

Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan win new concessions from Hussein

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THE MILITANT

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Fred Halstead answers Dave Dellinger

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Saigon student protesters demand U.S. forces get out; Cambodia resistance rises

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U.S. Military Police jeep burns in Saigon June 15 after it was set afire by South Vietnamese youths in the third day of anti-U.S. demonstrations. The demonstrators were dispersed by teargas after throwing Molotov cocktails at police, according to UPI radiophoto.

From Okinawa: an appeal for solidarity

Urge removal of U.S. bases

Okinawa

Since World War II, the Okinawan people's rights and lives have been trampled under the occupation of the American military.

Electricity, water, oil, and other industries are entirely managed by the American military.

More than a thousand homicides, robberies, and rapes are committed each year in Okinawa. The military passes judgement on these cases in secret. When an American soldier commits murder, Okinawan policemen have no right of arrest. Moreover, compensation for damages and crimes by the military is refused.

Recently American soldiers on Okinawa have committed innumerable crimes — assaulting a woman on a base in broad daylight, robbing and killing taxi drivers, and creating disturbances and traffic accidents as a result of drinking. There is nothing the Okinawan people can do about these cases. They are handled by the American military.

Okinawans as well as Americans want to build a world without war. The biggest American bases in Asia are on Okinawa, and I am sure the American military cannot continue the war in Asia without these bases. To develop a movement for the removal of U.S. bases from Okinawa, is the duty of Americans who want to end the war.

The Okinawan people are outraged by the atrocities of the American military. We struggle to protect our lives and property day and night. It goes without saying that Okinawa is harmed because of American bases. We will continue to build our movement against these bases.

Brothers and sisters of the antiwar

Letters from our readers

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

movement, we must work together for peace.

*Seiryu Azuma, general secretary
Okinawa Prefecture Council
Against A and H Bombs*

Revolutionary viewpoint

Murfreesboro, Tenn.

I wish to express my appreciation (and I am sure that I speak for other *Militant* readers as well) for the fine coverage and critical evaluation of current events found in your paper. Please keep up the good work, because in my opinion your publication is unique in its sound revolutionary viewpoint and is refreshing reading, after wading through the reactionary morass of most other American news publications.

C. F.

Double standard?

Minneapolis, Minn.

One of the reasons for lack of success in keeping antiwar groups together

er is constant infighting.

It becomes especially tiring to see the word peace in quotes when referring to members of the Democratic Party. I refer specifically to Nancy Strebe's article on the Minneapolis-St. Paul demonstration on May 9 in which Nicholas Coleman was referred to as a "peace" candidate.

What seems to be happening is a double standard almost as bad as Richard Nixon's. Everyone is encouraged to take part in antiwar activities whether they are socialists, Democrats, Republicans, or anything else. But when they do participate, they are insulted and their motives are questioned.

Ronald Pajari

[We use quotes when referring to "peace" candidates of the capitalist parties to indicate that, in our opinion, such candidates *objectively* help perpetuate the war in Indochina regardless of their personal intentions.

[The one and only way to end the war is for the U.S. to unilaterally, immediately, and totally withdraw its military forces. But the capitalist rulers of this country have an enormous stake in defeating the Indochina revolution and, therefore, in maintaining military forces in S. E. Asia indefinitely. It follows, we believe, that the only *realistic* way to end the war is to mobilize the mass of Americans, who have no stake in the war, in large-scale actions *independent* of the capitalist rulers and their political parties.

[The (usually explicit) purpose of the Democratic and Republican "peace" campaigns is to undercut the independent mobilization of the mass of Americans opposed to the war by diverting antiwar sentiment away from mass action and into the "constructive alternative" of capitalist electoral politics.

— *Editor*]

From a former editor

Springfield, Mass.

I used to work for the establishment press and last year was editor of our own underground paper—a PEOPLE'S paper—but it went bankrupt. Of all the publications I read (*Ramparts*, *Guardian*, *L. A. Free Press*, *Win*, *Washington Monthly*, *Liberation*, *Village Voice*), *The Militant* is the one that lays it out with consistency, honesty and perspective.

If I had to choose just one publication from all the printed matter that's thrust at us, I would choose *The Militant*!!! It feeds my hunger!

W. F.

Finds assertions hard to believe

Bellmore, N. Y.

In his article on the building trades Frank Lovell makes several assertions about the opinions of the rank and file which I find hard to believe. He says "the vast majority of building tradesmen" are like other workers in their opposition to the war. Also, "they generally distrust and dislike Nixon, and they are against the war in Vietnam, too."

Most of the article describing the corruption of the unions sounds authoritative, so I would assume that Lovell has firsthand information. Nevertheless he should have stated how he got his information, especially when making statements that run contrary to apparent fact.

Albert Cassorla

[There are one and a half million construction workers in this country, and I do not know of any poll conducted among them to learn what percentage is antiwar. However, based upon all known indicators of antiwar sentiment, it is safe to say that this group of industrial workers is opposed to the war in Vietnam "in the vast majority." Our reports from construction workers in different parts of the country—including New York City—

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confirm this. My own experience in the industry, although limited, leads me to believe this is true.

[I know it is easy to be misled by limited personal experience. For example, on the basis of what I know of the Laborers' Union in some major cities, I thought the majority of laborers in the construction industry were Black. Most reliable statistics show that only about a third are Black. Of the skilled trades, many unions have less than 1 percent Black members. Very few have more than 5 percent Blacks.

[This question of racial discrimination in the construction industry has yet to be resolved, and within certain limits and under special circumstances this overrides even the war issue. What I tried to show is how the bureaucrats in the building trades unions, beginning with George Meany, are able to use construction workers, in collaboration with others (building contractors, right-wing politicians, and such labor-hating groups as the John Birchers and Cuban counterrevolutionaries) to stage pro-war demonstrations in support of Nixon in order to make a deal with the administration to take a hands-off attitude on the issue of hiring Black workers in the construction industry.

[I believe these workers will not allow themselves to be used in this manner for very long. Our reports (see *In Brief*, this issue) indicate that most construction workers don't like it. It has given them a black eye and made them look foolish before the whole union movement.

— *Frank Lovell*]

Transit workers defeat injunction

Oakland, Calif.

Division 192 represents 1400 drivers, mechanics and clerks employed by A-C Transit, which serves 200,000 commuters daily in 11 East Bay cities, including Oakland and Berkeley. Classified as government employees, A-C Transit employees have been forbidden to strike, and their right to strike is a major test of these laws.

Division 192's contract expired June 1 and the union voted overwhelmingly on a policy of "no contract, no work." The walkout was immediately met with an injunction forbidding the strike.

The officers and members responded: if the company and the court wants us in jail, we will peaceably assemble at a designated point for transit to jail. Faced with this unity, superior court judge Kroninger dissolved the injunction, legalizing this formerly "illegal" strike.

Mayor Redding of Oakland has since announced that if the strike is not quickly settled, he will call on Gov. Reagan to bring the National Guard into the East Bay to operate the buses. The response on the part of the members and of the labor movement to this form of strikebreaking should be just as decisive as our response to the injunction.

Ralph Levitt



To make a Revolution

It takes Revolutionaries.

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U.S.-Saigon invasion set back in Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 15—When President Nixon ordered the U.S. invasion of Cambodia April 30, he maintained that its purpose was to "destroy North Vietnamese sanctuaries." Two weeks later, Nixon told the American people that goal had been largely accomplished.

Nixon promised to withdraw all U.S. forces from Cambodia by June 30, if not before. A resolution is being considered by the U.S. Senate—the Cooper-Church amendment—which is supposed to tie Nixon to this withdrawal promise.

But it is now evident that neither Nixon's promises nor Senate bills can prevent the war in Cambodia from developing into a full-scale civil war with Washington tied to the defense of another military regime.

And, as the civil war is deepening in Cambodia, student and worker protests in Saigon are manifesting a new wave of popular hatred of the Thieu-Ky regime.

The Pnompenh government, like the government in Saigon, has no popular base. Its continued rule depends on military repression—and that means it depends on U.S. military support.

It is ruled out that Saigon puppet armies can accomplish in Cambodia what they failed to accomplish in Vietnam, the crushing of popular revolution, without massive U.S. military intervention.

The Cooper-Church amendment does not stand in the way of such inter-

Houston women push demand for equal education

HOUSTON — The Women's Liberation Front at the University of Texas testified at a public hearing in Houston June 4 in favor of extending Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include the area of educational discrimination. The hearing was being held by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to investigate discrimination in employment in Houston.

Included in the Women's Liberation Front statement was the demand for an end to "discrimination against women within the university, both at the faculty and staff levels and at the student level, and most importantly to eliminate the idea of women as perpetual minors who need to be provided for and protected."

Criticizing the government, Vicki Carleton, spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Front, pointed out that statistics comparing salaries of male and female civil service workers show that the government itself is one of the main culprits in discriminating against women.

"So long as the government itself practices blatant discrimination," she said, "it is hard for us to have faith in a government agency such as EEOC to stop discriminatory practices by other governmental employers."

revised third edition

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35¢

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vention. Here is how Senator Frank Church described the amendment on June 10, the day before the amendment survived an administration attempt to kill it:

"First, the Cooper-Church amendment does not prevent U.S. airpower from attacking the sanctuary areas.

"Second, the retaliation or protective reaction, as Secretary Laird would label it, in response to enemy attacks originating from across the border, is not prohibited.

"Third, hot pursuit of enemy forces, which cross into Cambodia, is not barred.

"Fourth, the president's general use of his discretionary constitutional power as commander-in-chief to take such action as he deems necessary to protect the lives of American forces in certainly not limited in any way." (*Congressional Record*, page S8737.)

The loopholes this doubletalk allows do not need to be elaborated. Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in the first place was undertaken—"in order to save American lives."

The actual conditions in Cambodia are far from the ones Nixon has described.

"It is a fact plain to nearly everyone here—though apparently not in Washington and Saigon—that the Communist troops, whom the Nixon administration claims have been battered and demoralized by the allied invasion of Cambodia, are now in the process, long-range though it may be, of swallowing the country," writes *New York Times* reporter Sydney H. Schanberg from Pnompenh, June 14.

"Most military experts," Schanberg continues, "see only one hope at this point—a concerted drive by Cambodia's neighbors, South Vietnam and Thailand, against the Vietnamese Communists right now, while they are out in the open, before they entrench themselves in the countryside, as they did in South Vietnam."

It is well known that guerrilla forces which entrench themselves in the countryside have the support of the people and include the people. The *New York Times* editors did not feel it necessary to explain this well-understood point. Schanberg's article continued:

"Most knowledgeable observers are skeptical about whether Thailand and South Vietnam, with arms and other support from the U.S., will do enough to stop the Communists at this stage."

As to military support for the Pnompenh regime from other than Saigon and U.S. forces, the *New York Times* reported from Saigon June 15 that, "Authoritative South Vietnamese sources expressed impatience today with what they considered to be stalling by Thailand in rallying to the defense of Cambodia."

This article revealed that Saigon was also soliciting military aid for Cambodia from Nationalist China, South Korea and the Philippines.

New York Times correspondent Gloria Emerson interviewed Cambodian officials in Pnompenh, June 11. They indicated their fear of the outcome of the current military and political gamble. "No one dares to say openly to an American here that President Nixon risked everything Cambodia has," she wrote, "but they indicate in many ways that this is what they feel."

One official told her: "We were not even consulted about it. . . ."

As the civil war has deepened in



R. Cobb/LNS

Cambodia, there are indications of a new domestic crisis facing the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon.

Popular hatred for the war has been heightened in recent months by intensification of the war-primed inflation. "Inflation has always been endemic to wartime Vietnam," *Newsweek* reported June 15, "but in the last six months the price spiral has accelerated dramatically. It is estimated that the cost of living is currently rising by about 7 to 10 percent a month. . . ."

On June 15, the *New York Times* reported that more than 60 of Saigon's 124 unions began a 24-hour strike in sympathy with government workers who have been fired. The striking

workers were supported by student demonstrators.

"For the second time in three days, there was a decidedly anti-American flavor to the demonstrations staged today by students protesting against the Thieu government."

Students demonstrating in front of the U.S. Embassy "were turned back by policemen wearing helmets, carrying wicker shields and shooting tear-gas grenades.

"During the demonstrations, a U.S. military police jeep was set ablaze with gasoline, and its occupant, a sergeant, was clubbed and kicked by several young Vietnamese men as he fled. . . ."

N.Y. police in new arrest of Young Lords leaders

By MIGUEL PADILLA
SWP candidate for N. Y.
attorney general

NEW YORK — The political repression of Black and Puerto-Rican militants by the Lindsay administration continued with the June 14 arrest of Juan "Fi" Ortiz. A leading member of the Young Lords Party, Ortiz was charged with kidnapping, grand larceny, assault and possession of a deadly weapon.

Bail was set at \$1,000. Ortiz is the minister of finance and a member of the central committee of the New York based Lords.

Ortiz was arrested at about 1 a.m. June 14 when New York police busted into the 16-year-old militant's apartment. He was later released when the Lords were able to raise bail money.

On Saturday evening, June 13, according to police, Ortiz and three other brothers had approached one Jack McCall and at knife-point forced McCall into a car where they proceeded to beat him and rob him.

But a statement later issued by Barry Gottehrer, an aide to Mayor Lindsay, acknowledged what had really happened. McCall had been soliciting funds for the Young Lords Party, though he was not a member and without the permission or knowledge of the Lords.

Ortiz, the Lords treasurer, happened to bump into McCall on the street while he was carrying on his hustle. Ortiz demanded an explanation and

demanding the money that McCall had already collected.

When McCall refused, the funds were confiscated. McCall then went to file a complaint with the police who proceeded to arrest Ortiz.

On Sunday evening, approximately 400 people attended a rally protesting the arrest of Ortiz. The rally was held in front of the First Methodist Church, the church that the Lords had occupied in January. They renamed it the First People's Church and demanded that its facilities be turned over for use by the community.

The rally gave way to a march down 111th St. But this broke down when a trash fire started and windows began shattering along Third Ave. David Perez, another central committee member of the Lords, was later arrested and charged with assaulting an officer, reckless endangerment and resisting arrest. Perez has been released on \$100 cash bond.

Contributions for the defense of Juan Ortiz and David Perez are urgently needed and can be sent to: Young Lords Party, 949 Longwood Ave., Bronx, New York.

A New Merit Pamphlet

PROBLEMS OF CIVIL WAR

By Leon Trotsky

40¢

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The Guardian and Leninism

What is the function of a radical paper?

By RANDY FURST
and HARRY RING

This concludes a four-part series that began in our issue of May 1. The articles have sought to trace the political evolution of the *Guardian* and to draw lessons from the political crises that have afflicted the paper, culminating in an April 9 walkout by a group of staff workers and the establishment of a rival *Liberated Guardian*.

* * *

In examining the political roots of the difficulties which have beset the *Guardian*, it becomes apparent that a key factor has been the paper's lack of a thought-out political perspective for the coming revolutionary struggles in this country.

As a result, the *Guardian* has in recent years opportunistically adapted to ultraleft currents in an effort to become a spokesman for them.

This adaptation derived from the *Guardian's* hope that in the days to come a new radical political party would emerge in which it would play a central role. But its conception of what such a party would be in terms of basic political program, or how it would come into being, has been nebulous.

The general approach has been the one most commonly associated with the "new left," i.e., that the established political parties and tendencies were "irrelevant," and that the present heterogeneous body of unaffiliated radicals generally known as "the movement" would someday metamorphize into a new radical party.

In seeking to advance such a perspective, the *Guardian* editors have failed to grasp that a viable movement must of necessity be built around agreement with a meaningful and relevant program. In fact the key to building a revolutionary party is the very process of elaborating a political program on the basis of which it recruits its members. Anything less flies apart at the first crisis that besets it.

This lesson of political life was amply illustrated by the fate of SDS.

The first upsurge of SDS seemed to provide definitive proof that it was possible to escape the onerous task of developing a political ideology and assembling a membership on the basis of a commonly agreed on program. Yet when SDS was compelled by events and by internal factionalism to come to grips with basic political and ideological issues, the organization which seemed so powerful was literally shattered in a matter of months. Without the cement of programmatic agreement, SDS simply flew apart.

The *Guardian* never made a serious effort to analyze what had gone wrong with SDS or why. Instead, continuing with the cue it took from the anti-PL faction in SDS, which at one point

declared itself "Marxist-Leninist," the *Guardian* proclaimed that it too was Marxist-Leninist and continues to occasionally so proclaim.

But the *Guardian* has not indicated the slightest comprehension of Lenin's particular contribution to Marxist theory, a contribution that was key to the victory of the Russian Revolution.

The revolutionary party

What distinguished Lenin, and Leninism, was precisely the theory of how to build a revolutionary party. Lenin rejected and fought the concept of his *Guardian*-type contemporaries that the way to build a revolutionary movement is to first assemble the members and then elaborate a program. He contended—and history vindicated him—that an effective revolutionary cadre could be assembled *only* on the basis of a program, and that the elaboration of a program was fundamental to the process of assembling the cadre.

Similarly Lenin rejected and fought the notion that a radical paper with an amorphous "all-inclusive" political line could serve as the vehicle for assembling the cadres for a revolutionary Marxist party. Instead, and again history has frequently confirmed this, such a paper can only build a movement in its own image. (The anarchist-oriented ultralefts who were attracted to the *Guardian* are a case in point.)

Even where it may be a question of attempting to draw together different ideological currents which appear to be evolving toward a common basic outlook, this cannot be done by blurring political differences. Again, as Lenin explained, in order to unite it is necessary to first draw the lines of difference. To do otherwise serves only to further compound the ideological confusion which has proven such an obstacle to the development of the movement.

Programmatic clarity is essential in the actual process of building a Marxist-Leninist party. Lenin's concept of democratic centralism, for example, was not simply a practical organizational form whereby a party arrived at decisions democratically and then carried them out in a united way, with any minorities abiding by and loyally carrying out majority decisions.

Democratic centralism is indeed that. But it is also something far more. What Lenin taught was that such a party could be successfully built only if it was a *politically homogeneous* organization.

In any revolutionary organization composed of serious, thinking people disagreements on one or another issue, lesser or greater, will inevitably arise. What binds such a formation together then and makes unity in action possible is thought-out political agreement on a long-range program more basic than the particular issues which may divide them at the moment.

The most basic programmatic issue for a revolutionary party, or for those who seek to build one, is the conviction that the mobilization of the working class and its allies for a successful struggle against capitalism is a realizable goal in the present epoch and



V. I. Lenin

that the historical function of a revolutionary party is to organize and lead that struggle.

To build a mass movement

What is required for such a party, Lenin taught, is not some religious faith in the future victory, but the capacity to elaborate a political strategy capable of developing the mass movement that is indispensable to such a victory.

Winning such a base demands being able to relate to the working people and their allies at their *given level of political consciousness*, and through a combined process of struggle and education raise that consciousness to a socialist level.

This means developing a systematic program of transitional demands that are clearly relevant to current issues but are capable of moving sectors of the population into action on an objectively anticapitalist basis. This in turn facilitates advances in consciousness and increased receptivity to basic socialist ideas.

The movement for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina, and the profoundly radicalizing effect that movement has had, is one example of such a process.

The development of such transitional demands requires far more than simply being opposed to such evils as war, racism, exploitation and oppression and registering such opposition in militant rhetoric. Ultralefts and reformists alike are also capable of such "opposition."

In the U.S. today, a revolutionary program, concretely, is one that above all leads the working people and their allies to break with the two capitalist parties.

Independent action

It means, for example, projecting and helping to advance the development of Black and Chicano parties in opposition to the capitalist parties and helping to formulate programs that will lead in a revolutionary direction.

It means full, vigorous support to all movements whose aims and aspirations are in and of themselves of an anticapitalist character. The women's liberation movement is an excellent example of this.

A Leninist program today means promoting a struggle within the organized labor movement against all wings of the trade union bureaucracy—"progressive" as well as reactionary. That means counterposing class-strug-

gle policies to their class-collaborationist relations with employers and government. It means promoting the idea of the need for unions to break with the Republican and Democratic parties and building a labor party.

A Leninist program, then, means the elaboration of general and specific political stands which clearly reject the approach of the ultraleft sectarians and draw a decisive ideological and programmatic line between the revolutionaries and the reformists.

Simply to pose some of the weighty political issues that serious revolutionaries must grapple with should be sufficient for any careful reader of the *Guardian* to realize how barren it is from a Marxist point of view.

The *Guardian* has failed to come to grips with virtually every one of the issues we have pointed to here, and more besides. To cite a further example: Leninists regard it as impermissible, as a matter of principle, to support any capitalist candidate. At the same time, Lenin was in the forefront of opposing those ultralefts who would simply abstain from the bourgeois electoral process (see *Leftwing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*).

But the "Leninist" *Guardian* has, under the Smith-Beinin stewardship, never attempted a generalized political statement on this issue. In practice, it has either advocated abstention in elections, even when there were socialist candidates it could have supported on a principled basis, or it has simply ducked the question.

Similarly, while offering militant rhetorical support to the movement for Black and Brown power, the *Guardian* has yet to offer any analytical treatment of the need for, and ways and means of building, the independent Black and Brown parties indispensable to the fight for such power.

(Continued on page 17)

Leon Trotsky:

Stalinism and Bolshevism

35¢

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Calls on labor to join movement

L.A. Teamster official blasts war

At the May 30 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles, one of the main speakers was John T. Williams, vice-president and business agent of Local 208 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Local 208, which has a long history of militancy and independence, came under heavy fire during the recent strike of some 10,000 Los Angeles Teamsters who were fighting for a better contract than the one negotiated nationally.

The following is the text of the remarks made by Williams.

As a trade unionist, a Teamster, it is a privilege and a responsibility for me to speak before you in opposition to our hysterical involvement in Vietnam. I thank you for the privilege. I accept the responsibility.

It is a responsibility which I share with the thousands of men and women within the ranks of labor who find themselves in a constant struggle in search of a better way of life, a future of hopes and a chance for survival. As a trade unionist, I challenge this way as constituting a threat to the security of our trade union members throughout this country, as well as being in conflict with the basic trade union principles of the labor movement. As a trade unionist, I have a total commitment on behalf of the workers I represent, and this commitment extends far beyond the issue of bread and butter, which is but a substitute fringe benefit related to the question of peace or war.

If we default in our commitments, then the gains which we negotiate across the bargaining tables will most assuredly be destroyed through increasingly higher taxes, the inflationary dollar, the misery of unemployment, the pollution which is intoxicating, the water which stinks, the ghettos in our cities, the slums which surround us, the problems of our young and the hardships of our old, the corruption of our institutions and the decay of our society.

Yes, and we will find that the freedom of protest which we achieved through blood, sweat and tears on the picket lines, this freedom will be shot up on the campuses of Kent, Jackson and Augusta.

And it will be burned down in the fires of Watts, and it will be buried in the ashes of Vietnam.

As trade unionists, we cannot resolve these commitments which affect the very existence of our society and at the same time support a war in which there is no victory for the living and only peace for the dead.

As a trade unionist, I must recognize and respect the area of jurisdic-

tion, and I say to you, Vietnam is not a jurisdiction of this country—east, west, north or south Vietnam, along with Cambodia and Laos. Our jurisdiction is the cesspool which surrounds us, the agony of our people and the chaos within our boundaries, which does not include Saigon.

As a trade unionist, I have witnessed thousands of workers being subjected to unreasonable discipline, as well as losing their employment and livelihood because of their alleged involvement in unauthorized wildcat strikes. Yet, the actions of our government in Vietnam constitute one of the most brazen unauthorized wildcat strikes.

While the "wildcat" strikes of the workers have only resulted in loss of profits to the employer, together with creating an economic hardship upon the workers, the wildcat strike in Vietnam has brought death and destruction upon people who are not even a party to the collective bargaining agreement.

As a trade unionist, I say to you, if we as workers are to be disciplined for our "wildcat" strikes, then our government must be damned for this wildcat war.

As trade unionists, we must assume our commitments and as we do we must begin thinking in terms of a nationwide work stoppage. A work stoppage with the support of the Black worker, the Brown worker and the white worker. A work stoppage which would end this filthy, unsanitary slaughter, which has become a part of the American way of life. A work stoppage which would stop the production, stop the profits, stop the killings and stop the war.

As we in the labor movement take our stand alongside you, our students, together with all other people of concern, I say to you, when this happens we will stop this war, regardless of the size and shape of the damned table in Paris.

If we fail in our commitments, and reject this challenge, then we shall move madly onward toward our collision course with destiny. We shall continue to chart our direction on the moon and cast our visions beyond the universe as we sink deeper and deeper into the rotten gutters of despair.

And may God have mercy upon us.



Photo by John Gray

Los Angeles Teamster official John T. Williams spoke against war at May 30 L. A. demonstration.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

The SWP candidates for public office in Massachusetts were among those who addressed the first convention of the Citizens for Participation Politics on May 23 at Framingham State College. The CPP grew out of the 1968 McCarthy campaign. Although it adjourned without endorsing anyone, it was SWP candidate Peter Camejo who captured the imagination of the audience.

Reporting on the event for *The Phoenix*, a local, off-campus newspaper, Wendell Smith urged the group to endorse Camejo: "CPP could move decisively this year. The convention indicated that by its reception of Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate. The remote possibility that they could endorse Camejo against Ted Kennedy is just about the only exciting possibility, remote or otherwise, in this election year."

Following the police killings in Jackson, Miss., last month, students at the predominantly Black, Puerto Rican and Chinese Junior High School 56 in Manhattan pressured the principal into permitting them to hold school assemblies three days in a row so they could discuss the war. They invited an SWP candidate to be one of the main speakers at each of the assemblies. The New York State SWP Campaign Committee had had no previous contact with students at the school.

Stephanie Coontz, strike leader at the University of Washington in Seattle and SWP candidate for Congress from the first district, stole the show from "dove" congressmen who showed up on campus June 5 to urge students to work within the system to end the war. The crowd of 400 gave her repeated ovations as she accused the congressmen of rubber-stamping the war until it became clear that the U. S. was losing it.

The congressmen were obliged to spend the rest of their time answering her and attacking the SWP. They were booed when they tried to smear Coontz by comparing her to Vice-President Agnew. When asked if they supported the antiwar movement, they sat in embarrassed silence to the hoots and derision of the crowd.

Mariana Hernandez, Texas SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, toured throughout the state in May speaking on the need for an independent Chicano political party and on her impressions of Cuba, where she spent several weeks as a member of the second Venceremos (cane-cutting) Brigade. Her tour will be continuing during the summer with appearances in San Marcos, San Antonio, El Paso, Kingsville and Arlington.

A group of Independents for the Socialist Workers Candidates in 1970 has been formed in California. The group has sent out a letter urging support for "the one campaign in California which builds the antiwar movement, rather than feeding off it or trying to distort it. The Socialist Workers candidates are all in the forefront of the fight against this war, as their records and their campaigns certainly attest. This campaign well deserves your endorsement and your contributions."

The group includes Kay Boyle, writer and lecturer; Prof. Willard Carpenter, San Francisco State College International Relations Department; Patricia McGinnis, Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws; Dr. Lawrence Rose, Medical Committee for Human Rights; and Paul Trafficante, businessman.

An important issue in California's seventh district congressional race will be whether Afro-Americans should

support the Democratic Party or work to build an independent Black political party. This is virtually assured by the June 2 Democratic primary victory of Berkeley city councilman Ron Dellums, who justifies his candidacy in that racist party through an ample use of radical rhetoric. He will be opposed by SWP candidate Andrew Pulley, nationally known for his role in the GI rights case of the Fort Jackson Eight.

SWP candidate for governor of Georgia, Linda Jenness, campaigned among workers at the Fisher Body-General Motors plant in Atlanta on June 5. During shift change, workers stopped to talk with her and campaign supporters. The campaigning included distribution of platform brochures, biographical leaflets on the candidates, antiwar conference calls and *The Militant*.

Workers readily accepted materials offered and sought out ones they did not receive. One Black worker bought *The Militant* with the comment, "Keep the change! It's my favorite paper."

An Atlanta TV station filmed and taped the action as part of a report on the SWP campaign for governor.

"No doubt Hugh Scott is sitting behind his mahogany desk in Washington, wondering: What the hell is Robin Maisel up to now?" So began an interview a few weeks ago with SWP senatorial candidate Robin Maisel by columnist Sandy Grady in the Philadelphia *Sunday Bulletin*. The rest of the interview consists of a light, but friendly, sketch of the campaign.

Maisel "laughs at the idea that his campaign funds come from Havana or Moscow," says Grady.

"I work a while, save a little, and live like a church mouse," said Maisel. "That's another reason to elect me. I'm economical."

— DAVID THORSTAD



Photo by Eric Sell

SWP candidate for U. S. Senate in Texas, Mariana Hernandez, is helping to spread the word on La Raza Unida.

Arizona prof. to fight dismissal by regents

By JIM ROWLAND

TEMPE, Ariz.—The Arizona State Board of Regents will have to defend its dismissal of philosophy professor Mirris J. Starsky in federal court. Professor Starsky and his attorney Alan Kyman revealed the decision to take legal action against the regents at a Phoenix news conference June 11. It was attended by every major newspaper, television station and radio station in the Phoenix area, and the story was carried by nearly every newspaper in the state.

Professor Starsky charges that the terms of the regents' dismissal amount to blackmail. He was offered a year's "terminal sabbatical leave" (to which even the regents acknowledged he was entitled) during which time he would be barred from the Arizona State University campus and at the end of which he would not be rehired. Should he refuse the sabbatical, the regents instructed his contract be terminated at once.

Starsky compared this offer to the "justice" of the Wild West: "How do you want it—in the belly or the back?" He said he considered sabbatical leave one of his rights as a faculty member.

Professor Starsky plans to ask the federal court for immediate reinstatement and damages on the grounds that the regents' action is in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution and various federal civil rights acts.

Starsky also announced he is considering running for governor of Arizona on an independent socialist ticket.

The regents' decision to dismiss Professor Starsky was made at a closed meeting held the night of June 9. The decision was announced at a special 13-minute open meeting held the following afternoon. The governor of Arizona interrupted an important governors' conference in Utah to return to Arizona for these meetings.

Student and faculty support for Starsky and outrage over the regents' decision has been widespread.

The harassment of Professor Starsky dates from his appearance at a Jan. 14, 1970, student rally at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Starsky had cancelled his class at ASU in order to address the rally in support of

eight students and one nonstudent who were arrested while protesting the university's athletic ties with racist Brigham Young University.

Starsky has been a leader in the Arizona antiwar movement since 1965. He has also been in the forefront of supporting the struggles of Black, Chicano and other student groups. He is the faculty advisor to the Young Socialist Alliance, and his Trotskyist views are a matter of public record in Arizona. It is, Starsky charges, for his political views and activity that he has been fired.

The regents' decision, which was front-page news and evoked editorial comment all over the state, was not unexpected. Several right-wing legislators have hinted publicly that the regents made a deal with the appropriations committee of the state legislature to fire Professor Starsky in return for budget support. Some reactionary members of the legislature have even threatened to abolish the board of regents and replace it with a chancellor if they did not fire Starsky.

A national defense campaign prevented the regents from summarily firing Professor Starsky last January and forced them to adhere to the due process provisions of the university constitution. An ad hoc faculty committee appointed by the university president found no evidence to warrant initiating formal dismissal proceedings against Professor Starsky. But the regents overruled this decision and ordered the president to initiate dismissal proceedings.

Formal charges were brought against Starsky in March, and a long hearing was held before the elected Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The hearing was public, and the political character of the charges was clearly revealed.

Nearly one-half of the faculty signed statements of support for Professor Starsky, and over 3,000 students signed a petition on his behalf.

One Less Sanctuary



Phoenix Gazette view of Starsky dismissal

On the basis of the testimony brought before it, the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure unanimously recommended that Professor Starsky not be dismissed. This recommendation, the pressure from students and faculty, letters and telegrams from nationally known professors, and the threat of censure by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) forced the president of the university to take a stand against firing Starsky.

When the regents met for their regular May meeting, they postponed action on the Starsky matter until June 10. This was done to avoid student and faculty protests while school was still in session. The June 10 decision was unanimous.

At the news conference the following day, Professor Starsky called on the administration of the university to resist the decision of the regents and to solicit support of the faculty and students to fight against this obvious political intervention into the affairs of the university. His legal battle for reinstatement has the support of the AAUP, the American Federation of Teachers and the ACLU. The faculty of Arizona's three universities are now deeply polarized over the regents' decision.

Statements of support and funds to help with the defense should be sent to Prof. Marcus Whiffen, College of Architecture, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

New suspect uncovered

Defense effort puts heat on L.A. cops

LOS ANGELES, June 17—The Los Angeles police have arrested and released a fourth suspect in the series of terrorist attacks here by counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* [worms]. The arrest came after investigation of the automobile described by witnesses of the armed arson assault on the L.A. Socialist Workers Party election campaign offices May 27 (see *The Militant*, June 12).

The suspect, whose name the police would not release, was identified in a police lineup by Peter Seidman, SWP organizer and one of the victims in the May 27 attack, as "very probably" the person who held a gun on him.

The district attorney's office would not press charges against the suspect, however, on the grounds that it did not feel the linking of this person to a car which may have been involved in the attack, as well as the "very probable" identification by Seidman were sufficient evidence. The DA nonetheless termed the evidence such as to warrant further investigation. He also indicated that the same lawyer who represented the three suspects arrested in the attack on the Ashgrove coffee-

house (see *The Militant*, June 19) also represented the fourth suspect.

Meanwhile, the three *gusanos* arrested in the attack on the Ashgrove have been released on \$15,000 bail each, pending a preliminary hearing in the case slated for June 22.

Since the June 7 attack on the Ashgrove, coffeehouse spokesmen have indicated that shots have been fired into the building. The Ashgrove reopened to the public on June 9.

The Citizens Committee for the Right to Free Political Expression has amassed a large, impressive list of sponsors in the past week in its drive to bring public pressure to bear on the police and city officials to arrest and convict the persons responsible for these terrorist attacks. Among the new sponsors of the committee are: Social Services Union Local 535, SEIU AFL-CIO, Los Angeles chapter; Louis Gray, state president, Social Services Union Local 535, as well as 40 officers and business agents of the union; Jerry Lennon, representative, L.A. Council 36 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Art Goldberg; Luke McKissick, chief counsel for the Black Panther Party in

southern California; Earl E. Raines, executive director, L.A. NAACP; Jane Fonda, actress; Clifford Fried, youth section, Communist Party USA; Franklin D. Alexander, CPUSA; Hon. Mervyn Dymally, California state senator from the 29th district; Mark Lane, attorney; Rosalio Munoz, chairman, Chicano Moratorium Committee; Angela Davis, Che-Lumumba Club, CPUSA; Ken Stewart, chairman, L.A. chapter, CORE; Dorothy Healey, CPUSA; Wayne Pharr, L.A. Black Panther Party; Bob Elias, Euclid Heights Center; Geraldine N. Kataka, Asian Involvement; Milt Zaslow, Liberation Union; Ed Pearl, Ashgrove; Joseph B. Montoya, Democratic candidate, 50th assembly district; Al Quinterro, business representative, Teamsters Local 208; Patricio Attencio, cochairman, Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), L.A.; David Crippen, executive director, L.A. chapter, National Association of Social Workers.

Additional sponsors and funds are requested. The committee's new mailing address is: Citizens' Committee for the Right to Free Political Expression, P. O. Box 30151, Terminal Annex Station, Los Angeles, Calif. 90030.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

THE JUNE EVENT—REVOLUTIONARY PICNIC. Food, entertainment, games. Sat., June 27, 12 noon. Elysian Park, picnic area #1. Chavez Ravine St. near the stadium. Donation: \$2, \$1 for children under 12. Ausp: *The Militant*, 1702 E. 4th St. Tel: 269-4953.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Every Sunday. Class at 4:30 p.m. on Building the Revolutionary Party in America; class at 7 p.m. on 50 Years of World Revolution. Inexpensive dinner served at 6 p.m. Tuition: \$3 per series. 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. Tel: 269-4953.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Regular schedule begins on June 26, 8:30 p.m.

NEW YORK

THE NATIVE-AMERICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Report by John Trudell, Sioux Indian and former member of governing board of liberated Alcatraz. Fri., June 26, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18 St.) Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION—Opening of Washington Socialist Summer School. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. George Washington U, Student Center, Room 415. (21st St. between H and I N.W.) Donation: 50c Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

Morris Starsky's Proud Exit

BY TOM FITZPATRICK Phoenix New Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1989 AT 4 A.M.

Things keep happening to remind us why both Arizona State University and the Arizona Republic are so decidedly second-rate.

This time it's the death of Dr. Morris J. Starsky, a former ASU philosophy professor who was fired by the Arizona Board of Regents in June 1970 for asserting his First Amendment rights. He died the other day in Cincinnati at age 55.

The firing sent Starsky into a form of exile within his own country. He never again was able to work regularly as a philosophy professor. And a congenital heart condition prevented Starsky from switching to another field.

"Was he embittered?" I asked his wife, Lorraine, over the telephone. "Not Morris," Mrs. Starsky said. "He had no regrets. Even knowing the outcome, he never would have turned his back on the antiwar movement. Besides, his heart condition made him realize he was living on borrowed time.

"He'd go to the door every morning and bring the newspaper back to the breakfast table. Once in a while, Morris would grin and tell me: 'It's a good day, Lorraine. I just looked at the obituary page. Guess what? I'm not on it.'"

Starsky was hounded out of Arizona. His firing took place at a time shortly after the shootings of Kent State students protesting the Vietnam War had plunged the nation's college campuses into turmoil.

Starsky permitted his ASU philosophy students to miss class so that he and they could attend an antiwar rally on the University of Arizona campus in Tucson.

This outraged the superpatriots at the Republic. They gave up writing their anti-freeway editorials for a few days to rabble-rouse the business types on the Board of Regents into firing Starsky.

"Morris knew he was on a blacklist," Mrs. Starsky said. "Over the years, he made hundreds of applications. But he never was able to get another decent job in teaching."

Starsky's case went to court years later and a federal judge here in Phoenix ruled that he'd been fired illegally. By this time, Starsky had been the first man to receive reports of government intervention through the Freedom of Information Act.

The papers proved that the FBI had acted illegally in his case.

After being awarded a settlement of \$15,000, Starsky undertook a speaking tour of the nation's campuses. While speaking at Cleveland State University, he was offered a part-time teaching job that lasted for one year.

He taught an introductory philosophy course for which he was paid \$600 per quarter.

This remains an object lesson to all Arizona State faculty members that conformity is the prudent course to adopt for those who prefer to eat regularly and keep up their car payments.

No one learned that the Bureau had played a part until the Freedom of Information Act made FBI records available.

J. Edgar Hoover, that great racetrack enthusiast and closet queen, was still running the organization. Hoover's agents, it was revealed in court, put out the word that Starsky should be sacked as a lesson to left-wing profs at ASU and around the country.

Starsky had taught seven years at ASU. He was a fully tenured faculty member. Tenure is something expressly designed to protect professors from this type of quackery.

As a result of the Starsky firing, the American Association of University Professors censured Arizona State for more than ten years.

The censure was a national embarrassment. But college-teaching jobs are difficult to find. So there's no recorded case of a professor who refused a job at ASU because of the Starsky firing.

Starsky was considered a brilliant philosophy professor who had studied at Brandeis University under Herbert Marcuse. It was Marcuse who fled the Nazis and ultimately became a hero to American radicals in the 1960s. He called Starsky his "most brilliant student."

Starsky earned his master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Michigan. While at Michigan he became friendly with Tom Hayden, who was still an undergraduate.

Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has since become Mr. Jane Fonda and a beneficiary of the largesse which has poured in from her best-selling exercise tapes.

Starsky used to view Hayden's swing from political idealist to economic pragmatist with bemused detachment.

"Hayden was to the left, all right," Starsky would tell his wife, "but I guess he was never really committed to socialism the way some of us were."

Lorraine Starsky had one thing more to say before ending the telephone conversation.

"Morris was a good man who made a difference," she said. "He never felt that he'd been defeated. He loved to teach. He missed that part of his life. But Morris was convinced he'd remained true to his ideals."

And that's not a small thing for a man to go out with.

An Arab student appeals from Israeli prison cell

The following letter was smuggled out of the Damun Prison, near Haifa, and reached the Arab Student Union of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It was originally written in Hebrew and is slightly abridged here.

The Israeli government has admitted that more than 1,300 Palestinian Arabs—many of them Israeli citizens—are now in prison, without trial, under the provisions of the Emergency Laws that the Zionist state inherited from the British colonial government in Palestine. The Arab Student Union at the Hebrew University has called for international support to its demand that all prisoners detained under the Emergency Laws either be brought to trial or immediately released.

Letters and telegrams in support of this demand should be sent to Israeli consulates or to Minister of Justice Yaakov Shapiro, Jerusalem, Israel, with copies to P. Walid, POB 159, Jerusalem.

I, Rashdi Mahmed Haskia, from the village of Tira in Israel, am a student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I am being held in Damun Prison under an order of six months' administrative detention that began Feb. 17, 1970. The accusation against me is a patent frame-up that no reasonable person could accept.

I am one of eight brothers and sisters. Our oldest brother fled to the Gaza Strip before the six days' war. After the war, we received a letter from him through the Red Cross and learned that he was alive and in Cairo.

In August 1969, I was called to a meeting with the Israeli security service in Tira. They began with the threat that even if I should finish my studies at the university, I would not be able to get a job. Then they said I was a candidate for administrative detention because of my brother's activities. They told me the only choice I had was to cooperate with the security service and become an informer. Of course, I rejected their threats and offers.

On Jan. 18, 1970, I was arrested in a dormitory of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The next day, I was taken to the Petech Tickva police station, and there I met the same security agent who had tried to pressure me into becoming an informer. He mentioned his threats of a few weeks before and said he was now going to make good on them: I was going to jail.

During this interrogation, I was asked various questions about my brother's activities. I told them I didn't know anything about my brother. The security agent then said that my brother had crossed the frontier into the Gaza Strip, stayed there awhile and then disappeared, and that I was suspected of having met with him. I denied everything.

Twenty days later, I was transferred to Ashkalon Prison and confronted with a man who they claimed was a confederate of my brother. He was asked, in my presence, if he knew me, and he answered in front of me that he had never seen me, didn't know my name or anything else about me, and couldn't identify me in any way.

After this, I was taken back to Petech Tickva, and since then I have not been questioned, although from time to time the same security agent comes around and reminds me that his threats have come true.

Since they didn't lodge any formal charge against me and my innocence had been proved, I expected to be released. Instead, after 30 days, orders for six months' administrative detention, signed by the Israeli chief of staff, were issued against me.

Administrative detention under the Emergency Laws is notoriously one of the most arbitrary and brutal of all methods used by the Israeli security service to detain innocent people. These security people are not in the least disturbed by the obvious contradiction between the use of such "emergency regulations" and the so-called democratic character of the state of Israel. There is no way of challenging these detention orders in the Israeli courts, and that is why they are used so often. Furthermore, the detention orders are usually renewed after six months, and in this way a person can be kept in prison for life "by installments."

I am being held here along with 70 other administrative detainees, some of whom have already been held for more than 28 months.

I call on everyone with a conscience who lives in the state of Israel to ask himself if this land needs still more oppression and bitterness, or whether with understanding, forgiveness and good will, we might not be able to achieve a just peace and honorable coexistence between the two peoples.

Other questions arise. Where is sound common sense, where is human conscience, where is Jewish conscience? The Jewish people have been subject to so much oppression all over the world. Many questions will have to wait a long time for an answer, and maybe they will never receive one.

Israeli citizens, Israeli students—I reach out to you and try to make you understand this problem. I hope that no human being with a conscience will stand aloof in the face of such wrong done to me and to my people by these arbitrary orders of detention. I will be grateful to everyone who helps to free the people unjustly imprisoned.

Kent Guard chaplain: shooting unjustified



Prensa Latina/LNS

By RANDY FURST

AKRON, Ohio—A National Guard officer who witnessed the killings at Kent State agrees that the shooting was unnecessary.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Rev. John Simons, a major in the Ohio National Guard, said that guardsmen did not have to fire on students.

Simons is the first guardsman on the scene at Kent to take such an unequivocal position publicly. The major was the chaplain assigned to the units and saw guardsmen aim and shoot the Kent students May 4.

He said he had heard no sniper fire before Guard troops opened fire without warning.

"Without any reflection on the men," Chaplain Simons told *The Militant*, "I don't think the shootings were necessary."

The chaplain also said he heard no order to fire.

Simons was one of numerous guardsmen contacted by *The Militant*. Some refused to discuss what happened.

One guardsman, Sgt. Dale Antram, who told *The Militant* he did not shoot, said that he turned at the sound of shots and watched a line of guardsmen fire on students.

"Of those who were firing," Sgt. Antram said, "several were firing into the ground—I could see the bullets striking five or eight yards in front of them, some were shooting in the air and others, on the extreme left, had their weapons levelled."

Simons' statement that there was no sniper fire directly contradicts assertions by his superior officers. After the killings, Guard officials alleged that a sniper had fired on guardsmen from a dormitory roof. All Kent State students interviewed by *The Militant* stated there was no sniper fire.

Thus far, no sniper has been produced by civilian or military authorities. Chaplain Simons labeled the remarks made by officers that snipers had fired on students "a frantic search for justification."

"The Guard would like to find a

sniper about as much as Nixon would like to find a Pentagon in Cambodia," Chaplain Simons said in the interview.

When guardsmen opened fire, the chaplain said, "The kids ducked. I didn't see any guardsmen ducking. If there was a sniper, how could he have missed? We were like the red coats. A sniper would have had to have been drunk to miss."

"It was my impression," said Sgt. Antram, "that at least some of the students didn't think we had loaded weapons, that we were carrying blanks rather than live ammunition. They just didn't realize what they were facing."

"The real shock," said Chaplain Simons was that "American troops were firing on American campus students. Since when did they become the enemy?"

"The initial mission of the troops," said the chaplain, "was to clear the Commons, which had been put off limits by civilian authorities. Apparently the contingent of troops on the campus felt it was necessary to go beyond the Commons to complete the mission."

"I'm not convinced that it was really necessary to disperse the students," said the chaplain. "There are several tests of democracy and one of them is how much assembly and how much dissent you allow."

After the firing stopped, the guardsmen regrouped. "Some were crying," Chaplain Simons recalled. "They were upset."

Sgt. Antram said he felt like becoming a conscientious objector when he learned of the deaths.

Why did the guardsmen fire? "They were tired, afraid and angry," Chaplain Simons said. But the causes, he adds, go deeper. "There's a link between what happened at Kent and what happened in Cambodia. I think there's a hostility among old men in authority—whether military or civilian—a feeling that there is a Communist under every rocky event—a feeling students should be seen and not heard, and if they're heard too loudly, spank them. Or just shoot them."



Israeli troops in show of force

Black youth leading way

Confrontation in Georgia

By CLIFF CONNER

SANDERSVILLE, Ga. — When Richard Turner declares that "Sandersville will never be the same," it is not the observation of a disinterested onlooker. Turner has been in the forefront of a powerful movement of Black people, particularly youth, in this small Georgia town, aimed at ending the intolerable conditions that have oppressed them all their lives.

Recently Turner and several members of Sandersville's Black Youth Club were interviewed by Frank Grinnon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Georgia's fifth district. Grinnon conducted the interview as a fact-finding investigation for the Socialist Workers Georgia Campaign Committee.

"The tremendous courage of these freedom fighters is evident," said Grinnon. "The local police have their headquarters under constant surveillance, and it's obvious that they're not there to protect the Black Youth Club. They tailed us from the moment we entered the Black community, and when we stepped outside the BYC headquarters, they stopped us and tried to intimidate us. This was just a small sample of

the harassment which the Black movement faces every day in Sandersville."

Turner described how the struggle began late last year. "One day we went down and put some demands on the mayor's desk. We demanded that living conditions where we live be improved. We want sidewalks and at least a decent sewer system. We also demanded more jobs for Black people downtown, especially in the city hall and county government offices. We pay taxes, but we can't get hired in those jobs our taxes pay for! We gave them 10 days to let us know what they were going to do, but they refused to give us any answer.

"Around the first part of November [1969] we started marching. They set up a city ordinance that no more marches or demonstrations could take place in the city limits of Sandersville. And that's just what we wanted them to do, because we knew that was against the U. S. Constitution! So about 300 of us marched that day, and they met us as we entered town and told us that if we wouldn't turn around they'd jail us all. So we told them we'd go to jail, but they were bluffing . . . we marched on."

Important initial ruling on suit to test McCarran Act

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK — An important initial victory was won here June 12 when the federal district court in Brooklyn decided to convene a three-judge panel to pass on the constitutional merits of the suit to restrain Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Attorney General John N. Mitchell from barring the well-known Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel from the United States.

The decision was handed down by Judge John R. Bartels in federal court for the Eastern District of New York. His favorable decision indicated his belief that the suit raises serious constitutional questions.

The suit, which was filed last March, is being brought by eight leading American scholars (see *The Militant*, April 3, 1970). They contend that the rejection of Mandel's visa application for an American speaking tour last October and November restricts their First Amendment right to hear the opinions of other scholars in their fields. It is designed to test the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act under which Mandel and other prominent foreigners — most recently Shirley Graham DuBois — have been denied entry to the U. S.

Since 1962 the U. S. Supreme Court has tended to broaden its interpretation of the First Amendment to include the "right to hear" as well as

the "right to speak." This case, however, marks the first time that the "right to hear" provisions of the McCarran Act, passed at the height of the witch-hunt in 1952, will be tested in federal court.

Mandel, who is the editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* and author of *Marxist Economic Theory*, has accepted invitations issued to him by some of the plaintiffs for the fall of this year to address various university groups in an atmosphere of free and open academic exchange. Yet no plans for such meetings can be made in the face of the government's attempts to prevent American scholars and intellectuals from exchanging ideas with foreign scholars whose ideas it dislikes.

In the June 12 hearing, the attorney for the government, Lloyd H. Baker, assistant U. S. attorney for the Eastern District, contended that Congress and the Executive have the right to exclude any alien for any reason and that no "right to hear" exists. His refusal to deal with the question in light of the Supreme Court precedents since 1962 avoided the constitutional issue and visibly irritated the judge.

The suit is being initiated by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with the support of the Socialist Scholars Conference and the American Foundation for Social Justice. The ECLC's noted constitutional lawyer, Leonard Boudin, is the attorney in the case.

The action was brought by the following scholars: Prof. David Marmelstein, Department of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Prof. Wassily Leontief, Department of Economics, Harvard University; Prof. Norman Birnbaum, Department of Anthropology-Sociology, Amherst College; Prof. Robert L. Heilbroner, Department of Economics, New School for Social Research; Prof. Robert P. Wolff, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University; Associate Prof. Louis Menashe, Department of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Richard A. Falk, Millbank Professor of International Law, Princeton University; Noam Chomsky, Department of Linguistics, MIT.

In addition to the mass marches (some composed of a few thousand Black people in a town with a total population listed as 5,425), the Black Youth Club organized an economic boycott and a school boycott. The school boycott was in response to a white teacher carrying guns and tear gas in the all-Black high school, and it won an immediate transfer of the offensive teacher.

The economic boycott had a devastating effect on local business and the merchants retaliated with a campaign of vigilante terrorism. Self-appointed "deputies" swaggered through the town at all hours of the day and night with six shooters on their hips and/or shotguns in their hands, often taking potshots at Black-driven vehicles. Night riders shot up church rallies, shot down pedestrians, and mutilated Richard Turner's home and station wagon. The police winked at these activities.

The Black community did not permit such attacks to occur with impunity. A white filling station and grocery store owner pumped six shots from a revolver into a crowd of Black teenagers at a freedom rally, injuring one girl. The next night his filling station and grocery store burned to the ground.

Shortly past midnight on the day after Christmas, a dynamite bomb was thrown at Turner's home, but one of the Black Youth Club guards managed to yank the fuse out before the bomb exploded. About an hour later a white filling station owner came to Turner's front door with a pistol in one hand and a rifle in the other, kicking the door and yelling threats. Perhaps he was expecting to be met with non-violence; but that was not to be the case: he was met by a bullet and sent to the hospital.

Turner and two of the BYCers were arrested for the shooting, but the arrests triggered the most militant and massive phase of the protest movement. Governor Lester Maddox ordered state troopers and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation into Sandersville to maintain "law and order," but the following day a Black woman,



Photo by Steve Dash

Frank Grinnon, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from Georgia, interviewed Black youth leading community struggle.

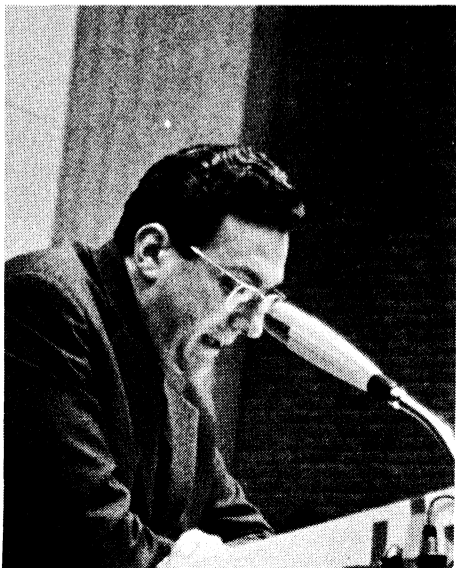
mother of nine, was wounded by a night raider's shotgun, and a social explosion seemed certain.

To ease that tension, all charges against Turner and the BYCers were dropped and they were released from jail. But the movement went back into high gear when it was learned that the shotgun which gunned down the Black woman belonged to the chief of police of nearby Tennesse, Ga.

Demonstrations continued daily, with the Georgia state troopers jumping in on the side of the local police. Mass arrests during a peaceful demonstration provoked the destruction of four state patrol cars. The U. S. Justice Department had observers on the scene, but no federal agency acted to defend the rights and lives of Sandersville's Afro-American citizens.

The movement in Sandersville is continuing and the situation is highly unstable. "We're still demonstrating," says Turner, "and our selective buying campaign is still going on too." But none of us are in jail now and the Black people of Sandersville are with us all the way, so the movement is still going strong."

Grinnon observed that although the struggle in Sandersville has won a number of significant victories, particularly in defending Black activists, the original demands still have not been met. The continued existence of intolerable conditions in the Black community makes continuation of the struggle a certainty.



Ernest Mandel

International Socialist Review

in the June issue...

... an interview with Chen Pi-lan about women's liberation in China; an article by George Novack on Marxism versus terrorism; an article by Dick Roberts on the contemporary economic status of Third World peoples in the United States; an article by Ernest Mandel on world Trotskyism today; two important documents of the Chicano struggle; a report on "repression" from rural Minnesota; an editorial on the new stage of the antiwar movement plus departments and reviews.

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SWP candidates urge Congress adopt equal rights amendment

The following is a statement of position by the Socialist Workers Party 1970 senatorial candidates on the proposed constitutional amendment guaranteeing equal rights for women. The statement has been submitted by the candidates to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments where the bill is presently under consideration. From the subcommittee, the bill is expected to go to the Judiciary Committee and then to the Senate floor.

The Socialist Workers Party urges the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution as a long overdue basic democratic right.

As it now stands, the Constitution does not even register the fact that women have a claim as citizens to equal rights and treatment under law. There have been repeated federal court decisions—one in the Supreme Court as late as 1961 (Hoyt vs. Florida)—which actually ruled that women are not to be considered "persons" in the legal sense, even though corporations are. The state and local laws discriminating against women reflect this "legal non-person" status. How, to take one example, can any woman be judged by her peers—as required by the Constitution—when some states have laws preventing women from serving equally on juries?

The Equal Rights Amendment states simply, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex." The fact that in 1970 such a constitutional amendment has still not been adopted is itself a commentary on the depth of oppression suffered by women in this society. To vote it down would reflect a contempt for the basic human dignity of more than half the population.

The Equal Rights Amendment has been raised in Congress every year since the National Women's Party first proposed it in 1923. The serious consideration and publicity it is receiving today is a reflection of the rising sentiment and struggle for women's liberation. This is a movement which is challenging the tremendous inequalities and oppression faced by women in all areas of society—inequalities in pay, job opportunity, employment, education, politics, within the family, and in every other social institution.

Democratic rights under capitalism are never given. They are only conceded as a result of struggle. This

was true of the Bill of Rights and the key amendments to the Constitution. It is still true today. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would be a reflection of the deep-going struggle which is just beginning against the overall oppression of women.

Some who support the passage of this amendment believe it will "satisfy" the growing struggle for the liberation of women. They are badly mistaken!

Winning full legal equality will lead women to realize ever more clearly that the roots of their oppression lie far deeper than legal forms—that they are economic, social and psychological. Just as legal equality for Afro-Americans, so grudgingly "granted" by the rulers, has proven to be a battering ram in the more far-reaching struggle for full liberation, so legal equality for women will help to catalyze further and deeper struggles.

Given the depth of the exploitation of women in our society, the demand for full "equality under law" has profound implications for the struggle for liberation in all areas. In the field of employment, true equality means not only that women should have equal pay and equal opportunity now, but that preferential hiring, training and upgrading of women and members of oppressed national minority groups is needed to compensate for past discrimination.

It means, for example, that young Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other Third World women, now suffering the greatest unemployment, would be the first hired instead of the last. Such a step also calls for a decrease in the work week with no reduction in pay, so that jobs could be provided for all. This would undercut efforts to pit the employed against the unemployed with the scare argument that a fight for preferential hiring of women would jeopardize their jobs.

For women to have equal opportunity to earn a livelihood, and to develop their capacities as human beings, they must not be discriminated against because of the birth of a child. This means they must have, as a right, full maternity leaves without loss of pay or seniority. It means changing the backward attitude in the United States—the wealthiest nation in the world—toward pregnant working women, who are penalized on the job and often fired against their will.

True equality for women necessitates 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them. Such centers will free women to pursue the work of their choice, and care for children of all working parents.

True equality will mean free abortion facilities and birth control devices available on demand. That the elements of force and chance will be taken out of child-bearing. That women will have control of their bodies. It will also mean the provision of high-quality, low cost communal food, cleaning and laundry services available to all who wish to use them.

Protective legislation

In past struggles to improve working conditions, protective legislation for women has been fought for and won in various states. This legislation has meant special protection for women on such vital matters as forced overtime work, lifting of heavy weights, ventilation, rest breaks, and stools to sit on.

With the introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment, some employers of female workers have argued that

granting equal legal status to women would require the elimination of all such protective legislation. Some corporations are already attempting to use Title VII of the 1963 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits job discrimination on the grounds of race or sex, to move against such special protective laws.

To attempt in the name of women's "equality" to get rid of laws which protect women workers is the height of hypocrisy and fraud. Voiding of genuinely protective legislation would obviously serve only to increase the inequalities and oppression of women, instead of alleviating them. That would be in direct violation of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Unfortunately, many of the trade union officials who testified at the congressional hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment helped to confuse this issue by declaring they were against the Equal Rights Amendment on the grounds that its passage would necessarily void existing protective legislation. Instead of exposing the hypocrisy of the employers, these trade union leaders, in effect, gave in to their absurd and twisted definition of "equality."

In the name of protecting working women, they asked working women to give up their legal rights! The logic of their position would be not only to call for defeating the Equal Rights Amendment, but for annulling Title VII of the Civil Rights Act as well.

The confusion caused by the testimony of union spokesmen in Washington is further compounded by the fact that other unionists, most notably forces in the UAW, have taken an opposite view and called for voiding of all protective legislation on the grounds that protective laws are being used by some employers to discriminate against women workers. In arguing for this, UAW officials point to the many instances where laws restricting hours women can work, or the weight they can lift, have been used, unnecessarily, to block women from higher paying job categories.

The response of these trade union spokesmen—both those who oppose protective laws and those who oppose the Equal Rights Amendment—has only served to play into the hands of the employers. The capitalists will always use every means available to continue their super-ex-



ploitation of women workers. When protective laws cut into their profits, they will try to get rid of them. Where these laws remain in effect, they will try to disregard them, or attempt to use them to discriminate against women.

To effectively combat this, and to lay the basis for the long-run struggle to end discrimination and exploitation of women in all areas of employment, women must first and foremost assert their absolute and unequivocal right to full equality as the basis of their struggle. Secondly, they must organize to take on the employers, in the shops as well as in the courts.

Protective laws, such as limitations on the number of hours women can be forced to work, and provisions for better working conditions, must be maintained and extended to men. To argue the opposite—that women must give up these protections—would be analogous to saying that equal-pay demands should be interpreted as meaning that men's wages should be lowered to the level of women's wages.

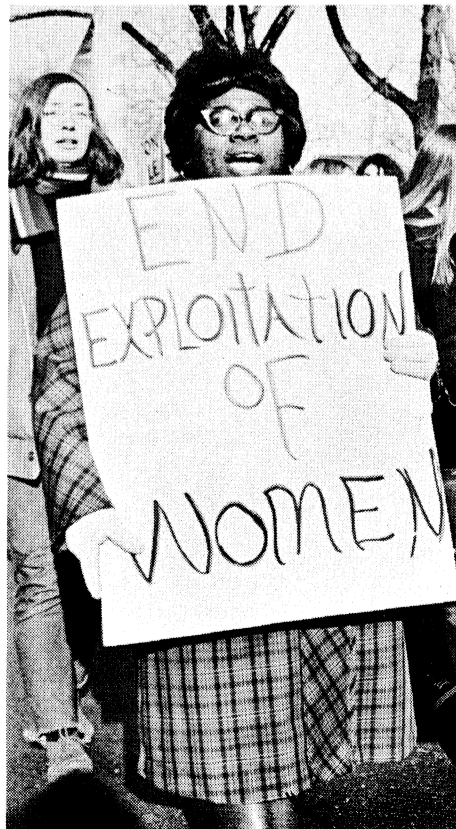
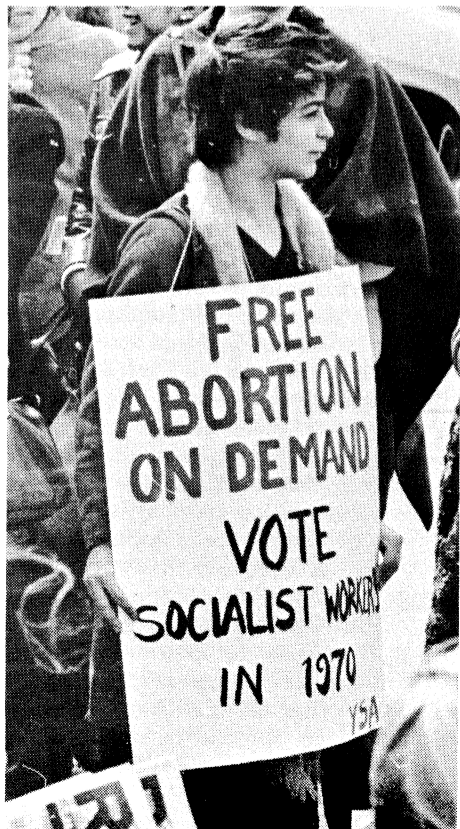
In the cases where protective laws are used to discriminate against women workers, the extension of these laws to men would eliminate this discrimination as well as improve working conditions for men.

In addition, if the rights of women are to be defended, new protective laws are needed to provide for paid maternity leaves, child-care facilities, equal pay, preferential hiring, etc.

The goal that women are struggling toward today is for more than formal, legal equality in a decaying society characterized by war, exploitation, poverty, racism, and alienated human relations. What this new movement is calling for is an entire reorganization of society so that it will meet the needs of all humankind and bring full economic, political and psychological liberation for women.

The bourgeois framers of the U.S. Constitution considered women to be inferior to men. Women were unworthy of full rights as human beings, just as they considered Black people to be subhuman. It is scandalous that this same concept of female inferiority is still reflected in the American Constitution and the rulings of the courts. Ending this situation will be a step in the struggle of women to end their oppression in all areas of society.

Naomi Allen, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Illinois; Peter Camejo, Massachusetts; Kipp Dawson, New York; Dianne Feeley, California; James Harris, Ohio; Mariana Hernandez, Texas; Paul Lodico, Michigan; Robin Maisel, Pennsylvania; Bill Massey, Washington; Nancy Strebe, Minnesota; Linda Jenness (candidate for governor), Georgia.



A reply to Dave Dellinger

There are no shortcuts to end

By FRED HALSTEAD

The May 14 New York Village Voice carried a report on the May 9 Washington antiwar demonstration sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The author, David Gelber, assailed the demonstration as "just another New Mobe picnic" and charged Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party and Brad Lytle, a pacifist, with being in part responsible because in their role of chief marshals they prevented the demonstration from being turned into a possibly bloody confrontation.

A reply by Fred Halstead (see The Militant June 5) was not published by the Voice. They did print a brief letter by him. Then, on June 4, the Voice ran a long article by Dave Dellinger in reply to Halstead's letter. The following is in reply to Dellinger.

Dave Dellinger's accusation in his article (Village Voice, June 4) that my letter (Village Voice, May 28) may be used by the government in its case against his appeal on the Chicago trial is ridiculous and out of order. The Chicago defendants are victims of an atrocious act of government repression and all of us in the movement join in their defense. But that doesn't mean the rest of us have to agree with their politics or their style, and it doesn't mean Dellinger is immune to criticism from movement people.

David Gelber and Dellinger both used extensive space in the Voice to make clear that they wanted a confrontation in Washington May 9 which would have led at least to large-scale arrests or gassing, and to criticize me because I opposed that. If Dellinger doesn't want his well-known approach to confrontation mentioned he will have to restrain himself. When he publicly advocates it for demonstrations in which I share major responsibility for marshals, I will criticize him for what I believe to be mistaken policy.

Dellinger is correct when he says that behind the dispute over the May 9 demonstration there is an important movement debate over tactics. Indeed it goes a lot deeper than tactics. It involves the questions of 1) whether the antiwar movement as such should continue; 2) the nature of an antiwar coalition; and 3) whether acts of moral witness or "resistance" by smaller or larger groups of individuals should be substituted for the attempt to involve immense masses.

Dellinger says: "Fred Halstead seems to think our non-electoral political choices are limited to endlessly repeated marches and rallies, on the one hand, or mindless, counterproductive violence, on the other. He fails to understand that there is a third non-electoral alternative—open, disciplined, carefully focused nonviolent resistance."

I am aware of many other forms of antiwar activity aside from marches and rallies, some of which I think are effective and some of which are not. The mass non-confrontational demonstrations are not panaceas. They are a vital form of activity which help spread the antiwar activism to new layers of the population, which provide a way for hidden, amorphous dissent to be manifest, and which allow a unified expression of opposition to the war by different tendencies which simply can't agree on other forms of activity and political issues.

Nobody I know ever promised that mass demonstrations by themselves would end the war. But neither will the necessarily much smaller "confrontation" type activities—whether of the nonviolent type or not. However, Dellinger and other advocates of this activity have repeatedly made the most exaggerated predictions about "shutting down the draft," or "paralyzing the war machine," by "putting our bodies on the line."

A recent example of this is the UNDO (Union of National Draft Opposition) actions June 10, which were mentioned in Dellinger's article. A leaflet advertising these actions and distributed through the New Mobe Washington office declares that from June 10 on the Washington draft board would be shut down "by the people." Unfortunately, it didn't happen. The action was strictly symbolic. So it has been with all such actions, whether they involved a handful and little disruption as on June 10, or whether they involved a few thousand and caused a one or two day close down of the draft board as in Oakland in 1967.

Such actions may have a certain religious or emotional meaning for the individuals involved, and they get a certain amount of publicity. But in no case are they any more "real" or less symbolic than parades and rallies. They are just infinitely smaller. And they are extremely expensive in legal fees, bail, and time in jail by movement activists.

The "spark theory"

Dellinger speaks as if some dramat-

ic acts—or statements—by a relative handful could somehow spark a decisive widespread move toward "active resistance." This is not a new theory. It is typical of middle-class radicals, from the 19th century Russian Narodniki to the Weathermen, who attempt to substitute themselves for the mass. This is the thread that runs through Dellinger's argument and through his actions and statements of recent years.

Lurking behind this approach is also the implied hope that somehow a really "committed" or "threatening" action will finally attract the attention of the ruling class and cause them to change their minds, to pay attention to their children. This is an extremely dangerous illusion. The capitalist power structure looks upon such acts as what they are: acts of frustration and weakness, and seizes upon them to deliver repressive counterblows at the movement.

Of course there is a difference between nonviolent, disciplined civil disobedience and "mindless, counterproductive acts of violence." The former attempts to put the onus for violence on the warmakers where it belongs, and many of the groups that organize this type of activity are sensitive to the need to do it in such a way as to not involve people who do not want to be involved. On this basis I have agreed to work with such groups in several demonstrations. But disciplined nonviolent civil disobedience, while perhaps satisfying to those who are its practitioners, is no substitute for mass action either. We have had many experiences with it in recent years, and it has never involved masses. And, to cancel one argument, "It hasn't ended the war."

There are no shortcuts. The movement will have the actual power to stop the war, to "paralyze the war machine," only when the stratas of the population which have the power to do so—specifically decisive sections of the organized workers, and the GIs—are involved in antiwar activism on the scale the students are now. Anything which helps involve these masses is positive, and anything which interferes with involving them is negative.

Destroying the coalition

"What is surprising," says Dellinger, "is that some movement leaders remain hung up on speeches and rallies and oppose the move to active, organized resistance." Actually, the "move" to civil disobedience or "active resistance" has been made many times since the beginning of the anti-Vietnam-war movement. And to my knowledge, move-



Nurses demonstrated against the war at New York's Times Square, May 23. After Kent, Cambodia, Jackson, and Augusta, antiwar sentiment in the country deepened.

ment leaders not in agreement with such tactics did not attempt to stop those who wanted to try them as long as they did it in their own name and without involving people who didn't want to be involved. And it has been tried many times, never with anything more than symbolic effect.

What I, and others not in agreement with such tactics, have insisted upon is that the advocates of civil disobedience and/or confrontation adventures not impose such tactics on the coalition as a whole. For when they attempt to do that, they destroy the coalition by forcing out those who can't agree with the tactic.

This is what happened with the old National Mobilization Committee. It then became necessary to rebuild the coalition through the national antiwar conference in Cleveland July 4, 1969, which founded the New Mobilization Committee and called the massive Nov. 13-15 Washington actions.

But once again, after Nov. 13-15, Dellinger and others denounced mass demonstrations as a waste of time and moved to impose on the mass movement the policies of a self-appointed clique of confrontationists. They were not satisfied to try out their theories by organizing those who agreed with them to test the theories in action. No, they insisted that the movement as a whole must adopt these tactics, that the broad coalition must add these tactics to its list.

But it is just as impossible to impose civil disobedience on the coalition and still keep its broad coalition character as it is to impose support for a particular political candidate on the coalition and have it keep its coalition character. If that were tried, those who didn't support the candidate would simply leave the coalition, and rightly so. As a matter of fact, that is what destroyed the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which preceded the National Mobe.

A broad coalition of the antiwar movement must determine by consensus what the movement as a whole does. This does not mean that sections of the movement cannot and should not do other things. But they can't do them in the name of the broad coalition without destroying the coalition.

The Socialist Workers Party, which



Photo by Ron Payne

"Self-determination in Vietnam and at Home" was one of the main slogans of the May 30 Chicano Moratorium demonstration in San Francisco. Reflecting the upsurge of mass antiwar sentiment fol-

lowing the Cambodia invasion, it was the largest demonstration of Chicanos and Latinos ever held in San Francisco.

uts to ending the war



Photo by Howard Petrick

Nurses demonstrated against the war at New York's Union Square, May 23. After Kent, Cambria, Jackson and Augusta, antiwar sentiment in the country deepened to

bring many new layers of the population into the movement. The job of the antiwar coalition is to reach out to all who oppose the war.

ending the war



Photo by Howard Petrick

the war at New York's Union Square, Cambodia, Jackson and in the country deepened to bring many new layers of the population into the movement. The job of the antiwar coalition is to reach out to all who oppose the war.

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I represent, does lots of things in antiwar activity and other fields that we consider vitally important and that others in the antiwar movement don't understand or don't agree with. But we don't try to impose them on the movement as a whole. We don't say the antiwar coalition, as a coalition, must support socialist candidates; we don't say it must call for the nationalization of industries; we don't say it must support the Arab revolution; or that it must oppose the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

We don't try to impose those things — as crucial as we think they are — on the antiwar coalition because we know many important forces within the coalition couldn't go along. The broad coalition of the antiwar movement must limit itself to those policies and to those tactics which the major forces that make it up can agree to.

One reason for the heat of Dellinger's attack is that what happened before to the old National Mobilization Committee is now happening to the New Mobilization Committee. Because some within it have insisted on imposing their own tactics of civil disobedience and confrontation upon it, it has ceased to be a broad coalition, and there is once again the need to rebuild the antiwar coalition.

Nuclear threat

Dellinger's final argument in the *Voice* article is a whopper: Nuclear warfare is threatened in Indochina, and if we don't do something quick, it may be too late. But the program he offers is something of a letdown: He lists the June 10 antidraft action, and the June 19 Washington Panther rally, a worthy action to support, but still just a rally not unlike those Dellinger inveighs against.

Then he lists a possible future call for "1) sit-ins at congressmen's and senators' offices . . . to demand that Congress stay in session until it cut all appropriations for war and re-allocate funds for economic assistance to the poor; and 2) spreading the campus strike to places of work, with sick-of-the-war stoppages and other economic pressures." That's it.

Of course, a general strike against the war would be quite effective, but it is not much closer to realization because Dellinger has mentioned it. It has been mentioned before. And it will be mentioned again. But it won't be

come a reality until significant sections of the organized labor movement are involved in the call, and that has yet to be achieved. To achieve it, or something of that effectiveness, it is necessary to take careful steps to involve labor in the antiwar movement, to spread the movement to ever broader layers. It is necessary to have mass actions for which labor support and participation can be obtained. But, say Dellinger and his supporters: Nuclear war threatens; we have no time for that. We must do something dramatic.

There is no doubt that nuclear warfare is threatened by Nixon, as it has been threatened by Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson before him. John Foster Dulles actually offered nuclear weapons for use in Vietnam by the French at Dien Bien Phu. But that offer was rescinded, partly because the French command doubted the military usefulness of A-bombs under the circumstances and partly because the British put pressure on Eisenhower against the offer.

Some of the same considerations now deter Nixon: the fact that nuclear weapons are not effective in jungle guerrilla war, and the worldwide opposition to any such move by the U. S.

This opposition, of course, includes the fact that both China and the USSR have such weapons and would be under extreme pressure to intervene on behalf of North Vietnam should the U. S. use them against Hanoi or Hai-phong. In any exchange of tactical nuclear weapons in the Indochina theater, the U. S. would be at a distinct military disadvantage because its forces are mostly in easily definable target areas, while the other side's are spread out over the countryside. In addition, should the U. S. use nuclear weapons in Indochina, the reaction of the peoples of the world could only be imagined. U. S. citizens overseas would be lucky to escape with their lives, let alone their investments. Not the least of the deterrents is the massive antiwar movement in the U. S. We saw the reaction to Cambodia.

The fact is there are social forces more powerful than the atom bomb. That is what the antiwar movement is all about. The continued development of the massive antiwar move-

ment is the most effective deterrent to nuclear catastrophe. That is why the war is the central issue for the antiwar movement, and why it is possible to involve more people on that issue than on any other.

That is not to say that other issues — particularly Black liberation and independent anticapitalist politics — are not of equal importance in the American scene. But it is to say that the antiwar issue must not be buried or sidetracked and that an antiwar coalition with the war as the central issue of its concern is vital. That is why it is reckless and shortsighted to attempt to destroy the antiwar coalition as such — as many "new lefters" in and out of SDS tried to do — and to turn it into a multi-issue radical party, or another Conference on New Politics, or anything else. The mass antiwar movement is our most powerful nuclear

deterrent. Only fools would throw it away.

Dellinger denigrates mass marches and rallies. But they have been vital to building this mass movement, and what has been built is not just a marching society. Across the country there are now hundreds of antiwar universities, created by the students since Cambodia, where facilities are available to the students, and others, for antiwar activity. Where the antiwar movement is most powerful, on the campuses, it already has the raw power to stop complicity with the war. On some campuses this has been largely accomplished. On others, the careful, skilled organizing work necessary to accomplish it remains to be done. But the mass sentiment is there. And the explosion of the antiwar movement has brought with it deeper radicalization. (Continued on page 15)

Gains made in campaign for Mass. antiwar vote

By KATHERINE PAGE

The following interview was obtained from John McCann, coordinator of the Vietnam Referendum '70 campaign in Massachusetts. McCann was seriously injured May 24 when Progressive Labor and SDS members tried to violently force their way into a national gathering of the Student Mobilization Committee in Boston. He is currently recovering from eye surgery, performed to correct a detached retina, which resulted from the beating he received. It is still unknown whether he will regain sight in his left eye.

BOSTON — The statewide drive to place a referendum on the ballot for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam continues to make new headway.

John McCann, coordinator of the campaign, said in an interview that nearly half the signatures have been collected in the eight-week-old petition campaign.

Organizers have until August 27 to collect 1,200 signatures in each of Massachusetts' 40 state senatorial districts.

"The total number of signatures turned in to the office is over 43,000 and there are at least that many again which have not been turned in yet," said McCann. "We are expecting to file our first district within a week."

Meanwhile there have been attempts by Massachusetts Democratic Party leaders to water down the Donohue bill, which is also aimed at putting the question of immediate withdrawal directly before the state voters.

The Democratic maneuvers to avoid a direct vote on the war by the people of the state add all the more importance to Vietnam Referendum '70 campaign.

The referendum has gained the endorsement of Sen. Edward Kennedy, Boston mayor Kevin White, and State Senate president Maurice A. Donohue.

Other supporters of the statewide referendum are Nobel prize-winner George Wald, John R. Craig, the vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, and U. S. congressman Michael J. Harrington.

McCann said that, while the figures were approximate, he could report that petitioners have completed signature drives in 12 senatorial districts, with some districts reporting four times the necessary 1,200 names. "We are near completion in eight additional districts," McCann added.

"The referendum will give the people of Massachusetts a chance to express once and for all with utmost clarity their position on the war."

The antiwar leader said the referendum has brought into the antiwar movement thousands of people who have never before participated.



Photo by Brian Shannon

John McCann, coordinator of Massachusetts Vietnam Referendum '70.

"But the referendum's greatest significance lies in the fact that people are beginning to realize decisions of war and peace are their prerogative and not the prerogative of politicians. The concept of 'Let the People Vote on War' is a potent one and has tremendous potential in regard to the effect it can have on the warmakers. By the time this campaign is over, we anticipate millions of people will realize that they should have the right to decide the question of war."

McCann says that he anticipates a massive educational effort after ballot status is achieved. "This will be a very costly campaign," he says. "We'll be using billboards, television, and advertising and utilizing the vast network of volunteers which has been built up to distribute literature. Every home that has been approached for signatures in the early part of the campaign will be approached again several times with brochures and leaflets containing factual information on the war."

ANTIWAR GIs SPEAK OUT

Interviews with Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War

by Fred Halstead

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High-schoolers confront Goldberg

By RANDY FURST

"They are the men who have united the Democratic Party by their consistent, outspoken and long-time opposition to the war, by their communication with the young, by their deep understanding of the economy and state issues, and by their desire, determination and dedication to making America work for all its people."—From a leaflet supporting Arthur J. Goldberg for governor and Basil Patterson for lieutenant governor of New York.

NEW YORK — Immediate withdrawal was obviously not Arthur J. Goldberg's favorite topic during a meeting here June 11 with high school students. The meeting took place at the National Conference of Christians and Jews and was attended by some 20 students from the High School Student Rights Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, the High School Moratorium, the citywide high school student government, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The front-running candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for governor in the June 23 primary attempted to duck the question of immediate withdrawal a half dozen times.

"Let's put it this way," said Goldberg. "It's more important to end the war."



Michael Weisman, New York high school SMC: "I'm for immediate withdrawal."

How about immediate complete withdrawal, asked Michael Weisman of the Student Mobilization Committee.

"I advocate an immediate cease fire," Goldberg suggested. He appeared irritated.

But where did he stand on immediate withdrawal, Weisman wanted to know.

"I want to have a discussion. I want to have a socratic dialogue, protested Arthur J. Goldberg, who as ambassador to the United Nations had once been one of U.S. imperialism's chief apologists.

Weisman did not mind a dialogue but what was this dove's position on getting out of Vietnam now?

"No, No," said Goldberg. "I'm conducting a dialogue."

Then he asked Weisman, "Do you advocate an immediate cease fire?"

Weisman said he was for a total immediate withdrawal.

"Really, it's a slogan," said Goldberg, who is running on the slogan of "Integrity, Experience and Concern," according to his campaign literature. "I advocate an immediate end of the war and prompt withdrawal of troops," said Goldberg. "Right away."

He clarified his withdrawal position a moment later with ". . . as promptly as we can"; then, ". . . as soon as we can"; and finally, ". . . once the war ends."

The smile was fading from the candidate's face as Joseph Harris of the New York YSA asked for the candidate's position on control of the Black community.

"First I have to be elected," said Goldberg. He was obviously perplexed.

"I believe in consulting the community," said Goldberg.

"In other words," concluded the Black student, "you do not favor Black control of the Black community?"

"No, no," said Goldberg. "I'd prefer to say it my own way."

Weisman started in again. He said he was not satisfied with the gubernatorial candidate's position on immediate withdrawal. He said that Goldberg sounded like Nixon.

"I entirely disagree with Nixon," argued Goldberg. "I believe we ought to get out."

A campaign aide, leaned over to Goldberg. "That guy's a socialist."

Goldberg gave his aide a fleeting, painful smile.

This reporter leaned over to the campaign aide. "A socialist you say? Who is he?"

"His name is Weisman," said the aide. "I know. I have his name written down. I'll tell you about him later." He didn't.

Meanwhile, Goldberg was heaving aside his conservative dove coat, and putting on his radical dove coat.

"I go way beyond what all of you have said," said Goldberg. The students waited to hear. "I support withdrawing our soldiers from Japan and Korea."

"Do you support pulling out all over the world," came a question from the rear.

"No, we have our NATO obligations," said Goldberg, putting on his reactionary coat.

It was almost time to go. "The solu-



Arthur Goldberg, Democratic candidate for governor of New York: "I want to have a socratic dialogue."

tion is a coalition government," said Goldberg suddenly, putting on his liberal coat. "Fulbright knows that. I'm with him."

And with that he and his aides left for a street rally in Brooklyn.

High court strike rulings further attack on labor

By FRANK LOVELL

Recent antilabor rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court dealt crippling blows to some current union actions and buoyed employer hopes that the labor movement will be appreciably weakened—preparing the way for further government control of wages and working conditions.

On June 8 the Supreme Court ruled that federal judges may reverse anti-strike injunction orders of state judges only in such narrow circumstances as when the federal court's orders are being frustrated by a lower court ruling. The majority opinion, by Justice Black, held that Congress had meant in a 1793 anti-injunction law that state judges should be largely independent of interference from U.S. judges.

This most recent ruling involved a strike of rail unions against the Florida East Coast Railway. A Florida state judge had ordered the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to stop picketing the railroad yard near Jacksonville. A federal judge then overruled this order. The Supreme Court has now overruled the federal judge and allowed the state court's decision to stand.

As recently as a year ago, the Supreme Court held that the Railway Labor Act preempted state judges from handling strikes of this type.

The ruling against these railroad workers followed on the heels of another, more sweeping antilabor ruling earlier this month. On June 1, the high court reversed an eight-year-old decision on the supremacy of the provision of the 1932 Norris-LaGuardia Act, which banned court injunctions barring strikes.

Prior to 1932, employers often broke strikes by having a compliant judge issue an injunction outlawing the strike. In that year, at the beginning of the depression-induced labor radicalization, Congress adopted the Norris-LaGuardia Act which prohibited such injunctions. Courts still have the right to curb the effectiveness of strikes by limiting the number of pickets at plant gates, but they have not been able to ban strikes for nearly 40 years. Generally, acts of Congress or presidential decree have been required for that.

The language of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is clear: "No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or permanent or temporary injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute" to prohibit strikes.

The court now holds that certain provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law were intended by Congress to limit this anti-injunction prohibition.

The majority opinion, by Justice Brennan, said in part: "We do not undermine the vitality of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. We deal only with the situation in which a collective bargaining contract contains a mandatory grievance adjustment or arbitration procedure."

The situation that brought on this decision was a strike by Retail Clerks Local 770 (AFL-CIO) against the Boys Markets, Inc., in Calif. The Retail Clerks put up a picket line when Boys Markets violated the contract by hiring nonunion workers. The union contract provided for arbitration of grievances.

One of the first casualties of this antilabor ruling was the strike of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles, Calif. Ed Blackmarr, secretary of the local, announced that the strike was called off in the face of an injunction issued by superior judge Richard Schauer. Confronted with this court action, the local complied with orders from Teamsters Union president Frank Fitzsimmons to call off the strike immediately. Such orders had been defied prior to the Supreme Court ruling on injunctions. The report from Los Angeles is that Local 208 suffered from this because some important union demands were lost and some militant strikers were fired.

William E. Dunn of the Associated Contractors hailed the Supreme Court ruling as "the most significant ruling in the field of labor law in the last 20 years."

The justices held that previous rulings against strike injunctions "seriously undermined the effectiveness of . . . arbitration . . . as a method peacefully to resolve industrial disputes."

Justice Black, in this case a dissenter, said, "I believe that both the making and the changing of laws which affect the substantial rights of the people are primarily for the Congress, not this court."

The two recent rulings of the Supreme Court on basic labor law appear to be part of the preparation for a wage freeze demanded by both Republicans and Democrats in the Congress. These latest interpretations of existing law are necessary to enforce a wage freeze in this country.

Black Voices From Prison

by Etheridge Knight

In self description, Etheridge Knight has written: "I died in Korea from a shrapnel wound and narcotics resurrected me. I died in 1960 from a prison sentence and poetry brought me back to life."

Stories, articles, and poems written by Knight plus a number of pieces (including a play) by fellow inmates whom he encouraged to write. The subjects include prison life, the position of blacks in American society, their future, autobiographies, and case histories. The volume is revelatory of life behind bars and the black experience—so much of which in the U.S. has been a prison experience.

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The 'wage-price control' hoax

What is the answer to inflation?

By DICK ROBERTS

In recent weeks there has been a growth of pressure from economists, politicians and financiers on Washington to adopt some form of "wage and price" controls.

For almost three years, first the Johnson administration and now the Nixon administration have been following economic policies that are supposed to slow down the inflation.

But in April—the most recent month for which figures are available—the consumer price index shot up .5 percent. The six-month price rise from October 1969 to April 1970 was higher than the price rise in the preceding six-month period.

The April 1970 price rise in New York City, .7 percent, was the biggest jump since the war-inflation days of 1943. It seems as though price rises are speeding up, not slowing down.

New York's Mayor John Lindsay is one of the politicians who have demanded controls. On May 25, he called for a mandatory six-month freeze on wages and price rises.

But revolutionary socialists reject the fraudulent notion of "wage and price" controls as a means of fighting inflation. To these efforts by the capitalist ruling class and its political agents to curtail wages, socialists counterpose the demand of a *sliding scale of wages*.

In order to understand the differences between these two approaches, we should begin by examining the so-called "wage-price spiral." According to this conception, it is the struggle by workers for higher wages that is the mainspring of inflation. When workers win higher wages, the employer must respond by raising prices.

But this conception puts reality exactly backwards. It is true that workers continually have to fight for higher wages. The recent victory of the New York printers spotlighted a process that is never ending for all workers: the struggle to keep up with and possibly to get ahead of price rises.

Yet the real mainspring of inflation is not this struggle for higher wages at all, but the massive government spending on war machinery, above

all for the war in Vietnam. It was the invasion of Vietnam in 1965 that began the inflation. Before 1965, prices had risen a little over 1 percent per year for a long period.

But in 1965, they rose 1.7 percent; 1966, 2.9 percent; 1967, 2.8 percent; 1968, 4.2 percent; 1969, 5.4 percent. And they are rising even faster this year, at a rate of about 6 percent.

How have wages fared during the attack on Southeast Asia? On Jan. 20, 1970, *New York Times* Washington economist Edwin Dale reported that price rises in 1969 "outpaced the gain in earnings for the average worker." In fact, said Dale, "real earnings have scarcely risen since the present inflation began in late 1965."

That is not much to say for five years of a war that most Americans oppose! Between higher prices and higher taxes the *real wages* of workers, that is the actual spending power of their wages, has "scarcely risen" in five years.

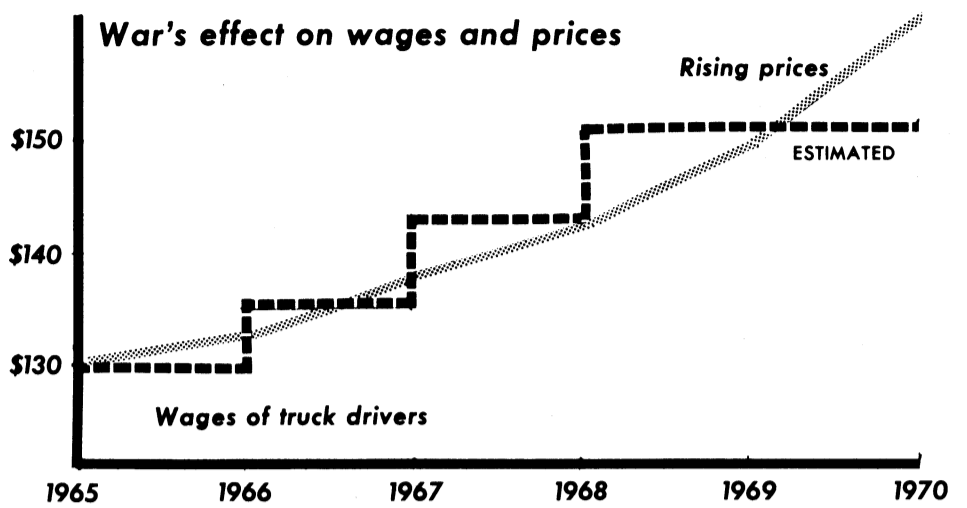
But corporate prices rose and profits expanded considerably in that period as the monopolists raked in war-inflated profits. These statistics are significant:

- Although their real wages hardly rose at all, the money wages of American workers increased 18 percent between 1964 and 1968.

- In the same period, the average after-tax profits of corporations increased 29 percent.

- These nine of the top 25 manufacturers of war products showed the following increases: Martin Marietta, 33 percent; GE, 62 percent; Boeing and Grumman, 80 percent; Sperry Rand, 122 percent; Olin Mathieson, 150 percent; Raytheon, McDonnell Douglas and Ling-Temco-Vought, 260 percent.

It is true that corporate profits in 1969 did not come up to these spectacular highs and in 1970 are likely to be lower than last year. But at no time in the course of the war did workers enjoy anything close to the huge rises in incomes of the corporations. *The wages of workers — their real wages — have already been frozen*



A WAGE-PRICE SPIRAL? Graph shows the wages of truck drivers and the price increases that have taken place during the Vietnam war in relation to their wage levels. Like all American workers, drivers didn't cause the inflationary spiral by their wage demands. They have hardly been able to keep up with it and right now they are behind.

for five years.

The spiral that actually takes place in war-primed inflation is: war spending / price rises / wage rises. Workers do struggle to keep up their standards of living. But the motor force of the inflation is war spending.

Any form of wage control must clearly be rejected as the height of capitalist hypocrisy and double-dealing. The mere idea of wage controls by a capitalist government committed to the defense and maintenance of a system based on profits is fraudulent.

But what about price controls? Could they, or would they be enforced?

Here the crucial thing to keep in mind is the *anarchy of the capitalist system as a whole*.

Where would price controls be exerted? If at the supermarket level, then what about the wholesalers to the supermarket? If at the level of car prices, then what about the steel industries who supply the auto makers? It is inconceivable that prices could be meaningfully policed at every level of capitalist production.

Even less likely is the possibility of the capitalist government passing serious price-control legislation. Is a congressman whose main financial support comes from the industries in his district going to turn around and tell those industries to hold down prices, a measure which would cut into their profits?

Multiply one congressman by all 535 of them and one begins to grasp the difficulties that are involved just on this level.

There has been considerable talk recently about the OPA (Office of Price Administration) that existed during World War II. This is partially because President Nixon played some minor role in OPA, which was supposed to be an attempt to control war-inflated prices. But the World War II period provides a good example of what really happens under "wage and price" controls.

Between 1941 and 1945, the consumer price index increased 22 percent. Although money wages also rose during the war, beginning in 1944 real wages declined sharply.

"In the third quarter of 1943," Art Preis wrote in *Labor's Giant Step*, "corporation profits were the highest for any quarter in American history and 16 percent above the same quarter in 1942."

In 1966, at the beginning of the Vietnam-war-primed inflation, housewives across this country picketed supermarkets and demanded an end to food-price rises. Some of them came up with the idea of *independent consumers' committees to police prices*.

Such committees, linked with trade unions, would be valuable. Unlike any agents of the government, shoppers across the nation really could police prices. They have a real stake in this, and they are in the best position to do it.

But the concept of the sliding scale of wages provides the fundamental weapon of the working class against inflation. It takes the question of combatting inflation out of the hands of the capitalist employers and government and puts it in the hands of workers and their fight for decent wages.

The idea is this: For every price rise workers would automatically get wage increases. An "escalator clause" is built into the contract. If the cost of living goes up, wages would go up accordingly.

This demand for a "cost-of-living" protection in the wage contract is realistic, totally justifiable and answers the so-called "wage-price spiral" baloney. If prices go up, workers get the necessary additional compensation. This clearly illuminates the real origin of price rises in a capitalist economy.

If consumer price committees arise in the course of the struggle against inflation, they can be delegated the job of making calculations of price rises. And these would be considerably more accurate than the statistics put out by the capitalist government.

If the corporations attempt to pretend they can't afford it the answer is: "Open the books and prove it."

The graph of truck drivers' wages on this page illustrates the problem workers face and the value of a sliding scale as a solution. The broken line shows the actual gross weekly wages of unionized truck drivers during the last five years. The gray line shows the rise in prices that has taken place and what the wages of drivers would be at a minimum if they were protected by a full escalator clause.

In fact, truck drivers did a little better than many American workers. But it is still clear from the illustration that every wage increase was an attempt to catch up with, if possible to stay a little ahead of, rising prices. And at the beginning of this year, the drivers' wages had again fallen behind.

The concept of the sliding scale of wages takes cognizance of the fact that capitalism inevitably attempts to unload the responsibility for rising prices onto the shoulders of workers who are struggling for higher wages.

It provides a weapon for the working class to reverse this process and to expose to all the real sources of capitalist inflation and who profits from it.

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'Our goal is to change a system'

Berkeley strike leader on the antiwar outlook

The following are extensive excerpts from a speech delivered by Rick Brown of the Berkeley Strike Coordinating Committee on June 4 at a campus rally sponsored by the Berkeley Student-Faculty Ad Hoc Peace Committee. In addition to assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the May student strike at Berkeley, Brown outlined the proposed program of action for the fall.

* * *

In May we saw a massive outpouring of people throughout the country in response to the invasion of Cambodia and the intensification of the war in Southeast Asia and at home, represented by the murders at Kent State, Jackson State and Augusta. Here at Berkeley, ten to fifteen thousand students, faculty and staff turned out for political activity of all sorts, thousands of them for the first time in their lives.

Most of the activity centered around electoral politics. Many people involved themselves in canvassing on behalf of "peace candidates," many others organized petition drives, and others worked on letter writing campaigns. The enthusiasm of many of us for this work has been jaded by having worked in electoral politics in the past. We had come to believe through our experience as well as our analysis that one man cannot make

Two indicted for 'sabotage' in St. Louis

In an attempt to intimidate students who took part in the massive Kent-Cambodia-Jackson upsurge, a federal grand jury has handed down "sabotage" charges against two former Washington University students in St. Louis.

The Missouri grand jury charged Joel Achtenberg, 23, and Napoleon Bland, Jr., 25, with "sabotage" and the "willful injury" of government property. The charges stemmed from a May 4 demonstration against the Washington U ROTC. The ROTC building was set on fire early the morning of May 5.

The Justice Dept. had been investigating anti-ROTC activity at Washington U for months prior to the May 4 demonstration, according to a statement issued by the Legal Defense Fund at Washington U.

What is significant about the charges is the seriousness of the penalties they involve. The maximum penalty for conviction on the sabotage charge is 30 years in prison and \$10,000 fine; the penalty for willful injury to government property carries a maximum of 10 years and \$10,000 fine.

The Justice Dept. has announced that the sabotage indictments are the second ever issued in connection with destruction of a campus ROTC facility. According to the Legal Defense Fund statement, only four charges of sabotage have been prosecuted by the federal government against a U.S. citizen.

Four other students, Howard Mechanic, Ken Holder, Lawrence Kogan and William Bothwell have been charged with interfering with a law enforcement officer defending federal property during a civil disturbance. There were 2,500 in the May 4 anti-ROTC demonstration.

enough of a difference to change the things wrong with our society—not even many individuals, in a political system that has become tangential to the centers of real power in this society.

That is not to say that it's bad to have candidates who are held responsible to their constituencies and who speak to the issues of war and racism. Such candidates can use their campaigns as a platform from which to develop political awareness on the part of a public that may not be reached any other way.

But we must not rely on candidates and politicians. We must rely on ourselves together, collectively, to develop political power in our numbers, our strength, our determination and commitment to certain goals rather than to a system which may serve as an obstacle to those goals.

What does this mean for the summer and fall? We must initiate a call to colleges and universities throughout the country, asking them to join us in our declaration of objectives and a program of action for the fall.

The Berkeley Strike Coordinating Committee at its last meeting adopted the following declaration for presentation to the campus and other universities throughout the country.

"In the fall this university will not open for any business as usual. Instead of performing its normal functions in this time of national emergency, this university will be turned into a center for struggle, together with other universities across the country. We will commit ourselves to struggle for:

"1. Self-determination for Third World people, in Southeast Asia and in the United States. We call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, advisors and military aid and economic interests from Southeast Asia, and the removal of occupation forces from Third World colonies within the United States.

"We support the right of Third World people everywhere to control their own countries and communities—their own political institutions and their schools, their armies and their police forces, and other social and economic institutions.

"2. Freedom for all political prisoners. We call for the release of those unjustly imprisoned because of the racial and economic inequalities of



Rick Brown, Berkeley strike leader



May 8 antiwar march, Austin

Photo by David Ginbey

this system, as well as those sentenced in violation of their right to dissent, including GIs, Black Panthers, and draft resisters.

"3. An end to university complicity with the war and oppression, including counter-insurgency research, the Livermore and Los Alamos nuclear weapons centers, ROTC, and support for agribusiness.

"4. An end to the oppression of all people discriminated against in the interests of existing social, political, and economic institutions. Specifically, we support the struggles of women, poor people, workers and Third World peoples at home and abroad, who are fighting for self-determination—the right to control their own lives."

How can we begin the struggle for these goals, as broadly as possible, as effectively as possible? We propose that when fall begins we refuse to take up where we left off in April. We must begin to reconstitute the university, organize ourselves for a long commitment, giving up structures that divide us and organizing new ones that enable us to work more effectively.

For example, we propose to reorganize the campus from a structure based on departments to one based on the needs of an antiwar, anti-racism university. Rather than each department engaging in a myriad of activities without coherence, we might make Tolman Hall the center for all those who want to engage in community canvassing, Barrows Hall the center for those who want to work with labor, Gianninni or even Callaghan Hall for those who want to help GIs organize themselves against the war and racism.

We will organize new classes, as part of reconstitution, to teach us things relevant to our work and our commitment in ways that eliminate the authoritarian relations between students and the institution and the faculty. We must alter structures to make them more conducive to our struggle against the war and oppression, but that struggle must be uppermost in our priorities. These classes will assume that thought must lead to action, but classes, of course, are not enough.

As we begin reorganizing ourselves for struggle, we must commit ourselves to action which will achieve our goals. Many of our actions to this point have been based on unexamined assumptions about the effectiveness of the political system which we were taught to believe in as naturally as we suckled at the breast of the institutions that political system engendered. Now we must develop more coherent politics that commit us to struggling for all the goals we set out, and define how we can achieve them.

One lesson many of us have learned from our work—in and out of electoral politics—is the need for collective action and collective responsibility to

each other. We have learned that people do not develop a sense of their collective strength nor do they exert much power when they rely on such essentially individual acts as signing petitions, writing letters, or even voting.

Mass actions, on the other hand, enable us to act together and make our power felt more forcefully when necessary. We plan to launch major mass actions in the fall in support of our goals. We also support the call for a Day of Decision at which this university community—students, staff, and faculty—will decide whether to strike and allow only work to go on that contributes to the struggle.

When we act together, we develop a sense of responsibility to each other. We realize that we must protect each other, that we must place the need to struggle together for our goals above our desires for individual gain. That means we must act cooperatively and collectively in mutual support rather than individually and competitively.

This is the perspective with which we must organize this summer and approach the fall. Our goal is to change a system, not merely to correct some aberrations. Our goals emphasize the relations between oppression and repression at home and abroad, the war in Southeast Asia and racism at home. We must commit ourselves to collective struggle. We will reorganize our institutions for the struggle. We will develop militant mass actions to demonstrate our strength and materially hamper this country's war in Indochina and its war against Third World people at home. And we will commit ourselves to collective support for each other in the struggle against oppression and repression abroad, in the society and in our institutions.

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Fight for 'Antiwar U' registers successes

By RANDY FURST

The diplomas have been parcelled out and the strikes are over, but the explosion that rocked the nation's campuses last month has fundamentally altered the character of the American student movement.

Reports gathered from around the country last week indicate that the following general assessment can be made:

- Millions of youths have joined the antiwar movement. The objective for the summer and fall must be to draw them into mass antiwar protests.

- The "antiwar university" was the most widely implemented—and most effective—strike strategy in May.

- Whereas most of the extensive campus facilities gained during May have been relinquished, the example of May is fresh in the minds of students everywhere and new struggles are sure to begin where May left off.

- The radicalization penetrated deeply into all youth layers, sons and daughters of the upper, middle and working classes. It involved millions of high school students.

- Black and Third World antiwar activity is on the increase.

- Faculty participation in the antiwar movement was a significant factor in broadening the campus strikes.

- Campus ultralefts were as vociferous as ever, but more isolated than at any time in the recent period.

- ROTC and war research are in a more precarious position than ever before. Students in general want the military off the campus.

- Student governments, increasingly run by radicals, are becoming a powerful political instrument for the student movement.

The May upsurge offered concrete evidence to students of the power of mass action, an important lesson for millions of new radicals.

At the University of Washington in Seattle, where building seizures in the last few years have borne a curious likeness to defending besieged fortresses—small groups of determined revolutionaries, holding off against im-

possible odds and going down in glory—striking students organized marches of up to 25,000 and secured a building that became a center for antiwar university work. The student government signed an authorization for telephones for the center and typewriters and mimeograph equipment were moved in to help spread the strike. A suit has been filed against the student government by right-wingers to protest the authorization and organizers there believe that the suit may set a precedent as to whether rightist students who can find no hearing on campus can successfully use the courts to silence the opposition.

Further down the coast, antiwar organizers at Berkeley are gearing for a fight this fall to retain University of California facilities gained during the upsurge. In early May, some 17,000 voted to reconstitute the university as a center for organizing against the war and six weeks later, students still hold a large number of facilities on the campus. Offices operate day and night churning out antiwar materials. In some cases entire floors have been maintained. At the "strike central" building, Vietnam war opponents work out of all seven floors. A broad coalition is aiming toward an August 8 Hiroshima Day antiwar action.

Plans are up in the air at most schools. In Cleveland at Case Western Reserve University, mass decision making was operative in the strike's early stages and the student union was converted into a strike center. However, when the strike leadership moved into closed sessions and scrapped the mass meetings, the majority of students became demoralized and drifted away from the strike. But, there were important gains. ROTC as an official campus entity has been abolished at Case Western. Amnesty was granted to students who occupied the ROTC building. And there are hopes of reconstituting the antiwar machinery in the fall.

In Philadelphia, students at the University of Pennsylvania used school



Mass rally at University of Illinois during May upsurge

paper and mimeo machines and utilized the art department for antiwar posters. But regular sessions ended at most area schools 10 days after the upsurge began.

Political candidates got a break from Penn which allowed students to open up campaign offices in school facilities. The Socialist Workers Party said thank you and was given an office.

In Los Angeles, California State Col-

lege—center of student insurgency—emerged from the May upsurge with the strongest antiwar machine in its history. School facilities were used throughout May. Los Angeles activists are now looking ahead to more actions, particularly the August 29 Chicano Moratorium. With Cal State's student government on an antiwar footing, the mood and the prospects are optimistic.

Protective legislation topic of Bay Area discussion

SAN FRANCISCO — One of the debates within the women's liberation movement in the Bay Area has centered around what the movement's position should be towards the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. To consider the question, over 150 women—trade unionists, students, professionals, and housewives—recently attended a panel here on "Women's Rights and Protective Legislation."

Two main points of view were represented. One view, put forward by representatives of the National Organization for Women (NOW), supported the amendment, but reflected little interest in the problem posed by the fact that employers of women are trying to use such laws as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to gain repeal of state protective laws for women.

The other view was presented by the remainder of the panelists, who urged that the Equal Rights Amendment not be passed unless a rider is added extending protective legislation to men. The presentation given by Hazel Hill, president of Women, Incorporated, a women's caucus in the largely male Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, gave a picture of what can happen to women—and men for that matter—in heavy industry if they are not covered by the protective laws.

In 1969, the fiberboard plant where Hazel Hill works petitioned the Industrial Welfare Division for a waiver of the protective laws for women. They claimed the state protective laws were in conflict with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which calls for equality between the sexes on the job. As a result, the women were forced, under threat of layoff, to work 12-16 hour shifts, to go without lunch breaks, and to lift 150 pounds per minute. Many of the women suffered severe back injuries.

Women, Inc. has collected over 500 signatures on a petition stating that

the protective laws should be extended to men. "All workers need to be protected from long hours and sweatshop conditions," Hill said. She urged the state to hold weekend hearings on the protective laws so that more working people can have a voice in the dispute. "If large industries in our state can employ lobbyists at thousands of dollars to destroy these important laws, surely it must be important for someone to try to save them," she added.

Phyllis Mitchell, cochairman of the AFL-CIO Women's Affairs Committee also spoke in favor of adding a rider on protective laws to the amendment.

Joan Jordan, formerly a member of Amalgamated Lithographers and now a student at San Francisco State, cautioned that during periods of rising unemployment management can attempt to drive down the working conditions of men and coerce women into giving up the benefits they have.

In the discussion period following the panel, it was agreed that not only must discrimination against women workers be fought in the courts, but that we must build a massive women's movement to expose all instances of job discrimination and bring more women into the struggle. The meeting was sponsored by Independent Campus Women, NOW, several women's liberation small groups, Women, Inc., the Daughters of Bilitis, the SWP Campaign Committee, the International Socialists Women's Caucus, Graduate Women's Sociology Caucus, and Newsreel.

The position taken by the Socialist Workers Party on this question is presented on page nine of this issue.

...A Reply to Dellinger

(Continued from page 11)

tion on other issues as well.

The post-Cambodian upsurge also saw the beginning of significant trade union involvement, and the first serious break in the hitherto virtually monolithic AFL-CIO pro-war policy. The post-Cambodian upsurge also saw for the first time significant involvement of Black Student Unions and other Third World groups in antiwar activity.

The movement already greatly restricts the actions of the warmakers. Nixon is not free to speak in terms of "unconditional surrender," as did Roosevelt and Truman during earlier imperialist wars. He must couch his war moves in terms of withdrawal of U.S. troops. Hypocrisy? Yes. But terribly restricting from the viewpoint of the Pentagon. And terribly dangerous from the viewpoint of the ruling class. They live in dread that larger and larger sections of the population will catch on to the hypocrisy. And inevitably they will.

The Cambodian invasion widened the war to all of Indochina. A Cambodian guerrilla army is being armed and trained, staffed with peasants who have tasted the rapine of Thieu's legions and the scourge of U.S. air

support. Nixon can't count on puppet troops to hold Cambodia. Washington and Saigon already admit to losing half of it. Will Nixon escalate again, perhaps sending more U.S. troops to Cambodia? No doubt the plans are on his table. But he also knows the next major escalation could mean a new explosive growth for the antiwar movement. It could well mean the direct involvement of decisive sectors of the trade union movement, and something much more serious than a student strike—provided the antiwar movement has laid the basis for such involvement, and has learned the lessons of the last upsurge, and has done its organizing work seriously.

So what should we do? Bury the antiwar issue? Dump the antiwar coalition? Work off frustrations in isolated acts of confrontation? Abandon independent antiwar actions in the streets in favor of election campaigns in the warmakers' parties? Or should we rebuild the antiwar coalition on the basis of the principles which have succeeded so far in creating an ever more powerful movement: non-exclusion, immediate withdrawal from the war, democratic decision making for the coalitions, and mass actions which can involve the new forces set into motion through the last upsurge?

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Profits still come first

Bosses seek to skirt new mine safety laws

By MARVEL SCHOLL

Ever since the Appalachian soft-coal fields have been opened up to private exploitation, men have gone down into the pits to die in explosions, cave-ins and fires. With the introduction of automated equipment, a new menace—black lung—has caused the permanent disablement and death of more coal miners than have been killed by accidents commonly associated with soft-coal mining.

When repeated pressure upon their leadership had failed, the rank and file of the United Mine Workers took the bit in their teeth after a mine-explosion-fire entombed 78 men at a Consolidated Mine near Farmington, W. V., in November 1968.

It was not just the terrible mine disaster in and of itself that triggered many so-called wildcat strikes of the West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky miners. The growing incidence of black lung—resulting from excessive coal dust raised by the electric drills which bore into coal lodes without proper exhaust fans to clear the air—has sent thousands of miners on to the picket lines.

For years they had been demanding federal safety laws as well as workmen's compensation for those afflicted and disabled by black lung and widows' and children's compensation after the death of such victims. The pressure got too high for the politicians, and finally during the last session of Congress a new Coal Safety and Health Act was passed—an act which apparently had sufficient teeth in it to force the industry to improve its physical plant and decrease coal dust to a safe level.

That new act was to have gone into effect March 30, 1970. To date it is still not operative. Here are a few of the obstacles that have been put in the way of its enforcement:

Secretary of the Interior Hickel, under whose jurisdiction the Bureau of Mines operates, claims that lack of personnel makes it impossible to thoroughly inspect each mining operation four times a year as the law provides. He has hired 225 new inspectors, whose training will take at least two years. He began "inspections" on a "partial but representative" basis—inspecting two sections of each mine, no matter how big it was.

Two days after one of these "partial by representative" inspections, an explosion occurred at the Helen Mining Co. mine at Homer City, Pa., killing one miner and injuring three.

The new safety standards were too expensive, said both the industry and the United Mine Workers bureaucrats, pleading with the government to be "more practical" in their application of the law.

Before the law went into effect, Nixon fired the head of the Bureau of Mines, John F. O'Leary, when the coal industry demanded his removal because he was "too safety oriented."

On April 25, federal district judge H. Emory Widener, Jr., granted the coal operators a 10-day injunction against the Bureau of Mines, against even the token enforcement of the Act, and arranged for a three-judge hear-

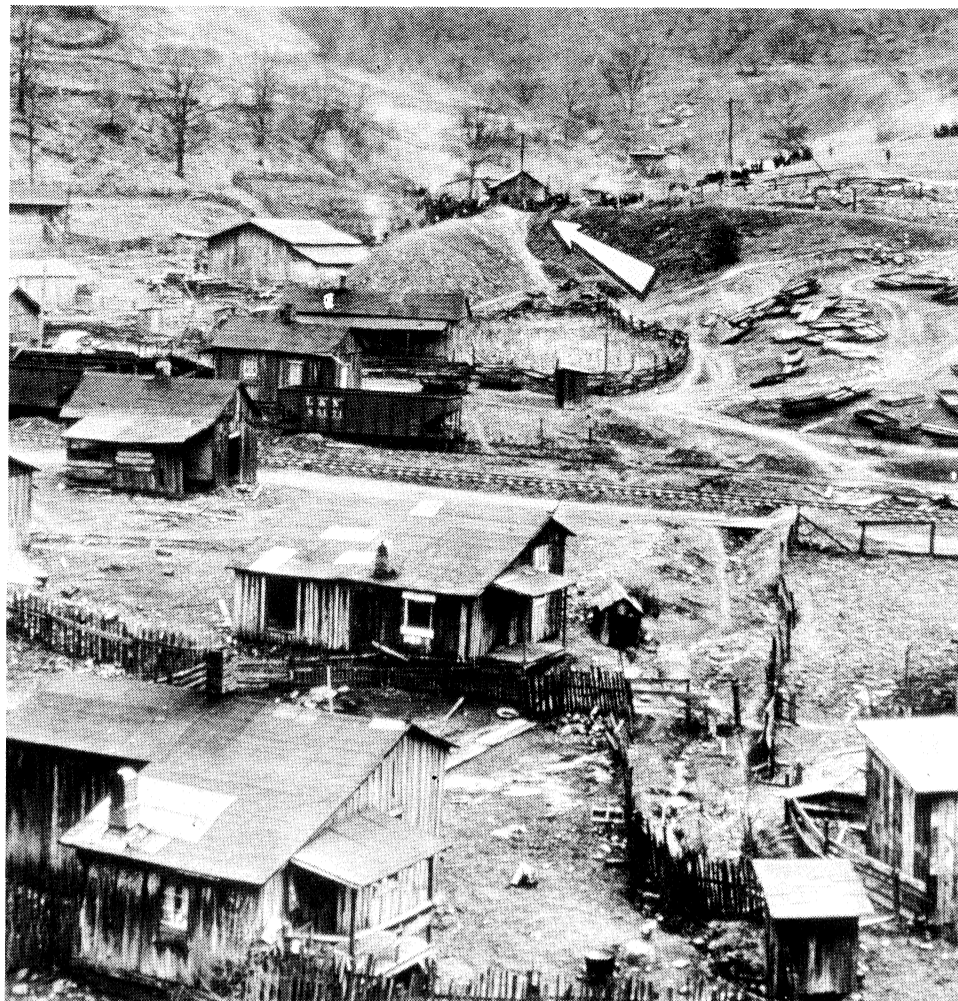
ing on the constitutionality of the Act. The owners claim the law is "arbitrary and confiscatory of private property" and is, therefore, unconstitutional.

Judge Widener, in granting the injunction, said, however, that the Bureau of Mines still has the power to inspect mines and close those it considers pose "imminent danger" to workers.

Immediately, top officials (there is no new director as yet) responded to the injunction by calling back to the regional offices all the 250 inspectors it had in the field to "await guidance from Washington."

The new law signed by Nixon (after miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania threatened to strike if he vetoed it) required the publication of dust-control regulations by Feb. 28. The deadline was overrun by 34 days. The three Democratic representatives who had sponsored and pushed the Act through both houses, filed suit against both Interior Secretary Hickel and then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Finch (whose department was supposed to cooperate with Interior in drawing up the safety and health regulations), for nonfeasance.

These developments show how little value there is in laws ostensibly de-



Mine owners' greed brought disaster to this town of Pineville, Kentucky, in January 1946. An underground explosion trapped 31 men in Straight Creek Coal's No. 1 mine. Relatives and friends of the entombed men are gathered at the entrance of the mine (arrow).

signed to protect the interest of workers against profit-hungry employers, unless the workers themselves are in a position to enforce the laws.

In this instance, one man has already been killed and three others in-

jured because the law was not enforced, and instead of seeking to punish those responsible for the death and injury, the courts look to ways and means to exonerate them by reviewing the constitutionality of the law.

Third World liberation notes

Suit filed in murder of Panther leader

On June 9, 1970, attorney Francis Andrews filed a civil suit on behalf of sister Iberia Hampton, mother of martyred Illinois Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, asking for \$3,755,000 from 17 (criminal) defendants. According to the June 10 *Chicago Daily Defender*, the local Black paper, "The action charges that the defendants, 'as Chicago policemen, state's attorney's police, and as state, county, and city officials did cause the death of said Fred A. Hampton. . . depriving him under color of law of his rights, privileges, and immunities' guaranteed by law."

Beneficiaries named were Francis Hampton, his father; William, his brother; Delores, his sister; and his son, Frederick Jake Johnson, born Dec. 29, 1969, to Deborah Johnson. This suit is in response to the whitewashing by a Federal grand jury of the perpetrators of the assassination.

The California court of appeals that threw out the conviction of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, has denied bail without comment. However, if the decision on the conviction is not reversed within 60 days, starting May 29, then Newton will be transferred from the Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo to the Alameda County (Oakland) jail where bail will be mandatory. But if the state appeals the decision on the conviction to the California Supreme Court, then the prison transfer will not take place, moving Charles Garry, Newton's attorney, to ask the California Supreme Court to grant bail.

A measure of justice is finally being brought to marine lance corporal Ronald V. Johnson. In the middle of May, the U.S. Court of Military Appeals ruled that Johnson be released from a Navy prison in Portsmouth, N.H., since a new trial had been granted the previous month. Three

years ago, while stationed in Okinawa, Johnson was framed by white marines on charges of raping an Okinawan woman. He spent over two years in prison before repeated letters and statements of protests, and the uncovering of evidence showed that the charges were a farce and brought a nullification of his conviction. Johnson, now 20 years old, was given a 10-day leave in late May to visit his mother in Brooklyn before going back to Okinawa for a retrial. But even this leave was only accomplished after more public exposure of the case.

Over 600 delegates to the June 5-7 weekend convention of the National Council of Police Societies, an organization representing 10,000 Black policemen, passed a resolution in At-

lantic City, N.J., stating: "Whereas recent unwarranted killings of Black students at Jackson, Miss., testified to excessive use of firearms by illiterate, inhuman, white racist policemen of Mississippi; and whereas the use of firearms excessively by flag-waving white policemen has not caused white America to raise its voice loudly in protest, and municipal, county, state and federal authorities show no desire to punish police officers and other establishment-directed racists; then be it resolved that no man of the National Council of Police Societies shall stand idly by while any white racist police officer murders or attempts to perpetrate the murders of his Black brothers." The resolution wording is taken from the June 8 *Chicago Daily Defender*. What it clearly shows is that the NCPS, formed in 1960, has not remained unaffected by the rising tide of Black consciousness.

According to the May 18 *Los Angeles Times*, air force sergeant Milton White, stationed at Vandenberg Air Force Base on the West Coast, is pressing charges under the Uniform Code of Military Justice against his base commander and information officer. White, a 21-year veteran who is winding up his career, is charging that these officers "denied use of base 'morale and welfare' facilities, such as meeting places, for an organization known as the Malcolm X Association."

The MXA was formed to promote an interest in and understanding of Black Americans. It was opened to everybody, with the intent of operating within official guidelines. Harassment from air force brass began after the first meeting of the organization, at which 200 people met and decided to call it the Malcolm X Association. Brother White is in the process of carrying the case to the air force chief of staff in Washington.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Murdered leader of Illinois Panthers, Fred Hampton. Hampton's mother is suing Chicago cops.

LA RAZA!

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'Capitalist exploitation continues'**'Left' coalition victory in Ceylon**

The government of Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake went down to a crushing defeat in Ceylon's May 27 parliamentary election which returned Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike to power after five years of United National party [UNP] rule.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's three-party coalition, dominated by the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP] which she heads, captured 115 seats out of 151 in the House of Representatives. The UNP lost 54 of its 71 seats; 11 of the 15 cabinet ministers failed to win reelection.

In the new House, the SLFP and its coalition partners, the Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP] and the pro-Moscow Communist party, command a two-thirds majority. This is sufficient to pass even constitutional amendments without support from any party outside the coalition.

Despite the UNP election propaganda warning that an SLFP victory amounted to a Communist revolution, the actual differences between the two parties were minimal. The UNP campaigned for "democratic socialism," while the SLFP coalition proposed "socialist democracy."

In an election manifesto that appeared in the May 7 issue of the Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*, the UNP explained that "democratic socialism" meant that "private ownership and management" must be "sensitive to its



Photo by Allen Myers

Ceylon dock strike in January 1970. Victory of "left" coalition parties reflected popular upsurge.

responsibilities for the welfare of the community."

Although the groups in the opposing coalition were pictured as "Marxists," the reality was somewhat different. The two "left" parties were politically and organizationally subordinate to the

SLFP. This was reflected even in the number of seats won by the constituents of the coalition: 90 seats to the SLFP, 19 seats to the LSSP, and 6 to the CP.

The participation of Communist parties in bourgeois coalitions and governments is nothing new. Stalin revived this hoary policy of the reformist wing of the Social Democracy in his Popular Front of the thirties. The real "leftist" tinge of the Bandaranaike formation comes from the LSSP, which the bourgeois press continues to refer to as "Trotskyist."

In fact the LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, in 1964 precisely because it abandoned the course of independent organization of the working class and joined the SLFP in a governmental coalition.

At that time a minority refused to follow the LSSP leaders in liquidating their party and program, and founded the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), which is today the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The LSSP(R) summed up Mrs. Bandaranaike's program in an election manifesto issued May 16:

"The Coalition Programme does not contemplate the abolition of capitalist private property. It does not even threaten any inroads upon existing capitalist property in the plantations, or in industry. All that the programme really envisages is increased control by the capitalist state in the sphere of banking and commerce, and increased state enterprise in certain industries, to sustain and assist in the development of the private sector."

While the bourgeois press in Ceylon demagogically denounced the coalition as a Communist conspiracy, more sober capitalist observers abroad made a very different estimate. Thus the May 28 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*, which reflects the views of British imperialism, had this to say on the differences in the election:

The debate between the UNP and the SLFP coalition "is no true reflection of serious programmatic differences or of realpolitik. . . .

"As for the 'socialism' of the opposing camp, the SLFP . . . is neither doctrinaire nor Marxist and in fact

professes a sentimental 'social welfarism' which is also native to the grain. . . . If its alliance with the left, the Titoist LSSP . . . and the pro-Soviet CP (Communist Party), has made Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP party a shade pinker, it would still be absurd to think that a Ceylon under such a government would turn into a Burma, Algeria, Cuba or North Korea.

"Ceylon's socialists are all respectable men of moderation: Leninists, if they ever were, lost to the cause of Parliament and the possibilities of social change and justice through that resilient institution."

The real issues in the election were more prosaic. Mrs. Bandaranaike promised to restore the weekly rice ration that was cut in half under Senanayake. She demanded "reconsideration"—not abrogation—of a government agreement with the World Bank that has been denounced as advantageous to American imperialism.

When the coalition was voted out of office in 1965 the cost of living index stood at 112.2. It is now over 137.

In addition, this was Ceylon's first election since the voting age was lowered to eighteen. More than 800,000 new young voters took part in this election out of a total electorate of 5,500,000. Most of these votes went to the opposition.

The only other issue which figured significantly in the campaign was the SLFP's call for the creation of "people's committees." The UNP professed to see in this a call for Soviets on the model of the Russian revolution. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* pointed out:

"The Opposition, conscious of the dismay and confusion caused by the press and UNP propaganda, pleaded that these committees would be purely advisory. 'This proposal,' said an Opposition statement 'was in our 1965 election manifesto and in our common programme of 1967 and the UNP saw no menace then. In fact, in 1966 the UNP government itself appointed people's committees to report on price-fixing by unscrupulous traders.'"

"The bitter truth," said the LSSP(R) in its May 16 manifesto, ". . . is that whatever parliamentary regime may be established following the general election of 27th May, capitalist rule and capitalist exploitation will continue . . ." *Intercontinental Press*

...Guardian and Leninism

(Continued from page 4)

If it disagrees with such a perspective, it should offer alternatives to it.

We have already discussed in previous articles, the *Guardian's* sorry record in relation to the building of the antiwar movement. In regard to problems of the labor movement, it is not possible to argue with the *Guardian's* editorial positions since it simply has never offered any.

We cite these things not merely to demonstrate deficiencies in the *Guardian's* politics. The *Guardian's* proclaimed reason for existence is that in one way or another it will prove a prime force in the development of a new political movement. We think history provides the important lesson that significant new movements are not built by those who are incorrect or simply fail to deal with central political issues.

The *Guardian's* failure to come to grips with such questions is paralleled by its studious efforts to avoid relating in a serious, analytical way to the existing political tendencies. It should be fairly apparent that if a paper is to be effective in persuading people of the need to build a new movement, it should be capable of at least explaining to them what is wrong with the existing ones.

During the heyday of "new leftism" it was possible to duck this problem with unexplained demagogic references to the "irrelevancy" of the "old left." But today the key political issues that divided the reformists from the revolutionary Marxists—specifically the reformist social democrats and Stalinists from the Trotskyists—have all come to the fore within the entire movement. When the ranks of the "new left" began to comprehend that there is in fact a need for ideology and that the issue of the role of the working class in social change cannot be avoided, then all the issues conveniently swept

aside as old-left hairsplitting became central again.

Lenin explained that a revolutionary paper is the principal organizer of the revolutionary party, and he did not mean that simply in the narrow organizational sense. He saw such a paper as the main instrument for providing ideological clarity and day-to-day political leadership for the party and for those it sought to influence.

Nor did he see that role simply for the paper of an already established party. If the *Guardian* editors were to explain to Lenin that they haven't thought out a program for a party because they don't yet represent one, he would have surely replied that they never would become the spokesman for such a party unless and until they did develop such a program, at least in essentials.

And if they had explained they simply hadn't been able to work out adequate answers to all these thorny questions, he would have replied: Good, then apply yourself to doing so. Make your paper a forum for a free exchange of socialist views and in the course of such a discussion, elaborate your own point of view. But you will never speak for others until you think out what you have to say.

But, the *Guardian* editors may have protested, at least we are not creatures of any dogma. By being independent we are able to think freely and critically. Such independence, we think Lenin would have replied, is simply the "independence" to be buffeted by one or another political pressure of the moment. It is the "independence" to stumble from one political crisis to another.

We submit that this is the essential fact of the *Guardian's* ongoing political crises. We would also venture to predict that while the present *Guardian* crisis may be the most acute so far, it is not the last.

In Brief

By RANDY FURST

RADICAL ANNIVERSARY: Ten years after mass student demonstrations helped topple the Turkish government of Adnan Menderes, Turkey is again engulfed in student upheavals. Last month, universities throughout Turkey were closed or embroiled in protest. A march through Ankara June 1 against illegal police searches and seizures drew 10,000, the *New York Times* reported June 15. First year students at Istanbul's Technical Institute have already lost 100 days this year because of political agitation. The current Turkish explosion is a significant anniversary for the radical movement. It was in 1960 in his 'Letter to the New Left' that C. Wright Mills perspicaciously pointed to the Turkish student demonstrations and student protests in South Korea, predicting that a new international youth radicalization was under way. "The age of complacency is ending," Mills wrote in the September-October 1960 *New Left Review*. "We are beginning to move again."

KREMLIN FRAME-UP: Jaures A. Medvedev, an internationally known Soviet geneticist and molecular biologist, was arrested by Russian security police May 30 and forcibly placed in a mental institution. Medvedev's "derangement" stems from his public opposition to police-state thought control in the USSR. Prominent Soviet scientists have lodged protests, demanding that Medvedev be immediately freed. . . . **ILLINOIS STUDENT POLL:** Thirty-nine percent of high school students in the second congressional district of Illinois favor "immediately withdrawing all our troops from Vietnam," according to a special survey released by Rep. Abner J. Mikva, a Democrat (*Congressional Record*, June 10). The poll also found 81 percent of the district's high school students in favor of lowering the voting age to 18.

UNIONIST BLASTS WAR: "My position is that we don't belong there and we should get out," says William Davies, a member of the national staff of the AFL-CIO. In an interview with *The Militant*, Davies said that "there are many people in labor who feel we should get out—and they are at all levels, from the national AFL-CIO down to the local level." Davies, 45, is director of training with the Community Services Department and works out of New York. . . . **VENCEREMOS BRIGADE:** A third brigade of youth is scheduled to leave the U.S. in late July for Cuba for a four-week stint harvesting citrus fruit on the Isle of Youth. Interested persons should write for applications to the Venceremos Brigade, P. O. Box 643, Cathedral Sta., New York, N. Y. 10025.

NOW HEAR THIS: At Choate School's commencement in Wallingford, Conn., the prep school graduates were addressed by Dean Dwight Allen of the University of Massachusetts. Said Allen: "Fifty percent of what you'll learn in the next four years will be false. The trouble is, we don't know which 50 percent."

KENT MURDERS CHALLENGED: The father of 19-year-old Allison Krause, one of the four Kent State students murdered by national guardsmen May 4, has filed a \$6 million damage suit blaming officials for the killings. Arthur Krause's lawyer, Steve Sindell, said by telephone that the suit argues that there was insufficient cause for guardsmen to be on the campus or for the men to carry live ammunition. The suit names as defendants Ohio Gov. James A. Rhodes; Ohio Na-

tional Guard Commander Gen. Sylvester T. Del Corso and Brig. Gen. Robert H. Canterbury, head of the Ohio Army National Guard units. Krause dismisses assertions by officials that snipers forced guardsmen to open fire on students. He says that "a person would have to be a complete idiot" to believe the sniper stories.

WHERE GUARD STANDS: Ohio National Guard officers prior to the Kent killings directed their men to sign form letters supporting the war and denouncing demonstrations, it has been revealed. The letters were sent out under instructions of Gen. Del Corso, who is the target of a taxpayers suit. Gov. Rhodes and Maj. Robert S. Pettit are also named in the suit that charges that the defendants "acted in their official capacities and used stationery, paper, envelopes and other materials paid for from public funds appropriated by the State of Ohio" to distribute the pro-war letter. Members of the Ohio Guard were urged to sign the letter and mail it to the president. Charging that American freedoms are being "destroyed from within" by demonstrations, the letter read in part: "The segment of Americans who demonstrate against the nation's policies and programs for ending the Vietnam war cause disunity within our country, falsely delude the enemy concerning our resolve and intentions and create conditions which make it extremely difficult to negotiate an honorable peace." Atty. Jerry Gordon is representing the taxpayers in the suit.

NEW SMC ADDRESS: The Student Mobilization Committee national office, based during the last year in Washington, D. C., has been shifted to New York City. The switch followed a vote of the SMC steering committee in Boston May 24. The SMC "N.O." address is 15 East 17 St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone — (212) 675-6929. . . . **THROWS IN THE POISON:** The Olin Chemical Company has stopped production of DDT. . . . **ON HAMPTON'S DEATH:** A well-researched piece on the murder of Black Panther Illinois chairman Fred Hampton and Mark Clark appears in the June 1970 issue of *Scanlan's Monthly*.

ARRESTS AT COLUMBIA: Three worker-student alliance-leaning SDSers were seized by police at Columbia and another has been picked up at Barnard College on charges of criminal mischief. Three of the four were seized in the dorms. The four, listed by *Liberation News Service*, are Andy Kaselow, Susan Boeham, Steve Cohen and Alan Egelman. They were arrested for a demonstration on the Columbia campus during May. . . . **IN**



Alexander Kerensky
1881-1970

(Leading figure in the Russian Provisional Government, February-October 1917)

"Lenin called Kerensky a 'petty braggart.' Even now there is little one can add to that. Kerensky was and still is an adventitious figure, a ruling favorite of the historical moment. Every mighty wave of revolution, as it draws in the virgin masses not yet trained to discrimination, inevitably raises on its crest such heroes for a day, heroes who are instantly blinded by their own effulgence. . . . He personified the accidental in an otherwise continuous causation. His best speeches were merely a sumptuous pounding of water in a mortar. In 1917, the water boiled and sent up steam, and the clouds of steam provided a halo."
— Leon Trotsky, *My Life*, 1929

Acquittal in Detroit on murder frame-ups

DETROIT, June 16—A jury of 10 Blacks and two whites today acquitted two members of the Republic of New Africa of frame-up charges stemming from an armed police attack on an RNA convention here on March 29, 1969. Acquitted were Rafael Viera, accused of second degree murder in the slaying of an officer, and Clarence Fuller, accused of assault with intent to kill in the wounding of an officer.

The "not guilty" verdict was delivered after four days of deliberations by the jury.

The shootings occurred when the RNA convention, meeting in New Bethel Baptist Church, was invaded by 40 pistol- and shotgun-bearing cops who shot up the inside of the church for 20 minutes and brutally arrested 142 persons.

DOVE CAMP: The Los Angeles Times ran an editorial June 7 entitled "Get Out of Vietnam NOW." The sharply worded withdrawal editorial marked a significant shift in policy for the influential paper.

JDL THREATENS LNS: "Dear White Trash," the letter to LNS began, "the Jewish Defense League will not tolerate (sic) your Pro-Panther stand!" Signed by the JDL, the letter warns the news service, "We better not catch you burning the good American flag or publicly degrading the Zionists or printing Anti-Zionist literature." The JDL thugs have recently made attacks on the *Daily World* and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

GETTING SET: The Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union may go on strike to block congressional action that would in effect dissolve the independent union and to demand that a retroactive 8 percent pay increase be restored by Congress. Moe Biller, union president, attacked Nixon's postal reform bill at a press conference June 15. On June 11, members of Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers in a close vote decided to hold off on a strike. When union president Gustave Johnson ruled the Branch 36 strike vote had failed, some union members rushed the stage, the *New York Times* reported, and "a group pulled the podium from the stage and one letter carrier sought to take over the microphone. The detectives rushed Mr. Johnson down a fire escape as dissidents swarmed around him swinging fists and rolled papers." The strike by the two New York unions in March touched off the nationwide postal workers walkout.

NO BAIL FOR CARTER: Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan refused a defense attorney request June 15 to block special courtroom procedures that forbid cameras, sound equipment, sketching and demonstrations inside or near the New Haven courthouse where eight Black Panthers are scheduled to go on trial shortly. The Connecticut Panthers plus Panther chairman Bobby Seale are on trial for murder. In a related development, bail for Francis Carter was refused by a three-judge federal court. She was jailed for refusing to testify.

CAPTAIN GETS REPRIEVE: Army psychiatrist Daniel A. Switkes obtained a restraining order from a New York federal judge June 10 that will temporarily bar his assignment to Vietnam. "He does not have to report until Judge (Inzer) Wyatt rules on the petition for writ of habeas corpus," Switkes' attorney, Peter Weiss, told *The Militant*. Weiss said Capt. Switkes is challenging the order to report for shipment to Vietnam on a number of grounds, including a 1787 New York state law. The statute forbids sending men outside the state to fight in an undeclared war. . . . **CLOSE PRESIDIO:** A blue ribbon committee studying conditions in Army prisons and stockades has recommended that the Presidio Stockade be closed. The proposal was one of several findings disclosed by the Pentagon June 15. The Presidio was the scene of a protest by 27 GI prisoners who staged a sitdown over stockade conditions and the shooting of one prisoner. "We would have recommended it be closed even if there wasn't a so-called mutiny," said Austin H. MacCormack, chairman of the Special Civilian Committee for the Study of the United States Army Confinement System in a telephone interview. MacCormack told *The Militant* that the Presidio was too small, had cage-like cells and was in a bad location. He said his committee urged the stockade be shifted to Ft. Ord. "We encountered cases where there seemed to be abuse," MacCormack said. "Of course, any kind of abuse is bad. But we did not encounter wholesale brutality."

The great society

War-is-hell Dep't—The Pepsi-Cola plant in Cambodia marketed 26 million bottles last year. This year, as a result of the invasion, sales are down 60 percent. Most of the plant workers are now in the army and 40 of the company's 110 trucks have been commandeered by the Cambodian army. Another 40 have been wiped out by guerrillas. They say the rockets keep hitting the spot.

Extracurricular activity?—A band of 150 apparently ununiformed looters in 50 fast cars had a field day in Stockholm while police were not on duty because of a sick-call job action.

What about Nixon?—A *New York Times* headline advises: "Academic Experts in U.S. on Vietnam Almost Nonexistent."

That'll learn him—William Short, 19, was sentenced to ten days for allegedly taking some small flags from Central Square in downtown Youngstown. The arresting officer said Short told him he didn't like policemen and he didn't like America. The judge gave him the ten days, sufficient time to write out the Pledge of Allegiance 500 times.

High cost of living and dying—New York City hiked the price of birth and death certificates from \$2 to \$2.50.

Pedagogue—The butchers now running Greece are considering reducing the present six years of required schooling by a year or two. The *New York Times* reported that Premier Papadopoulos "attributed much of the unrest in the world to excess knowledge." "The question is," he said, "whether it is really useful for everybody to know everything."

The silver lining (I)—The American Collectors Association reports a record business in handling delinquent credit payments.

The silver lining (II)—The increase in social tension has brought a boom to the antacid industry. *Drug Topics*, a trade journal, reports \$99 million worth of antacids were sold in drugstores in 1968 and the figures have increased considerably since. To capitalize on this expanding market, manufacturers are working on a variety of new products to sooth antacid eaters. One new product reportedly eases the stomach difficulty created by nervous swallowing of air.

Dim view—"There are many signs that business is losing credibility with the public." —Richard Gerstenberg, vice-chairman of General Motors.

Positive thinking—"God bless the capitalistic system, because it forces industry to serve the consumer's interest all day long, every day." —Archibald McG. Foster, chairman of the American Association of Advertising Agencies.

—HARRY RING

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

The continuity of Black revolt

A HISTORY OF PAN-AFRICAN REVOLT. By C. L. R. James. Drum and Spear Press, Inc., 2001 11th St., N. W., Suite 206, Washington, D. C. 20001. Paper. \$2.50.

"... the plunge into the chasm of the past is the condition and the source of freedom. The logical end of this will to struggle is the total liberation of the national territory." Frantz Fanon, 1956.

Recently, Drum and Spear Press in Washington, D. C., brought out a new edition of C. L. R. James' *A History of Pan-African Revolt*. Originally issued in 1938 from London by Fact, a monthly monograph, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* represents a truly monumental work.

What James does is weave together a history of Black revolt from the first successful slave rebellion in San Domingo (Haiti) in 1791, through the Civil War in the U. S., to the post-WW I revolts that ripped through the African continent, down to the revolt by Black oil workers against Dutch domination on the island of Curacao in 1969. The latter event is taken up in an epilogue that chronicles the situation in the United States, on the African continent, and in the West Indies from 1939-69.

All of this in just 143 pages!

And this book is not in any way pedantic, i.e., just giving a stiff and static recounting of this revolt and that revolt stripped of any historical analysis. On the contrary, using the analytical tools of Marxism, James is able to extract the maximum meaning of any revolt by taking into account both its nationalist and working class character.



Labor Challenge

BLACK POWER REVOLT IN TRINIDAD. Thirty thousand march at funeral for young Black power militant slain by cops, April 9.

For example, James describes the South African Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union that grew up in Port Elizabeth in 1919. Led by Clements Kadalie, a brother from Nyasaland in the Rhodesian federation, the ICU grew to 100,000 Black workers in 1926. Throughout this period, the ICU was leading successful strikes, conducting demonstrations, and battling with the police.

In assessing the movement, James writes, "The real parallel to this movement is the mass uprising in San Domingo. There is the same instinctive capacity for organization, the same throwing up of gifted leaders from among the masses. But whereas there was a French Revolution in 1794 rooting out the old order in France, need-

ing the black revolution, and sending out encouragement, organizers and arms, there was nothing like that in Britain. Seen in that historical perspective, the Kadalie movement can be understood for the profoundly important thing it was."

For those who haven't as yet read James' *Black Jacobins*, a very thorough account of the Haitian Revolution, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* brings out all that goes to make C. L. R. one of the greatest living historians. And it is poetic justice that due to the rising tide of Black revolt, James, who was once banned from the U. S., is today teaching at Federal City College, a predominately Black school in Washington, D. C.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Pamela Starsky, P.O. Box 750, Tempe Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

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

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

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

San Diego: Alan Standliff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: (714) 296-4029.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, c/o Michael Klein, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415, Denver, Colo. 80218. Tel: (303) 333-7936.

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

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

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

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.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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Win concessions from Hussein

Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan

By ROBERT LANGSTON

JUNE 16 — Following a week of heavy fighting between Palestinian fedayeen and Jordanian army units, an uneasy peace now prevails in Amman. No one believes it will last. The representatives of two irreconcilable social forces stand more openly and directly face to face in Jordan than ever.

On the one hand, there is the clique around King Hussein that expresses the interests of the big landowners, the rapacious and largely parasitic capitalist class and U.S. imperialist interests in the country, and whose only more-or-less secure mass social base is in the tribal Bedouins traditionally loyal to the Hashemite family. On the other hand, there are the masses of the Palestinians and of the non-Palestinian Jordanians, mostly poor peasants, impoverished petty traders, and a few industrial workers.

For a long time, the royal clique was able to maintain a measure of support among the brutally exploited non-Palestinian Jordanian masses by playing on their anxieties about the dislocations produced by the presence of a large number of Palestinian refugees in the country. While the Palestinian fedayeen have inspired increasing sympathy and support among the Jordanians ever since the six days' war, the last few months have seen a drastic acceleration of this process. Although El Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian resistance groups, is committed to a position of nonintervention in the internal affairs of the Arab states except when the Palestinian movement is under direct attack by them, two of the other major fedayeen groups—the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP)—have become increasingly involved in Jordanian social struggles. The last major attempt Hussein made to crush the guerrillas, for example, was occasioned by the fact that the PFLP forced a cement manufacturer—who happened to be an intimate of the royal family—to rehire striking workers he had fired and to sign a contract with their union.

During the past couple of months, the process of linking the Palestinian national struggle with Jordanian social struggles has begun to move towards a new stage. Since April, the DPFLP has taken the initiative in forming joint Palestinian-Jordanian councils. The DPFLP's perspective is that these councils will hasten the end of all antagonisms between the Palestinians and the Jordanian masses, that they will provide effective organization for the Jordanian sympathy in support of the Palestinian struggle, and, above all, that they will develop into organs of democratic self-government—the first genuine democratic institutions the Palestinians and Jordanians have ever possessed—especially in those parts of the country that are effectively under fedayeen control.

The broad development of these councils would probably be the most serious threat that the Jordanian rul-



The Arab World

ing classes—and their Zionist and imperialist allies—have ever faced. For they would not only unite Jordanians and Palestinians; they would also provide the base for a future revolutionary government in the whole country.

This threat became far more immediate after the meeting of the Palestine National Council in Cairo May 29-June 4. For at that meeting, not only was the official Jordanian delegation refused a seat, while the Council declared its intention to "cooperate" with a Jordanian opposition group, the Jordanian National Union, led by former premier Suleiman el Nabulsi, but the Council also called for the formation of joint Palestinian-Jordanian committees (as well as similar institutions in Lebanon). The DPFLP initiative, in other words, received sanction by the Palestine Council.

This is probably a large part of the reason that the Amman regime chose this moment to attack the fedayeen. It apparently hoped that it could liquidate the left wing (especially the DPFLP, which had initiated the councils) while the leadership of Fateh—which, with their "noninterventionist" position, had been at most lukewarm towards the council idea—would stand calmly by.

The Hussein clique seriously miscalculated the situation. None of the fedayeen groups were prepared to allow the DPFLP to be crushed, however great their political differences. After the government opened its attack with an ambush of a DPFLP contingent near the town of Zarka, a DPFLP stronghold some 15 miles northeast of Amman, fedayeen, particularly units of the PFLP, began to occupy Amman. The Jordanian government withdrew units from the Israeli front and rushed them towards the capital, thus providing an excellent example

of whom they regard as their real enemy.

The fedayeen succeeded in cutting off all communications with Amman. On June 9, a convoy accompanying Hussein to the capital was ambushed in the suburb of Suweilih and the king, while unharmed, was prevented from entering the city. At the same time, several refugee camps were under heavy artillery fire from Jordanian forces and suffered severe casualties.

Early on the morning of June 10, Yasir Arafat, the head of Fateh and of the Palestine Liberation Organization, concluded a truce agreement with Hussein. The Popular Front, however, refused to accept the cease-fire unless certain demands were met. Specifically, the PFLP called on Hussein to fire two of the most notoriously anti-fedayeen officials—his uncle, Gen. Nasser Ben Jamil, the army commander-in-chief, and his cousin, Gen. Zaid Ben Shaker, the commander of the Third Armored Division. To emphasize their point, the PFLP surrounded two of Amman's biggest "western" hotels and held some 70 U.S. and European citizens hostage for fulfillment of their demands.

Early Friday morning, June 12, Hussein capitulated. Ben Jamil and Ben Shaker were removed from their commands, the fighting, except for sporadic outbursts, stopped and the hostages were released unharmed. Joint fedayeen-royalist patrols enforced the cease-fire, and joint units also blocked the movement on the capital of a tank column, apparently loyal to Ben Jamil and Ben Shaker.

The various interested foreign states played true to form. Radio Jordan quoted the commander of the Saudi Arabian troops stationed in Southern Jordan as pledging total Saudi support to the Amman regime. Nasser used all his influence to force a compromise settlement. He unconditionally backed Arafat in the Fateh leader's efforts to negotiate a settlement with Hussein and implicitly criticized the more left-wing elements.

Taking the same line, President Qaddafi of Libya was more explicit: "This outbreak," he said, "is the result of the division of the Arab world between partisans of an inflamed and irresponsible left and of a right that is almost treasonable. That is why our

revolution of Sept. 1 [1969, when the pro-imperialist King Idris was ousted] in Libya proclaimed the slogan: 'Neither left nor right!'" The Soviet press likewise denounced the "extremists" among the Palestinians, and hinted darkly that the more left-wing elements were really U.S. agents.

On June 9, Secretary of State Rogers made a point of stressing the U.S.'s "friendship" for King Hussein and expressed "concern" about the fighting. To emphasize the point, the 82nd Airborne Division was alerted, and although Rogers protested that the step was only a "routine measure," it indicates how nervously Washington beholds the struggle of the fedayeen against Arab reaction. Israeli spokesmen reiterated their often-expressed insistence that the Zionist state could not remain "indifferent" to what might happen to Hussein's throne.

If the reaction of states and rulers ranged from outright support to Hussein's effort to destroy the revolutionaries to attempts to force a compromise solution, the reaction of the Arab masses was quite different. In Beirut on June 11, some 10,000 people, responding to a call by several Lebanese left-wing and revolutionary groups, demonstrated in support of the fedayeen and against Hussein. The Jordanian embassy in the Lebanese capital was sacked and burned.

At this moment, it is evident that the Palestinian national struggle has won another major victory and that the left wing of the Palestinian movement has gained new strength. The events of the past week have once again made clear that an irrepressible conflict is unfolding between the forces of Palestinian liberation and the reactionary ruling classes of the Arab world.

These events have also brought closer the moment when compromise will no longer be possible, when each Palestinian leader will have to make a clear choice—either to stand with the peasants and workers throughout the Arab world in their struggle to rid themselves of their exploiters, or, in the name of "national unity" and "deferring" social struggles until *after* the achievement of national liberation, to end up siding with those forces in the Arab world that *actually* are allied with Zionism and imperialism.