

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34—No. 28

Friday, July 17, 1970

Price 15c

Nationalism in Quebec

p. 4

Analysis of Trinidad events

p. 10

Report from Puerto Rico

p. 13

Impact of 18-year-old vote

p. 14

Washington, Tel Aviv fan crisis in Mideast



Jordanian citizens make way across bombed-out bridge as they flee advancing Israeli troops during June 1967 war. After that Israeli blitz attack and subsequent bombing raids, increased military defense became a matter of acute concern for Arab countries.

Brand UAR defense moves as a "threat to peace"

The U. S. has responded with a series of bellicose and ominous threats to recent moves by the United Arab Republic to bolster its defenses against Israeli air attacks. And Israel too is threatening to escalate its aggression. The gist of Nixon's pronouncements has been that the U. S. will take whatever measures necessary to maintain the current "balance of power" in the Middle East—by which he means to ensure continued Israeli air superiority and therefore Israel's ability to continue its murderous attacks on the Arab countries.

President Nixon's first declaration was made on TV June 24, when he expressed U. S. "fears" about Soviet intentions in the Mideast and suggested that this could prove to be an even more dangerous matter than the war in Indochina.

The next day a White House official confided to newsmen the administration's desire to "expel" the Soviet Union from Egypt. On June 26 the White House press secretary said it was "unlikely" that the U. S. would send combat troops or "advisors" to aid Israel but refused to preclude the possibility.

Then, on Monday June 29, a White House spokesman said the word "expel" had been a bit harsh and that the refusal to preclude sending troops was merely a standard diplomatic tactic.

There are two basic considerations behind these recent moves of the Nixon administration. One is the desire of the U. S. rulers to curb the growth of Soviet influence in the Mideast, an area they want to keep within the U. S. "sphere of influence" because of the important oil preserves there.

Secondly, Nixon agrees with Israel's Nazi-like policy of "reprisals" against the civilians of Arab countries in retaliation for every act of Arab resistance to Israeli aggression and repression. Through the constant threat of devastating attacks, the U. S. hopes Israel can pressure the Arab governments to control or crush the activities of the various Palestinian liberation organizations.

Regardless of whether these recent threats by Nixon are simply intended as diplomatic pressure, these moves have a logic of their own, leading toward the possibility of an expanded international confrontation in the Mideast. They are ominous because the option of direct U. S. aggression in the Mideast is totally compatible with general U. S. aims and policy in that area. Its primary concern is to maintain Israel as a military bastion for its extensive Mideast economic, political and military interests.

The hypocritical indignation of the U. S. and Israel, protesting the presence in Egypt of the most modern Soviet-made anti-aircraft installations, could be compared to the protests of a burglar because someone inside a house he is planning to rob is armed with a gun.

The very concern and outrage expressed by Washington and Tel Aviv over Egypt's defensive moves serves to underline the aggressive character of their policy toward the Arab world.

Militancy of gov't workers increasing

Southern business group issues 'warning'

Atlanta, Ga. According to a recent AP story appearing in the business and finance section of the *St. Petersburg [Florida] Times*, the Southern Regional Council has published a report that warns employers of "increasingly aggressive public-employee unions." The report appeared in *South Today*, the monthly newspaper of the Southern Regional Council, and cited the recent municipal workers strike in Atlanta as an example of what lies ahead [see *The Militant*, April 10 and later].

The report criticized Atlanta's Mayor Sam Massell, a Democrat, for making himself "a front-line target for the union." Massell, considered "one of the South's most liberal big city mayors," fired 1,600 workers for demanding a livable wage, three days after the strike began. Apparently the businessmen's monthly was concerned that such overt action by their representative might tarnish the "friend of labor" Democrat image, hurting the chances of other "liberals" winning labor support. The Council advises that in the future mayors should act only "as a behind-the-scenes force."

The *South Today*, concerned that labor militancy is not limited to the larger cities, cites the growth of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees union as 30,000 today and predicts 200,000 in five years.

The *Times* article ends with the warning of the Southern Regional Council report: "The power held by public employees is plain. They provide services that a city or hospital or whatever can ill afford to be without. Until recently, they have been unwilling to test the laws and customs that have prevented them from using labor's ultimate weapon, the strike. Now they're making the tests."

Frank Lord

Photo caption an error

Berkeley, Calif.

The picture on the front cover of the June 19 *Militant* labeled "... chil-

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.

dren in Crystal City, Texas," was taken by me in Austin, not Crystal City. This picture of five Black and Chicano children suggests that there is a substantial Black population in Crystal City. Actually the proportion of Blacks in Crystal City, and South Texas in general, is very small.

Antonio Camejo

Pollution and profits

Scarborough, Ontario *Conservation News* reported in its Feb. 1 issue that medical research has shown air pollution to be at least a contributing factor and often a cause of lung cancer, emphysema, bronchitis, eczema, asthma, heart disease, genetic mutation, and the common cold. In the same issue, after the statement that the internal combustion engine is responsible for 60 percent (in some cities up to 90 percent) of all pollutants discharged into the atmosphere annually, it is revealed that the U.S. Justice Department recently dropped an antitrust suit which charged General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors with illegally conspiring to eliminate all competition among themselves in research, development, manufacture and installation of motor vehicle air pollution control equipment. The suit was dropped on the dubious basis of an agreement by the defendants to cease their inhibitory action.

The ruling class must exploit the natural resources as well as the workers in order to prosper; since preventing or cleaning up pollution does not yield profits, it is not considered.

Only under socialism, when the people democratically control all industries, services and institutions will eradication of pollution and subsequent enjoyment by all of the benefits of nature be attainable.

Jeff Barnard

Wants the truth

Utica, N. Y.

I enjoy reading your paper. *The Militant* gives people the straight news and reasons behind it which should be known.

Continue the truth.

L. M.

Capitalist "health" care

Philadelphia, Pa.

I read a certain article in the daily newspaper here. It seems that an old woman has been released after 48 years at the local mental institution. The reason for her confinement: she spoke only Ukrainian, no English. When she was found in a state of emotional depression, she was automatically sent to the institution, because "she could not communicate."

In a society which can afford to waste billions of dollars every day on the needs of the capitalist class, it is a crime that hospitals and other public institutions are understaffed and backward. Just another example of the gross inequities inherent in this system, but it burned me up so I had to write to *The Militant* about it.

Carol Lisker

For a friend

Baltimore, Md.

As I am already an enthusiastic reader of *The Militant*, would you send the enclosed subscription to a friend of mine living in Virginia. Because of the area in which he lives [Gretna], he is pretty well cut off from the truth.

T. B.

Hardhats and the war

New York, N. Y.

Frank Lovell's contention that there are layers of construction workers opposed to the war in Indochina [see June 12 *Militant*] can be substantiated.

After the New York building trades demonstration supporting "patriotism," there were similar demonstrations in St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Baltimore. In television interviews with construction workers at the demonstrations, each of the workers either directly stated that they were opposed to the war but against "flag burners," or they made it clear that it wasn't support for the war that brought them out but "love of country."

Even the N. Y. demonstration, which the building trades bureaucrats were attempting to aim in support of the war, became a demonstration opposed to Lindsay and hippies. Many workers were compelled to attend the rally just to sign in so that they would get paid for the day.

The fact that a masons local, a carpenters and joiners local, and a laborers union local were signers of an antiwar petition in San Francisco demonstrates that the deepening radicalization in the U.S. has reached construction workers.

Construction workers are irritated by the oppressive conditions that beset them. Although they are highly paid,

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$13.50, all other countries, \$20.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34 Number 28

Friday, July 17, 1970

Closing news date—July 8

they work only on a seasonal basis. With the continuation of the war and the rising tide of inflation, jobs are becoming scarce. The right-wing press media and the bureaucrats in the building trades unions blame the scarcity of jobs on the hiring of Black and other minority workers.

The large majority of Black construction workers are opposed to the war and are being pressured by contractors and their union bureaucrats. Organized groups of Black and Brown skilled and unskilled workers have sprung up in East Harlem, Brooklyn, Washington, D. C. and St. Louis. Many of these groups are called "Fight Back." Fight Back attempts to pressure contractors and building trades unions to hire and give a union book to Black and Puerto Rican workers. Groups like Fight Back have the potential of creating militant caucuses inside the building trades, a major reason why the contractors and the bureaucrats strongly resist employment of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Alfredo Pena

Militant recruits to YSA

New York, N. Y.

In the spring of last year I went up to Goddard College in Vermont and set up a YSA literature table. The sales were not phenomenal, but two people did take subscriptions to *The Militant*.

You can imagine how pleased and inspired I was at the Cleveland antiwar conference to meet these two subscribers and learn they're now both active in the Boston YSA.

Judy Cutler

From India

Aligarh, India

Some friends post *The Militant* to me which is circulated among friends and appreciated very much.

I congratulate you on fighting for the downtrodden Blacks and oppressed Vietnamese.

I assure you that we are with you in your struggle against tyranny in any field.

S. M. T.

PEACE NOW... But There Is No Peace!

How can we win real, enduring peace? NOW! Youth everywhere are thinking, demonstrating, working toward an answer. Everywhere in the world . . . We mean *political* youth!

Let's pool our experiences. To know what political youth are doing 6, 10, 15, 18 hours' flight time from the U.S. read the weekly *Intercontinental Press*.

Their demonstrations, their slogans . . . who's involved, the tendencies, organizations . . . their politics . . . the background . . . what it means . . . the disputed issues . . . Plus a lot about the

United States.

Clear explanations. And, most important, the *truth* . . .

All kinds of analytical articles that probe basic trends in the world. Written in the tradition of Leon Trotsky.

Includes documents of revolutionary movements on all continents. And polemics.

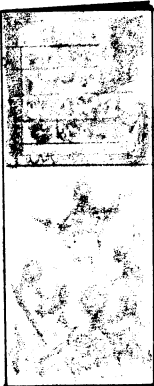
We hope you'll want to subscribe. But if you're not sure, look through a sample first. Clip out the coupon (or tear it out if you feel that way) and send it in. It's good for a free copy of one of the next issues to come off the press.

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station
New York, N. Y. 10010

Name
Street Apt.
City State Zip

() Cautious. Send a free sample copy.
() What are we waiting for? I'll take a chance on subscribing now.
\$5 enclosed for 26 copies (a saving of \$2.50).

24 pgs 25c



The Politics of Women's Liberation Today

Mary-Alice Waters

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 BROADWAY, N. Y., N. Y. 10003

Wide support for N.Y. ballot fight

New York's leading Democratic and Republican candidates for office in the 1970 elections—including Arthur J. Goldberg, Basil Paterson, Richard L. Ottinger, Adam Clayton Powell, Charles E. Goodell and others—joined with the gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, a representative of the Communist Party, and others July 3 in submitting the following letter to the *New York Times*. They are supporting efforts to eliminate sections of the New York State election law that discriminate against minority and independent parties.

The signers of the letter represent one of the broadest spectrums of support ever gathered for a civil liberties fight.

The letter condemns the state attorney general for his maneuvers to prevent the immediate implementation of a recent ruling by a three-judge federal court in favor of the plaintiffs in a suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party. A similar suit by the Socialist Labor Party has been combined with the SWP suit.

The New York State attorney general has appealed to Supreme Court justice John Harlan for a stay of the ruling in order to prevent the plain-

tiffs from benefitting from it in the current election year, although chances are considered good that the Supreme Court, which does not meet again until October, would uphold the original ruling. If the state is granted a stay, minority parties will be required to petition in all of the state's 61 counties—in spite of their court victory—since the period for petitioning precedes the next session of the Supreme Court.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the fight against these undemocratic maneuvers and laws. Contributions should be sent to the Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

* * *

We protest the current attempt of the New York attorney general's office to prevent the implementation of the June 18 three-judge federal court decision against discriminatory sec-

tions of the New York State Election Law. We call upon New Yorkers to support the efforts of the Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York (339 Lafayette St., NYC) to democratize the election laws to allow minority and independent parties and candidates to present their programs on a more equal basis for a vote by the people of New York. Specifically, we support the ruling of the three-judge federal court which found unconstitutional sections of the election law which require that in order to appear on the ballot minority parties must obtain on nominating petitions the signatures of 50 registered voters from each of the 61 counties in New York State. The court ruled that this requirement gives veto power to the citizens in any one county over the wishes of the people in the rest of the state.

The New York State attorney general's office has declared its intention to request a stay on the ruling from an individual Supreme Court justice pending the next Supreme Court session in October. While not challenging the attorney general's right to appeal for the stay, we would point out the following:

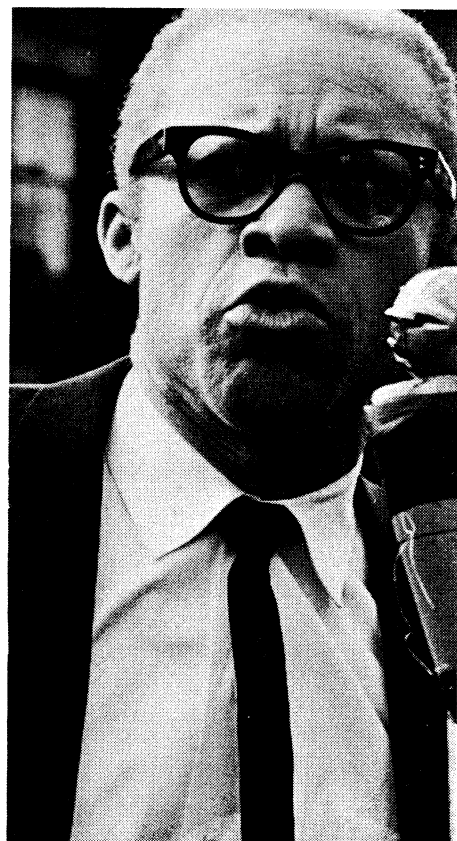
1. The Supreme Court does not go back into session until after the deadline for filing nominating petitions for the 1970 elections.

2. Within the last two years the Supreme Court has overturned similar laws in Illinois and Ohio. With little or no hope of actually winning the case, the attorney general is attempting to prevent the plaintiffs from benefitting from their court victory in this election year.

3. If the attorney general succeeds in this maneuver it will be a defeat not only for minority parties themselves but also for New Yorkers who will be deprived of the opportunity to vote for any of the parties which cannot comply with the restrictive requirements.

We ask all democratically minded New Yorkers to protest with us in an effort to uphold the federal court decision.

Signatories: Arthur J. Goldberg, Democratic nominee, governor of New York; State Senator Basil Paterson,



Clifton DeBerry

Democratic nominee, lieutenant governor; Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers nominee, governor of New York; Sen. Charles E. Goodell; Rep. Richard L. Ottinger, Democratic nominee, U.S. senator; Rep. Adam Clayton Powell; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; Adam Walinsky, Democratic nominee, attorney general of New York; Paul O'Dwyer, attorney; Bella S. Abzug, Democratic nominee, 19th congressional district; Luis Fuentes, principal, P.S. 155; Rasheed Storey, Communist Party of New York; Nat Hentoff, writer; Jack Newfield, writer; Jesse Gray, Harlem Tenants Union; Nathan Solomon, Freedom and Peace Party of New York; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Norma Becker, Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Dwight Macdonald, writer; Florynce R. Kennedy, attorney.

(Organizations for identification only)

Six S.F. students still face threat of deportation

SAN FRANCISCO, July 7—The U.S. Immigration Service has lifted its threat of immediate deportation for 29 of the Iranian students who were arrested here June 26 while trying to present a series of demands to the Iranian Consulate. Forty-one students were arrested in all; six have permanent visas, but six others are still threatened and if deported to Iran would almost certainly face imprisonment.

The Immigration Service indicated that evidence showed the 29 students to be properly registered in the U.S. The six others are said to have not yet presented the proper documentary evidence.

The demands of the students, who were protesting the oppressive conditions in Iran and the presence in San Francisco of Princess Ashraff, sister of the Shah and chairwoman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, included: open trials with international observers for the 203 persons arrested in Iran during a February bus strike and for 150 Kurds who have been fighting for self-determination for their people; freedom from harassment by the regime for all Iranian students returning home; and the immediate release of 27 students arrested at the University of Shiraz.

Rather than responding to their demands, the consul general called the police, who arrested the 41 students, beating many. Six were treated for injuries and face felony charges.

On July 1, a spirited demonstration of 350 persons demanded that the charges against the 41 be dropped. Following a noon rally in front of the Immigration Office, the demonstrators marched the three-mile route to the Iranian Consulate. When they reached it, it had been surrounded by the Tactical Squad.

Despite the menacing presence of so many police, the well-monitored demonstration continued without incident. Throughout the day small groups of Iranian students entered the consulate and presented their demands, which included freedom for the 41.



Arthur Goldberg

New escalation in Vietnam is forecast

By CAROLINE LUND

The July 5 *New York Times* carried a picture of jubilant GIs leaving Cambodia and raising the clenched fist and the V-for-peace sign. But according to the *Times*, there will be no letup in the death and destruction in store for these GIs and for the Vietnamese people in the months ahead.

In the "News of the Week in Review" section the same day, the *Times* printed an article by James P. Sterba entitled: "Return to Strategy of 'Maximum Pressure' in Vietnam."

Sterba begins by recalling Nixon's pretext for invading Cambodia: that it "will save American and allied lives in the future." Then he proceeds to describe plans of the U.S. military commanders to launch offensives in each of the four major areas of South Vietnam.

In the northernmost provinces, for instance, American and South Vietnamese troops are expected to launch an attack on large NLF strongholds there. Sterba reports that "If they decide to go farther west—say, to the Ashau Valley, where such old battlefield favorites as Hamburger Hill have been in North Vietnamese hands since last summer—they could stir up a big enough war to create widespread alarm in the United States again about

mounting casualties."

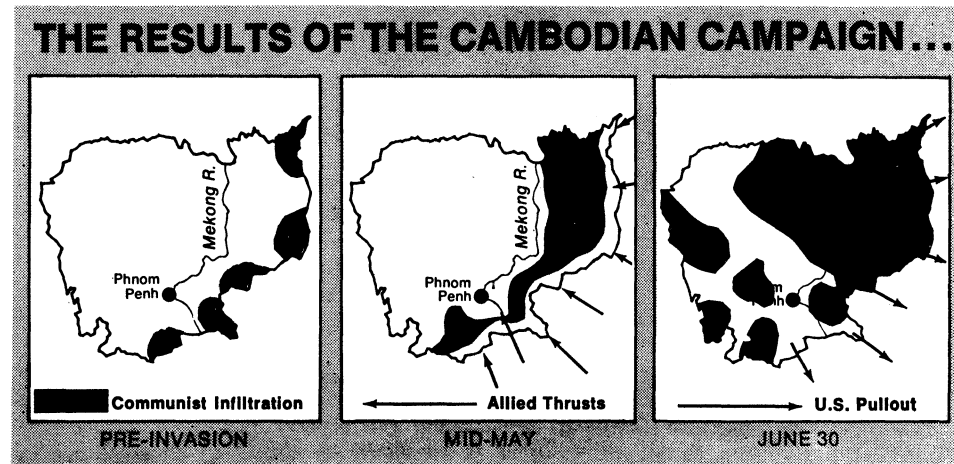
In the area including the 11 provinces around Saigon, Sterba writes, "there are many pockets of enemy resistance which allied troops have deferred 'cleaning out' because they felt it more vital to resist infiltration through the northwestern provinces bordering Cambodia. There are densely forested sanctuaries in eastern Phuoc Long, Log Khanh and Binh Tuy Provinces to 'neutralize,' and commanders see no better time to get on with the job."

In addition to specific offensives against targets in each area, Sterba

reports that another "accelerated pacification program" has been kicked off throughout South Vietnam to "wean people away from the Vietcong."

Sterba's article ends by pointing out that the Vietnamese guerrillas will probably not just take this offensive sitting down. "There could be serious battles in the next few months," he says, "with serious casualties."

Clearly there is no letup in sight for U.S. aggression in Vietnam, despite Nixon's talk about withdrawal. The slaughter will continue just as long as Nixon can keep GIs in Southeast Asia.



Quebec workers and the movement for independence

By ARTHUR YOUNG

The July 10 issue of *The Militant* carried an article analyzing the April 29 elections in Quebec, which reflected a significant growth in Quebecois nationalism. The following article continues the discussion of the recent elections and takes up a number of reasons why revolutionary socialists should support the demand for an independent socialist Quebec.

The article is reprinted from the June 1, 1970, issue of *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian revolutionary socialist biweekly reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

* * *

MONTREAL — How nationalist is the Quebec working class? More precisely, can and will the demand for a politically sovereign state of Quebec play a key role in mobilizing the Quebecois workers and leading them forward in the developing anticapitalist struggle?

These questions, long the subject of some debate in the left, have come sharply into focus in recent months with the upsurge of nationalist struggles, particularly around the defense of the French language. And now the results of the April 29 elections, which confirmed the depth of nationalist feeling and the growing support for the independentist movement, go a long way toward posing some answers.

After a fashion, these elections constituted a referendum in which between one-third and one-half of French-speaking Quebecois — and an even higher proportion of workers — voted for an independent Quebec.

The Parti Quebecois got 23 percent of the vote. This represents 30 percent of the votes of French-speaking Quebecois. To this nationalist, independentist vote must be added a sizable proportion of the Union Nationale's 20 percent; the UN ran on a program of "independence not now, but perhaps in four years."

Even more important, the PQ vote was strongest in the working-class sectors of east Montreal, where it took six of its seven seats. In these ridings [electoral districts], it got about 40 percent of the vote. Among the French-speaking residents of these 15 ridings, its vote proportion was around 50 percent. That is, one-half of the decisive sector of Quebec society — the Montreal French working class — voted independentist.

This constitutes a remarkable shift in sentiment. In 1966, about one voter

in 10 supported the separatist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN). A comparison between an opinion survey by the noted pollster Peter Regenstreif in April 1970 and a similar survey he took exactly one year earlier indicates a sharp increase in support over the year for the PQ among skilled and unskilled workers along with a considerable decline in PQ support among the middle layers of professional and managerial elements.

During the campaign, the working class and the students mobilized in large numbers behind the PQ bandwagon. The PQ meetings regularly attracted thousands of people; on the eve of the election, the party held simultaneous rallies across the province that drew a total of 75,000 people.

Thousands of volunteers came forward to work for the PQ during the elections. Despite its bourgeois program, the PQ gave the illusion of a truly people's party, based on the exploited sectors of the Quebec population.

How nationalist was the PQ vote?

Despite its bourgeois reformist demagoguery, the Parti Quebecois was distinguished fundamentally in this election by its stand for a Quebec sovereign state. Other parties promised reforms, not least of all the Liberals; but they all attacked the PQ for its sovereignty program. And the PQ emphasized that to get the reforms it was promising, sovereignty was the precondition. No one could vote PQ and be strongly opposed to Quebec independence.

The English minority was stampeded by the scare campaign over "separatism"; it also saw this election as a referendum, and voted almost 100 percent for the Liberal Party, the one clearly pro-federalist party.

Regenstreif's findings, published in the *Toronto Star* and *Le Devoir*, indicate that 35 percent of the Quebecois wanted an independent Quebec state (which would retain economic ties with English Canada) while 53 percent were opposed. But this poll included the English Quebecois, solidly lined up against independence. Among French Quebecois, Regenstreif found that opinion was almost equally divided: 40 percent for, and 45 percent opposed. He found that about half the Union Nationale voters were for independence.

This powerful evidence of a qualitative change in the thinking of Quebecois workers, coming on top of the massive mobilizations over the language question in the last two years, indicates that the Quebec struggle is entering a new stage, one with great revolutionary possibilities. Socialists must adjust their demands accordingly.

Marxists, basing themselves on Lenin's profound studies of the national question, have defended the right of all nations to self-determination. We see the struggle of oppressed nations as a historically progressive one, which strikes hammer blows at imperialist world domination. This



Montreal Star Canada wide

Demonstrations last spring at Montreal's English-language McGill University, regarded by French-speaking Quebecois as a reflection and instrument of Anglo-American domination, were a sign of mounting Quebecois nationalism. Growth in nationalist sentiment was shown by recent elections.

view has been repeatedly confirmed by the course of world events, most strikingly since the end of the Second World War and the rise of the colonial revolution.

In its most simple form, the right of self-determination is the right to separate from the dominant, oppressing nation.

But this does not mean that Marxists automatically advocate the separation of any given nation. Such a question must be settled in accordance with the interests of the working class, and in view of the national sentiment of the oppressed nation. Marxists are committed to fight for the independence of the oppressed nation should it desire its independence.

In the case of Quebec, an oppressed nation within Canada, revolutionary socialists recognized very early the explosive potential of the national question. The struggle of the Quebecois for national liberation would play a key role in the Canadian socialist revolution, declared the Canadian Trotskyists, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. The LSA/LSO supports the right of the Quebecois to establish an independent state should they so desire. At the same time, it refused to arbitrarily decide in advance of events what course the Quebec masses would take.

The LSA/LSO 1968 convention resolution published as a pamphlet *Vive le Quebec Libre*, pointed out some reasons for caution on this question: middle-class nationalist movements like the RIN had failed to attract significant working-class support, despite the large resources at their disposal; the Quebec working class remained linked to the English Canadian workers through the trade unions and the New Democratic Party (NDP); and in many respects, the workers in the rest of Canada were politically in advance of the Quebecois workers. Thus the advocacy of Quebec's separation by revolutionaries would not in and of itself raise the level of consciousness of the struggle.

While we have always seen the solution to the national question in the formation of a workers and farmers government which would nationalize the major industrial sectors thereby putting them for the first time in the hands

of the French-speaking workers, to be operated in the French language, we left open the question whether the class consciousness of the Quebecois working class would take form around the demand for a separate state of Quebec.

Since then, the demand for independence for Quebec has shown its capacity to mobilize many hundreds of thousands of people, not only the narrow middle-class layers, but also the students and workers. At the same time, while worsening economic conditions in Canada have tremendously aggravated the chronically-depressed Quebec economy, increasing the disparities in unemployment levels, wage rates, etc., the trade unions have failed to set out on the road of independent working class political action, and the NDP has failed to implant itself in Quebec. This is both a source and a result of the growth in support for the independentist Parti Quebecois.

Whatever the conjunctural reasons for the growth in independentist support, a more permanent lesson can be drawn: the mass nationalist feeling in Quebec tends definitely to take the independentist road, and this option is shared, if it is not even more pronounced, among the Quebec working class.

Revolutionary socialists must now take up the demand of the independence of Quebec. They must now advance the slogan *for an independent socialist Quebec*.

Only this demand expresses both the desires and needs of the Quebecois workers; only it will allow the revolutionary socialists of Quebec to participate in and lead the struggle for national and social liberation; only it will demonstrate a genuinely revolutionary attitude on the part of English Canadians, thus laying the basis for a fraternal collaboration of the working class of both nations in their common task of overturning bourgeois rule in the Canadian federal state.

The fact that this national discontent is intertwined with profound social discontent over unemployment, inadequate housing, exorbitant taxes, etc., far from weakening the impact of the independentist sentiment, only renders it more profound and explosive. It signifies the inability of the Canadian

(Continued next page)

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 BROADWAY
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

WAR AND
REVOLUTION
IN
VIETNAM
BY
Doug Jenness

35¢

The U.S.-Soviet Mideast moves

By ROBERT LANGSTON

JULY 3—During a month of steady military escalation along the Syrian and Egyptian cease-fire lines with Israel, there has been a corresponding escalation of U.S. and Soviet diplomatic efforts to devise a mutually acceptable "peace" formula for the conflict.

The outlines of the formula are gradually becoming clear. What they add up to is: 1) an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance; 2) an attempt to force Arab acceptance of the legitimacy of the Zionist state; and 3) Israeli withdrawal from an ambiguously defined part of the territories it has occupied since June 1967.

Some time around June 20, the United States undertook a "political initiative" by submitting proposals to all the parties the U.S. government thinks have a legitimate interest in the Middle East—the Soviet Union, Israel, the Arab states, several West European powers, but presumably not any Palestinian body.

At a June 25 news conference, Secretary of State William Rogers said he would not disclose "details of the political initiative or to discuss publicly military assistance for Israel." He did, however, affirm that the U.S. policy of not permitting any shift in the military balance of power to the detriment of Israel remains unchanged. Earlier leaks indicate that Washington has promised replacements for Israeli jets lost in action, as well as additional aircraft if a settlement along the lines of the U.S. proposal is not soon forthcoming.

The president, the State Department and the U.S. press have undertaken a massive scare campaign in recent weeks about "Soviet penetration" and a shift in the balance of power because Moscow has installed modern SAM 3 missiles—assertedly operated by Russian technicians—in the United Arab Republic and because Russian pilots are assertedly now flying MIG-21s over the interior of Egypt, behind the Suez Canal battle zone.

The alarm of course is fraudulent.

The surface-to-air missiles can only be employed defensively, and a MIG-21, no matter what kind of pilot flies it, cannot carry a bomb load from Egypt to Israel and then return. The only shift in the "military balance of power" lies in the fact that the Israelis have found it advisable to halt their deep-penetration air raids on Egypt and that they would not now find it so easy or safe to mount the kind of blitzkrieg attack that knocked out the UAR's air force in 1967.

Leaks, and responses to the U.S. proposals indicate these proposals include the following points:

- Acceptance by Israel, Egypt and Jordan of a 90-day cease-fire;
- Reaffirmation by the three countries that they accept the Nov. 22, 1967, UN resolution that provides for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, Arab-state recognition of Israel's right to exist within "secure and recognized" boundaries, and a "just settlement of the refugee problem."
- The beginning of negotiations with special United Nations envoy Gunnar Jarring as intermediary;
- Establishment of a demilitarized zone near the borders of Israel.

Since Syria, unlike Egypt and Jordan, has never accepted the UN resolution, it was apparently excluded from consideration in the U.S. proposals. The implication is that if the other states accepted the proposals, the settlement would entail recognition of continued Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights.

The most detailed report of the Soviet response to the U.S. proposals appeared in an article by Josette Alia in the June 29 issue of the French magazine, *Le Nouvel Observateur*. According to Alia, the Kremlin's message to the State Department stated:

- The Soviet Union will not tolerate another military defeat of the Arab states; it will defend its allies and its prestige;
- Nasser should give a solemn, written declaration of his readiness to accept an "end of belligerency"—some-



Israeli soldiers carry out tables from Arab restaurant in Jerusalem as punishment for owner who had closed shop last Nov. 2 in observance of Balfour Day, a day of mourning in the Arab world marking the Nov. 2, 1917, declaration by British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour giving official British sanction for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. . . ."

thing more than a cease-fire and less than a peace treaty;

- Israel, in return, should issue a solemn, written declaration of its readiness to withdraw from the occupied territories in the event of a peace settlement;
- Negotiations should begin under the auspices of Jarring, aimed at implementing the November 22 UN resolution;
- If the U.S. does not, within a certain period of time, succeed in persuading Israel to accept these propositions, the Soviet Union will undertake to compel it to do so, using any appropriate means, including force; at the same time, Moscow would accompany all such measures with a solemn declaration to respect and guarantee the pre-six-day-war boundaries of the Zionist state.

If Alia's report is accurate—and with the exception of the last, "ultimatum" clause, it is consistent with other published accounts of the Soviet position—then, despite the ultimatum, it is evident that there has been a convergence of the U.S. and Soviet approaches. For one thing, the Moscow proposals represent a significant weakening on the withdrawal issue; previously, Moscow has supported the Arab states' demand that Israeli withdrawal be a *precondition* of any kind of declaration on nonbelligerency.

Most important, though, is the fact that neither the U.S. nor the Soviet proposals mention the Palestinians. The UN resolution on which both plans hinge refers only to "refugees" whose problem somebody or other is supposed to solve.

The Soviet Union may possibly be prepared to aid the Arab states defend themselves against further Zionist depredations and even to help them in regaining some of their conquered land. It is not anxious to aid or promote the revolutionary Palestinian struggle for self-determination. On the contrary, according to a July 3 *New York Times* dispatch, "the latest Soviet proposals on the Middle East accept the concept that Arab governments will have to curb guerrilla activity against Israel when a state of peace is attained, diplomatic sources said here today." In the name of "peaceful coexistence," the Kremlin bureaucrats may be about to try and

undercut yet another revolution.

Despite initial rejection, with one degree of vehemence or another, by Israel, Syria, Egypt and all the Palestinian guerrilla organizations, the Zionist state could probably be persuaded to live—temporarily—with some such "settlement," and the Arab states could be put under heavy pressure to do so.

But the Palestinians can no longer be so easily treated as if they are merely a problem; by their independent struggle, they are demonstrating that they will accept no settlement which does not meet their demands. Already they may well be in a position to militarily torpedo any "settlement" reached at their expense. But even more important, the revolutionizing effect their struggle has had on the masses everywhere in the Arab world foreshadows not setbacks for the Arab revolution but a rising tide of anti-imperialist struggle throughout the Middle East.

... Quebec nationalism

(Continued from previous page)

ruling class to satisfy the hunger for national freedom.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian October revolution, spoke of the same phenomenon. Several of the oppressed nations held within the Russian empire were in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle. For the Latvians, Trotsky commented, "their nationalism was only the outer shell of an immature Bolshevism. A like process took place in Estonia." And in 1931 Trotsky spoke of the rise of separatist feelings in Catalonia, a region of Spain, in the same terms: "The separatism of the worker and peasant is the outer appearance of the social indignation."

The national question played a key role in the Russian revolution. But in Russia, the oppressed nationalities were largely peasant in composition. How much more explosive, then, is the national question in Quebec, where the oppressed nation is overwhelmingly working class in composition, in a modern technically-advanced society located within the very heart of the Canada-U.S. imperialist colossus!

The nationalism of the Quebecois and its new independentist direction unleashes a powerful dynamic of struggle. It is aimed directly at the Canadian capitalist state and its capitalist privileges. The struggle for an independent Quebec must inevitably give rise to the demand for independence from foreign capitalist domination. And since the Quebec national

capitalist class is so weak and dependent on its foreign masters, the working class is fated to lead this struggle forward, against imperialism and on to the socialist road.

As it happens, at this early stage of the struggle for independence, it is the bourgeois Parti Quebecois that has come forth at the head of the independence movement. But this reflects more than anything else the refusal of the Quebec labor leadership to undertake serious independent labor political action by establishing a labor party. The PQ, through its program and actions, has shown its links with capitalism and its hesitancy to mobilize the masses for struggle. As the working class consciously enters the arena, the PQ will be brushed aside.

The demand for an *independent socialist Quebec* expresses this understanding of the dynamics of the workers' struggle. It must be supplemented with a series of partial, concrete demands which expose the nature of Quebec's national oppression and point the way to its solution—such demands as French unilingualism, wage parity with Ontario, nationalization of the Anglo-Canadian and U.S.-owned monopolies, etc. The demand for a Quebec labor party retains validity and in fact takes on added significance.

It is important to open up a wide-ranging discussion among revolutionary socialists as to the meaning of the Quebec elections. This article is meant as a personal contribution to the discussion.

Large-Format Pamphlets From Pathfinder Press

Produced in this format to keep prices down, these pamphlets have pages, 8 1/2 X 11 inches, containing 2 1/2 to 3 times as many words as those of the average pamphlets.

Maoism in the U.S.

A critical history of the Progressive Labor Party
By Mary-Alice Waters 50 cents

Israel and the Arabs

Militant readers debate the Mideast conflict
40 cents

A Transitional Program for Black Liberation

By the Socialist Workers Party 25 cents

Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today

By writers in The Militant and Young Socialist
50 cents

The Chinese Revolution: Problems and Perspectives

By Leon Trotsky 50 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.

(formerly Merit Publishers)

873 Broadway, New York City 10003

Nat'l Ass'n of Black Students meets

Black students gather in Detroit

By DERRICK MORRISON

DETROIT, July 4—The National Association for Black Students (NABS) held its first Black Student Convention at Wayne State University here June 26 to July 4. Attendance was restricted, but the questions under debate were of key importance to the Black student struggle.

Not more than 100 Black students attended the conference, which was more of a NABS leadership meeting than a Black student convention. In order for the Wayne State Association of Black Students (ABS), which played host, to attend the convention, \$75 had to be laid down for registration. This fee prevented many members of the ABS and the 4,000 other Black students at Wayne State from coming to the convention.

NABS arose about nine months ago when Black students in the National Student Association (NSA) broke away and formed their own organization. It sees itself as a research and communications organization.

The delegates came from such campuses as: San Francisco State; UCLA; Metropolitan College in Denver; Luther College in Iowa; Highland Park Junior College in Detroit, the University of Michigan. Students also came from the Memphis, New York and Washington, D. C., areas.

The focus of the convention was not so much the passing of proposals for concrete actions, as a debate on perspectives for the Black student movement. The participants in this debate included representatives from NABS, the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the All-African Peoples Union (AAPU), and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The discussion on perspectives began on Monday, June 29, in a work-

shop entitled "Black students and the Black community." This began after three days of registration and NABS regional meetings. The workshop deliberations lasted for two days.

The orientation of some of the NABS students fell into what can be called social workism. That is, in order for the students to link up with the community, students should work along the line of providing services to the community, such as a free breakfast for children program.

Representatives from the League, one of whom chaired the initial session of the workshop, called for a Black worker-student alliance. The League's position stemmed from a recognition that Black workers were the most powerful and decisive sector of the Black community. Their perspective for the student movement involved no struggle, but the sending of students into the factory, or having students acquire knowledge of the natural sciences on campus and then aid the struggle in the factory.

Black YSAers opposed both these views with the perspective of the Black University—that of making the university an organizing center in the struggle for self-determination, using the struggles for Black studies and the open admission of Black students as bridges for establishing Black community control of schools in the Black community. YSAers argued for the building of a Black political party as the best vehicle for forging an alliance between Black students, Black workers, and other sectors of the Black community.

The representative from AAPU fluctuated from the position of condemning the Black student movement as bourgeoisified, to agreement with the YSA position on the need to continue and expand the campus struggle.

General assemblies of the conference were held each morning from Monday through Thursday. On Monday, the first general assembly featured a panel

discussion on the "Politics of Black People." Panelists included Sam Anderson, a math teacher and Black poet from New York city, Chuck Stone of Washington, D. C., and Ernie Allen of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

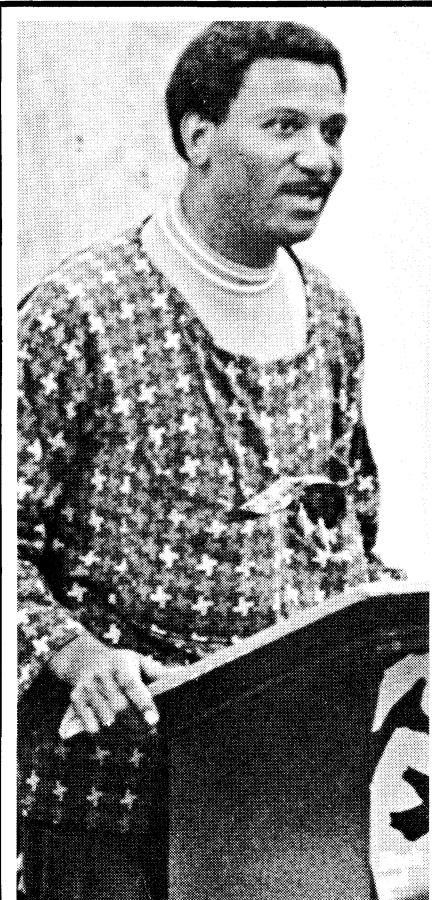
In the ensuing discussion, YSAers exchanged views with Allen, who held that conditions in the U. S. demanded a Black vanguard party which in his view would be Leninist. YSAers argued that a multinational Leninist vanguard party would be necessary to successfully challenge capitalist rule in the United States.

On Tuesday, the featured speakers were Nathan Hare, publisher of *Black Scholar*, and James Forman, author of the *Black Manifesto* and now of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Forman spoke on the need for a class analysis of the racial oppression of Black People and also elaborated on the League's conception of the Black worker-student alliance. On Vietnam, Forman urged the students to begin organizing Black opposition to the war. His speech was preceded by a film on the League.

On Wednesday, "Hard Drugs and Rehabilitation" was the main subject, and panelists included Colonel Rafiq of the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation in Washington, D. C., and Muhammad Kenyatta of Philadelphia.

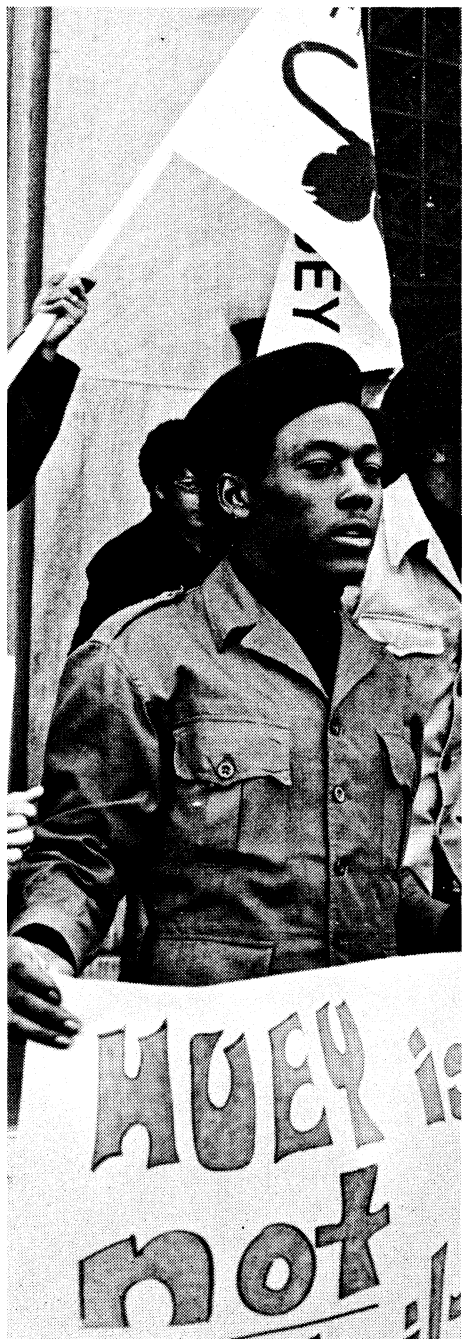
Attorney Conrad Lynn was the speaker on Thursday, and on Friday, NABS elected its national officers.

At the YSA literature table, over \$100 worth of literature was sold, including 126 copies of a special edition of *The Militant* directed to participants in the conference. In addition to YSAers from various parts of the country, two Socialist Workers Party candidates from other states attended the convention. They were Harman Fagg, California candidate for governor, and Willie Petty, Illinois candidate for Cook County sheriff.



On June 21, 1967, at 5:30 a.m., police burst into the home of Arthur Harris and arrested him and later 15 others who were members of the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club, a legally incorporated body. While 14 were charged under the New York criminal anarchy law, Arthur Harris and Herman Ferguson, a school teacher, were charged with that plus conspiracy to assassinate Roy Wilkins, an NAACP leader. The assassination plot grew out of testimony of a 17th person arrested, who turned out to be a police agent.

Ferguson and Harris were framed, convicted and given three and one-half to seven year sentences. The appeal process has now been exhausted, and a warrant has been issued for the arrest of brothers Harris and Ferguson, who were supposed to have been incarcerated on July 8. According to their lawyer, Jean Condon, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal, even after two of the appeals courts handed down split decisions on the case.



Liberation News Service

Lonnie McLucas at Black Panther rally before his arrest.

New Haven Panther 9

Supporters harassed as trial approaches

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, July 3—Police harassment of Panther members and supporters has intensified here in recent weeks, while inside a downtown courtroom defense attorneys for Black Panther Lonnie McLucas prepare for the first in a series of murder trials.

McLucas is charged with complicity in the murder of Alex Rackley, who was killed in the spring of 1969. McLucas was indicted for kidnapping and is the first of nine Panthers, including party chairman Bobby Seale, to stand trial.

The latest incident of harassment occurred here June 30 when police broke into the apartment serving as New Haven Panther headquarters and arrested two Black women and a white sympathizer on drug charges.

A few days earlier, June 25, a rally was held to protest the McLucas trial. After the rally, two members of the Panther Defense Committee were stopped, arrested, and taken to the police station. There they were physically threatened and one was knocked against a wall and kicked. Their interrogators indicated familiarity with the life histories of the two men. They were ordered to get out of New Haven by the weekend or else "pack a gun." They quoted the policemen as saying, "We're declaring war. We're going to reverse the revolution." The two were

charged with resisting arrest, breach of the peace, and villifying an officer.

On June 24, in nearby Bridgeport, Conn., police raided the home of Lawrence and Joyce Townsend, leaders of the National Committee to Combat Fascism and members of the Black Panther Party. Mrs. Townsend was arrested for possession of firearms on the grounds that she is a convicted felon, when in fact she is not.

An earlier incident took place June 13 when a member of the New Haven Panther Defense Committee was arrested for putting stickers that said "Free Lonnie" on posters already on an abandoned building. She was taken to jail and denied the right to make a phone call before being released on \$20 bond. "We seldom, if ever, see people being arrested for putting up posters for mayoral campaigns or Bomb Hanoi stickers," noted a leaflet put out by the New Haven Panther Defense Committee. "These attacks are . . . yet another form of racism and political repression."

At the end of three weeks, 13 jurors had been selected with three more to be chosen to complete the total of 12 jury members and four alternates. So far, the jury consists of three Blacks and 10 whites. Seven women and six men have been selected.

The defense has filed a motion for Huey Newton, Panther minister of defense, to testify on the nature of the

Black Panther Party. The prosecution has objected, but the judge has yet to rule.

Throughout the proceedings, the defense has filed a series of motions, most of which have been denied. It has objected to the procedure of trying the nine Panthers separately, on the grounds that publicity of the earlier trials would further prejudice later ones and that it would be difficult for the Panthers to testify at each other's trials without prejudicing their own cases. This objection was denied.

Two groups in New Haven, the American Independent Movement and the Coalition to Defend the Panthers, have demanded that Judge Harold Mulvey, who is presiding in the McLucas case, remove himself. Their demand is based upon an interview given by Judge Mulvey four years ago, when he was state attorney general, to a researcher studying the power structure of New Haven. Excerpts of the interview were published in the *Black Panther* and in *Modern Times*, a local biweekly.

The groups charge that Mulvey's remarks "display an attitude of contempt toward Black people in general and young Black militants in particular." When asked about conditions in New Haven schools, for instance, Mulvey responded, "The only problem that is sticking out now is what to do with these Negroes."

A jam-packed schedule

Andrew Pulley on India tour

By KAILAS CHANDRA

BOMBAY, India, June 28—Antiwar activists and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (Indian section of the Fourth International) accorded an enthusiastic reception to Andrew Pulley, 19-year-old Black American militant, during his week-long stay in Bombay and the towns of Surat and Baroda in Gujarat.

Pulley, who arrived here on June 22 by air from Paris, addressed a "Meet the Press" function held in his

honor at the Bombay Union of Journalists (BUJ) on June 23. He discussed with Indian journalists the character of the antiwar movement in the United States and many other questions.

Pulley explained that so far it was the students, the youth, as well as the Black Americans, that were in the forefront of the antiwar movement in the USA, but increasing sections of the working class were also now being drawn into the orbit of the struggle.

He referred to the demonstration by 20,000 workers in New York City recently demanding immediate withdrawal of the American troops from Indochina.

The meeting was chaired by S.B. Kolpe, secretary-general of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists. Madhu Shetye, secretary of the BUJ, said that Pulley was a source of inspiration to the youth in India who lagged behind in solidarity action in support of the revolutionary people of Vietnam and Cambodia.

Addressing a meeting of students and teachers of Khalsa College on the morning of June 24, Pulley traced the growth of antiwar activity among American students. He explained how the students on strike to protest against the American invasion of Cambodia had taken control of various campuses and utilized the educational institutions for antiwar propaganda. Professor Jagdish Singh and Professor Dalip Singh of the history department of the college introduced the speaker to the students.

Later in the evening, Pulley addressed a public meeting at K. C. College Hall in the center of the city under the joint auspices of the Solidarity With Vietnam Committee, Anti-Communal Youth Front, the Forum For Socialist Democracy, and other youth organizations. Bhaichand Patel, a leading lawyer attached to the Bombay High Court, chaired the meeting.

Pulley asserted that Nixon continued the Vietnam war because he was afraid that once the American troops withdrew from Vietnam almost all the Southeast Asian countries would go socialist and escape the clutches of world capitalism and imperialism.

Pulley addressed another public meeting at Vanmali Hall, Dadar, on June 25. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party of India and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP). Dr. A. R. Desai, a Marxist author and head of the Sociology Department of Bombay University who chaired the meeting, said that the Indian people must unconditionally support the antiwar movement in the U.S. because only thus would they help defeat the machinations of the American imperialists to consolidate their economic stranglehold on undeveloped countries like India in the name of providing them with financial aid.

Pulley in his address emphasized the fact that more than 15,000,000 American people were going hungry every night while the American ruling class was spending billions of dollars to fight the Vietnamese people or on projects to send men to the moon "only to bring a few rocks back to the earth." He predicted that the Indochinese people would finally emerge victorious in their present war because they had the support of the working people all over the world.

Other speakers at the meeting included Jagmohan Bhatnagar, secretary of the Anti-Communal Youth Front, and Gaur Paul of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pulley's activities in Bombay were covered extensively by the local newspapers. Activists belonging to the various left parties including the Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Lal Nishan, RSP, and SWP took an active interest in his meetings. The youth section of the Lal Nishan Party arranged a pictorial exhibition on the war in Vietnam at the meeting addressed by him in Vanmali Hall in Dadar.

The Bombay police, strangely enough, placed a heavy guard at the



Photo by John Gray

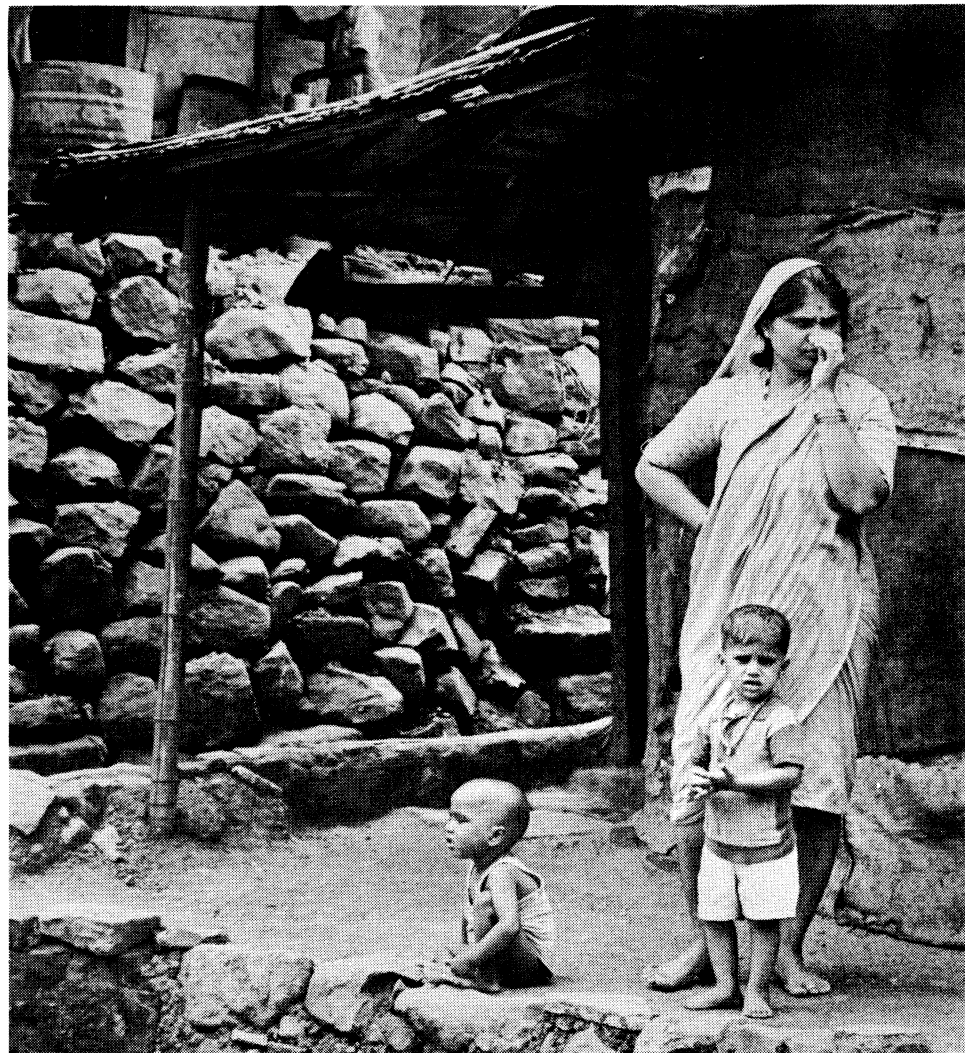
Andrew Pulley

entrances of both public meetings on the plea that the supporters of Shiv Sena — a semi-fascist organization emerging in the city—might attack the organizers. No untoward incident, however, took place.

Pulley reached Surat, an important town in Gujarat, on the morning of June 26. He was received at the railway station by Dr. Rajandra Desai and Ashok Parikh on behalf of the local organizers of the SWP. Pulley addressed as many as five question-and-answer meetings of students, youth, and militants of various left parties during the day. The same night he left for Baroda, the second capital of Gujarat, arriving there in the morning of June 27.

In Baroda Pulley spoke at four meetings of students and teachers of the Baroda University. He also addressed a crowded press conference at the SWP headquarters. Magan Desai, general secretary of the SWP, introduced him to the newspapermen. His statement and speeches were well covered by Gujarat dailies published from Surat and Baroda.

Returning to Bombay on June 28, Pulley had discussions with the leaders of the SWP on the current political situation in India. He flew to Calcutta on the evening of June 29 on a seven-day visit of West Bengal. He had to cancel his trip to Cochin because of the heavy rains in Kerala. From Calcutta, Pulley will leave for Colombo via Madras.



Poverty in India

Photo by Barry Sheppard

Socialist nominees heard in Rio Grande Valley

DONNA, Texas, June 30—Approximately 100 Chicanos from the Rio Grande valley area attended a meeting here for Socialist Workers Party candidates Mariana Hernandez, Froben Lozada and Antonio Camejo. The meeting was said to be the largest gathering in this area to hear socialist ideas since the 1930s.

This rich, citrus-growing area's population is predominantly Chicano. It has the highest unemployment rate and the lowest educational level in the state. The majority of migrant workers in all northern states and the West come from this valley each year to help harvest the nation's crops.

Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for attorney general in California and a native of the valley, blasted the Democratic and Republican parties as the parties "of our oppressors" and accused them of fostering an illusion that they were for Chicano and Black liberation. He pointed out to a highly receptive audience that it was these two parties which had made Vietnam the third largest consumer of grapes in the world and that they were not "friends of Cesar Chavez," leader of the United Farm Workers Organization, but rather strikebreakers.

Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Texas, who is

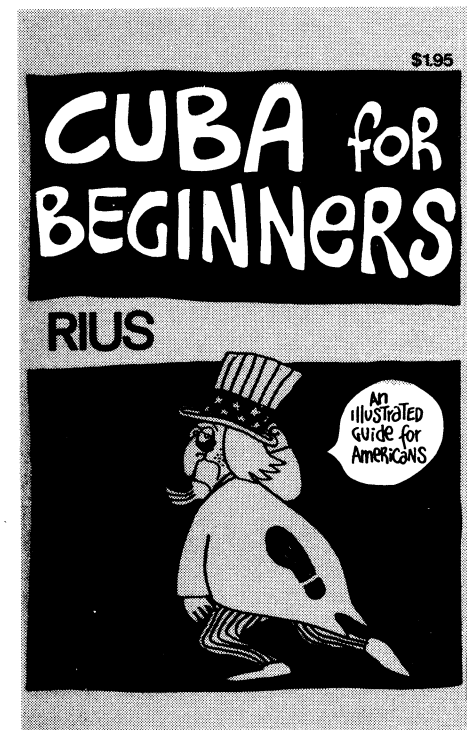
accompanying Lozada and Camejo on this leg of their tour of Aztlan, also spoke. She contrasted conditions in the valley with those in Cuba, pointing out that in Cuba polio has been eliminated while in Hidalgo County there is currently an epidemic. Chicano children have died or are crippled because they were never inoculated.

Mariana Hernandez recently returned from Cuba where she spent several weeks cutting cane as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

Antonio Camejo, SWP candidate for California superintendant of public instruction, explained further the nature of the two capitalist parties and the need for a socialist America.

The meeting was attended by persons active in the struggle for justice for Chicanos. They included farm workers, students and women.

The tour and the SWP campaign received press coverage throughout the valley. "The candidates said they were on a fact-finding tour in the valley to see if their party would be accepted here," states a report on the meeting in *The Monitor* from McAllen, Texas. "Right now we are really trying to build a framework for the 1972 elections," it quotes Camejo as explaining.



153 pp

\$1.95

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

Striking lettuce workers in Center, Colo., and La Raza Unida Party supporters demonstrate unity and solidarity. La Raza Unida Party has been collecting food and clothing for striking workers.

Colo. Chicano party moves ahead

ALAMOSA, Colorado, Aztlan — The third nominating convention of the Colorado Raza Unida Party was held here on Saturday, June 20. The meeting, which was chaired by Corky Gonzales, heard from several of the candidates already nominated at the Pueblo and Denver conventions (see *The Militant*, June 12 and 19).

Crescencio Valdez, a school teacher in the area, announced his candidacy for the Colorado House of Representatives from District 63. Mark Saiz, candidate for Board of Regents, announced to the enthusiastic audience that several chapters of the United Mexican-American Students [UMAS] had proclaimed their support to La Raza Unida Party.

Corky Gonzales pointed out that while Chicanos comprise 10 percent of the state's population, only one-half of one percent of the university students are Chicano.

Among other candidates speaking were Marty Serna, a leader in the Pueblo Coors Beer boycott, and Jose Gonzales, candidate for House of Representatives.

The active participation of Chicano women in La Raza Unida Party was apparent both in the candidacy of Patricia Gomez and party organizer Priscilla Salazar. Patricia Gomez, a housewife, is the Raza Unida candidate for the Colorado House of Representatives from District 35. She pointed out how the new independent Chicano party is already "scaring the hell" out of the Democratic Party in Colorado.

Both Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers candidate for California superintendent of public instruction, and Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for attorney general in California and Northern California cochairman of the Chicano Moratorium Committee, brought greetings to the gathering expressing their solidarity with the independent La Raza Unida Party. Camejo, who recently visited Texas to report on the developments of La Raza Unida Party in that state, related to the audience the meaning and importance of the electoral victory in Crystal City, Texas. Lozada invited the gathering to attend the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles.

Of particular importance was the presence of Renato Campos, head of *Dicho y Hecho* (Said and Done), the organization of the lettuce strikers at Center, Colorado. He expressed his

appreciation for the helping hand which both the Crusade for Justice and La Raza Unida Party have extended to the striking farm workers.

The lettuce workers in the San Juan Valley, considered the largest natural valley in the world, are fighting for a higher minimum wage and improved working conditions. The same day as the convention, pickets succeeded in convincing 90 workers to leave the fields and join their strike. This was a substantial portion of the workers at Center and a significant victory for the strikers.

The previous night a mass strike meeting of over 250 people, the largest ever seen in this area of southern Colorado, heard Corky Gonzales, state chairman of La Raza Unida Party.

An example of the concrete support for the farm workers was a truckload of food and clothing delivered to striking families by Al Gurule, Raza Unida candidate for governor. Patricia Gomez related how the Democratic Party tried to outflank them from the left by announcing their own food drive for the strikers.

La Raza Unida Party candidates exposed the hypocrisy of Democratic liberals such as McFarland, who are suddenly — with the emergence of La Raza Unida Party — worrying about the Chicano vote. Senator McFarland had hoped to distribute food to the strikers, accompanied by Cesar Chavez, thereby benefiting from the ensuing publicity. However, neither Chavez nor McFarland made an appearance.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

Paul Boutelle launched his campaign for Congress at a street rally in Harlem July 3. He is the SWP candidate in New York's 18th congressional district. His main opponents are Democrats Charles Rangel and Adam Clayton Powell. Powell, who was defeated in the Democratic primary, will be running as an "independent."

With Powell's defeat, interest in the race in the 18th C.D. is especially high. The rally was covered by two Black radio stations, one TV channel, the *New York Times*, Associated Press and United Press International.

Paul O'Dwyer, liberal "peace" candidate for U.S. Senate who finished second in New York's June 23 Democratic primary, did on July 2 what capitalist "peace" candidates do when they lose. He endorsed the Democratic candidates for governor and senator, Arthur Goldberg and Richard Ottinger, and urged the New Democratic Coalition, of which he is a vice-chairman, to do the same.

Before the election, such "peace" candidates say it is evil individuals — their opponents — not the system, that must be changed. Yet the day after, they call for support to both. Overnight even the evil individuals have become good.

More than 70 women's liberation

activists from eight southern states and the District of Columbia placed an ad in the June 8 *Great Speckled Bird* endorsing the 1970 Socialist Workers Georgia campaign because "it is the only one in Georgia that offers a program for women's liberation."



Paul Boutelle

On June 21, the Chicano community at Center was scheduled to hold a mass for the strikers. But church and city officials chained the doors of the church in the hope of preventing this "subversive" meeting. The chains were suddenly removed when a large crowd gathered around the church doors. Everyone entered, and the police did not interfere. Once again the strikers demonstrated their determination to get justice and their refusal to be intimidated.

The existence of La Raza Unida Party has been an important factor in bolstering the morale of the strikers. It is clear that the combination of strike action by the farm workers and independent political action holds important implications for the entire valley. The threat to the power structure posed by this alliance between the Chicano farm workers and La Raza Unida Party with its potential of overturning the entrenched political power of the growers has sent a tremor of fear through the Democratic Party, which has traditionally controlled this area.

In its short period of existence, La Raza Unida Party has already shown its tremendous potential for mobilizing the Chicano people around the idea of their own political party. In the November 4 elections the party will be fielding a full slate of candidates. But La Raza Unida Party has also clearly shown that it is not simply an electoral coalition out for votes. Rather it is a serious independent political party that is concerned with the day-to-day problems of La Raza and which can be expected to work just as energetically after the elections. As Al Gurule, gubernatorial candidate, put it to *The Militant*, "We are not 'politicos' in the traditional sense. We are instead building a movement."

La Raza Unida Party will be holding several more regional and local nominating conventions to ensure that candidates come from the grass roots and are representative of the entire state.

Those interested in helping La Raza Unida Party may send donations to: Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing, Denver, Colo. 80218.

On June 12, Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia, debated Lonnie King and Andrew Young, two Black Democratic candidates for Congress from Atlanta. Her remarks centered on the need for a Black political party independent of the capitalist parties. Young later commented that he was glad that in his race for Congress he did not "have to tangle with Mrs. Jenness."

A few days later Linda Jenness tangled with Democratic candidate J.B. Stoner. On a televised program which included all 13 gubernatorial candidates, she attacked Stoner as a racist for stating that Hitler was a moderate and that if elected he would drive Blacks out of the state.

"The socialist candidate . . . was applauded when she described her polar opposite as a racist," reports a pious editorial in the June 17 *Atlanta Journal*. "That may mean one of two things. Either Georgia is hell-bent for socialism or we are pulling away from racism. Hopefully the latter."

The item neglects to inform readers that the SWP candidate was the only one — including the Black candidate — to condemn Stoner's remark.

— DAVID THORSTAD

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

A Militant interview

Raza Unida nominee discusses party stands

The following is an interview with Al Gurule, the gubernatorial candidate of the Colorado Raza Unida Party. It was obtained by Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California state superintendant of public instruction. Camejo and Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for California attorney general, are currently on a tour of Aztlan, with stops in Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California.

Camejo: What conditions prompted the formation of the Colorado Raza Unida Party this spring?

Gurule: One of our classical problems is that the Chicano has been exploited for so long and he has lived in misery for so long that he has accepted it as a way of life. A lot of youth used to run around wearing Davy Crockett shirts. That is how misinformed they are.

The school situation continuously reinforces this anglo culture, this anglo way of life, anglo history. We are completely left out. As a result our people accept this exploitation, and accept the inequities of the society as a way of life. They have never been able to see the other side, so we are presenting the other side.

One of the things I am talking to people about is the fact that we do not receive 100 percent of our rights. Our courts are bad, our police departments are bad, our city government is really corrupt. We have had a great number of police brutality cases and have been unable to do anything about them.

If we are not going to be given all of our rights then we should be expected to obey the law accordingly. For instance, if we are given only 50 percent of our rights, then we should obey the law just 50 percent. If we are fined \$100 for burning trash, then we should, for example, pay only \$50.

This is the philosophy we are adopting now. And we hope to be able

to even take it to court if possible. Like if I get a parking meter ticket I'm only going to pay 50 cents instead of a dollar because I'm only receiving 50 percent of my rights.

Camejo: You mentioned that you were doing some organizing of farm workers in connection with the campaign.

Gurule: In La Raza Unida Party we are not politicians, as the political scientists would say. We are concerned with our people, concerned with organizing the Chicano people. La Raza Unida Party gives us a beautiful tool to do this. We are not primarily concerned with winning.

The conditions of the Chicano farm worker in Pueblo [Colorado, one of the centers of La Raza Unida Party] are similar to those here in Center [site of a strike of farm workers in the lettuce fields, see story, page 8]. The only difference is that here in Center the people have to depend completely on farm work to live, while in Pueblo the people generally supplement their inadequate incomes from other jobs with farm work. A lot of them are underemployed. Many are working for the Pueblo Army Depot for \$340 per month when they have families of ten. So they are way below the poverty level and have to resort to taking their families into the fields.

Their problems are the same as Chicanos face here in Center: bad working conditions in the fields, no toilets, having to drink water from the *sequias* [irrigation ditches]. There is a complete lack of respect for our people. We are treated like animals.

But what the people are starting to realize is that we don't need the growers; the growers need us. We could ruin them in a matter of a few weeks if their crops weren't picked. We have been making our people aware that when a grower exploits 40 Chicanos he should be viewed as a criminal and treated as such.

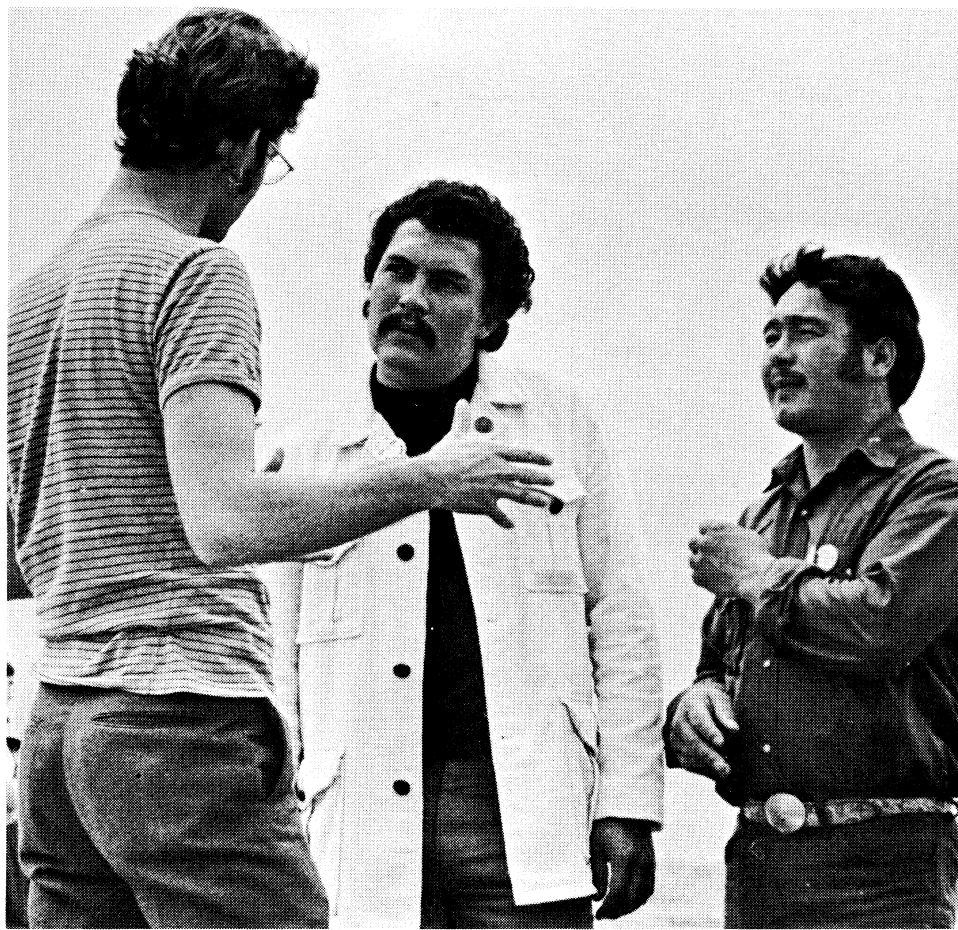


Photo by Suzanne Camejo

Antonio Camejo (left) speaks with Al Gurule (center), Colorado Raza Unida Party candidate for governor, and Frank Medina, supporter of the lettuce strikers and the Raza Unida Party.

Chicanos never looked at the growers in this way. They saw him as *el patron*, the boss, and would do whatever he said. If he said drink water out of the ditch, they would drink water out of the ditch.

The people are aware of what the problems are, but we try to make them aware of how they can change these problems and of the power we have by acting together.

Camejo: How has La Raza Unida Party related to the lettuce strike here at Center?

Gurule: In Pueblo we announced a food drive, but the media boycotted our campaign because Pueblo is a Democratic town. The Black Berets and Brown Berets went from house to house collecting food and clothing. The media, including the local Spanish radio station, blacked out any publicity on our attempt to raise funds and collect food and clothing. The Democratic Party then moved in with people like J.D. McFarland [Democratic state senator] and started their own drive. They did this so that they could appear liberal and come down here today when Chavez was supposed to be present and distribute the stuff like a great big white Santa Claus. These people are opportunists, just out seeking votes.

In spite of this we are able to collect a truckload of food, clothing and some money, and the drive is continuing. If we can collect enough we will send a truck every week with food and any money we raise.

One of the beautiful things is that we are not alone any more. If something is happening in Pueblo or Denver, Corky [Gonzales] and the Crusade for Justice go down. And now we are spreading out to places like La Honda, Aguilar, Watsonburg and Colorado Springs. Right now we have people here from just about every part of the state. That is what is giving us strength.

Camejo: What is the attitude of La Raza Unida Party toward anglos who are sympathetic to your goals and would like to help out. What can they do?

Gurule: Well, I feel that the anglo who is sympathetic, who is sincerely interested in La Raza and sincerely interested in the human rights of everyone, that this person must be able to respect us when we say that we want to do this on our own.

If we say that we are going to have a meeting and we are going to keep

the anglo out, they ought to respect that point of view and they ought to stay out. If they are really sympathetic they ought to be able to come around and give us support at the polls. I think that is where their major support should come.

They should not have that paternalistic attitude, which I think is a disease of the anglo, to come in and control all the time. We have to do away with this paternalism completely and they must be aware of that. What's happened with some of the liberals I have known is that when I tell them that we're having a meeting that they can't come to, they get all up tight. And the next thing you know you have an enemy. And they were probably enemies to begin with. But we welcome anglo support because our party is out to tell the truth and if they are interested in the truth they should vote for us.

Camejo: What is the position of La Raza Unida Party on the war in Vietnam?

Gurule: We are not only against the war in Vietnam. We don't want the U.S. down in South America harassing our people either. We don't want them in Cuba. We don't want them anywhere.

Statistics show that the Chicano is the one who is dying at the highest rate proportional to the population. Our young people have this spirit about them that they are not afraid. This is why we have this high percentage of medal of honor winners. Our people do make good soldiers, but they have been making good soldiers for the whites. We have been saying that they should be good soldiers for their own people.

Some of the members of La Raza Unida Party, including myself, believe that Chicanos shouldn't even go to war. We shouldn't have to go to war because, again, we are not getting our rights. If we operate on this percentage basis again, maybe they should just take us half way to Vietnam, and then bring us back.

Camejo: How do you feel about the National Chicano Moratorium which has been called for August 29 in Los Angeles?

Gurule: I think it is beautiful. We are going to try to get as many people there as possible. I think it's beautiful not only in terms of opposing the war, but in terms of Chicanos coming together.



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

Antonio Martinez attempts to salvage a few possessions from his home in Lubbock, Texas, destroyed by a tornado in May. Government has given little aid, many families losing everything. Flimsy housing in Chicano community suffered worst damage and highest deaths occurred there. Gringo land speculators, taking advantage of the disaster, are attempting to buy land at dirt-cheap prices for industrial development.

Behind recent explosion in West Indies

Black power in Trinidad on the rise

By TONY THOMAS

The following are major excerpts from a June 12, 1970, speech to the New York Militant Labor Forum by Tony Thomas, a national executive committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Thomas visited Trinidad last April and May as a reporter for *The Militant*. He was accompanied by John Riddell, editor of *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian revolutionary socialist newspaper. They spent three weeks in the Caribbean talking with Black militants in Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica and elsewhere.

* * *

Over the past 10 years a new consciousness has arisen throughout the world. We see it in the struggles that rocked the U.S. last month; in the heroic struggle of Che; in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; in the struggle now going on in Palestine. People around the world are waking up to the need to fight the rotting imperialist system in order to control their lives.

For Black people around the world, this has taken form in the movement for Black power. Blacks everywhere have demanded control of their communities. They have protested cultural genocide and identified with their African heritage. They have called for unity in the struggle against white imperialist aggression. The rise of the Black power movement in the U.S. itself has heightened Black consciousness all over the world.

This is especially true in the West Indies. Not only do the brothers there have to contend with exploitation by imperialism, but they have to face a policy of anti-Black discrimination. Not only are there privileges for the minority of whites, but also for Syrians, Orientals and mulattos at the expense of Blacks and East Indians. Skilled and clerical jobs, especially in foreign firms, are reserved for these lighter-skinned groups, while the unskilled jobs and unemployment in the cities are reserved for Blacks. The backbreaking poverty of the cane fields is reserved for East Indians. All of this in a supposedly Black nation.

The problems of the West Indies are no different from those of other capitalist nations of the Third World. The West Indian nations have achieved formal national independence, but this has changed only the form of exploitation by the white imperialists. Their "independent" governments are nothing more than a Black mask for the white face of imperialism. Eric Williams in Trinidad, Errol Barrow in Barbados

or Hugh Shearer in Jamaica may be the titular heads of government but it is American, Canadian and British interests that own these islands and call the shots.

In Trinidad, the main industries are oil and sugar; they are controlled by imperialist firms. Seventy-five to 85 percent of all imports and exports are controlled by imperialist firms. Since gaining independence from Britain in 1962, the foreign-owned sector of the economy has doubled. Canadian firms control 60 percent of the banking, leaving the rest to British and American interests. Out of the \$500 million U.S. investment, the annual profit is nearly \$100 million, or a rate of 20 percent.

In Jamaica the imperialists control the key bauxite and sugar industries. Only the mining of crude bauxite ore is permitted. The profitable refining and the high-paying jobs associated with it are confined to the imperialist centers.

Out of Jamaica's 2.8 million acres, foreign sugar and bauxite interests hold 700,000, or one-fourth of the island. Much of this area is unsettled. The imperialists talk about a population and land problem in an effort to explain away the misery wrought by their plunder of the Third World. But in most countries, like Trinidad and Jamaica, huge portions of land are undeveloped and unsettled. This is because under imperialism the development of these countries is not important; only the needs of the white business interests count.

Economic deterioration

The current crisis in Trinidad was aggravated by the fact that the economic situation, once better than that of the other islands, has rapidly deteriorated. In Trinidad a skilled worker makes 75 cents an hour, the average worker 50 cents, and the unskilled worker 25 cents. These are people who are lucky enough to have jobs. Twenty percent of the population is unemployed and another 20 percent works less than 30 hours a week.

Unemployment and underemployment rates for Black youths between 17 and 25 are double those of the general population. For them, the relationship between the neocolonial regime and the devastation of the economy is clear. They have seen the so-called independent, so-called Black government operate as a tool of imperialism, leading them to dub its spokesmen "Afro-Saxons" for their aping of the British.

In this context the demand for Black power leads directly to a confrontation

with the imperialists and their West Indian frontmen.

The executive committee of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU), many of whose leaders were arrested during the recent struggle and whose offices have been attacked by the police in recent weeks, stated at the height of the struggle on April 18: "In few other societies have race and class been so conspicuously identical. . . . The call for Black power is the call for proletarian power. The real substance of Black power is . . . people's control of the commanding heights of the economy. . . . It is the invading socialist society that is on the march under the ideological slogan of Black power."

The Black power movement

The Black power movement in Trinidad has taken shape over the past two years. Its first major action was in solidarity with brother Walter Rodney, banned from the staff of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica in October 1968 for his militant views.

Then came the defense of West Indian brothers in Montreal who participated in the February 1969 struggle at Sir George Williams University. Of all the students that took part in the struggle, only the West Indian students, most of them from Trinidad, were given court charges. In response, students prevented Canadian governor-general Michener from speaking on the campus of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad. They linked Canadian racist and imperialist policies in Trinidad with the victimization of the Sir George Williams students.

It was out of these struggles that the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), a loose coalition of groups, individuals and trade unions, was formed to coordinate the Black power movement. The events of February 1970 were to fuse its original core of student radicals with the urban unemployed, sections of the workers' movement and the East Indian population.

On Feb. 26, several hundred students led by NJAC held a march in downtown Port of Spain in solidarity with the Sir George Williams students, who were standing trial in Canada at that time. The rally following the march was attacked by the police. This prompted the brothers to occupy the offices of the Royal Bank of Canada and the Roman Catholic cathedral, two symbols of white power in Port of Spain.

The leaders of the action were arrested. That evening 8,000 to 10,000 people rallied in Woodford Square,

and from then on the movement remained massive.

On March 4 a demonstration was held in solidarity with those who had been arrested Feb. 26. After police attacks, several store windows were broken, and later several bombings occurred. When an East Indian store, Kirpilani's, was burned down, right-wing East Indian and Black spokesmen attempted to link it to the mass movement. They claimed that the Black power movement was anti-Indian.

Black-East Indian unity

The attempt to paint the Black power movement as anti-East Indian backfired, for the movement began to undertake steps to win over East Indians.

East Indians make up nearly 40 percent of the population of Trinidad. Over 45 percent is Black; the remainder consists of Orientals, whites, Syrians and mulattos.

The strategy of the rulers, first under the British and now under neocolonialism, has been that of divide and conquer. Both major parties—the People's National Movement and the Democratic Labor Party—live off this division. The People's National Movement is a Black party with a few showcase Indians. It attempts to build a base by doing favors for Blacks as opposed to East Indians. The Democratic Labor Party, similarly, attempts to be an East Indian party with a few showcase Blacks. Both hold to the same capitalist program, and oppose the Black power movement and any unity it achieves with the East Indians.

On March 5, NJAC organized a march to San Juan, a Port of Spain suburb in which Kirpilani's store was located, calling for solidarity with the East Indians. Seven hundred left Woodford Square and 20-30,000 arrived in San Juan.

On a second march later in the month, 2,500 brothers marched 30 miles to the Indian districts of Couva and Caroni. This march was greeted with solidarity by the Indians.

On March 23, Williams made his first speech since the struggle began and revealed his total bankruptcy. He nationalized the Trinidad branch of the Bank of London and Montreal, a small bank that was in financial trouble. OWTU leader George Weekes said the measure was "taking taxpayers' money to pay for the assets of a bank that was out of business." Williams also announced a few programs of public works, like providing new dividers on the highways. So much for Williams.

In response to the government's failure to act, mass actions spread over the country.

On April 6, Basil Davis, an activist in NJAC, was murdered by the police. Three days later the brothers organized a mass funeral that mobilized half of the 100,000 people in Port of Spain.

Strikes spread

The strike wave which broke out during the first few weeks of April hit workers in communications, construction, customs, transport, electric, water and sewage, paper mills, the post office, and sugar. It was led by the OWTU and the Transport Workers Union, whose leaders, George Weekes and Clive Nunez, were also the leaders of the Black power movement.

The labor upsurge, led as it was by unionists associated with the Black power movement, posed the question of social revolution more directly than the Black power movement alone.

On Sunday, April 19, the sugar



Tens of thousands marched in April 9 funeral processions in Trinidad for Black power militant Basil Davis.

Express, Port of Spain, Trinidad



Express, Port of Spain, Trinidad

Purpose of above march from Port of Spain to Caroni on March 12 was to demonstrate desire of Black power movement for unity with Indian population. Government's fear of such developing unity led Trinidad's Prime Minister Eric Williams to undertake repressive measures.

workers joined the strike wave, raising the specter of Indian-African unity. The next day, 1,000 East Indian sugar workers marched with Geddes Granger, a leader of NJAC.

A mass march uniting the labor movement, the Black power movement and the East Indian sugar workers was planned for April 21. Williams himself subsequently admitted that it was this show of unity that forced him to pull down the curtain on democratic rights in Trinidad.

On April 20 a state of emergency was declared and a dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed. After curfew, anyone out was likely to be beaten, shot, robbed, raped, imprisoned, or all of these, by the police. The leaders of the radical movement and the trade unions were rounded up in predawn raids. This was followed by hundreds of arrests and beatings. All newspapers were censored and radical newspapers were banned.

On the morning of April 21, the day of the scheduled mass march, the majority of officers and rank-and-file soldiers at the Teteron Bay army base refused to carry out the orders of the government. This revolt, set off by the mass mobilizations, centered on demands for fair treatment within the armed forces and the end of certain racist abuses, such as restricting soldiers from beaches for "white tourists only."

The fact that the professional army went on strike at this point shows how broad-based the opposition to the government was. The army held the only large-scale arsenal, part of which went over to the people. The police, many of whom were still loyal, had only small arms and clubs.

For two or three days, until Venezuelan, British and American warships steamed into the area and until Venezuelan and U.S. arms were lifted in, there was no effective power backing up the regime.

Some lessons absorbed

The chief problem of the Black power movement was the absence of a unified program and series of demands. The small size of the pre-February movement—itsself only beginning to develop an ideology and strategy, but faced with an almost instantly developing mass movement—made the consolidation of an organized movement difficult. The lack of an organized Black power movement with secon-

dary leadership able to carry on after the top leaders were arrested, saved capitalism in Trinidad.

You can be sure that the brothers in Trinidad and elsewhere are absorbing that lesson.

This marked the end of any illusions in the willingness or ability of Williams and the neocolonialist government to solve any of Trinidad's problems. It gave the people a picture of how only a determined struggle can unite the people.

This was the first mass explosion in the West Indies since the rise of Black power. The other governments of the West Indies responded with an increase in repression. In Barbados, political demonstrations were banned and a projected Black power conference driven out. Stokely Carmichael was banned throughout the Caribbean. Trinidad, the land of his birth, even denied the airlines carrying him to South America the right to refuel on the island.

I think that we can draw some lessons from this struggle.

One of them concerns the revolutionary logic of the Black power struggle. Black power has been opposed by some radicals who say it leads to control by the Black bourgeoisie, that it leads Blacks away from their consciousness as workers, that it divides the workers' movement.

The struggles in Trinidad and elsewhere have shown the contrary to be the case. The main enemies of the Black power movement are the Black bourgeois types like Eric Williams. The Black power movement in Trinidad did not divide the workers, it mobilized them and unified them. The Trinidadian explosion raised the possibility of another Cuba coming into being.

The Trinidadian struggle showed that without economic independence, political independence cannot fully solve the existing problems. Eric Williams, for all his writing in his book **Capitalism and Slavery**, was forced to shoot brothers down in the street because they were fighting imperialist economic domination. Trinidad, like Vietnam, the Chinese revolution and the Cuban revolution, teaches that the way out for the nationalist movement of the Third World is through a break with capitalism.

Finally, I want to mention the ques-

tion of international solidarity. The problem faced by brothers who are revolutionaries in the West Indies is U.S., Canadian or British intervention a la Vietnam, which would overcome the tiny population. But we have seen the effect of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the U.S. and its potential for moving against this type of imperialist invasion.

Those of us who are concerned about our brothers in Trinidad and Africa have to realize that action against the war machine in this country and what it is doing in Vietnam is essential if our brothers are to win.

We have to realize the opportunities for building Black solidarity with the struggles of the Third World. In New York City, there are tens of thousands of brothers and sisters from the West Indies. Building solidarity actions with the colonial revolution—whether in Vietnam or the West Indies—provides an opportunity to reach these brothers.

In the last analysis, for us to most effectively and decisively aid the struggle in the Third World, it is necessary to build the revolutionary socialist movement, whose aim is to smash U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of world oppression.

Officers on U.S. carrier oppose war

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The commanding officer of the aircraft carrier Hancock has received a petition opposing the Vietnam war, signed by half the junior officers on the ship.

He indicated no punishment was warranted. News media have termed the petition "unprecedented in Navy history."

No enlisted men were asked to sign the petition because the officers were afraid of violating regulations, but over the weekend, in downtown San Francisco, I heard two groups of sailors from the Hancock discussing the petition. Most were favorable, and said they would sign it if asked.

Two of the officers who signed the petition, ship's public affairs officer Lt. JG Allen P. Cox, and Lt. JG William D. West, ship's aviation fuels officer, told the press more officers would have signed, if they had not been afraid of reprisals. None of the aviation officers or senior officers signed.

Cox explained that one reason he came to oppose the war was the dehumanizing effect it has on the pilots. Among the many examples he gave was the strafing of a young boy on a bicycle, which was reported as the destruction of a mechanized vehicle.

West resigned as a combat pilot and told of another flier who turned down a promotion because he did not want to be rewarded for killing.

Both Cox and West hold Top Secret clearances.

The petition reads:

"We, the undersigned, are concerned over the prolongation of the Vietnam war, and its effects upon our country, and the country of the Vietnamese people. We feel that a military solution is not feasible, and that continued military action will result in unnecessary suffering and loss of life.

"Most of us have been concerned over the war for many months . . . we wish to avoid hypocrisy, and this statement is an attempt to advise the command of our feelings; to open channels of communication between us and those of differing views.

"We do not counsel libel, sedition, or mutinous action. We intend no further action as a group. We only wish to express our objection to the Vietnam war, and record our fervent hope that it may soon end."

mod donna

By Myrna Lamb

. . . a play which raises the issues of the women's liberation movement. Produced off-Broadway, it addresses itself to the oppression of women and the distortion of the male-female relationship in our 'whores and wars' society. Published for the first time in the July-August **International Socialist Review**. Buy it.

—Enclosed is \$1.00. Send me the July-August **ISR**.

—Enclosed is \$5.00 for a one year subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: **International Socialist Review**, 873 Broadway, New York, New York 10003

Trial of 'Black Six' opens in Louisville

By MIKE HONEY

Southern Patriot News Service

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — After two years of delay by the state, the trial of the "Black Six" is underway in criminal court here.

The six are accused of plotting to destroy private property ruined during uprisings in the Black community in May 1968. The rebellion broke out following a rally protesting police brutality, where police arrived with night sticks and guns raised. During the uprising two Black youth were murdered by a white merchant and a police officer. Over a score were wounded by police and national guardsmen.

In the first week of testimony the Commonwealth has so far failed to show any connection between the six, or that they violated any laws during the rebellion in the city's predominant Black West End.

The court sessions opened June 22 while demonstrators chanted outside demanding that the trial be dropped. Visibly upset, Judge S. Ruch Nicholson ordered that the chanting be stopped or the demonstrators arrested. He has pledged that he will give the six a fair trial "in this court, not in the streets of Louisville." All those involved in either the defense or the prosecution are under a court order not to make any public statements concerning the trial.

The Commonwealth opened its case on June 29 after the week-long jury selection process. The prosecuting attorney stated that "the riots were not spontaneous; they were planned and executed by the defendants." They "were part of a prearranged scheme on the defendants' part," he said.

Defense attorneys for the six stated that the rebellion grew out of long-standing grievances in the Black community. That they erupted spontaneously because the city government had not responded to anger in the community over police brutality.

The jury includes three Blacks and two women. All 12 are property owners. The defense has challenged the

fact that the jury was selected from tax rolls of the city's property holders, on grounds that the six are not getting an impartial hearing by their peers. Also being challenged is the fact that one of the defendants, James Cortez, has gone through a similar trial already and is therefore being subjected to double jeopardy.

Evidence against the six consists primarily of the fact that three of them made speeches at the rally which precipitated the uprising.

Three of the six were originally charged with conspiring to blow up the town's oil refineries in June, when hysteria in the white community about the ghetto revolt was at its height. Had they in fact planned to blow up the refineries, they would have been planning to destroy most of the Black community, where the refineries are located. The charges were later changed to include conspiracy to destroy property which was destroyed during the revolt, and three more people were added to the indictment.

Several of the people charged were organizers for the Black Unity League of Kentucky (BULK), and others were known as "leaders" in the Black community. James Cortez was a SNCC worker from Washington, D.C. He has especially been singled out by authorities in Louisville, and has been in jail since June 1, 1968, when he was first arrested. A series of charges and high bonds have made it impossible for supporters to obtain his release from jail. He is presently serving a five-year sentence for supposed possession of a sawed-off shotgun.

Supporters for the six have been saying for two years that the city government has been trying to find scapegoats to blame the uprisings on rather than deal with the social conditions in Louisville. Two supporters, workers for Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), went to jail in January of this year for protesting the trial in a letter sent to townspeople

Wins release on bail



After spending 15 months and four days in jail, Joan Bird, one of the Panther 21, is out. Released from Women's House of Detention July 6, Joan was greeted by her parents; Afeni Shakur, member of Panther 21 now on trial; Eddie Josephs, member of Panther 21 awaiting trial as a juvenile; and 150 members of the women's liberation movement. Her release occurred after John M. Murtagh, judge presiding over the case, refused to lower the \$100,000 bail. Joan's lawyer, Sanford Katz, then took \$40,000 raised as bail money and bought \$100,000 worth of state bonds, which were presented as bail. The NY Panther 21 are being framed on charges of conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations. Thirteen are on trial now.

in Munfordville, Ky., where the case had been moved by the prosecution due to what it called "pre-trial publicity." The case was sent to Louisville when the judge said the six could not get a fair trial in Munfordville

because of the letter.

Martha Allen and this writer, who sent the letter, were indicted for "embrace" — a common law offense tantamount to jury tampering. That case is presently in federal court.

The catch for women in Calif. FEP bill

By DIANNE FEELEY

SAN FRANCISCO—After years of delay, a bill calling for the addition of the word sex to the California Fair Employment Practices Act — which bars job discrimination on the grounds of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry — has been released from initial committee hearings in Sacramento.

Such a bill could be an important weapon in fighting for equal pay and job opportunities for women. It could help block attempts to fire women from jobs they currently hold — especially as unemployment mounts.

But as it now stands, the bill, if passed, would be a blow to working women. Just before releasing it from committee, the politicians gave in to the pleadings of business lobbyists and added a provision voiding all California state protective laws.

The state protective laws are a series of provisions regulating working conditions and hours of working women. They regulate such things as ventilation, lunch breaks, and the number of pounds women can lift. Many women would see a deterioration of job conditions and a compulsory lengthening of the working day without them. Only 18 percent of California working wom-

en are covered by union contracts.

The politicians are trying to railroad through anti-women, anti-labor legislation in the guise of a bill that would extend legal equality on the job to women. They think they can get away with this because, as of yet, the masses of women in California are not even aware of what is taking place. Also, there are many working women who see the protective legislation as a barrier to obtaining higher-paying jobs. As a matter of fact, the protective laws are used by some employers to discriminate against women. Women are excluded from jobs on the grounds that they can't lift the required weight, or work the required hours, etc.

It is of great importance that the women's liberation and union movements respond to this situation. There are already some groups of women in California, including unionists, who have become aware of the need to save the protective laws. They spoke at a hearing in the state capital last fall in favor of extending protective legislation to men. At those same hearings, the employers spoke against such an extension, claiming that it would be too difficult to install the necessary

heavy lifting equipment, etc. One steel representative blurted out that his company would lose millions of dollars on coffee breaks alone.

If working women in California are to save the protective laws, a massive campaign against voiding them must begin immediately. A broad educational campaign is needed to explain the absurdity of taking away women's rights in the name of "equal employment." The extension of protective legislation to men must be demanded. Such extension is the best way the protective laws can be saved, and it insures that they will not be used to discriminate against women in the future.

Many women who campaigned for the passage of the bill which would add the word sex to the Fair Employment Practices Act were angered when they heard the amendment had been added calling for the repeal of protective laws.

Ruth Church Gupta, legislative advocate for the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, commented, "We want equal job opportunity but we, as women, don't get it by wiping out those protective laws. BPW cannot support this amended bill

— we have to get it back in its original form."

Although many women may feel they have been double-crossed, what has happened should not seem so surprising. In the past both the unions and the women's movement — as it existed — have tended to leave the fate of such laws as the Fair Employment Practices Act in the hands of the politicians. At most they have concentrated their efforts on lobbying in the legislature, trying to win over individual politicians to their point of view. It is obvious that this approach only leaves the way open for the legislators and employers to interpret the laws as they see fit, and not according to what is best for women.

Women need equal employment opportunity laws and they need state protective laws regulating working conditions. Male workers need protective laws too. If we are to save these laws and work toward better working conditions for all working people — male and female, Black, Chicano, Asian, and white — we must begin a broad campaign immediately to defeat the amendment to void the protective laws and fight for the extension of protective laws to men.

REPORT FROM PUERTO RICO

Year of major student struggles

By MIGUEL PADILLA

The author, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of New York State, has recently returned from a visit to Puerto Rico.

This past year has witnessed a new upsurge of pro-independence forces and sentiment on the island of Puerto Rico. As elsewhere in the world, the most explosive events have centered on the campuses. They have been focused on the struggle to abolish ROTC and the movement to end the drafting of Puerto Rican youth into the armed forces of the United States.

The first rumblings were felt last September when a federal court in Boston convicted and sentenced Edwin Feliciano Grafals, a member of the Movement for Independence (MPI), to one year in jail for refusing induction into the U.S. Army. The night before he was sentenced a demonstration of approximately 3,000 students was organized at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) in Rio Piedras. The day of the sentencing a mass march was organized from the campus to the courthouse. Later in the afternoon a third demonstration took place in front of the ROTC building at UPR.

A group of ROTC cadets provoked a scuffle, and a confrontation between the pro- and anti-ROTC forces of campus ensued, resulting in the burning down of the ROTC building.

Using these incidents as a pretext, the government, headed by pro-statehood governor Luis Ferre, unleashed its repressive apparatus against the pro-independence movement. Six students were arrested along with 25 members of the Socialist League, a Maoist organization.

A week later it was announced that Florencio Merced, the president of the University Federation for Independence (FUPI), would also be arrested. The number of students arrested rose to 25, 23 of them leaders of FUPI. Spearheaded by the MPI and FUPI, demonstrations involving all pro-independence organizations on the island as well as the Union of Puerto Rican Workers (SOP) were organized to demand the release of the victimized militants.

On Nov. 7 the MPI headquarters in Rio Piedras was attacked by a right-wing mob and gutted by firebombs. Four members of the MPI were shot and 25 members were beaten by the police. The right-wingers, enjoying the protection of the police, attacked and destroyed the offices of *Claridad*, the organ of the MPI, causing approximately \$25,000 in damages.

The right-wing attacks were spurred on when the Ferre government overturned a decision of the university's academic senate to abolish ROTC. The academic senate represents the faculty and includes the president of the university. Its decision was overruled by the Council on Higher Education (CES), comprised of nine members who are all directly appointed by the governor. Behind all this the chancellor of the university, Diaz Gonzalez, who was considered a liberal, was ousted and replaced by a conservative, Jaime Benitez.

Two weeks later, on November 23,

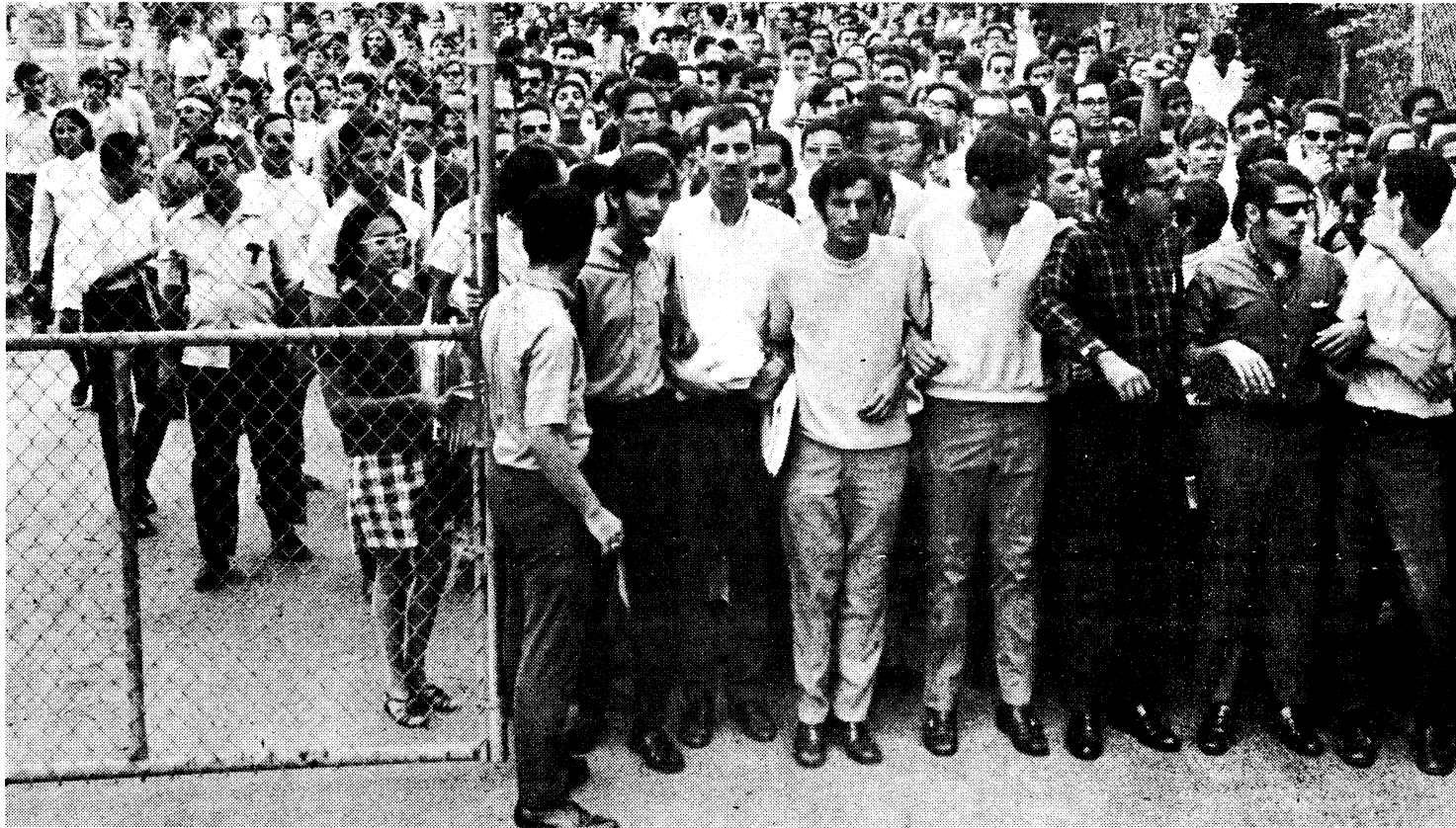
a demonstration of over 40,000 took place in San Juan to protest the political repression and to demand an end to the drafting of Puerto Rican youth. It was organized by MPI, FUPI and five other pro-independence organizations and endorsed by the Union of Puerto Rican Workers.

The next major eruption took place three months later, again at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras. On March 4, 500 FUPI women demonstrated in front of the ROTC building. After the demonstration, fighting

faculty voice and vote in the major decision-making bodies.

A fourth point, concerning the firing of Anival Ayala, head of the university police, was dropped when Benitez relieved Ayala of his post under pressure from the university community.

Over 12,000 students were mobilized to vote in the referendum. The administration, however, refused to consider the results binding and disregarded the vote by the majority of students to abolish ROTC and to implement the university reforms.



Claridad, San Juan

Students at University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras gathered at university gate last October for march on courthouse in solidarity with fellow students charged in attack on university ROTC building.

broke out between pro-independence students and ROTC cadets. University police were summoned and began to attack the pro-independence students. The ROTC cadets, emboldened by the actions of the police, began firing buckshot at the *independen-tistas*. A full-scale fight ensued, and Benitez summoned the Tactical Police Force onto the campus.

The police proceeded to occupy the campus, evacuating all students and faculty from the library, cafeterias, classrooms and dormitories, forcing them out onto the streets surrounding the university. The police then began attacking the crowds of students which had gathered around the university. Pitched battles broke out between students and police, with the police firing into crowds of students. Antonia Martinez, a 19-year-old student at the university, was watching the police attack from her second-story balcony two blocks from the university. She began yelling at a policeman firing into a crowd of unarmed students. The cop turned and shot. Antonia died, a bullet through her head. A friend was seriously wounded.

Despite the cold-blooded murder and the wounding of over 30 students, police later denied firing a single shot. The university remained occupied by the police for over a week.

A three-day general strike at the university was called by the FUPI, the General Student Council (CGE), and the University Youth for Independence (JUI), demanding a university-wide referendum on the following three points:

- The abolition of ROTC;
- The firing of Jaime Benitez as chancellor;
- The implementation of university reforms which would give students and

The significance of the referendum lay in the fact that the FUPI was able to involve the General Student Council, which is the equivalent of a student government in the U.S., in calling the general strike and organizing the referendum, which mobilized approximately 85 percent of the university community.

Demonstrations protesting the killing of Antonia Martinez and demanding an end to ROTC and the draft began erupting at all the major universities on the island. Chapters of FUPI began to flourish on the major campuses, particularly the Regional College of Arecibo and the colleges of Mayaguez and Cayey.

At the Inter-American University at San German a student strike was organized and the ROTC building was left in ashes. On May 3, as the wave of mass protests was getting underway in the U.S., a demonstration of over 20,000 took place in San Juan, once again focusing on the demand to end the draft. This demonstration was sponsored by the Sixto Alvelo Committee, a united front of all organizations opposed to the draft, including MPI and FUPI. As the university year came to an end, an emergency demonstration, which drew more than 2,000 students, was called by the FUPI, JUI, and the General Student Council to protest the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

As a result of the continued mass mobilizations against the draft, ROTC and political repression, the MPI and FUPI are experiencing a growth in influence on the campus and in other sectors of the population, especially the organized working class. Under the pressure of the actions initiated by the MPI and FUPI, the reformist

Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) has been forced to move to the left, developing a youth group, JUI, which has joined MPI and FUPI in anti-draft and anti-ROTC activities.

Under pressure of this mounting mass antidraft sentiment, a significant victory for the independence movement was won in early April when the government dropped its case against Grafals, the first Puerto Rican since the 1940s to be sentenced for refusing induction into the U.S. Army (see *The Militant*, May 1).

Taking advantage of the court victory for Grafals, the next stage projected for the Puerto Rican antidraft movement will be a massive campaign to organize Puerto Rican youth against registering for the draft. As part of this effort, a mass mobilization is being organized for late July or early August.

FUPI and MPI will be carrying on vigorous campaigns during the summer months. One will focus on the issue of the island of Culebras off the Puerto Rican coast, which the Navy has chosen as site for target practice, resulting in the total disruption of the lives of the island's inhabitants. Another campaign will be to prevent the Ferre government from handing over copper mines in the center of the island to American interests for what would amount to about 2 percent of their estimated value.

As the pro-independence forces steadily gain, especially among the youth, they are becoming a political force to be reckoned with.

**FOOD
FOR
THE
MIND
OF A
REVOLUTIONIST**

**MARXIST
ECONOMIC
THEORY**

by ERNEST MANDEL
2 VOLUMES, CLOTH
\$15.00

PATHFINDER
PRESS

873 BROADWAY, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 BROADWAY
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

**GENOCIDE
AGAINST
THE
INDIANS**
BY
GEORGE
NOVACK

50¢

By GEORGE NOVACK

One way or another, by statute or constitutional amendment, it appears that 18 to 21-year-olds will be voting in local, state and federal elections by 1972. The voting rights bill, which Nixon reluctantly signed, is effective Jan. 1 but will be put to a Supreme Court test before then. If the judges declare the legislative method invalid, the measure will then have to be enacted through a constitutional amendment passed by two-thirds of the states.

What moved Congress, after 180 years, to lower the voting age to 18? It is clearly a concession to the five-year tumult of the youth revolt which culminated in the May general student strike involving campuses from coast to coast.

The rulers of this country face this dilemma: They want to demobilize the dissident youth and dissuade them from all forms of direct mass action. Their spokesmen keep urging young people to work for changes within conventional channels and to place their confidence in liberal politicians. "At the same time," as the Jan. 29 *Time* pointed out, "some of the nation's youth is at war in Indochina and at home; to appear to be denying them the ballot, is, seemingly, to deny them admission to the political system."

Paradoxically, the southern state of Georgia in 1945 was the first to give the vote to 18-year-olds—and this action was explicitly based on the argument: "old enough to fight, old enough to vote."

Thus the powers-that-be have decided that the lesser evil was to reduce the voting age. Extending the vote to 18-year-olds was one of the three urgent measures suggested by the National Violence Commission headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower to make the youth revolt simmer down.

The struggle to broaden the franchise has been a long and hard one. When the republic was founded, voting was largely limited to white propertied males over 21. Over the gen-

18-year-old vote will have profound effect



Photo by Howard Petrick

erations since then non-property-owners, Black men and finally women wrested the right to vote from the master classes. Every one of these extensions was resisted by the rulers who gave in very grudgingly under irresistible pressures. It took a civil war to give Black Americans formal citizenship rights and the possibility of participating in elections. Even now, many states impose residence, literacy, language and other requirements

which prevent Blacks and poor people from voting.

The present statute represents the largest expansion of the franchise since women's suffrage was enacted 50 years ago. Eleven million Americans between 18 and 21 may be able to vote for the first time. In Texas, alone, its secretary of state estimates the law would enfranchise 395,000 new voters.

The reform was accorded as a rider to a renewal of the voting rights bill which since 1965 has added more than 1,174,000 southern Blacks to the voting lists. The bill also limits residential requirements for presidential elections to 30 days, making it possible for five million more mobile citizens to cast ballots.

Most political pundits are forecasting that the new enlargement of the franchise will make little difference in the political climate. They point to the slight effect that the vote for women had, as well as the recent British election where the Conservatives defeated Labour even though 18-year-olds voted for the first time.

Such assurances may calm conservative fears. But they fail to take into account the mood and outlook of young Americans nowadays. When the millions of new voters assert themselves, the extension may well register a profound impact upon American politics.

Most of the youth who are fed up with the system have no deep allegiance to the Democrats or Republicans, whatever illusions they may have about this or that liberal demagogue. This lack of commitment is most prevalent among the youth in the Black communities.

In addition, eight million students are now congregated in the colleges. New York City, for example, has just adopted an open admissions policy whereby any high school graduate can enter a city college.

The campuses, which have already been politicized by the antiwar, Black liberation and Third World movements, will now tend more to become centers of political activity and interest around election time as well as during the rest of the year.

This situation will provide new openings for socialist and independent Black, Chicano and other Third World

candidates. From now on the students can be approached during national, state and local campaigns not only on the basis of general interest but also on the grounds that they have a vote and can use it to express their revulsion over the war-making parties upholding capitalism and racism—while they continue to express themselves through mass actions in the streets as well.

The representatives of the monopolists and militarists hope that this electoral concession will corral the new voters for capitalist politics. But Socialist Workers Party candidates, independent Black candidates and others can counter this by taking their campaigns onto the campuses and presenting a two-sided program which combines electoral activity with mass action. Their supporters can arrange debates with Democrats and Republicans on these and other issues. They will not find it so easy to evade confrontation with revolutionary opponents on the campuses as they have away from them.

Further possibilities along such lines will undoubtedly suggest themselves. For example, the recent innovation at some colleges of setting aside a week in October for electioneering in the communities can be made a permanent custom—with results that may not be quite what the liberal initiators of this plan anticipate.

The armed forces is another area that the new law will open up for more extensive electoral propaganda. Revolutionary socialists and others can distribute their literature and send their candidates among the GIs during election periods with full legality and greater receptiveness than ever before.

The increased scope of political intervention made possible by the unprecedented expansion of the voting rolls underscores the myopia and sterility of those semi-anarchist and ultra-left groups which disdain and repudiate all participation in electoral activities as futile, irrelevant—and necessarily reformist.

The new bill may foster reformist illusions among some people for some time. But it also creates a broader and more favorable arena for spreading socialist ideas among the masses and putting forward a revolutionary alternative to the capitalist machines among the youth who are most receptive to a new political course for this country.

Madison trade unionists in growing opposition to war

By MIKE PATRICK

MADISON — Trade union opposition to the war in Southeast Asia continues to grow in Madison after a number of key breakthroughs following the invasion of Cambodia.

Early in May a meeting of rank-and-file local trade unionists initiated Madison Labor Against the War, an organization with the express purpose of drawing Madison-area trade unionists into active participation in the antiwar movement. Twenty-two people from seven locals attended the founding meeting. Among them were members of AFSCME Locals 1, 60, and 171; Steelworkers Local 1404; Meatcutters Local 538; AFT Local 223;

and Bakery and Confectioners Local 233.

The membership decided to publish a weekly antiwar newsletter to be distributed at plants and workplaces in Madison. The newsletter, called *Labor Voice for Peace*, has now been published six times and has met with an extremely favorable response from most workers.

Madison Labor Against the War had a small contingent in the Memorial Day antiwar march and two prominent trade union leaders issued strong antiwar statements which were read at the rally following the march. Charles Merkle, president of Firefighters Local 311, and Hilton Hanna, administrative assistant to the international president of the Meatcutters both called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. Merkle and fellow fireman Ed Durkin, who is an international vice-president of the Firefighters, sponsored the Cleveland antiwar conference.

Other Madison trade unionists who have taken strong public antiwar stands include Don Eaton, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 695, Joe Thompson, outgoing president of Postal Clerks Local 241, and Patrick Quinn, member of the executive board of AFSCME Local 1.

Last week the American Newspaper Guild local passed a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal. Other local unions with rank-and-file opposition to the war include AFT Local 243, UAW Local 1329, Communications Workers 5530, and American Federation of Musicians Local 166.

"Today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all."



Rosa Luxemburg Speaks
introduction by Mary-Alice Waters

PATHFINDER
PRESS

873 BROADWAY, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

paper & cloth 480 pgs

\$3.95 — \$10.00

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

with an introduction by
James P. Cannon

edited by
Jean Y. Tussey



"Debs denounced capitalism with a tongue of fire," J.P. Cannon states in the introduction. An invaluable record of the "man of principle who always stood at his post in the class struggle in time of danger and difficulty." Here, Debs speaks.

320 pgs.
paper & cloth
\$2.75 — \$6.95

PATHFINDER
PRESS, INC.

873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

In In B In Br In Bri In Brie In Brief

By RANDY FURST

STRIKE IN JACKSON: The municipal employees strike in Jackson, Miss., has hardly garnered any national headlines, but for some 800 beleaguered sanitation and maintenance workers who walked off the job June 29, the stakes are running precariously high. "We don't have a strike fund," reports Robert Earl Thompson, general manager of Local 1888 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Thompson says that many members of the mostly Black union are "living from hand to mouth." But he adds hopefully, "If we can get assistance, something to help us eat a little bit, we'll make it." The union has thrown up picket lines at the sanitation department, at city parks, the airport, city hall and the zoo. By any standard, Jackson's city employees have been getting the economic shaft. Take-home wages, Thompson told *The Militant*, average between \$54 and \$47 a week. The city has indicated a willingness to negotiate demands for a pay raise, but so far has resisted granting the union recognition. The strikers also want a grievance clause and health insurance. "The insurance we got is lousy," says Thompson. "It would profit city employees more to die than it would to get sick at the present time." Readers can aid Jackson employees by sending letters of support and/or contributions to Local 1888, AFSCME, Robert Earl Thompson, business manager, 626 S. State St., Jackson, Miss. 39201.

BOYCOTT CONTINUES: United Farm Workers vice-president Andy Imutan told *The Militant* that the grape boycott would be escalated in response to an appeal by California growers to call a moratorium on the boycott. Owners made the plea at a press conference June 30. "We're going to push the boycott harder now," says Imutan. . . . **GUARDSMEN DEMOTED:** Two national guardsmen who refused to carry rifles during a dress parade last month were fined \$25 each and reduced two grades in rank by a summary court martial at Camp Ripley, Minn., June 27. Sp/4 Andrew Marlow and Sp/4 Louis Turk had been protesting the Kent State killings and the Cambodian invasion. . . . **LAWYERS RAP WAR:** In Detroit, 650 lawyers have signed a petition calling for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam.

SEX LAW CHALLENGED: A 179-year-old state law that prohibits sexual intercourse between unmarried persons is being challenged by the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU is appealing a lower-court decision upholding the conviction of a Paterson couple convicted on three counts of fornication. Steve Nagler, executive director of the New Jersey ACLU division, says the brief contends that the arrest of Charles Barr and June Clark is blatantly unconstitutional. "Private matters of this sort are of no business to the state," says Nagler. If the statute were strictly upheld, the ACLU argues, it would lead to the arrest of "a large percentage of the adult population of New Jersey." Unless the conviction is reversed, Barr must serve two months in jail. Clark received a suspended sentence.

ENLISTMENTS DOWN: Enlistments are falling off, admits Selective Service Director Curtis W. Tarr in an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* July 6. Tarr indicates that that's the reason why the large draft calls continue. What's behind the enlistment drop-off? "I think it is partly the attitudes among 19-year-olds against the war in Southeast Asia," says the perceptive Tarr. The director also reports troubles in recruiting draft board officials, whose average age, he notes, is "slightly over 50." The problem, says Tarr, is

that "We are finding that young people often don't want to serve" on the boards. The magazine interviewer asked Tarr why not? "This isn't the great honor that it once was," Tarr explained.

ANGELA DAVIS FILES SUIT: Communist Party member Angela Davis, fired from her teaching post by the University of California Board of Regents June 19, has filed a federal suit charging that the regents' action is unconstitutional. She was removed from the UCLA payroll June 30. "We're asking that the court require the regents to appoint her for a second academic year," says Los Angeles attorney Oliver Holmes. . . . **OPENING STATEMENT IN LOS SIETE:** Charles Garry, defense counsel for Los Siete de la Raza, charged in his opening statement at the San Francisco trial that policeman Paul McGoran was drunk and manufactured the story that the seven Latinos attacked him and his partner, Joseph Brodnik, to "hide his own culpability, his own guilt" in Brodnik's death. The seven defendants are charged with Brodnik's murder.

GI COMPLAINTS CENTER: Ex-Green Beret Don Duncan will set up an office in Washington, D.C., to document, compile and research complaints by soldiers concerning denial of civil liberties. The office will also investigate racism in the military. Duncan told *The Militant* that the office will prod congressmen on GI complaints as well as serve as a referral service for GIs in need of legal aid. Working with Duncan are Marilyn Smith, Mark Lane and Jane Fonda. For more information, write GI Office, 5737 MacArthur Blvd., Washington, D.C. 20016. . . . **BACK IN STYLE:** Joseph Stalin, the man who presided over the liquidation of Lenin's original Bolshevik Party central committee, is again moving up the ladder of rehabilitation. Latest evidence was the prominent placing of his bust over his grave in Moscow on June 25.

EMPLOYMENT SQUEEZE: New York City's employment situation is "very tight," says Herman Fishman, a spokesman for the State Employment Service. Summer jobs for youth have dropped off markedly. "There's an overall drop of 60 percent in job openings," Fishman told *The Militant*. . . . **LOW ATTENDANCE:** Honor America Day in Washington, D.C., was supposed to draw 400,000, according to Bob Hope, one of the organizers. But when July 4 came, only 10,000 showed up and all references from the platform to the Indochina war had to be banned in order to assure completion of the day's "festivities."

DESECRATION RULING REVERSED: On July 4, 1967, Stephen Haugh, then 20, was arrested for parading on the Penn State University campus in State College, Pa., with a U.S. flag which bore the words "Make Love, Not War—the New American Revolutionaries" printed on the flag's white stripes. In November of that year, Haugh was convicted of desecrating the flag and sentenced to one to two months and fined \$200. On July 2, 1970, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court overturned the lower court decision. Attorney Harry Sprogell had argued that Haugh, by his action, was urging Americans to return to the ideals of the revolution of 1776 and was thus protected under an obscure state statute that allows for decorating the flag for "patriotic and political demonstrations." By a five-to-two vote, the court agreed with Sprogell, freeing Haugh.

COCKTAILS OFF: The president of Heidelberg University in Germany has turned down an invita-

tion from the commanding general of the 7th Army, Gen. James H. Polk, to attend the traditional Army Summer Ball in Heidelberg. Speaking for himself and two university vice-presidents, President Rolf Rendtorff blasted the U.S. role in Vietnam. Writing Polk in an open letter, Rendtorff said: "At a time when there is a war in Vietnam being fought against the majority of the Vietnamese people and when such a war is being extended beyond Vietnamese borders into Cambodia and when students in the United States who oppose this war are being shot down on their campuses, we cannot envision amusing ourselves with cocktails, dancing, small talk, and cold buffets with those who are responsible for these acts of violence."

BEST SELLERS: Current best selling book from Pathfinder Press (873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003) is *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X. Published in February, the book is now in its third printing with 20,000 copies in print. Pathfinder reports that the other most popular current titles are *How to Make a Revolution* by Peter Camejo, *Problems of Women's Liberation* by Evelyn Reed, and *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* by Ernest Mandel. All three are selling at the rate of 750 to 1,000 per month. All time top seller is *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* with sales of over 50,000 since the pamphlet first appeared in 1966.

McSURELYS CONVICTED: Al and Margaret McSurely were convicted in federal district court in Washington, D.C., June 26 for refusing to turn over records on movement groups to John McClellan's Senate Permanent Investigating Committee. Former SCEF organizers, the McSurelys face terms of up to two years in jail and fines of \$2,000 each. "We're going to keep on fighting," assures Margaret McSurely. . . . **LETTERS FROM VIETNAM:** Letters in the July 1 *GI Press Service* from GIs stationed in Vietnam offer a remarkable inside look at the intense opposition of soldiers on the front lines to the Vietnam war. One Vietnam-based GI mailed in a petition filled with signatures and an accompanying letter. (Sponsored by the *GI Press Service* and SMC, the petition calls for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.) "Here are the petition slips," the letter began, "sorry about the few blank spaces. I had to quit for a day because of a rocket attack." Another soldier writes from Chu Lai: "Sorry, hope these petitions aren't too late. The Cambodian 'abortion' has got us all in a hassle." According to the press service, 225 GIs based in Vietnam have signed the petition. Copies of the petition as well as subscriptions to the press service are available by writing *GIPS*, 15 East 17th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Subs are \$3 for six months, \$5 for one year, \$1 to GIs.

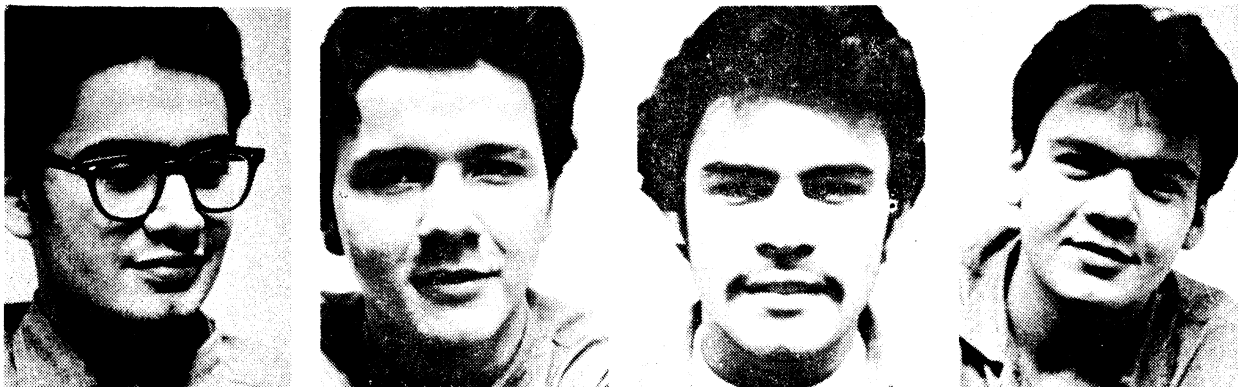
AGNEW DISLIKED: A survey made by the College Poll of students on over 100 campuses has found that 8 out of 10 students rate Spiro Agnew's "performance" poor. . . . **BLUES FESTIVAL:** This year's Ann Arbor Blues Festival runs from Friday Aug. 7 through Aug. 9. For information, write Ann Arbor Blues Festival, University of Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. . . . **FILES DESTROYED:** Selective Service files at local boards in Dover and Georgetown, Del., were destroyed June 17. . . . **CONTRIBUTIONS** to "In Brief" are welcome. Write, care of *The Militant*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Contributors to this week's report include George Johnson, San Francisco, Michael Smith, Detroit, and Liberation News Service, New York.

Los Siete de la Raza, seven Latinos charged with the murder of a San Francisco policeman in May 1969. One has evaded arrest. Left to right (top): David "Bebe" Melendez, Jose Rios; (bottom): Tony Martinez, Gary "Pinky" Lescallet, Nelson Rodriguez and Mario Martinez.



Photos by Stephen Shames/Photon West/LNS



Chicago drivers win nationwide wage hike

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On July 3, after an 86-day strike-lockout, the Chicago area over-the-road drivers won their fight for a \$1.65 an hour wage boost, *over 36 months*. In doing so they not only conquered the truck bosses, but they dealt a blow to the would-be dictator of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Acting President Frank Fitzsimmons.

Last May 15 Fitzsimmons announced that the majority of all IBT long distance drivers had ratified the master pact he had negotiated nationally with the Trucking Employers Inc., providing a \$1.10 an hour wage increase over a 39-month period. However, remembering 1967, he left himself a loophole by including in the contract, a wage-reopener if the Chicago area drivers won more money in their rebellion against both the international union and the major trucking operations, most of whom have their head offices in Chicago.

The 1970 master contract negotiations were a repeat performance of the 1967 play. Fitzsimmons negotiated, then won ratification on a second referendum vote, except for Chicago which had not agreed to be a part of such a master contract in the first place. Instead Chicago presented its own demands locally, was turned down, struck or was locked out, and won more money over a shorter period than Fitzsimmons had. So Fitzsimmons had to renegotiate his contract to bring it up to the Chicago level. He didn't want to, but his membership felt otherwise.

The Chicago-area long distance drivers are organized into several IBT locals, chiefly in Local 705, and in the Independent Truck Drivers Union.

The current strike-lockout began on April 2 when the unions struck several long-haul freight corporations and consolidations. Immediately the other five major companies locked out their men. In all, 40,000 drivers, dock men and office workers were out. Several of the smaller freighters signed with the unions.

Negotiations continued for a while, then broke off completely until early July, when J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service entered the picture.

The Chicago drivers were demanding an increase of \$1.65 over 36 months, plus other fringe benefits. The corporations stuck fast on a 45 month contract.

On June 26, Counts made a proposal — \$1.65 per hour, for 39 months. By a vote of 23,813 to 6,478, the Chicago drivers turned it down.

Then negotiations got down to brass tacks. Fitzsimmons and a representative of the Trucking Employers Inc. rushed to Chicago to participate. On July 3 the Chicago bosses capitulated. The truck drivers won both the \$1.65 per hour increase and a 36 month contract, in addition to improved fringe benefits.

Fitzsimmons and the Trucking Employers came to almost immediate terms, increasing the pay boost for the rest of the long distance haulers to \$1.85, over a 39 month period. This makes it appear that the IBT won more money, but the longer time-span wipes out the 20 cent difference.

The Chicago teamsters won another victory, not mentioned in any press releases or other media publicity — their 1973 contract negotiations will precede those for the national master contract; thus they will set the pattern instead of having to face another strike-lockout to get what they ask for.

The Chicago IBT locals have consistently refused to be included in the national master contract, or to be bound by its terms. In announcing the settlement, Ray Schoessler, president of the Teamsters Joint Council said the settlement was a complete victory and "... came only with the Chicago teamsters in the driver's seat, once again."

Louis Peick, secretary-treasurer of Local 705, described by July 3 *New York Times* as an "unbending leader in the fight for more money," said the Chicago locals would continue to negotiate separately.

He also brushed aside a suggestion that the new wage levels would be inflationary. "An increase of \$1.65 an hour over three years is the cheapest the Chicago operators had in many years. It ought to be twice that much."

But the federal mediator, when asked if the settlement would affect the nation's economy said, "Unquestionably, it is not going to help any."

And the truck owners said they would raise freight rates by 12 percent per year.

And President Nixon, who is reported unhappy with the settlement, didn't say a word about increased freight rates, just as he has said and done nothing about the four steel price increases in the past year.



Cleveland Teamsters during April walkout

Witnesses contradict cops on Cleveland Panther raid

By JAMES HARRIS
Ohio Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate

CLEVELAND—On Tuesday June 30, the Ohio chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism was attacked by the Cleveland city police. Fred Clark, a member of the NCCF, was wounded in the attack, as was a Cleveland police officer, Heinrich J. Ortog. The attack was another particularly blatant attempt on the part of the police and the city administration to destroy the Black Panther Party and any group associated with it, by any means necessary. (The NCCF describes itself as the political and social organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party.)

At 12:30 p.m. the police went to NCCF headquarters with the ostensible purpose of serving a peace warrant on Curtis Johnson and Richard M. Dowell, two members of the NCCF. The peace warrants were signed by Thomas C. Avery, a Black drugstore owner in the same area. (Avery was once a Democratic candidate in the

area for City Council and has a well-known contempt for all Black militants.)

Avery charged that he had been threatened by two members of the NCCF staff. Anyone served with a peace warrant is required to post bond of \$50 to \$100 to insure that he will appear in court if the alleged threatened crime is carried out.

The accounts of the police who carried out the attack on the headquarters and the witnesses who live in the area differ greatly, as usual. The police claim that they only fired on the office when they themselves were fired upon while trying to serve the peace warrants at the door. However, witnesses state that no less than 100 police came to the headquarters to serve the warrant, even though there were only three people in the headquarters at the time.

When the police arrived, they immediately began to fire on the headquarters. The hundreds of bullet holes in the walls and ceiling substantiate the version of the story given by witnesses. They also state that Fred Clark was not shot until after he had been arrested by the police.

Witnesses also state that the division that was sent to serve the police warrant was the Tactical Division of the police force, which is a highly trained elite force of police officers, who are especially trained to prevent "riots" in the ghetto of Cleveland.

The other two Panthers in the headquarters have been released from jail on \$5,000 bond, and Fred Clark is still in critical condition in the hospital.

These events are, of course, not at all hard to believe given the nationwide attempt, spearheaded by racist police forces, to wipe out the Black Panther Party. In fact, the events outlined by the witnesses in the area sound strikingly similar to the events in other cities where the Black Panther Party headquarters have been assaulted.

The police, probably noting the public disbelief of their version of the story, have tried to assure the public that they will conduct an objective investigation of their own assault on the Black Panther headquarters. The people in the neighborhood and the Black Panther Party members themselves, needless to say, expect very little from this investigation.

YSA

If you support and want to help build the mass movement against the war in Vietnam, the struggle of Black and Brown people for self-determination, the growing movement for women's liberation, and the fight for socialism in the United States — then you belong in this country's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization.

Join.

☐ I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA

☐ I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION

☐ ENCLOSED IS .75 FOR "INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE"

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

ZIP _____ TELEPHONE _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO: YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, NY, NY 10003

Shanker machine rigs union vote on war issue



Teachers participating in San Francisco antiwar demonstration reflected process taking place throughout profession, including in New York. But through crooked maneuver, the officialdom of the N.Y. United Federation of Teachers blocked victory of antiwar stand in union referendum.

By JEFFREY MACKLER

NEW YORK—Under the leadership of Albert Shanker, the United Federation of Teachers union has acquired a reputation for blatantly racist politics. During the nine-week teachers' strike in 1968, the Shanker bureaucracy pulled out all stops in a battle to crush the efforts of Black and Puerto Rican people to control their schools. The Shanker leadership's attack on the community control movement included repeated charges of "Black racism," anti-Semitism and extremism.

More recently, the Shanker bureaucracy has turned its efforts against attempts of rank-and-file teachers to put the UFT on record against the war in Vietnam.

In almost every instance throughout the country where teachers have been given the opportunity to vote on the war they have voted against it. In New York, however, according to the results announced by the UFT, teachers recently voted almost two to one against their union taking any position on the war. The "no position" stand received about 14,000 votes, immediate withdrawal about 7,000, and an ambiguous position on the war about 2,000.

The irregularities in the conduct of the referendum call into question the entire affair, and the results bear no resemblance to the actual attitudes of

New York teachers on the war. Under the guise of having no position on the war, Shanker will now continue to support pro-war positions as he has done consistently in the past.

The referendum was conducted by an organization called the Honest Ballot Association. This organization is



Shanker

traditionally called in by union leaderships throughout the country to conduct elections and referenda. Unlike the American Arbitration Association, which apparently withdraws from an election if challenged by any party involved, the Honest Ballot group is responsible solely to the union leadership. The UFT Elections Committee, which also played a role in the recent referendum, is chosen by the Shanker leadership and lacks even one member of any formal opposition group in the union's ranks although there has been an opposition group running against Shanker's Unity Party for the past three years.

Thus, no person formally holding an antiwar position had anything to do with the conduct of the vote. In effect the 7,300 teachers who had signed the petitions initiating the first rank-and-file referendum in UFT history had no representative. The entire referendum process was closed to them despite the fact that they were allowed to witness the final count.

To begin with, thousands of ballots were mailed out too late to be returned by the May 1 deadline. In order to cover itself, the UFT leadership mailed a special letter to all chapter chairmen announcing a six-day extension. Most teachers never learned of the extension. For that matter, there are still a number of teachers who never knew of

the referendum itself since they never received ballots.

Ballots were mailed to teachers by file number, starting with the lowest numbers. Thus older teachers received ballots first while ballots for the newer, younger teachers were mailed out last. This in itself seriously prejudiced the results since young teachers, fresh from the antiwar movement, would be much more likely to vote against the war rather than for "no position." Moreover, the number of teachers voting was significantly smaller than in past UFT votes.

Persons familiar with the frequent manipulations of the Shanker leadership are not inclined to accept the result of the referendum as valid, especially in light of the Shanker leadership's previous illegal actions in regard to the war. (In order to maintain his pro-war position, Shanker has openly violated executive board decisions, the UFT constitution, an earlier referendum on the war, and decisions of the Delegate Assembly.)

Several other steps were taken to deny the ranks a fair vote on the war. The Shanker-controlled executive board, for instance, would not allow a Yes-No vote. After Shanker openly campaigned against the referendum initiated by the Teachers' Committee to End the War in Vietnam, claiming a position on the war would split the union, he introduced two additional referenda on the war which took contradictory positions. Under his leadership, the same board members who submitted the "no position" alternative also submitted another one calling on the UFT to take what amounted to a pro-war position.

Now that there were three positions in the works, Shanker's group arbitrarily ruled that to be declared a winner, one of the three had to win not merely the highest number but a majority of the votes cast.

It is now becoming obvious to many teachers that the current leadership of the UFT can not be relied upon to represent the aspirations of the teachers of the city. While several unions in the city have taken concrete actions against the war, the UFT leaders continue to stifle antiwar sentiment among the ranks.

Teachers concerned with this issue and with the breakdown of the educational system in New York should write the New Coalition, the opposition party in the UFT, at 235 E. 49th St., 10th floor, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The national picket line

N.Y. hospital workers win gains

Just moments before 25,000 New York City members of Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 were to have gone on strike July 1, a settlement embodying most of their major demands was arrived at between union heads, a state mediator, and the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York.

The settlement will be presented for ratification within the next two weeks, but officials of the union are confident it will be approved.

The agreement provides for a pay increase of 25 to 30 percent over two years: for the first year, the workers will receive an additional \$18, or 15 percent per week, whichever is larger; for the second year, \$12 weekly, or 10 percent, whichever is higher.

The agreement also provides for a contribution of 2 percent of all hospital payrolls to the union's benefit fund to finance dental and prescription drug plans; an additional paid holiday (Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday); four weeks vacation after eight years of service; a cost-of-living adjustment for any increase during the year; and a checkoff of voluntary contributions to the union's credit union or brotherhood fund—the lat-

ter used for civil rights and other causes.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York is counting on additional state medicaid and Blue Cross payments to make up the pay increases.

This settlement, while it is one of the best achieved by hospital workers anywhere, falls far short of bringing these still underpaid workers even close to the \$8,000-plus annual wage the federal government has said is necessary to keep a family of four in "reasonable comfort."

On July 1 the Senate passed its version of the postal reform bill, which contains several differences from the House bill passed previously. The Senate bill retains the 8 percent pay increase retroactive to April 16 but also provides for postal workers, under the new public corporation, to negotiate for a union shop in those states which do not have "right to work" laws. The House bill specifically forbids the union shop but does provide for collective bargaining.

It is reported that Nixon may veto the bill because of the retroactive feature. He says it will cost the govern-

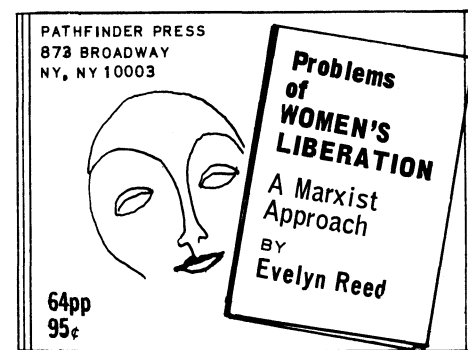
ment \$100 million not in the budget.

Governor Rockefeller received support on July 1 from the New York State 29-member AFL-CIO Executive Board who were roughing it for a weekend at the plush Grossinger's resort in the Catskills. He was also endorsed by the Joint Council 11 of the Service Employees International Union. This means the richest governor in the country (except for his brother who rules in Arkansas) has the support of the major labor bureaucrats over his mush-mouth opponent, Arthur Goldberg (who according to one political authority loses 257,000 votes every time he is exposed over TV).

The working class in this state, and the country, are really between the devil and the deep blue sea if they choose the candidates of either capitalist party recommended to them by their own bureaucracies.

They ought to choose instead to vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates running in many states. None of our candidates ever claim to be "A friend of labor." They are from the labor movement.

—MARVEL SCHOLL



Young Lords in N.Y. establish own party

By MIGUEL PADILLA

NEW YORK—The New York State chapter of the Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization has severed organizational ties with the Chicago-based national headquarters and has formed the Young Lords Party.

A statement explaining the New York Young Lords' attitude toward the split appeared last month in a new publication entitled *Palante* (Forward), which is being published in New York. The Chicago-based Young Lords Organization has also issued a statement concerning the break.

The New York statement read, "There are many reasons for the split between us and Chicago, our old national headquarters. In order for us to make a revolution in this country there is a need for a national political party to educate people about what has been happening on the island and why Puerto Rico must be free. The only way you can build that kind of a revolutionary political party is to have strong leadership and a strong national headquarters. . . .

"No political platform or program was developed to give our people what we stand for and what we believe. When there is no political education and no program, the members flounder, become discouraged, and so do the people. Very few programs were developed in Chicago, and those that were started could not function because there was no consistent manpower.

In New York we made many attempts to go to Chicago to work things out and to help supply manpower and leadership. But those only gave temporary relief and did not solve the problems. . . .

"We decided a solution was to have leadership from Chicago come here to join with us to build a real national political party. . . . When we went to Chicago and asked them to come to New York, they refused. They felt they could eventually solve their problems. They did not think the problems were as basic and unchangeable as we did. . . .

"We criticized their decision and gave them our decision, which was to form the Young Lords Party.

"We left them as revolutionary compañeros with no name calling. We hope that some time in the future we will be able to struggle together for the liberation of Borinquenos [Puerto Ricans] and Latinos all across the nation and island.

"The national headquarters of the Young Lords Party will be at 1678 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y., 10029, and the Young Lords will be everywhere."

The statement was signed by Felipe Luciano, Pablo Yoruba Guzman, Juan Gonzalez, Juan Ortiz, and David Perez, who now constitute the new central committee of the Young Lords Party.

The Chicago-based YLO gave *The Militant* the following statement:

"Our duty as a revolutionary organization is to inform the people of the success and failures of the organization. A change of the structure may

affect the people, and therefore we wish to inform the people of this development. The New York State chapter is no longer affiliated with us. In a series of meetings in Chicago, the New York Lords asked to be released of their duties as a state chapter. In sessions of criticism in which self-criticism was asked, New York put out some solid and valid criticisms of the function of Chicago as the national headquarters."

The criticisms included "the fact that the former street gang members of Chicago have not in the one year and four months of the Lords' existence been able to put out a political line for the Latin colony. . . . have not been able . . . to establish a disciplined organization. . . . have not been able to set up a proper mechanism to put out a publication regularly . . . have not moved as a national organization," and that theory has not been consistent with practice.

The statement continued, "We feel that the split was based on the educational issue. Their educational emphasis was on the ideological level. Our educational emphasis is on the street struggle. . . .

"We do not want to forget that revolution does not come out of ideas in books, but out of practice and action. The Young Lords Organization will continue to provide leadership at the national level through actions. We will continue through our actions to put out an ideological line and we will always be prepared, as brother Che Guevara would say, to give our

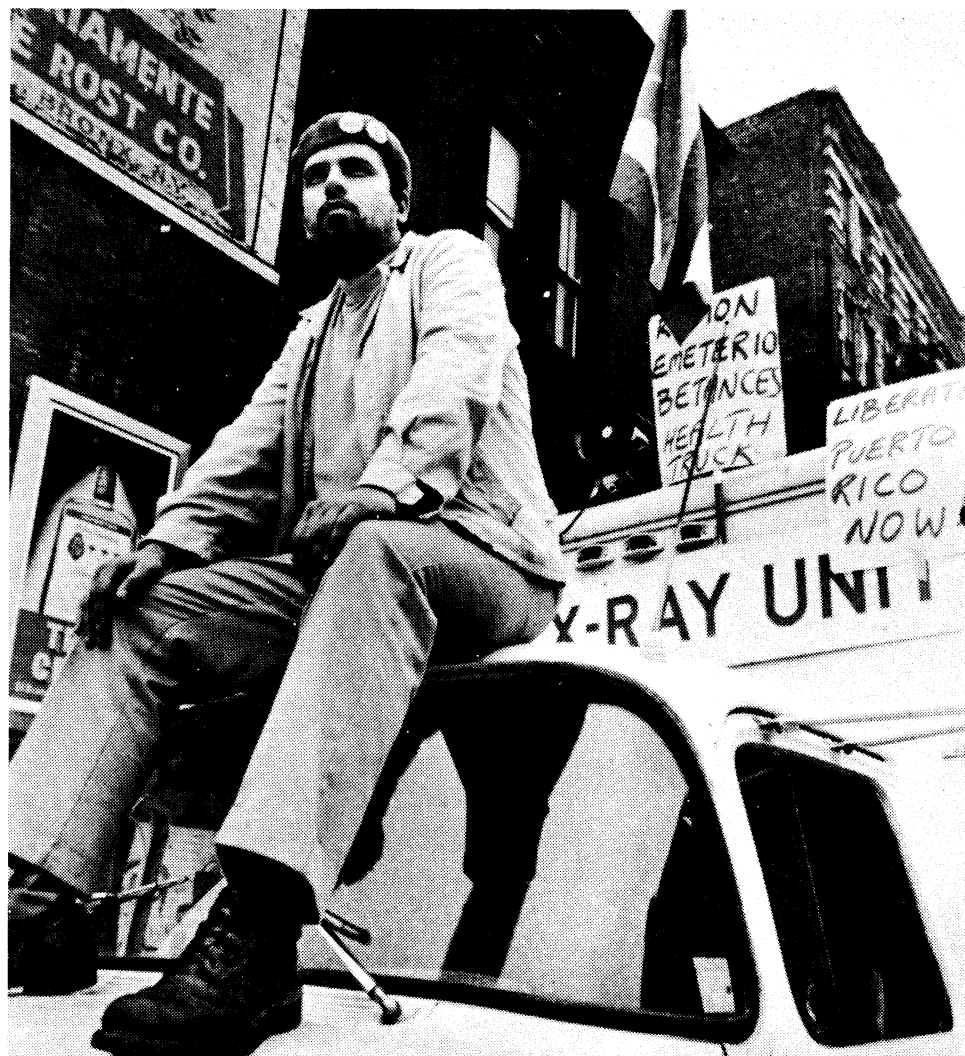


Photo by Michael Abramson/Palante/LNS

New York Young Lords Party recently liberated tuberculosis mobile health truck. City was forced to accept demands that it be made more accessible to Puerto Rican community.

lives, not for ideas, but to make our ideas a reality. Power to the people! Vive Puerto Rico Libre! Revolution is on the streets!"

The Militant asked Omar Lopez, minister of information of the YLO, whether any further negotiations had taken place. "When the split took place," said Lopez, "we understood that

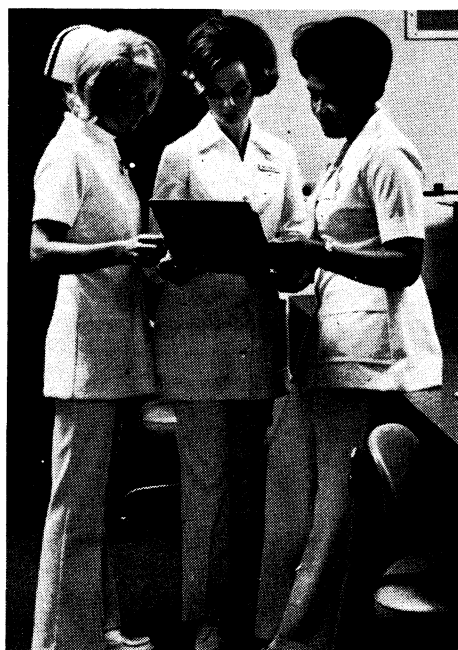
we still had the same goals: the liberation of Puerto Rico and the overthrow of the capitalist system. And that we would still continue communications between the two groups.

Lopez said that the Newark YLO is attempting to work out differences between the YLO in Chicago and the YLP in New York.

♀ Women's liberation notes

The fashionable department store, Bonwit Teller, has come under the fire of the women's liberation movement in Philadelphia. Women Against Consumer Exploitation, a committee of the Center City Consciousness Raising Group, held a demonstration in front of the store July 1 to protest the fact that Bonwit is trying to manipulate women into buying midi-skirts by requiring that all their saleswomen "cover their knees" after Aug. 1, and by stocking 80 to 85 percent of their women's skirts in the longer lengths.

They carried petitions and signs reading, "You can't afford a whole new wardrobe at every whim of the fashion designers," and "You are being exploited," and collected 1,600 signatures on a petition to be presented to Bonwit's manager. Many of the Bonwit saleswomen came out of the store to support the protest action.



While some women have been protesting the dictating of skirt lengths by the fashion industry, others are moving ahead to emancipate themselves from skirts of any length. For example, nurses in a number of hospitals around the country are shedding their traditional uniforms and wearing white pantsuits on the job.

About 250 Californians, mostly young women, turned out for a hearing on abortion June 30 called by a senate committee of the state legislature in Sacramento. A majority of those present were for legalizing abortion, and wore a variety of pro-abortion buttons. Some carried red coat hangers.

Although testimony was severely limited, a lawyer did get a chance to point out that the present California abortion law is unconstitutional, since the California State Supreme Court has already ruled that a woman has the constitutional right to determine whether or not she shall bear a child. The present law puts this decision in the hands of a committee of three doctors.

Backers of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign passed out a statement at the hearing supporting the right of women to free legal abortion.

Another in a series of legal breakthroughs in the fight for the right of women to control their own bodies occurred July 6 when the United States Court of Appeals ruled that the Massachusetts law prohibiting distribution of contraceptive devices to unmarried women is unconstitutional.

The ruling was the first victory in

a three-year struggle against the 125-year-old law. The fight has centered around the case of Bill Baird, a supporter of birth control who openly violated the law in order to test its constitutionality.

Despite the passage of the law legalizing abortion in New York, it seems that the state medical establishment is still bent on trying to make women think that an abortion is the equivalent of murder. According to the city's Health Services Administration, a death certificate is being required for each fetus, no matter how early the pregnancy.

Chauvinist quote of the week — "THE NEWS is strongly in favor of women. Where would any of us (sic) be without them? But are no male refuges to be left in this whole city, this whole state?" — editorial in the New York *Daily News* after the court order that McSorley's Ale House must admit women.

Quote of the Week: "Blacks and women have both been taught from childhood — because our society is run by and for white males — that they are inherently inferior.

"To keep them in their place, the same characteristics are imputed to women as to Blacks — that they are more childish, emotional and irresponsible than men, that they are of lower intelligence than men, that they need protection, that they are happiest in routine, undemanding jobs, and that they lack ambition and executive ability." — Rep. Shirley Chisholm, testifying before a House subcommittee which is considering legislation opposing discrimination against women.

— ELIZABETH BARNES

CALENDAR

BOSTON

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MOTION. Guests: Lisa Potash, High School SMC coordinator, and Robert Cahalane of the High School Rights Coalition. Sunday, July 19, 2 p.m. **WTBS-FM, 88.1 MC.** Militant Labor Forum of the Air (a weekly series).

NEW YORK

THIRD WORLD WOMEN SPEAK ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION. A symposium. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. **Ausp.** Militant Labor Forum.

The great society

Graduate thinker—Ronald Versic, a recent Ohio State graduate, confided to a Binghamton, N. Y., audience that student demonstrators were following a "straight Marxist-Leninist philosophy line." He noted that the Young Socialist Alliance was active in Ohio State demonstrations and that it is a recognized campus organization "with office space in the student union and everything." He shrewdly observed that if people weren't demonstrating about the war and pollution, "they would be out demonstrating about something else."

Materialist analysis—According to the June 23 Binghamton *Evening Press*, Mr. Versic further explained that students fall prey to Marxism-Leninism because they're frustrated by numerous things, like "finding out that one cannot go to the refrigerator for a beverage or sandwich but must go around the corner and pay money for it."

Like hoof 'n mouth?—Vice-president Agnew says the 1970s should be declared the decade against disease.

Naked power—One of the features of Pentagon social life is a pool for nude swimming. Its use is restricted to officers and civilian employees who earn \$11,500 or more.

Dawk or hove?—Senator Charles MacC. Mathias Jr. (R.-Md.) favors a "creeping ceasefire" in Vietnam.

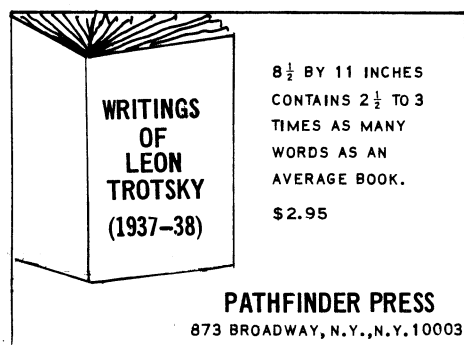
Tough-situation dep't—The Kosciusko County draft board in Warsaw, Ind., resigned because it believes the recent Supreme Court ruling broadening the concept of conscientious objection makes the draft "unworkable and unenforceable."

This obviously needs further study—On the basis of research, the *Buffalo News* concluded that slumlords tend to be lax about respecting housing laws because judges tend to be lax in enforcing such laws. The study also disclosed that "the slumlord situation continues to be most prevalent in the predominantly Negro sections of the city."

Cutting back imagewise—The public relations industry is finding itself rather expendable in the current economic difficulties. An estimated 10 percent of the nation's PR men are presently jobless. A comforting thought is that they probably can write good resumes.

Of poverty and pollution—It took him ten years to figure it out, but after a decade of research in Buffalo, Dr. Warren Winklestein found that high pollution levels double the death rate and that the risk of death is three times as high among poor people in high pollution areas as among rich people in low pollution areas.

—HARRY RING



in passing...

The June 19-21 Cleveland antiwar conference, which established the national Peace Action Coalition, has met with a varied response in the radical press. It received extensive coverage from the bourgeois media in Cleveland.

Carl Davidson, writing in the June 27 *Guardian*, gave a generally accurate, somewhat sympathetic account of the conference:

"The conference differed from many in the past by the participation of a number of trade union officials, including officers from Meatcutters, Teamster and UE locals officially representing their memberships. About 100 of those attending the conference registered as members of trade unions.

"The meeting signified a deepening split in the antiwar movement. There were no representatives from the New Mobilization Committee—the major antiwar coalition. Nor any from the Communist Party, Women's Strike for Peace or traditional antiwar groups. . . .

"The New Mobe is holding a conference of its own next week. But the presence of a large number of independent antiwar activists at the Cleveland meeting signified that the SWP's emphasis on mass mobilizations on the single issue of the war may prevail over the Mobe's as yet ambivalence on this question."

Davidson concludes that:

"The Mobe will certainly have to react to the decisions made at last week's conference as well as plan for its own future action. It is entirely

possible that this summer could see the development of two major antiwar groups with somewhat conflicting political lines."

The June 25 *Daily World* did a hatchet job on the conference full of factual errors and going to great lengths to distort its political meaning:

"The Emergency National Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War concluded a three-day session here by forming a splitters' group in the long-established united peace movement nationally. It named this new rump group the Peace Action Coalition (PAC).

"This action came after long efforts to maintain unity in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE).

"The Trotskyite group, led by Jerry Gordon, a local attorney, resisted all efforts to maintain a united organization."

Pat Connolly gives an account of the conference in the June 29 *Bulletin*, the organ of the Workers League. Her political analysis leaves much to be desired:

"The National Emergency Conference against the war took place here this weekend, with approximately 1,500 participants.

"On the surface the conference was dominated by the Young Socialist Alliance against Progressive Labor-SDS, but the demands fought for by the Workers League—the question of the Labor Party—expressed the real division at the conference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

"The expression today of the fight for the political independence of the working class against the capitalist class and its imperialist war is the demand for the construction of a labor party."

"It was this question which divided the conference, with PL-SDS, the SWP-YSA and all other tendencies on the one side, and the Workers League on the other."

Jack White, writing in *The Great Speckled Bird*, published in Atlanta, cogently reports and analyzes the Cleveland conference:

"The call for the Cleveland conference stated that its sole purpose was to 'plan antiwar demonstrations of the most massive kind centering on the issue of withdrawal from the war.' SDS and Progressive Labor Party, several hundred strong in Cleveland, contended that this approach was racist in failing to support Black rebellions and argued for a large demonstration in August which would exclude 'liberal politicians, college administrators and union hacks.' YSA and SWP, who also had several hundred members present, joined SMC and the large majority of independents present in voting for nonexclusionary rallies of all those favoring immediate withdrawal, regardless of political affiliation. Demonstrations on Hiroshima-Nagasaki days, August 6-9, and support for the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles, August 29, were also approved [along with an Oct. 31 mass action]."

Jack White concludes that:

"The Cleveland conference offers the chance for alliances with organized labor, which will mean more to our movement in the long run than any dozen trashings."

The July issue of *Challenge*, monthly newspaper of the Progressive Labor Party, appeared shortly after the conference but carried no report on it.

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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.

Fullerton: YSA c/o K.W. Jeter, 132 W. Valencia, #F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.

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

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

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

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

San Diego: Alan Standiff, 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 Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Tampa: YSA, c/o Chip Jeffries, 904 E. Robson, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

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

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

INDIANA: Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullnane, 257 Paulette Pl, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46825.

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

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

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9,

St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 665 Washington Ave., 2nd floor, Albany, N.Y. 12206.

Annapolis-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annapolis-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

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

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

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

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

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

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Bader, 30 Carpenter Ct., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans,

apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

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

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Bruce Clark, 201 Brown St., Providence, R.I. 02906.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: c/o Larry Sullivan, 801 Gate Lane, Apt. 101, Knoxville, Tenn. 37919. Tel: (615) 584-3362.

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

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

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: E. Wash. State: YSA, Rt. 5, Box 194, Spokane, Wash. 99208. Tel: (509) HU 3-6126.

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

Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401.

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

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 1603 Elmwood Ave., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

Special to New Readers

THE MILITANT

3 months for \$1.00

\$4 for 1 yr. regular subscription/For GIs: \$1 for 6 mo.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Detroit antiwar coalition to host PAC steering committee meet

By DAVID CHAMBERLIN

DETROIT—Further evidence of the significance of the participation by organized labor in the recent Cleveland antiwar conference was manifested in the July 6 meeting of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now. Paul Silver, international representative of the United Auto Workers, who was a keynote speaker at Cleveland, spoke briefly on the conference and took an active role in the discussion throughout the meeting of more than 70 antiwar activists.

Coalition cochairman James Lafferty began the meeting with a synopsis of the conference proceedings, explaining the axis of the vigorous debate that took place and the mass action program that was finally adopted. He announced that the first meeting of the national steering committee of the Peace Action Coalition, the new coalition resulting from the conference, will meet in Detroit on July 18-19 at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers hall.

Silver began by stating that he was inspired by the determination of the Cleveland conference participants. Summarizing his remarks then, he said, "All I did was express the hope we could unite around those issues on which we agree—end the war by

bringing all the boys home now."

The decision to have the national steering committee meeting in Detroit was made on Silver's initiative. He explained that holding it there would make it possible for a significant number of local union leaders from southeastern Michigan to attend.

Expressing confidence in the turn toward the new antiwar coalition that organized labor in the Detroit area is beginning to make, Silver predicted, "You will probably find that this will be the first meeting where labor will outnumber students."

Problems involved in establishing a working relationship between different elements of the labor movement and the coalition were aired. The basis, for that relationship, it was affirmed, lies in the common goal of ending the war, not of using the antiwar coalition as a forum to raise the myriad political differences on other questions.

The mass action program passed at the Cleveland conference was adopted unanimously by the Detroit coalition and initial plans for a Hiroshima Day mass meeting were laid. The meeting will consist of speeches followed by workshops on the practical aspects of building an effective alliance between working people and students

for the fall mobilizations and beyond. Committees were established to build participation among students and trade unionists.

Participants in the meeting included members of several UAW locals, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, the Teamsters, the Communication Workers of America, representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, the Socialist Workers Party, the New University Conference, and others.



Paul Silver

New fighting erupts in Northern Ireland

By DAVID THORSTAD

JULY 7—New fighting broke out in Northern Ireland for the second time in a week, July 3-4. It erupted in the Falls Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast when British troops enraged nationalist youths by confiscating a small arms cache apparently belonging to Catholic volunteers who had defended the ghetto from attacks by the heavily armed, pro-British Protestants the week before.

The fighting left 200 injured, more than 300 arrested, and five dead—all Catholics. This raised to 12 the number killed in the past week.

The seizure of the arms cache led to ferocious fighting between Catholics and British troops. "For more than an hour, the soldiers were subjected to continuous barrages from about 200 youths, who ripped blocks from the sidewalk and used them as ammunition," reported the *New York Times* July 4. Hand grenades and gasoline bombs were hurled at the troops. Explosions rocked the ghetto area. Barricades were thrown up. British troops fired tear gas and bullets into the crowd.

A 36-hour curfew was imposed following the battle.

Shortly after midnight on Saturday, British troops invaded the ghetto, led by armored cars. They reportedly gained control of the area after three hours of fighting.

Hundreds of soldiers undertook a house-to-house search of the area Saturday. Some residents accused troops of looting. By Saturday night troops said they had seized 20,000 rounds of ammunition, 52 pistols, 34 rifles, 14 shotguns, 6 automatic weapons, 25 pounds of explosives, 100 incendiary devices and an unspecified number of grenades.

The ruling Unionist government has

accused the nationalist Catholic minority of trying to overthrow the Protestant government of the autonomous province. In a televised address July 4, Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark asserted his "determination to rid Northern Ireland of the terrorists in the midst." One step in the government's anti-Catholic campaign was the adoption of the repressive Criminal Justice Bill by the Belfast parliament. The bill, which provides mandatory jail sentences of one to five years for persons involved in "riots," was rushed through the parliament in just one day following the first outbreak of fighting.

On July 5, a march by more than 1,000 Catholic women and children protested the presence of British troops in the Falls Road and the curfew which they said made it difficult or impossible for them to obtain food for their families. Some said they had had to spend 19 hours in their homes without food during the curfew. The women fought with soldiers as attempts were made to break up the march.

Behind the current unrest lie the broken promises of the Unionist government to implement reforms of the laws that discriminate against Catholics in the areas of housing, jobs and voting rights. Promises made in the wake of last summer's rebellion have not been carried out. Moreover, while many Catholics had hoped last year that British troops would be used to protect them, today those illusions have for the most part vanished.

It is in this tense atmosphere that the noisy, annual Protestant parade through the Catholic area is scheduled to take place July 13, celebrating the Protestant victory over the Catholics at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.

Asbury Black community demands city meet needs

JULY 8—Demands for the removal of all outside police were central among a list presented by the enraged Black community of Asbury Park, New Jersey, after state and local cops had wounded 46 by deliberately firing shotguns into a crowd of demonstrators.

Other demands presented to city officials focused on providing jobs for Black youth, improved housing conditions and rent control, establishment of a police review board, and amnesty for all those arrested.

The bloody police attack came after four days of protest in the community beginning July 3.

Conditions of Black people in the shoreside resort town were bad to begin with and have steadily deteriorated over the years. Originally, there was a small population of Blacks employed mainly as summer servants and in the menial jobs in the amusement and restaurant area.

The Black population has grown until it is now 40 percent of the town's permanent population but "opportunity" and living conditions certainly have not improved proportionately. Unemployment among Black youth there is officially estimated at 20 percent and is undoubtedly higher. Those jobs that are available remain the most menial and low-paying.

The "city fathers" have never been concerned about providing decent housing, schools, medical care or recreational facilities for the ghetto residents, and the area is badly deteriorated.

Concerned with keeping the present outbreak confined to the ghetto, the cops backed up their July 7 club and gas attack with shotgun fire when angry Black residents marched into the white business area. Fourteen of the 46 shot are reported hospitalized, with four in critical condition. More than 150 have been jailed.

Louisville Six win acquittal

JULY 7—The Louisville Black Six won an important victory today when they were acquitted of conspiracy charges filed in connection with a rebellion in the Black community in Louisville in May 1968. Criminal court judge S. Rush Nicholson directed the jury to return a verdict of not guilty on the ground that the prosecution had failed to present sufficient evidence to support the charges. The verdict cannot be appealed. For earlier story, see page 12.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Demonstrators in New York protest presence of British troops in Northern Ireland. Group picketed BOAC office on July 3.