ceylonese revolutionaries themselves.

However, it is clear that the forces represented by the revolutionary-minded youth and the Ceylonese Trotskyists of the LSSP(R) are the only ones that have demonstrated their willingness and capacity to struggle in the interests of the Ceylonese masses. The potential for mobilizing the workers and peasants of Ceylon against the injustices and misery created by the capitalist system remains, and the next stage of the struggle in Ceylon will be built on the experience gained by those who have participated in the recent political battles.



Bala Tampoe, secretary of the Trotskyist LSSP(R) and general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.

By LARRY SEIGLE

If your only source of information about what's going on in this country were the *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the U.S. Communist Party, you would have a very strange view of the April 24 antiwar actions in Washington and San Francisco. You would not have learned of the projected actions until three months after they were called; then you would have received the impression the CP was going all out in support of April 24; and then the enthusiastic articles about "A New Force for Progress" and how "The Majority Marches On," would have left you with the impression that the CP had been among the best builders of April 24 from the beginning.

But this was not the case. Since the CP is hardly in a position to accurately assess its role in the action, we will attempt to set the record straight.

The attitude of the CP toward the antiwar movement, like its attitude toward all the other mass movements, is determined by its support for liberal capitalist politicians in general and the Democratic Party in particular. For example, one of the central reasons the *Daily World* supports the demand for Nixon to "set the date for withdrawal" as opposed to the demand for immediate withdrawal from Indochina is because "set the date" has become the rallying cry for the liberals in Congress.

This stance toward the Democratic Party does not mean that the CP opposes all mass demonstrations against the war. (Neither do the more astute Democratic and Republican party politi-

Action Coalition, which was organizing April 24.

To many who marched on April 24 this may come as a surprise. The CP may be wrong on a lot of questions, but can they be so far off the beam as to place themselves in opposition to the mass movement against U.S. aggression in Indochina? The record is clear. It needs only to be set down in writing.

### Action called

April 24 was called at a national antiwar conference of 1,500 people, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition on Dec. 4-6, 1970, in Chicago. The conference was open to all antiwar groups and individuals, and many forces attended who had previously not participated in NPAC.

The CP declined to attend or participate. A representative of the CP did join a committee from the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (precursor to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice), which tried to convince the leaders of NPAC that it would be preferable if the convention did not issue a call for an antiwar action. The NCAWRR delegation at first indicated that they were considering calling an action in May and didn't want NPAC to set a competing date. When the leaders of NPAC expressed a willingness to set the date for the spring action on May 8, a day that had been mentioned as a possibility by the NCAWRR leaders, the committee from NCAWRR rejected the idea. This response made it clear that what was involved was not a disagreement over a date but a conflict over whether or not there should be a massive antiwar action at all.

On the weekend of Feb. 20-21, the national convention of the Student Mobilization Committee, attended by more than 2,000 student antiwar activists, voted overwhelmingly and enthusiastically to support and help build April 24. At the conference, the Young Workers Liberation League and CP representatives continued to argue against April 24. But, rather than stating their political objections to it, the CP instead supported a motion asking that the 24th be canceled (!) on the grounds that the "new" situation (this was during a time of major escalation including the invasion of Laos) meant that we couldn't wait until April 24 for a demonstration and had to call an emergency action.

The majority of the SMC conference correctly viewed this move as a maneuver to trick the SMC into rejecting April 24 in favor of an action of unspecified character to be organized by some unspecified group on an unspecified date. The conference participants concluded that the best way to respond to the new escalation was to intensify the organizing campaign for April 24, not to call it off.

This growing enthusiasm for April 24 among wide sectors of the American antiwar movement was complemented by a statement issued by Xuan Thuy, ambassador to the Paris peace talks from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Realizing the power that a big antiwar demonstration could have in tying Nixon's hands in Indochina, Xuan Thuy appealed for unity in action among the different U.S. antiwar organizations around the question of the war.

Xuan Thuy's statement was published in part

# The Communist Party and April 24



Washington, D. C., April 24

Photo by Jon Britton

cians.) There are times when mass demonstrations are seen as useful by these people because they help create an atmosphere and political climate of support for liberal "peace" candidates.

However, every mass demonstration directed against the policies of the government is an example of independent political action insofar as it is organized independently of the capitalist political parties. For large numbers of people, mass demonstrations against the war strengthen the concept of action going beyond the limits of capitalist politics, and operate against the continued subordination of masses of people to the capitalist political parties.

It is for these reasons that the CP has always maintained an ambivalent attitude toward mass antiwar actions, and even when participating in them has done everything possible to keep them restricted to terms agreeable to the liberal Democrats. This is especially true at election time.

April 24 was one of the largest political demonstrations ever organized in the U.S. and it was directed squarely against the government *right in the midst of a shooting war being waged by that government*. Coming at a time when a big campaign was being waged by the government and the press to convince everyone that the antiwar movement was dead, that the students were "cooling off," it definitely proved that not only was the antiwar movement alive but it was growing and reaching out to significant social forces in addition to the student movement.

And yet the incontrovertible fact is that the Communist Party actively opposed this demonstration for three full months after it was initially called. Only when it became clear to the entire world that the demonstration was going to be a major event did the CP decide to go along with it, and even then it refused to join the National Peace

The *Daily World* carried not one word about the NPAC convention or its decision. This news blackout on April 24 was not merely a temporary embargo, but lasted for *three months*, during which time the hard work of obtaining initial support, publicity and financial backing for the 24th was done against the opposition of the CP.

At a conference in late January, NCAWRR rejected the idea of organizing a mass, legal and peaceful demonstration for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. Its successor, the People's Coalition, in a statement dated Feb. 5, 1971, explicitly rejected the idea of demonstrations on the central issue of the war as "one-sided" and proclaimed the determination of the PCPJ to "advance beyond marches and rallies" to "sustained nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience." On the basis of this approach, the PCPJ outlined plans for a week of activities beginning on May 2, which were directly counterposed to April 24.

### Momentum builds

But the momentum building up around April 24 by this time was exerting tremendous pressure on the PCPJ and on the CP. The response to the call for a mass protest around the demand "Out Now" obviously surpassed what the CP had anticipated. For example, on Sunday, Feb. 14, an ad appeared in the *New York Times* expressing support for April 24, signed by a very broad list of labor officials, antiwar movement leaders, artists and intellectuals, and by eight members of Congress.

It began to be clear to many forces in the PCPJ that their opposition to the 24th was not going to prevent masses of people from joining it, nor were they going to be able to force NPAC to call off the action.

in the March 2 *Daily World*: "Facing the serious situation as it presents now, I call upon the progressive American people and all antiwar organizations in the United States to unite closely, to associate all forces and strata of the population irrespective of their skin color, religion and political trend, thus making a wide and strong movement so as to curb in time new military adventures by the U.S. administration, to demand an end to their war of aggression in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to demand the withdrawal of all American troops from Indochina and let the Indochinese people settle their own internal affairs.

"Such is the way beneficial to the peoples of Vietnam and Indochina, beneficial to the American people, beneficial to peace in the world."

The *Daily World* commented that the message was "expected to have a persuasive effect in unifying the plans for a spring peace offensive by various sections of the U.S. antiwar movement."

### 24th endorsed

The effect of all these developments was to drive home to the leaders of the PCPJ the fact that a continuation of their boycott of April 24 would so isolate them as to drastically limit their influence and reputation within the antiwar movement both in the U.S. and internationally. It was because of this fact, not because the PCPJ or CP had changed their political views about the effectiveness of mass action against the war, that they finally decided at the end of February to reverse their position and endorse the April 24 actions.

The NPAC leadership quite correctly welcomed their endorsement as a genuine step forward for the antiwar movement and continued NPAC's

Continued on page 22



**From Intercontinental Press**

BOMBAY—On March 25, a new nation of 75,000,000 persons was born in Bangla Desh. Whatever the outcome of the war of liberation that the Bengalis have begun, the myth of a united Pakistan is irretrievably broken. It is the end of a state standing on the solitary leg of religion, without any roots in history, language, ethnic origin, or culture.

In fact, the resolution of the 1940 Muslim League conference in Lahore, which sponsored the concept of Pakistan, acknowledged the impossibility of forging one nation from geographically separated peoples alien to each other in every respect when it enunciated the principle that "geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted . . . that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the Northwestern and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

Bengali nationalism, which was evident from the first in the struggle against West Pakistani attempts to impose Urdu as the sole official language, threw overboard the Muslim League as early as the 1954 general election. The first elected provincial government was formed by a "united front" of the Awami League, the Peasants and Workers party, and Nizami-Islam.

The program of the front called for a "fully autonomous and sovereign" East Bengal that would control all areas except defence, foreign affairs, and currency.

As a result, the popular ministry, which was formed by 97 percent of the legislators, was dismissed by the West Pakistani Centre on May 30, 1954, less than two months after it took office. On May 31, the appointed governor imprisoned many of the "people's tribunes," including Sheik Mujibur Rahman, who had been a minister in the dismissed government.

Thus the total war launched by Yahya Khan on March 25, 1971, had its dress rehearsal nearly seventeen years earlier.

The present unity of the masses of Bengalis was not generated overnight or by superficial causes. The colonial exploitation of East Bengal by the West Pakistani bourgeoisie is evident in the Western domination of the military, the government bureaucracy, and the economy.

While this domination has prevented the development of an independent Bengali capitalist class, it has been felt most severely by the working masses.

Industrial development of Pakistan during the twenty-four years since independence has been hailed by many economists as unprecedented. During the period from 1961 to 1971, per capita income increased 29 percent and the gross national product 73 percent.

But Dr. A. R. Khan of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics has shown that in spite of this increase in per capita income, real wages of workers have decreased 10 percent during the decade. Similarly, a survey by Dr. S. R. Bose of Dacca University demonstrated that real wages of agricultural workers substantially decreased during the period from 1949 to 1966. The decrease was more severe in East Bengal than in West Pakistan.

Another scholar from the same university found that in the four years from 1964-65 to 1968-69, the common people of East Bengal suffered the following decreases in their per

capita allotment: food, 3.2%; edible oil and fat, 34.8%; clothes, 54.2%.

During the years 1963-68, East Bengal accounted for 62.30% of Pakistan's exports but only 33.71% of its imports. Of the foreign loans received from 1961 to 1970, 80% went to the Western wing.

This colonial exploitation has had

This does not mean that a victory of the liberation struggle will strengthen the old state apparatus. Even if the struggle is temporarily defeated, a new Bengali people will emerge from this sea of blood. In the developing people's war, the demands of the exploited will be decisive.

Reports already show that a sizable

# The struggle to liberate Bangla Desh



**Cop goes after Bengali demonstrator during protests in Dacca that forced resignation of Ayub Khan in 1969.**

two important results.

First, numerically weak and very negligible, being deprived of an economic base and governmental power, capitalists of East Bengal have failed to throw up a powerful political leadership that could contain the people's discontent within a constitutional framework.

Secondly, exploitation by the Western wing is so direct and open, and the economic crisis of the masses is so desperately acute, that the struggle for political emancipation of East Bengal is bound to be linked very closely with the fight for freedom from all economic exploitation.

However, not only the masses, but more or less the whole local state apparatus has rallied and is fighting the Pakistani military machine. Hence one must be very careful about blindly applying a formula that arming the people will automatically lead to the abolition of capitalism.

Of course, it is a ray of great hope that arms are coming into the hands of toilers and students. Reports are reaching us that the toiling masses have in many places evolved their own organs, called "Sangram Samiti" (Struggle Committees).

But it would be a mistake to forget that there is not a power vacuum of the sort that would permit the automatic transformation of organs of struggle into organs of power. There is no immediate question of replacing the old state apparatus by the emerging new one. The old state machinery is being destroyed only bit by bit, in the course of the war.

section of the Awami League leadership has crossed over into India, while in some areas of East Bengal, particularly in the northern regions, people are fighting in their own militia units.

Will free Bangla Desh survive?

While categorical assertions are impossible, it appears that the first phase of mass butchery has completely failed to achieve the calculated results. It has, on the contrary, steered the determination of the freedom fighters.

With about 50,000 soldiers currently deployed in East Bengal, Yahya

Khan's army cannot hold the necessary strategic positions: cities, towns, airfields, ports, communication centres, railway stations, bridges, steamer junctions, etc. Experience has shown that the Bengali forces can overcome army units of less than battalion strength, particularly if the latter lack air support, which will be unavailable during the monsoon.

On the other side, the Bengali forces consist of 3,000 members of the East Bengal Regiment; 12,000 from the East Pakistan Rifles; 12,000 to 15,000 Mujahids (Home Guards) and Ansars (Volunteer Corps). They also include those police who survived the initial massacres. More important politically, an unascertained number of student volunteers have gone through brief training and formed guerrilla bands. The Bengali combat strength, however, is not commensurate with its numbers because of the lack of arms and ammunition.

The economy of both wings will break down if the war continues, as it will in all likelihood.

West Pakistan is already in the grip of an economic crisis. Its foreign exchange reserves are nearly exhausted, and it can no longer defer devaluation. During peacetime, Islamabad spent \$5 per capita yearly on the war machine. At least twice as much is required today, not only because of the Bengali rebellion, but also to control other sensitive spots such as the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan. (The demand for an autonomous Sindh Desh has already been raised.)

To add to these difficulties, Islamabad's huge colonial market in Bangla Desh has been sealed off indefinitely.

In East Bengal, acute famine will start very shortly. The region has a chronic food deficit, and the war has stopped internal trade, destroyed food stocks, and driven at least 1,500,000 peasants from their fields into India.

The abnormal conditions in East Bengal will seriously affect the economy and the people of neighboring Indian states. In addition, epidemic or plague is a likely consequence of the lack of medicine, contaminated water, etc. Such an epidemic would not stop at the Indian border.

While Indira Gandhi still refuses to recognise the government of Bangla Desh and to send it needed arms and ammunition, her government cannot escape the consequences of its inaction. The more protracted the war, the more assuredly will the Bengalis establish guerrilla bases in the sympathetic territories of West Bengal and Assam—states that are already among the most explosive in India.

—April 30

## Peking continues aid to W. Pakistan

Weapons, loans and other forms of aid from the Maoist regime in China continue to pour into the coffers of the Yahya Khan regime in Pakistan. The suppression of the national liberation struggle of the Bengali people—in which perhaps 500,000 have already been killed—has placed the Pakistani government in a tight financial situation, but Peking has come to the rescue.

The Associated Press reported April 28, "Western diplomats (in Rawalpindi, West Pakistan) said that they believe China is supplying military equipment to Pakistan and has agreed to outfit new units . . . to replace troops sent to suppress the Awami League in East Pakistan." The dispatch reported that these "replacements" included equipment for a full armored division.

The May 20 New York Times reported, "Last week China pledged a new interest-free loan to Pakistan of about \$20-million, bringing total pledges to date of Chinese aid to about \$307-million. . . ."

"The Chinese presence in Pakistan has acquired special significance since the United States suspended aid in March. (Pro-Yahya Khan) newspapers and government officials daily draw unfavorable comparisons between United States aid policies and those of China."

# JDL moves to forge new alliances

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—In separate announcements less than one week apart, Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the right-wing Jewish Defense League (JDL), declared that his organization was joining forces with two other groups here.

On May 13, Kahane and Joseph A. Colombo Sr., founder of the Italian-American Civil Rights League, held a joint news conference outside a Brooklyn federal court. Five days later, the JDL leader and Dr. Thomas Matthew, Black millionaire who heads the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), summoned newsmen to a "peace conference" at a NEGRO clothing factory where the two men ceremoniously broke bread in front of a catered buffet.

In early January, the JDL capitalized on the trial of 10 Jews in the U. S. S. R. for an alleged airplane hijacking attempt to launch a campaign of open harassment of Soviet diplomats. At first, the authorities allowed the JDL to operate virtually unmolested. But as their harassment campaign attracted worldwide publicity and created diplomatic embarrassment in Washington, the government made a few token moves to curb the activity of the right-wing group.

Kahane founded the group in 1968, together with Betram Zweibon, an attorney. Behind the cover of demagogic rhetoric about "defense" against anti-Semitism, the JDL directs the energies of its mainly young membership into harassing, intimidating and physically attacking those who its leaders define as "enemies" of the Jewish community. In addition to Soviet diplomatic officials, other Soviet citizens, and socialist organizations, these include radical Blacks and Puerto Ricans and antiwar groups.

Kahane is coauthor of the prowar book *The*

*Jewish Stake in Vietnam* and is a virulent racist. "It's one thing to let Blacks have their share," Kahane has said, "but we don't have to bow down and kiss their feet." Racist provocations by gangs armed with clubs, patrolling the Crown Heights and Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn under the guise of "protecting" Jewish residents, were among the first activities organized by the JDL.

On May 5, helmeted JDL goons led a march of 500 people past Brooklyn College, where Kahane and a group of JDLers had provoked a fight with Black students in the college cafeteria the day before.

Since January, the government has filed a number of charges against Kahane and other JDL members. The most serious so far are indictments against the rabbi and six of his followers for conspiracy to violate sections of the 1968 Federal Gun Control Act dealing with the transporting of firearms across state lines and the possession of explosives. These indictments were handed down by a Brooklyn federal grand jury the afternoon of May 12 and the seven JDL members named were arrested the same evening.

At the same time the JDL has faced intensified legal prosecution, it has also suffered increased isolation from moderate Jewish groups and Zionist organizations, most of which had previously affected a rather tolerant attitude toward Kahane despite occasional formal statements disapproving of his "extremist tactics."

The combination of government action and the turning of a cold shoulder by established organizations appears to be what is behind Kahane's search for new alliances. It was right after the hearing at which Kahane obtained release on bail from the conspiracy arrest that he and Colombo announced a policy of mutual support between the JDL and the Italian-American Civil Rights League.

Colombo's group has as much to do with the

"civil rights" of Italian-Americans as the JDL has with the "defense" of Jews against anti-Semitism. Colombo, who is facing trial himself on charges of grand larceny, conspiracy and income-tax evasion, uses the League to mobilize people behind the theory that organized crime is a myth concocted to persecute Italian-Americans. He demagogically takes advantage of the mistaken and prejudiced idea that organized crime exclusively involves persons of Italian or Sicilian national origin to deny the existence of a multimillion-dollar business in gambling, prostitution, illegal drugs and extortion. By utilizing the distaste that Italian-Americans have with being linked to organized crime and because of his own connections to organized crime, he has organized demonstrations to protest the prosecution of racketeers.

It is perfectly logical that the JDL should feel at home in the company of Colombo and his followers. Both groups use demagoguery to attempt to mobilize their respective ethnic communities for reactionary purposes.

An examination of NEGRO and its top man, Dr. Matthew, reveals that the JDL's pact with this organization makes no less sense. A white racist like Kahane could hardly find a better ally to help him mask his racism. Matthew, a supporter of New York's right-wing Conservative Party and of Barry Goldwater for president in 1964, advocates "self-help" and "Black capitalism" as the road to liberation for the African-American people. He provides Black people with an opportunity to participate in "Black capitalism" by selling them shares in the NEGRO enterprises he controls and by exploiting them as workers in those enterprises.

The actions of all three groups belie their names and stated aims, exposing their real character. None of them is really the champion of an oppressed people; all of them are the enemies of oppressed peoples.

## By Any Means Necessary

The May 13 New York Times reported that a federal judge has ordered Local 46 of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers Union to give back pay to Black workers discriminated against by the hiring practices of the union. He also gave the union 20 days to propose "fair and neutral" procedures for assigning workers to construction jobs.

Furthermore, the judge cited the union for contempt of court in not carrying out a previous "consent agreement" to stop racial discrimination in its hiring policies. The federal government was the plaintiff in that action, as it is in the latest.

Local 46 reportedly has only 13 Third World members out of a total of 1,500. The workers are dispersed throughout New York City, and Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester counties in New York State.

The "consent agreement" noted that the union had "the exclusive right to refer men for employment within its work jurisdiction and to require the employers with whom the union has collective bargaining agreements to request the referral of men by the union."

The latest decision stated, "There is a deep-rooted and pervasive practice in this union of handing out jobs on the basis of union membership, kinship, friendship and generally 'pull.'"

So when white (definition of 'pull') students showed up last summer in the hiring halls, they got jobs that earned them thousands of dollars. These students were not only picked over Black students, but over Black workers with families to support. And a lot of these Black workers possessed the necessary skills and experience, unlike the white students.

Although the judge indicated the compensation pay was substantial, there was no concrete plan as to how the Blacks would obtain it. He suggested special hearings where discriminated Black workers could testify. However, it is doubtful that the plaintiff, in this case the government, will take the judge up on that.

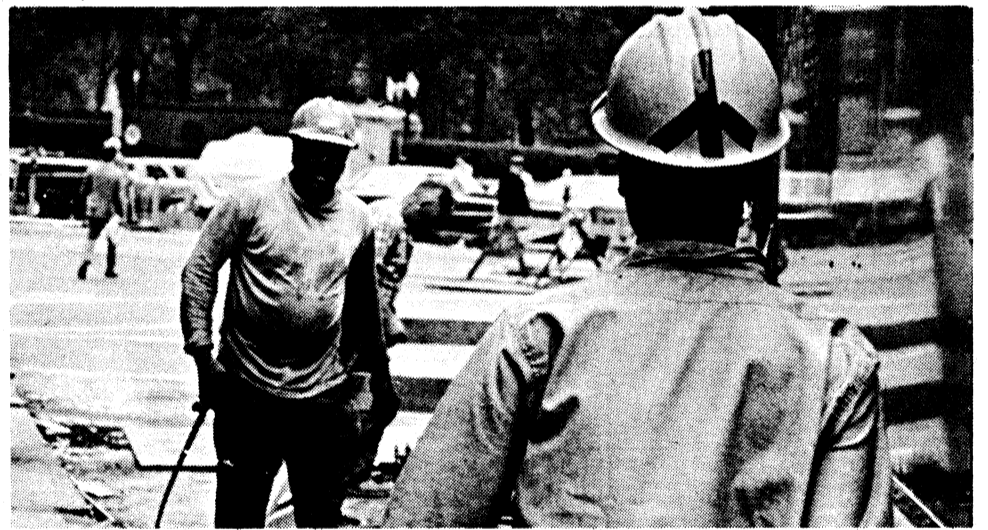
In another instance pointing up how Blacks are last hired and first fired, the NAACP filed suit against the New York Transit Authority, charging discrimination against Black and Puerto Rican workers. The suit charges the TA and Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union with "conspiratorial racial discrimination."

The suit was announced at a May 21 press conference by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Joseph S. Carnegie, chairman of the Rank and File, a group of workers in opposition to the TWU; and Nathaniel R. Jones, NAACP general counsel.

Wilkins said 75 percent of the TA's 49,400 employees were Black and Puerto Rican. This includes 21,000 of the 30,000 TWU members.

The May 22 New York Times reports Carnegie remarking that Blacks and Puerto Ricans are allowed to move freely into jobs as motormen, conductors, bus drivers, and bus maintenance men. They have been excluded, however, from the higher paying post of subway car maintainer. "But it's more than that. . . . The carshops have been kept lily-white because they are the TWU's power base at the Transit Authority."

He said that whites are hired directly for some jobs that Blacks and Puerto Ricans can get only if they first serve in lower capacities. Moreover, the TA recently adopted a "walk-in" hiring policy for 18 months to fill jobs vacated by hundreds of skilled white workers who retired because of improved pension benefits. This action completely bypassed normal civil service procedures and denied promotions to Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Of the 2,000 men hired during



Two of the small number of Blacks in New York City who have succeeded in breaking into the lily-white construction unions.

the "walk-in," only 50 were Third World.

The suit also noted cases of Black and Puerto Rican workers getting less pay than whites for doing the same jobs. The suit is based upon the equal-protection-of-the-laws provision of the 14th Amendment.

The cases above throw some light on why Black unemployment in April stood at 10 percent, compared with 5.6 percent for whites. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, joblessness among Black teen-agers reached 32.1 percent as against 17.2 percent for all teen-agers. These figures reflect part of the price Blacks are paying for U. S. imperialism's adventures in Southeast Asia.

In a late note, on April 7 of this year the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board denied Columbia University permission to operate a small nuclear reactor on Morningside Heights in Harlem.

Members of the ASLB are appointed by the Atomic Energy Commission. This is the first time they have denied a permit to operate a reactor. They pointed to the lack of information about potential hazards to local residents.

When the reactor was being built, several Harlem groups demonstrated against the project and called for a community referendum. The intransigence of Columbia in opposing this demand was one of the issues triggering the 1968 student revolt on the campus.

"Third World Liberation Notes," which has featured information on the oppressed nationalities, has been divided into two columns. "La Raza en Accion," which was launched last week and which we hope will become a regular feature, will concentrate particularly on La Raza. The "By Any Means Necessary" column will be on the African-American struggle. Any suggestions for this column will be appreciated.

—DERRICK MORRISON

# Workers fired upon in Iran

From Intercontinental Press

In the last week of April, according to the May 5 *Le Monde*, Iranian troops opened fire on a demonstration of some 2,000 workers at Karaj, an industrial city forty kilometers west of Teheran. Three workers were killed and a dozen wounded.

At an inquiry, witnesses testified that the troops opened fire when the workers decided to march on the main highway. Employed by the Djahan textile mills, they were demonstrating for an increase in wages.

According to the May 3 *London Times*, the workers "were marching on the capital to demand a larger share in profits. They carried banners in support of the Shah, who introduced profit-sharing into Iranian industry."

The banners carried by the workers are not to be taken as a direct gauge of their attitude toward the shah. A number of incidents could be cited to show that some of the more militant sectors are trying to utilize the shah's demagoguery in furthering their own demands.

For instance, last year at a steel foundry being built with Soviet assistance in central Iran, some workers were laid off on the excuse that they were not needed. They organized a demonstration in which they quoted the shah's statement that "no worker should be without a job." They won.

In another instance, workers near Karaj won an agreement to replace the twelve-hour day with an eight-hour day.

Another example occurred in a strike action. The workers wanted to hold a closed meeting. To assure that they would not be interrupted by the SAVAK (secret political police), they pasted a huge portrait of the shah over the door to the meeting place. When the SAVAK agents arrived, they had to wait for permission from their superiors before tearing down the shah's portrait, breaking down the door, and entering the meeting place.

By the time the SAVAK agents had completed the formalities, the workers had left by another exit.

Besides unrest among the workers, the shah continues to be faced with deepening radicalization among the students.

According to the dispatch from Teheran that appeared in the May 3 *London Times*, the Iranian government may now close the university. With 18,000 students, it is the largest in Iran.

"The riot police, armed with truncheons, shields, gas masks and sub-machine guns, stormed into the university on Saturday evening [May 1] to break up a group of between 400 and 600 students who were chanting anti-Government slogans and support for 'the victims of Siah Kal,'" the *Times* reported.

"Bystanders, including girls and lecturers, as well as those who had taken part, were clubbed by the police and about 250 students were arrested. A number were released but more people, including some lecturers, are reported to have been detained for questioning."

Siah Kal, the *Times* continues, is the small village near the Caspian shore in the north of Iran where fighting broke out "between Maoist-led guerrillas and the police" two months ago. "The guerrillas sustained heavy casualties and 13 were executed by firing squad."

# 'People's Assembly' in Bolivia

From Intercontinental Press

"Bolivia's organized workers seized upon May Day to install Latin America's first 'people's assembly' in La Paz yesterday amid celebrations which echoed across the continent," Richard Wigg, correspondent of the *London Times*, reported from Buenos Aires May 2.

"The idea of anything resembling workers' soviets and a further move to the revolutionary left in Latin America's 'southern cone' inevitably brings a shiver of fear to all right-wing forces, especially in Argentina and Brazil," Wigg continued; "but in Chile, where a Marxist Socialist Government is in power, the workers were told by President Salvador Allende that everyone must tighten his belt, working harder without making 'exaggerated' wage demands.

"President Juan José Torres joined in the early stages of the May Day march through the Bolivian capital, which ended with the organized workers, peasants, and students shouting: 'Arms for the people,' 'Death to imperialism,' and demanding a 'socialist Bolivia.'"

"General Torres, who leads a six-month-old Government pledged to 'revolutionary nationalism' (which stops some way short of outright socialism) had on Friday revoked the concession held by a United States group of companies for working Bolivia's big Matilde zinc mine.

"The 'people's assembly,' devised by the Bolivian Confederation of Labour under Señor Juan Lechin, the veteran tin miners' leader, has installed itself in the Bolivian Congress building, left vacant since a military coup in 1969.

"The clear intention of the forces behind the assembly is that it should exercise pressure upon the military Government, but President Torres last week said that the body had no constitutional power for him. He repeated his regime's promise for subsequent elections to a National Assembly in which all classes would find their legitimate representation.

"The people's assembly has allocated 60 per cent of the seats to trade unionists. The remnants of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (M. N. R.), which made the 1952 revolution, are excluded, being regarded now as too far to the right."

From the dispatch, it is difficult to judge the precise meaning of this development. Juan Lechin, often described in the past as the "John L. Lewis of Bolivia," is notorious for his socialist demagoguery and his real policy of class collaboration. It would be quite in character for him to head a popular move of the kind described in order to betray it.

By the same token, it is clear that the revolutionary upsurge in Bolivia is continuing and that the question of governmental power is coming to the fore.

That is why General Torres is, of course, opposed to acknowledging even the existence of such a body as a "People's Assembly" that stakes its own claim to wielding government power.

# Mexico exiles six students

From Intercontinental Press

MEXICO CITY—On April 28 the Echeverría government exiled another six of the student leaders imprisoned in Lecumberri. The six—Tomás Cervantes Cabeza de Vaca, Sócrates Amado Campos, Carlos Martín del Campo, José Taidee Aburto, Marco Antonio Avila Cadena, and the teacher Fausto Trejo—were sent to Uruguay.

Thus, within two days, twelve students have been forced into indefinite exile. On April 27, another six students, making up the nucleus of the leadership of the CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council], which led the 1968 struggles, were taken abruptly from Lecumberri and flown to Peru.

This group included Raúl Alvarez, Saúl Alvarez, Luis González de Alba, Gilberto Guevara, Eduardo Valle Espinoza, and Federico Emery.

Yesterday, April 30, the Comité Coordinador de Comités de Lucha de la UNAM, del IPN, de Chapingo, y de la Universidad Iberoamericana [Coordinating Committee of the Struggle Committees of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional, of the Chapingo Agricultural School, and the Iberoamericana University]—called the COCO for short—held a press conference in which it stated its position on a series of subjects. These included the struggle in Nuevo León, where students in the state capital of Monterrey are leading a major mass mobilization against the local government, the release of the political prisoners, the struggle of the Colombian students, and the educational reform, as well as other subjects.

The COCO representatives discussed the case of the recently released political prisoners because the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party] members imprisoned in Lecumberri issued a press release criticizing the students just sent into exile and four of their own comrades sent into exile two weeks previously. These four PCM student leaders—Pablo Gómez, Arturo Zama, and two others—were suspended from the PCM for "accepting" exile.

The COCO expressed the opinion that it was not the compañeros forced into exile who committed the political error but those who criticized them. "With all due respect," the COCO stated, "we disagree with the view of these imprisoned compañeros [of the PCM] and give a vote of confidence to the political prisoners in accepting whatever they think it convenient to accept, and to our released compañeros."

The student movement is reorganizing on the basis of the new feeling of strength it has gained from the most recent events. The COCO has begun the enormous job of preparing for a congress of Mexican students, and foresees the possibility of creating a national student organization.

The press conference was highly democratic. A large crowd packed the School of Medicine auditorium where the meeting was held. Those representatives of the Juventud Comunista [Communist Youth] who were upset by the harsh public criticism to which their party and the Communist political prisoners were subjected had ample opportunity to express their opposing views, although these were not shared by the majority of the assembly.

# Quebec socialist harassed

MAY 17—John Lejderman, a 23-year-old laboratory technician in a Montreal pharmaceutical company, has brought suit against members of the Montreal Police Department who have been participating in a campaign to harass him. The suit seeks compensation for damages to his reputation and to his personal belongings, as well as an injunction forcing the police to return the property they seized during a search of his apartment.

The warrant the police used in their search of Lejderman's apartment May 5 stated that the purpose was to uncover "writings, tracts, books, etc., calling for rebellion against the government of Canada. . . ." Among the personal belongings seized by the police was Lejderman's passport. During the search, he was held in custody at the police station, and a friend of his in the apartment was not allowed to even make a list of the items the police took.

The detective in charge of the search manhandled Lejderman when he asked to see the search warrant before answering any questions. Following the assault, the detective had Lejderman detained in the police station for two hours.

This incident was not the only case of police harassment of Lejderman. On April 28, the police searched the home of Arthur Young, a friend of Lejderman, with a warrant "to find John Lejderman." According to Young, a leader of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, the police spent a half hour rooting through his personal papers and questioned his landlord.

On April 26, Lejderman's job was endangered by the activities of the same detective who had overall responsibility for the May 5 search. This cop had Lejderman called into his boss' office on that day and then proceeded to accuse him, in front of his boss, of being a member of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ), the terrorist group that for six months was outlawed by the Canadian government until the special laws banning it were allowed to lapse at the end of April. A telegram to the minister of justice protesting this harassment brought promises that an inquiry would be undertaken.

"A reasonable basis for suspecting me of criminal activity must exist for a search warrant to be issued," Lejderman stated. "If as a result of my legitimate political activities for an independent and socialist Quebec, I am suspected of criminal activities. . . I believe that this suit will unmask the hypocrisy of the government's claim that it has dropped its special laws, while in fact the harassment of all dissent continues unabated."

# Israeli atrocities in Gaza Strip



Khan Yunis, a city in the Gaza Strip, is under constant patrol by Israeli soldiers.

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 21 — Several Lebanon-based groups, including the Arab Women's Information Committee, the Fifth of June Society, the Lebanese Women's Council and the Friends of Jerusalem have initiated a Gaza Solidarity Day Committee and called for an international day of solidarity with the people of Gaza on June 6.

The Gaza Strip was part of the Arab section of the 1948 United Nations partition of Palestine. Administered by Egypt until the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, it has since then been occupied by Israel.

A letter from the Gaza Solidarity Day Committee documents the harsh curfews the Zionists have imposed on

Gaza. "In 1970, Gaza was under curfew for 3,708 of the 8,760 hours in a year—slightly less than one-half of the year. This refers to curfews imposed on the whole of the Gaza Strip, not to additional hours imposed on individual villages and towns in the strip."

The Winter 1971 issue of *Middle East Resistance*, published by supporters of the Palestinian struggle in Boston, carries an interview with an Israeli soldier who served in the occupation forces in Gaza. He describes what often goes on during a "curfew."

Frequently, "people are not merely confined to their homes, but the following happens. The female population remain shut in their houses, which

sometimes, especially during the summer, can be a very painful form of torture, since the houses in Gaza are often without water or sanitary facilities and the people are usually given only half-an-hour or an hour in 24 hours to drink water or to relieve themselves.

"However, the male population is taken out to some place far away—often in the desert—and is usually divided into two groups: younger men of about 25, and those older than this. . . . Each group is then pressed each to another as closely as possible and made to adopt a humiliating, uncomfortable physical posture.

"The usual posture is squatting on their haunches. . . . They are then told to remain in this position for long periods of time—usually eight, nine or 10 hours—without changing it.

"This is not a special repressive measure, but is used continually, especially in refugee camps. . . ."

The Israeli ex-soldier reports that Arab workers in the Gaza Strip receive 2.4 Israeli pounds a day (75 cents), while the lowest-paid Jewish worker in the strip receives 45 pounds per day and semiskilled and skilled workers receive between 65 and 125 pounds per day.

The interview described how people are tortured by the Zionists. People are tied with electrical cords. ". . . by tying them tightly, it may be possible to slow the stream of blood in the arteries so that an affected limb becomes gangrenous in a few hours.

"The person who is tied up knows that his limb will be gangrenous and that after a certain time, it will have to be amputated. It [is] . . . easy to find in the Gaza area and in North

Sinai people who have hands and feet amputated for that reason. . . ."

A fact sheet, "The Horrors of Gaza Must Cease," published Jan. 23 by the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, details further atrocities. The fact sheet points out that orders by Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan were so brutal that regular Israeli troops refused to carry them out and shock troops—the Israeli "Border Guards," also known as the "Green Berets"—had to be sent in.

"The Green Berets who patrol the Gaza Strip are equipped, in addition to their weapons, with clubs or whips. They stop inhabitants, beat them savagely, literally break their bones, in order to scare them. They use whips on people as one uses them on beasts. The cruel beating and whipping causes many inhabitants to run away as soon as they see Green Berets."

The fact-sheet describes the sexist behavior of these Israeli storm-troopers: "They usually strip women naked under the pretext of a 'search,' and stand them nude or almost nude against a wall. In the same way they treat a busful of nurses on the way to the hospital. In the same manner, they acted in the main streets. After the international factors this maltreatment on main streets ceased, but it continues in side streets. Jewelry of the women are robbed in bright daylight and the few belongings of poor families are savagely shattered and destroyed."

The June 6 action provides an opportunity for supporters of the Palestinian resistance to publicize the real role of Zionist savagery. The Gaza Solidarity Committee can be reached at P. O. Box 320, Beirut, Lebanon.

## Bejar supports Peru's junta

Héctor Béjar, one of the leaders of the 1965 guerrilla struggle in Peru, has decided to support the capitalist government of Lieutenant General Juan Velasco Alvarado. His decision and his reasons for this capitulation were announced in a *Prensa Latina* dispatch April 10. The English translation of the dispatch appeared in the May 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

*Prensa Latina* asked Béjar the direct question: "Definitively: Do you or do you not openly support the Revolutionary Military Government?" Béjar replied:

"To the workers and students who believed in the guerrillas as a hope for the salvation of Peru, I must tell them with absolute frankness and clearness that I do support this process, and not because of opportunism or any sinecure. I support it because it is a stage of transformation, which, in order to reach culmination, requires the participation of the people and of all the revolutionaries, because a revolution can begin without the people, but it cannot fully culminate without them."

Held in San Quintín prison since his arrest in Lima in 1966, Béjar was among the political prisoners released by an amnesty issued by General Velasco Dec. 21, 1970. The amnesty covered about 100 prisoners, including Ricardo Gadea and Peru's most prominent revolutionary figure, the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco.

Béjar's decision to go over to the side of the government was handled

by the communications media as sensational news. The next sensational item, in all likelihood, will be a reciprocal gesture by the regime by way of thanks.

Béjar gained wide fame when his book *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience* was awarded the Casa de las Américas prize for 1969. The Cuban award assured broad circulation for the book and it has been translated into various languages, including English.

The book was noteworthy for the critical attitude taken by the author toward the guerrilla experience in Peru. The defeat made a deep impression on him, and his essay was mostly an effort at probing the reasons for the failure.

In his book, Béjar acknowledged the importance of Hugo Blanco's leadership of the peasant struggle in the early 1960s, and the probability that the revolution could have been won at that time if the left as a whole had come to Blanco's support. Among other things, the deep-seated prejudices against Trotskyism created by the Communist Party stood in the way.

Despite the many accurate criticisms of the guerrilla struggle in Peru made by Béjar, he did not draw the logically indicated conclusions. He disagreed with Blanco's policy of attempting to draw the peasants into the struggle as a mass force by extending their unions and organizing militias to engage in defensive battles that could have led to a struggle for power.

Béjar's lack of appreciation, or his wrong appreciation, of the role a combat party can play in the revolutionary struggle helped to pave the way for his capitulation to the Velasco regime. His switch to 180 degrees—from viewing armed struggle per se as a surefire method of winning a revolution, to backing a military politician at the head of a bourgeois regime—is not as illogical as it seems. In both instances, Béjar dismissed the alternative of building a mass revolutionary party. It was thus demonstrated once again how ultraleftism can change into opportunism.

In this instance, the conversion is all the more dramatic in that the fighter who held that the Peruvian armed forces constituted the main instrument of repression and chief obstacle to the revolution, and who took up arms to defeat them—only to be captured and imprisoned—now bows to those very same armed forces and declares that they are performing a revolutionary mission. Béjar's explanation for this is illogical in the extreme—the most reactionary instrument of the capitalist state became the most progressive because the other instruments were weaker!

Béjar's turn is in line with the position on the Peruvian regime voiced by Fidel Castro; namely, that a "revolutionary process" is occurring in Peru, although not a "Marxist-Leninist revolution." While the Cuban government is duty bound to take advantage of every opening to break the

imperialist blockade of the Cuban revolution, it is injurious to that revolution to sow illusions in a regime like the one in power in Peru today.

Velasco is playing a shrewd political game. The concessions he has granted to the masses, including some blows against U.S. imperialism, are sufficient to gain considerable prestige—if not a revolutionary aura—for his regime among the peasants and workers.

One of Velasco's main objectives is to disarm the left. Through his reforms he hopes to dazzle the figures that have struggled for years, often in the most heroic way, against the Peruvian oligarchy and its imperialist backers. His objective is to win them over completely by opening up positions for them.

If they accept, his regime gains in its efforts to create a revolutionary image. More importantly, they are thus trapped into sharing the political responsibility for what he does or does not do.

In the long run, as Velasco is well aware, the reforms will not succeed. A new crisis will face the country. When this happens, those former revolutionaries who decided to support his regime will stand discredited. They will be unable to provide revolutionary leadership to the masses.

In short, Velasco's objective is to decapitate the left and leave the masses without leadership when the next big social and political crisis breaks out in Peru.

# In Review

## Books

**An End To Silence** by William Barlow and Peter Shapiro. Bobbs-Merrill Co. New York, 1971. 330 pp. \$6.95.

The November 1968-April 1969 Third World strike at San Francisco State College still stands as the longest student strike in the history of the United States. At its height, 80 percent of the campus was shut down. Successfully organizing support from a broad range of off-campus Third World community groups, its demands and militancy inspired other campus strikes of oppressed nationalities throughout the country. It gave rise to a parallel strike by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), an action that was backed by organized labor throughout the San Francisco Bay Area. In addition, it signed a mutual aid pact with the oil workers, who were also on strike at the time.

*An End to Silence*, written by two student activists, is an important attempt to describe not only that historic strike but the dynamics of the student movement during the 1960s. Some of the material included in the book was produced by the authors during the strike itself, as they attempted to document the racism of California's system of "higher education." The research they undertook was their main contribution to the strike.

In the early 1960s, California's Master Plan for Higher Education was heralded as a model for how to build a rational educational system. Many Californians believed the plan provided nearly free education for all who wanted it. But Barlow and Shapiro rip away the myth to reveal how the plan merely refined institutionalized racism and forced the taxpayer to foot the bill for educating highly skilled workers to meet the growing needs of the corporations.

One of the most interesting sections of the book to me personally deals with the earliest forms of political activity at San Francisco State. I was an undergraduate there in the late 1950s. For those of us brought up on Cold War propaganda, the discovery that America was not a democracy was a frightening and isolating experience. The book describes the two events that stand out in my memory of my last year at San Francisco State: the execution of Caryl Chessman and the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in 1960.

But although the authors document that early period of radicalization, they fail to understand the one central event that quickened its pace: the Vietnam war. Failing to appreciate the importance of the issue of the war, they do not appreciate the key role that the movement against it has played in promoting the student radicalization and in showing how to organize mass struggles most effectively.

Although the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) began at San Francisco State in the fall of 1965, in order to coordinate the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest (one of the successful activities of which was a teach-in attended by 1,000), the book fails to even mention the VDC actions. The authors make the mistake of equating all student activists with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

While campus referendums overwhelmingly demonstrated that San Francisco State College students supported immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, SDS—heavily dominated by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)—was a barrier to mobilizing antiwar sentiment. In 1968, a leading SDS member told me that the antiwar movement was dead. Yet at that very time the San Francisco State Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) helped to organize the first demonstration in the country led by active-duty GIs! The SMC, which has organized or helped organize antiwar and antidraft activity at San Francisco State since it was founded in 1967, is never discussed.

The authors, though critical of SDS, unconsciously accept much of the political perspective of that organization. In one crucial case, they assume that since SDS talked about a "student-worker alliance," SDS must receive credit for "educating" the campus community for the alliance the students made with teachers and oil workers in the course of the strike. But in fact, SDS-PLP actually opposed both pacts.

Despite all the background they provide, Barlow and Shapiro are not able to explain the central

question one must ask about the Third World strike: Given the broad support the strike received, and given the political mistakes the college administration made, why did the strike suffer such a crushing defeat? Why were the 700 students arrested in the course of the strike unable to create a committee to defend themselves from the frame-up charges?

Barlow and Shapiro see the inability of the Strike Support Committee to actively recruit and organize potential student support as the major strike weakness, but they do not explain why this occurred. Although the committee was open to anyone who supported the strike demands, SDS-PLP constantly attempted to slander the other groups within the coalition. They bureaucratically attempted to impose their particular analysis of the demands upon the committee (although their analysis changed twice during the strike). PLP-SDS branded as "racists" the Young Socialist Alliance, the growing opposition caucus within SDS, and those who worked in the tutorial programs, in an effort to drive these strike supporters from the committee. This sectarianism seriously weakened the attempts to have a united strike support committee.

The major tactical weakness of the strike was the announcement that the 15 demands were "non-negotiable." The Third World leadership correctly

700 arrested, I am most concerned with what activists and revolutionaries can learn from that five-month struggle. The inexperience of the leadership, the sectarianism of SDS, the antidemocratic practices, the failure to mobilize the support that existed, the inability to build a defense committee for those arrested—all of these drive home the crucial importance of strike leadership. A dynamic and democratic leadership could have won a partial victory and prevented the demoralization of a whole layer of student activists. Politically, the failure rests on the misleadership of SDS-PLP and the abstentionist attitude of the Black Panther Party, an organization that made no effort to build the strike, although the defense of one of its own members (George Murray) was one of the strike's objectives.

Another aspect of the failure of the strike leadership to project a winning strategy was its attitude toward women strikers. Rather than encourage women to fully participate in all aspects of the strike, the male leadership expected women to play secondary roles. The assumption of these stereotyped roles undercut the level of support many women wanted to give. Ideas women suggested were often not seriously considered unless men began to advocate them. Third World sisters told me they too faced this difficulty in Third



Confrontation between students and police during strike at San Francisco State College.

wanted to point out that the thrust of the demands—the right of the Third World community to control its education—was a strike principle. But the tactical stance of raising non-negotiable demands trapped the strike. First of all, few students and community people really believed that the demands were non-negotiable. If you can't back them up with the necessary power, even the best demands can be defeated, or at most only partially won. Second, this position undercut the opportunity to mobilize massive support when Reagan announced his refusal to negotiate with the students. As it was, he was able to appear to be no more uncompromising than the strike leadership had been.

The YSA proposed for the beginning of January a week of solidarity actions during which students from throughout California could join the picket lines or hold massive rallies on their own campuses. That proposal carried in a regional campus meeting. A call went out, and throughout the state students began to organize. But PLP unleashed an attack on the YSA. The Third World leaders, thinking the issue to be simply a factional struggle between two political groups, tried to smooth over the conflict. Not seeing what was at stake, they gave in to PLP and called off solidarity actions.

Although the authors were participants in the struggle, they are unable in their skimpy evaluative section to project the lessons of the San Francisco State strike. They avoid, rather than evaluate, the major political debates over strike strategy within the Third World Liberation Front and the Strike Support Committee. As a result, their book seems out of focus. It has enough details to follow the events but not enough texture or analysis for one to clearly see the issues involved.

As a participant in the strike and as one of the

World planning meetings,

Yet, while this backwardness undoubtedly had a negative effect on the outcome of the strike, it did set the stage for many women to become aware of the deep-rooted oppression women face within this society. Out of the discussions that came in the aftermath of the strike, a section of the feminist movement in the San Francisco area was born. However, the authors of *An End to Silence* do not take up the impact the strike had on other campuses and other movements.

Eventually the mistakes made in the course of the strike caught up with the movement, and the leadership was forced into negotiations from a position of weakness. With 700 arrests and no clear defense strategy, the strike leadership found itself trapped by its own ultraleft rhetoric. There are many occasions in which militant strikers are forced to call off an action. Such a situation calls for clearly outlining the problem, being absolutely honest in evaluating the strike, and preventing demoralization of the participants by organizing the necessary defense of those arrested. Had the leadership continued to build a mass movement to secure the implementation of the demands the strike did win, as well as the freeing of the 700, San Francisco State College President Hayakawa's failure to live up to the signed agreement could have led to another strike.

The dynamism unleashed by the San Francisco State College strike not only inspired other campuses, but educated a significant section of the population about the right of oppressed nationalities to control their own lives. Barlow and Shapiro appreciate the gains of the Third World strike at San Francisco State more fully than they understand and evaluate its failures.

—DIANNE FEELEY

# Sixth judge quits Davis-Magee trial

By ROBIN DAVID

SAN RAFAEL, Calif., May 24 — It took less than one and one-half hours before Superior Court Judge Richard Arnason, the sixth judge to preside over the Angela Davis-Ruchell Magee murder, kidnap, conspiracy frame-up, to announce that he would "have no further part in the proceedings" and that he was "turning the case over to the presiding judge."

Minutes after the trial opened in the Marin County courthouse, Magee insisted that proceedings be halted pending a decision on his petition to have the trial removed to federal court. Arnason ignored Magee's motion and tried to move on.

"You are driving over my rights," Magee interrupted with quiet dignity, and then moved to disqualify Arnason for prejudice. He charged that "a state-wide conspiracy, including Judge Arnason, state officials, the governor, the police, prison authorities. . . and other white racists, exists" to keep him "enslaved illegally" and to send him to the gas chamber.

Prosecutor Albert Harris Jr. was

well-prepared for Magee's third attempt to remove a judge. He charged that the motions contained only conclusions, no facts, and that the court could therefore ignore them.

The debate that followed clearly revealed that Magee, who the state contends can't defend himself because of his supposedly less than 75 I.Q., is in full command of the law and more than able to wage his own defense. Arnason admitted the strength of the defense motion, and recessed the trial until the presiding judge of Marin County could rule on the prejudice motion.

The various defense motions and petitions are read by Magee before the court, and no attempt is made to stop him. He refers to himself as "my client, Mr. Magee."

The court-appointed defense lawyer, Ernest L. Graves, appears to support rather than advise Magee. He "reluctantly concurred" in the challenge to the previous judge, Alan Lindsay. In his opening statement this morning he asked the record to show that Magee objected to the motions Graves

had filed on his behalf. His last remarks today were to ask the record to show that Magee sat quietly, chained to his chair, and at no time were there any outbursts. This was probably done to protect Magee from frequent press references like "Magee shouted."

The 110 seats were filled with spectators and press. Some waited outside the courtroom. When Judge Arnason announced the final recess, almost the entire crowd—including some of the press—clapped. Clenched fists and shouts of "right on" were made. Defendants returned the greetings.

Magee's defense strategy—so far highly effective—is to prevent any proceedings on the state level until his petition to remove the case to the 9th Circuit U. S. Court of Appeals has been ruled on.

If found guilty of the charges against him, he would face a mandatory death penalty because he is a convicted felon. Magee maintained his innocence in the earlier case and charges gross irregularities in his con-

viction. He accuses the state and the courts of conspiring to "illegally enslave and murder" him by hiding evidence, altering the court record, denying him his right to defend himself, and denying him his right to appeal by ruling him no longer a pauper. "Using fraud to hide fraud" is how Magee termed it.

Just before the final recess, the chief defense counsel for Angela Davis, Howard Moore Jr., tried in vain to get some action on his pending pre-trial motion to dismiss the indictments without cutting across Magee's challenge to the whole proceedings.

Magee contested the court's authority to act until his challenge is settled. He also sharply criticized Moore, advising, "You overlook the remedy. . . of habeus corpus." The habeus corpus "remedy" would reveal that there is no case against either defendant, Magee said, by exposing the fact that there is no evidence. He alleged that Moore has not taken the case to the American people, and is "putting on a show" with someone's life.

## ...GIs

Continued from page 1

through regularly established distribution outlets, under appropriate contractual agreements, or as prescribed by law or regulation. . . Applications for exceptions shall be submitted in writing prior to the date of the proposed distribution describing the method of distribution proposed and including a copy of the publication or publications involved."

"After duty that evening," Jurenas continued, "a number of us got together and began collating the paper. Since the word about the paper was out, a great many GIs picked up copies of the paper and within a short time they were all over the post."

The following morning, Jurenas was hauled out of the shower by the chief of CID on post, and told that his locker was to be searched. "They were mainly interested in the political things," Jurenas explained. "They took political newspapers and magazines, address books, personal letters that they felt had a political character, and source materials that had been used to prepare the *Arsenal*. They also took several dozen sealed, stamped and addressed envelopes containing copies of the paper that were to be sent to other GI organizations throughout the country." In violation of Army regulations, they refused to give Jurenas a receipt for the confiscated materials.

"They went through the post, seizing any copies of the *Arsenal* they found around. They took them off beds, off desks, even out of desk drawers, and off the walls."

Following this illegal search and seizure, and after Jurenas had refused to answer questions without a lawyer present, he was relieved of his MP duties and since then has worked painting and hauling wood.

During the past few days, CID agents have continuously been calling GIs in for questioning, and at least one other soldier has been reassigned. Jurenas has been told that court-martial charges are being prepared against him, but the nature of the charges has not been divulged. The CID investigation is still underway.

One of the most flagrant uses of police-state measures here has been the use of wiretapping and other electronic surveillance techniques. At least two GIs with personal knowledge of these practices have made sworn statements to Jurenas' defense attorney. Many other GIs with firsthand knowledge of wiretaps used by CID have

expressed willingness to testify if the case should ever come to trial. The brass here has claimed that Army regulations give the post commander the right to use wiretaps, and it is likely that this will become a major issue in the case.

The CID's arbitrary tactics have thrown the post into turmoil and greatly increased interest in and support for the *Arctic Arsenal*. The few hundred copies still available on post are being passed around and are very well received.

What are the GIs planning to do? First, of course, if Jurenas or anyone else is brought before a court-martial, GIs all over post will come to his defense, and a constitutional challenge will be made to the Army regulations themselves.

Second, in compliance with the Ft. Greely regulation recently promulgated, dozens of GIs plan to formally request authorization to distribute the *Arsenal*. In a request to be delivered tomorrow, the GIs state:

"In accordance with Ft. Greely supplement 12 AR 210-10, page 5-2, paragraph 5-5, subparagraph 5-5b, *Protection of Loyalty, Discipline, and Morale*, the undersigned, stationed at Ft. Greely, request authorization to distribute *Arctic Arsenal* No. 1, May 1971, on the Ft. Greely Military Reservation.

"We call to your attention AR 210-10, page 5-2, paragraph 5-5, subparagraph 5-5b: 'Installation commanders will encourage and promote the availability to service personnel of books, periodicals, and other amusement media which present a wide range of viewpoints on public issues. Such media should include those emphasizing the standards of loyalty, patriotism and discipline which are common to the Armed Forces. However, installation commanders will not, except as provided in this paragraph, take action to control or restrict the dissemination of publications, even if such publications are believed to be in poor taste or unfairly critical of government policies or officials. The installation commander will be guided by the principle that, except in cases in which a publication constitutes a clear danger to military loyalty, discipline or morale, military personnel are entitled to the same free access to publications as are other citizens.'

"The *Arctic Arsenal* expresses the antiwar views and sentiments of a significant section of the citizens of the United States, both civilian and in uniform. It discusses in a responsible manner the war and other topics

which are also covered in such readily obtainable commercial publications as: *Army Times*, *Playboy*, *U. S. News*, and others.

"Distribution will be accomplished by enlisted and officer personnel during off-duty hours only.

"Distribution will begin on Friday, 28 May 1971.

"Distribution will take place at the following places: billeting areas and family quarters, post theater, post exchange, post snack bar, arts and crafts shop, NCO open mess, officers' open mess, post chapel, bowling alley, teen club, and building T-100 during special events."

A copy of the *Arctic Arsenal* was included with the application.

However, even if this request is granted and no court-martials are held, the GIs are planning to bring formal charges against the officers who ordered wiretaps and illegal

searches and seizures. Army regulations grant the right to any GI to bring charges against any member of the Army who violates the law.

In the meantime, plans are well underway for a second issue of *Arctic Arsenal*. Articles are being turned in from GIs all over the post in response to the attempts by the brass to crack down on free speech.

Because of the isolation here at Ft. Greely, Jurenas said, "It is particularly important that the GIs here receive support from civilians and GIs elsewhere. We are asking for messages of protest to be sent to: Col. Powers, Post Commandant, Ft. Greely, Alaska, APO Seattle 98733, and to Gen. James Hollingsworth, Commanding General, United States Army Headquarters, Alaska, APO Seattle 98749." Copies should also be sent to *Arctic Arsenal*, P.O. Box 312, Delta Junction, Alaska 99737.

## THE ARCTIC ARSENAL

PUBLISHED BY AND FOR GIs AT FT. GREELY, ALASKA

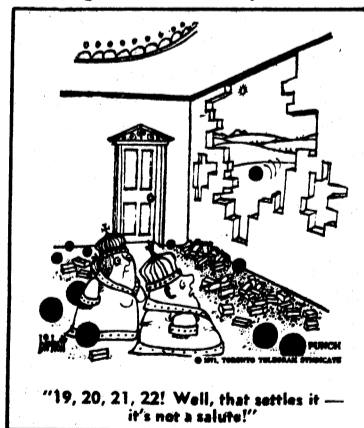
Number 1

P.O. Box 312 Delta Junction, Alaska 99737

May 1971

## FTA AT FT. GREELY

Tired of having Ft. Greely's official lifer newspaper, the *Buffalo*, tell you how great things are in the Army? Interested?



### Biggest Protest Ever

The April 24th antiwar marches in Washington D.C. and San Francisco proved to be the largest this country has yet seen. Estimates by official and unofficial sources put the outpouring of marchers at over 500,000 in D.C. and over 300,000 in San Francisco.

For the first time in the history of the campaign to end the Vietnam fiasco, students were joined by thousands of labor unionists, oppressed minority groups, GIs, and Vietnam veterans. All joined together to demand an immediate end to the war. The

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in something besides such news as how the post laundry is operated, what lifer got promoted, or who the MPs picked for courteous driver of the week? If so, file your copy of the *Buffalo* in the appropriate place and read on.

The *Arctic Arsenal* is your newspaper—written by and for GIs on this post. It will be a storehouse of facts and opinions which you, the GI, can use. It won't lie like the Pentagon and White House do. We definitely will express our opinions, but our facts will be facts—taken from reliable news sources. In short, the *Arctic Arsenal* will be a weapon to use against an Army which distorts the lives of us all, if it doesn't get us killed first.

The *Arsenal* is committed to several principles. We are tired of phoney promises from phoney politicians and generals. We want an immediate end to the war in Southeast Asia! We think the draft should be abolished now! We oppose any further military involvement overseas!

The *Arsenal* is for the troops. We believe in free speech for GIs! We are citizen-soldiers and demand all democratic rights guaranteed us by the U.S. Constitution! We are human beings and want to be treated that way!

The *Arctic Arsenal* will need your support. Give us suggestions on how to make the paper better. Send us your letters and speak your mind about Ft. Greely, the Army, or personal experiences. Take out a subscription and help get the paper around. With your help we can make each issue bigger and better than the last.

The Army has its weapons, but we have an arsenal. Use it. FTA!

THIS PAPER IS YOUR PERSONAL PROPERTY. NO ONE MAY LEGALLY TAKE IT FROM YOU.

# 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.

## AUSTIN, TEXAS

The Austin Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will conduct a Socialist Summer School June 1-July 30. It will cover *The History of the Russian Revolution, In Defense of Marxism and The Revolution Betrayed*. Tuesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m., U of Texas Student Union. Registration: \$5 for entire school or 50 cents per session. For further information, call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

## CHICAGO

**MILITANT LABOR FORUM.** A weekly forum on topics of revolutionary interest, including women's liberation, antiwar, labor and socialist movements. Fridays, 8 p.m. at 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students, 75c. Phone 641-9408 for details.

## DETROIT

**THE ATTACK ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party; James Lafayette, National Peace Action Coalition coordinator. Fri., June 4, 8 p.m. at 3737 Woodward Ave. Admission: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

# ...HISC

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exercise their rights to peacefully protest the policy of this government."

At the May 21 news conference, NPAC Coordinator Jerry Gordon stated, "Ichord's chief claim is that there are Trotskyists in NPAC. That's true, and so what?" Gordon answered the charges of Trotskyist "domination" by pointing out that NPAC, "the most broadly representative antiwar formation ever established . . . is 'dominated' by the majority vote cast at its conventions" which set policy and elect officers.

Gordon pointed out that those who sign checks for NPAC are merely performing an administrative function assigned by the NPAC coordinators and Steering Committee, to which they are responsible. Gordon said that HISC's red-baiting is an attempt to distract the attention of the American people from "the war and its attendant domestic consequences— inflation, the

dollar crisis, rising unemployment, exacerbated racism and poverty. . . . Mothers and fathers who are fearful of losing their sons in Vietnam are told by Ichord, 'Forget it; look who's signing checks for NPAC.'"

A news commentary in the *Washington Evening Star* summed up public reaction to the witch-hunt: "The House Internal Security Committee is prey to self-pity these days, and no wonder. Yawns and sneers have greeted the efforts they alone regard as historic to bring out the 'facts' behind the recent peace demonstrations."

HISC has announced plans to resume hearings against NPAC and PCPJ in June. In the face of these provocations, NPAC is planning to go full steam ahead to build the July 2-4 antiwar convention in New York City.

**MAY 25**— News conferences protesting the HISC witch-hunt of the antiwar movement were held in both Cleveland and New York today. A number of organizations, including the SMC and NPAC-affiliated coalitions, made statements in both cities. In Cleveland, the committee hearings were denounced by Paul Olynyk of SANE, state New Democratic Coalition Chairman Sheldon Schecter, and Richard Niebur, United Electrical Workers general vice-president from UE District 7 (Michigan and Ohio).

"There is nothing subversive or ominous about the peace movement," Schecter said, "no matter who belongs to it—and people of every political persuasion belong to it."

In New York, Steve Balicer from the Social Service Employees Union Local 371, Herb Rickman, from the City-wide Democratic Coalition, and a representative of Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams' office appeared with antiwar leaders at the news conference. Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton also sent a statement to the conference.

On May 23, the California State Executive Board of the Social Services Union Local 535 (AFL-CIO) unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the HISC investigation of NPAC and PCPJ. "It is singularly significant," the resolution states, "that at a time when the antiwar sentiment in the nation has spiraled to an unprecedented height, that the House Internal Security Committee has chosen to investigate two major peace organiza-

tions for what the committee has termed 'subversive activities'— that is, opposing the Indochina war."

# ...Houston

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the terrorists. Part of her statement before the city council pointed out that, "Debbie Leonard's plea for equal protection of the law on previous occasions and the indifference with which the Houston police have reacted to these attacks indicate that the Houston administration believes in the selective application of the Constitution. Free speech and equal protection are extended only to those of right-wing political philosophy and of white, Anglo-Saxon ancestry."

Maria Jimenez also read the resolution adopted by the student senate, endorsing the aims of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston and encouraging students, faculty and staff to become sponsors of the committee.

A few days later, a letter to the committee was received from Raul L. Longoria, a member of the state House of Representatives. His letter stated, "Thank you for your recent letter concerning 'right-wing terrorist activities in Houston.' I cannot condone anyone taking law in their own hands. As a legislator, attorney, and citizen of Texas, I deplore such actions of violence. Thank you for your letter and I join you to ask all citizens to abide by the law." A \$5 contribution to the committee was also received from state senator Shwartz. These two endorsements indicate the growing support for the committee in its attempt to force the city administration to apprehend the Houston terrorists.

The arrest of Michael Lowe follows this intensive activity by the committee and the committee's promises of further action. The committee has pointed out that Lowe has not been arrested for any specific act of terrorism, and the committee vows to continue and step up its efforts until those responsible for the terrorist attacks are in prison.

For more information, or to make urgently needed contributions, write: Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023, or phone (713) 921-3293.

# ...CP

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policy of doing everything possible to facilitate collaboration and joint action between NPAC and PCPJ, not allowing organizational or political differences among components of the coalition on other questions to get in the way of the broadest possible unity in the crucial fight against the war.

Following the PCPJ endorsement, the *Daily World* began to report on and cover the plans for April 24, although generally avoiding mention of NPAC. If one read nothing but the *Daily World*, one would have the distinct impression that the CP was actively building April 24. The fact is, however, that the CP, like the PCPJ of which it remained an integral part, did virtually nothing for April 24. Nowhere did the CP publicly urge that the PCPJ get behind the 24th and really build it.

The contradiction between the support displayed by the *Daily World* and the nonsupport in action of the coalition in which the CP was participating can only lead one to believe that the CP was trying to cover itself by appearing to build April 24—in order to avoid having to explain to the people of the world why it didn't play a major role in such a historic action.

But the facts repeatedly come back to haunt the CP. The *Daily World* will have a hard time explaining the history of the 24th. So hard, in fact, that it may not even make the attempt.

The overwhelming majority of the organizers and participants in April 24 were enthused by the success of the action and are determined to plan continuing activity. To this end, NPAC is holding an open convention in New York City July 2-4 to set the next action date and plan ongoing antiwar programs and activities.

In the interest of avoiding the divisions that threatened to limit the size of April 24, one can only hope that the CP will attend the conference and the *Daily World* will not wait three months to report the conference decisions.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.  
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.  
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.  
Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.  
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.  
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.  
San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.  
San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.  
**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.  
Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o J.C. Brown, Fountain Valley School, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80911.  
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. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.  
**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.  
Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.  
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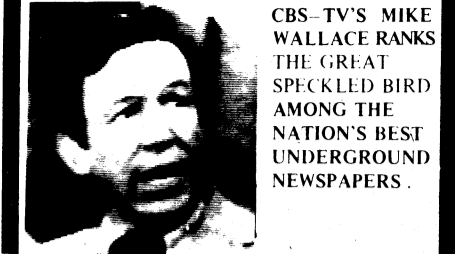
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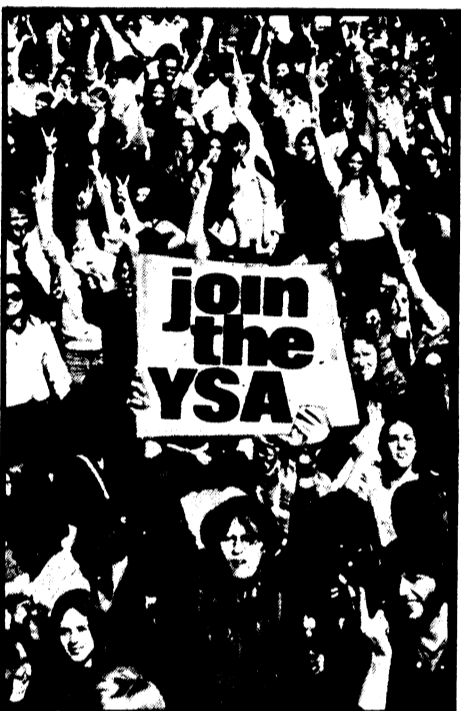
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# THE MILITANT

## Houston Klan members subpoenaed



Klan rally in Crosby, Texas, just outside Houston, Oct. 10, 1970

By PAUL McKNIGHT  
HOUSTON, Texas, May 26—As a result of the massive public outcry that has been raised in Houston against right-wing terrorism, a grand jury today subpoenaed 12 klansmen and women. According to officials, indictments are expected quickly in cases of terrorism dating back to 1968 and including the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters March 12 of this year.

MAY 24 — On May 23, Michael Douglas Lowe, 22, was arrested by the Criminal Intelligence Division of the Houston Police Department on the charge of possession of the makings

of a bomb. Lowe is a well-known member of the Klan. His bail was set at \$100,000.

Lowe was arrested outside his apartment in the early morning hours as he was placing the bomb materials in his car. Police agents were outside his apartment, waiting for a search warrant, as Lowe came out.

Sergeant C. O. Ford of the Criminal Intelligence Division said the materials proved to be one pound of sulfuric acid and one pound of potassium chlorate, substances which can produce a powerful explosion and a high-intensity fire on contact with each other.

A search of Lowe's apartment revealed large amounts of printed material by the United Klans of America, 59 steel ball bearings, 128 live rounds of ammunition and some spent shells.

Several weeks ago, Lowe came into

the Socialist Workers Party headquarters after the bombing there on March 12. Lowe was recognized as a right-winger at the time, so his name and the name of his companion were turned in to the Criminal Intelligence Division by Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for Houston mayor. At the time of his visit, Lowe purchased a copy of *Space City!*, a local underground newspaper. Two days later, four businesses had their windows broken by steel ball bearings. The businesses received anonymous calls the following day, warning them not to advertise in *Space City!* or they would "lose more than a window next time."

After the machine-gunning of the SWP headquarters on May 14 (see *The Militant*, May 28), representatives of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, Women's Liberation, the Socialist Workers Party, and the University of Houston Student

Association appeared before the Houston City Council, demanding the council launch an intensive investigation of the right-wing terrorist attacks. The city council has remained silent on the threat to civil liberties posed by the right wing in Houston.

Jo Nelson, spokeswoman for the women's liberation group and a member of the Texas Abortion Coalition, asked the city council if, "when more property is destroyed, when our homes are bombed, and when ultimately our children are shot in the yard, are you going to say we shot them for publicity, or are you going to say that they do not have the right to exist either?" The city council remained silent but noticeably squirmed.

Maria Jimenez, student association vice-president at the University of Houston, demanded the city council secure the arrest and conviction of

*Continued on page 22*

## Charges against Seale-Huggins dropped

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, Conn., May 25—An important victory was scored today when charges against Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins were dismissed by Judge Harold Mulvey after six days of deliberations resulted in an apparently deadlocked jury.

In granting the motion by the defense to drop the charges, Judge Mulvey ruled that because of the extensive publicity given to the trial, selection of an impartial jury for a second trial would be impossible "without a superhuman effort."

As it was, the Seale-Huggins trial, the longest in Connecticut history, required four months to select a jury, during which time over 1,400 jurors were interviewed.

Judge Mulvey also cited the fact that the defendants had been in jail for two years and that selection of a new jury could not begin until September. He added, "I have seen a remarkable change of attitude on the part of both of the defendants," implying that he thought their two-year detention without conviction had taught them a lesson.

Nevertheless, in all likelihood the most important factor influencing Judge Mulvey's decision was that it

allowed him to sidestep the issue of whether the jury had in fact been deadlocked, or whether defendant Seale had actually been acquitted.

On Monday, May 24, the sixth day of deliberation, the jury had announced to the court that it was unable to reach a decision. When the judge asked if this pertained to all of the charges against both defendants, the foreman reported that the jury had been unable to arrive at a unanimous vote on any charge. But at that moment, the foreman was interrupted by one of the five Blacks on the jury, a woman, who said, "No, that's not right."

Then, Catherine Roraback, defense counsel for Huggins, attempted to stop the judge from declaring that the jury was unable to reach any agreement and was therefore "hung."

Although the jury had been instructed not to discuss its deliberations with the press, it rapidly became known that the jury had in fact voted 12 to 0 to acquit Seale on the first day of deliberation. The vast majority also favored the acquittal of Huggins. During the six days, the jury requested that the transcript of Huggins' testimony be reread. On subsequent argumentation, one of the jurors holding out on Huggins switched her vote

on Seale and could not be persuaded to return to her original opinion for acquittal. Thus Seale's defense counsel, Charles Garry, filed a motion claiming that the jury should have returned a "not guilty" verdict on Seale as soon as it had been reached on the first day.

The end of the Seale-Huggins trial is the climax of a two-year struggle by the Black Panther Party to defend itself against arrests which occurred on May 21, 1969, in New Haven. Altogether, 14 persons were charged in connection with the murder of Alex Rackley. Two of the 14, Rory Hithe and Landon Williams, both charged with kidnapping resulting in death and conspiracy to kidnap and murder, still face trial.

One Panther, Lonnie McLucas, was convicted in August 1970 of conspiracy to murder, although he was acquitted on other related charges. He was sentenced to 12-to-15 years' imprisonment. His case is being appealed. The Panthers are attempting to raise money for his bond of \$60,000.

The Panthers and persons close to their defense believe that the McLucas case was singled out for the first trial by prosecuting attorney Arnold Mar-

kle as the easiest one in which to secure a conviction, thus helping the prosecution "railroad" the others. With the de facto acquittal of Seale and Huggins, that strategy has failed.

The state did, however, succeed in jailing leading members of the Black Panthers for two years, thus inflicting irreparable harm on their lives. Ericka Huggins has now been released, but Seale is still in prison facing charges of contempt of court stemming from the 1969 Chicago Eight Conspiracy trial. His lawyers are now attempting to get bail set for him.

Seven of the other New Haven 14 defendants are accounted for in the following manner: the cases of two women were disposed of in juvenile court; Rose Smith, Margaret Hudgins, and George Edwards pleaded guilty to aggravated assault and were given suspended sentences; a suspended sentence was also given to Loretta Luckes, who pleaded guilty to conspiracy to kidnap; and the charges against Frances Carter were dropped.

The remaining two, Warren Kimbro and George Sams, both pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and turned state's witness, thus betraying their fellow defendants. They have yet to be sentenced.