

THE MILITANT

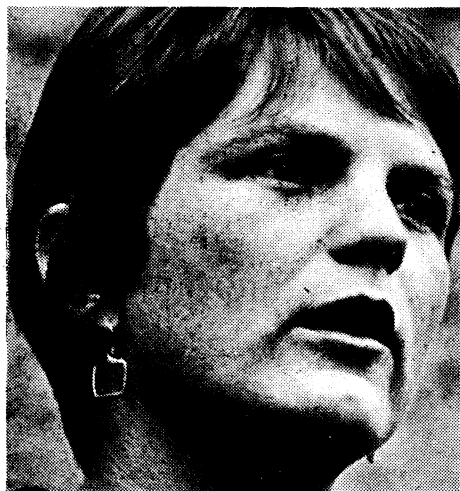
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

McGovern no solution to U.S. social problems

Jenness demands debate

The following statement was issued July 13 by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

George McGovern won the Democratic Party nomination for president in large measure because of



Linda Jenness

the deep opposition to U. S. intervention in Vietnam. But even before the convention vote was tallied McGovern was backtracking on his Vietnam position.

During the primary campaigns his position was to withdraw all U. S. forces from Indochina within 90 days of inauguration, that is, some time next April. He now has added the provision that he'll keep U. S. forces in Thailand and in warships in the surrounding seas as long as there are U. S. prisoners of war in North Vietnam.

This reliance on the POW issue to justify continuing military intervention in Southeast Asia is the same rationale used by Nixon. How much more backtracking McGovern will do on Vietnam before the election remains to be seen.

At no time has McGovern advocated mass demonstrations to help force President Nixon to stop the bombing of North Vietnam and to pull U. S. troops out of Southeast Asia. He does not call for a plan of action to combat the daily slaughter in Vietnam, including the recent U. S. bombing of North Vietnam's dikes. In essence he says, "Wait until I'm elected. Then everything will be all right."

The kind of wheeling and dealing that can be expected during McGovern's campaign was clearly in evidence at the convention. A parliamentary maneuver was pulled in which many McGovern delegates withdrew their support for greater representation of women in the South Carolina delegation.

The predominantly Black delegation from Alabama's National Democratic Party was refused credentials with McGovern's complicity to avoid a conflict with George Wallace.

Planks supporting the right of women to abortion, ending discrimination against homosexuals, rollback of rents, guaranteed annual income of \$6,500 for a family of four, and more radical tax reforms were defeated in order not to "embarrass" McGovern during his campaign.

Now that he has the nomination and no longer needs the votes of his delegates, McGovern will feel even freer to make deals and alliances for the sake of expediency. The platform, the most liberal in the Democratic Party's history, will be put on the shelf. As Lawrence O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic Party National

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Promises ring hollow

By CAROLINE LUND

MIAMI BEACH, July 13 — George McGovern from South Dakota easily won the nomination to be the Democratic Party's standard bearer in the 1972 presidential race. He received more than the required majority of 1,509 votes on the first ballot.

The convention here dramatically reflected the mood of distrust of both the Democratic and Republican parties. It also reflected the impact of the militant protest movements—especially in opposition to the war in Vietnam—that are spreading to all sections of the American population.

As Democratic Party National Committee Chairman Lawrence O'Brien admitted in his opening address to the first session of the 1972 Democratic Party national convention, "Both political parties and their leaders are on trial this year."

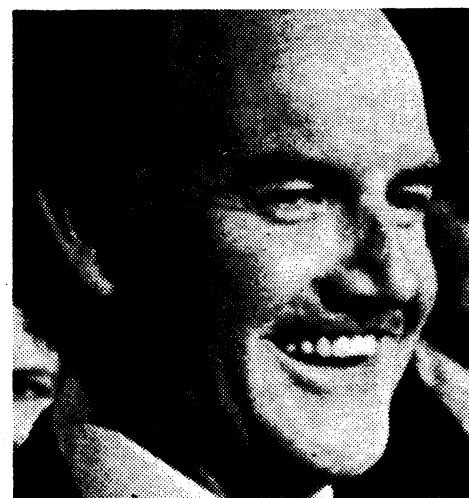
The Democratic convention, however, also represented a victory for the leading strategists of the Democratic Party. They skillfully displayed the convention to the millions of television viewers as proof that the Democratic Party had indeed transformed itself into a "people's party" capable of representing those who are fighting to change this society.

O'Brien's speech, as well as that of Florida Governor Reubin Askew, spelled out the thinking of top Democrats. Basically, their message was that the Democratic Party cannot ignore or appear to oppose the radicalization that is going on in this country. Instead, they must roll with it, adapt a little, and convince protest leaders to keep their efforts within the

framework of the Democratic Party.

During both O'Brien's speech on Monday night and Askew's speech on Tuesday, the convention hall lights were dramatically dimmed, and films were shown intermittently. Through the films especially, the Democratic Party pros attempted to identify the party with the growing mood of protest. Scenes from mass antiwar demonstrations, women's demonstrations, Chicano marches, and antipollution protests flashed across the screen hung at the front of the hall.

After Askew called the Democratic Party "a party of the people" and denounced the unequal tax structure, war expenditures, government secrets, and government spying, the screen pictured lush, unpolluted scenery. Delegates



George McGovern

clapped and sang along as the soundtrack came on with "There's A New World Coming."

Askew's demagogic speech, calling for "a new coalition of protest," was interrupted more than 40 times by applause. He called on the par-

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Nat'l abortion conference: Why women must unite in struggle for abortion rights

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MORE PROBLEMS FOR DOW CHEMICAL: The Dow Chemical Company, a frequent target of antiwar protesters because it manufactured napalm, is facing a strike of 3,400 workers at its huge plant in Freeport, Texas. When Dow hired 3,200 scabs to replace the strikers, some 900 workers' wives staged mass protests at the plant on June 28 and 29.

Since then all negotiations have broken down, with the workers in all eight unions at the plant on strike together for the first time. They say the major issue is Dow's attempts to break the unions. The wives and other female supporters have formed a group called United Wives for Organized Labor. They have continued their demonstrations, some of which have drawn up to 1,500 people.



Militant/Sonny Forman

July 7 march in support of the Dow strike.

U.S. LABOR DEPARTMENT GETS TOUGH: A Ford Motor Company plant in Brook Park, Ohio, has been cited for a violation of federal safety standards for the third time this year. The latest citation maintains that Ford's failure to provide adequate safety measures resulted in the death of a worker who fell through a foundry roof.

It was the fourth death on Ford's property in Brook Park this year. A U.S. Labor Department spokesman said the citation was in what the department labels its "serious category," according to the June 29 Cleveland Plain Dealer. A Ford spokesman said the citation carries a fine of only \$200.

NEW ACTION ARMY: Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Herbert is a retired Vietnam combat officer who claims he was relieved of his command because of his persistent attempts to report war crimes. In an interview in the July issue of Playboy, he says that Major John Barnes, one of his commanding officers in Vietnam, had a pet duck and insisted that his men salute it. The duck had its own dog tags.

'KILL THE SON OF A BITCH!' That was the shout of Pan American Airlines pilot Gene Vaughn as he held Nguyen Thai Binh, who had tried to hijack a 747 jumbo jet to Hanoi on July 2 to protest U.S. bombing of Vietnam. The five-foot, 116-pound Vietnamese student—a recent honors graduate of the University of Washington in Seattle and one of seven Vietnamese students who faced expulsion from the U.S. for antiwar activities—had two lemons wrapped in tinfoil, which he claimed was a bomb, and a knife.

W. H. Mills, a retired San Francisco cop, willingly responded to Vaughn's call and pumped five rounds into Binh from a .357 magnum pistol. No charges have been brought against Binh's killers.

LAW AND ORDER IN LOS ANGELES: Police Chief Edward M. Davis of Los Angeles commended the FBI on its work in the San Francisco shootout in which two airplane hijackers were killed, along with a passenger. Two other passengers were wounded in the July 5 incident.

Adding his bit to the march of civilization, Davis said, "I would recommend we have a portable courtroom on a big bus and a portable gallows, and after we get the death penalty back in we conduct a rapid trial for a hijacker out there and then we hang him with due process of law out there at the airport."

LAW AND ORDER IN SANTA BARBARA: Joel B. Honey, a Santa Barbara County sheriff's captain and commander of police forces during the student demonstrations in Isla Vista, Calif., in 1970, is back on the job. Honey's conduct in 1970 caused even his fellow cops to protest. But his dismissal from the sheriff's department

was recently reversed by the Santa Barbara County Civil Service Commission.

In several days of conflict between police and students at the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1970, Honey was accused of striking handcuffed prisoners, dropping tear gas cannisters on students from a helicopter, brandishing a sword and medieval spiked mace, and instructing police to carry "throwaway guns" (guns that cannot be traced) in case someone was killed.

Honey, a staunch advocate of law and order, explained, "I would not bow down or kowtow to rioters."

GAYS MARCH IN ATLANTA: The Georgia Gay Liberation Front (GLF) organized a march and rally of 100 people on June 25 in commemoration of the Stonewall incident in New York in 1969 and in opposition to police harassment of gays in Atlanta. Earlier in the week a GLF news conference was covered by four television stations and most radio stations in Atlanta.

Speakers at the rally included Alice Conner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Bill Smith of the Gay Liberation Front, Bill Cutler of the staff of the Atlanta underground newspaper Great Speckled Bird, and others. Smith, after hearing Conner's speech, said that he had decided to support Linda Jenness for president instead of George McGovern.

'A MERE RESHUFFLING OF AUTHORITY FROM ONE OPPRESSOR TO ANOTHER?' That's how Bill Cutler of the The Great Speckled Bird characterized the Russian and Cuban revolutions because of the continued oppression of gays in those countries. Three women on the Bird staff answered Cutler in the July 3 issue of that paper.

"We must oppose the oppression of gay people everywhere, including socialist countries," they say. But, they add, "Only when capitalism is defeated and socialism takes its place will people be able to make real changes. And even then, although institutional oppression will probably be fought and rooted out, all the old attitudes will not disappear over night. Blacks, women, gay people—all oppressed groups—will have the special task of insuring that their oppression is ended."

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM: James P. Cannon's history of the origin and early years of the Trotskyist movement in the United States has recently been reprinted by Pathfinder Press. The July 3 issue of Publishers Weekly says:

"It is tremendously interesting to read of the coalescing of this group (the Socialist Workers Party) from one who participated in the movement as a major figure. This book is a series of lectures which Cannon presented in 1942 'to revolutionists who wanted to learn from the experiences of those who had preceded them in the struggle to change the world.' As history and personal statement, it is a book which many will find particularly relevant."



James P. Cannon

Militant/John Gray

U.S. JUDGES EASING PENALTIES IN DRAFT CASES: The disgust of masses of Americans with the Vietnam war has even affected judges, generally among the most self-righteous and hypocritical of the many deformed humans spawned by capitalist society. In 1967, the July 3 New York Times reports, 75.1 percent of defendants in draft cases were convicted, as compared with 34.8 percent in 1971. In 1967 judges gave probation to only 10.4 percent of those convicted, while in 1971, 62.7 percent received probation.

—DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. still bombing dikes

State Dep't admits flood danger; blames Vietnamese

From Intercontinental Press
By ALLEN MYERS

"State Department officials said today," Bernard Gwertzman wrote in a July 5 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "that there was a strong likelihood North Vietnam would be flooded later this summer, but they said North Vietnam's dike system would be responsible rather than American bombing raids."

Since the Nixon administration has not developed new means of forecasting weather several months in advance, the comments of the unnamed officials can only be seen as a quite specific threat of Nixon's willingness to risk millions of civilian lives by destroying the dike network.

The attempt to lay the blame for this destruction on the Vietnamese themselves merely adds one more lie to the already countless total put out by Nixon on the war. It is an attempt to make American and world public opinion believe that the Vietnamese, who have constructed their dam system over hundreds of years, don't really understand what they are doing and have only themselves to blame for the disaster being planned in Washington.

Lest the Vietnamese misunderstand the threat, the officials went on to give Gwertzman even more precise prophecies:

"The State Department officials interviewed said that in view of the heavy air campaign against North Vietnam, accidental bombing of the dikes could not be ruled out. . . .

"Administration experts, studying the over-all situation in North Vietnam, have concluded that there is 'a higher than normal probability' that floods similar to last year's may strike next month."

The threats reported by Gwertzman become all the more serious in view of the disclosure that the U.S. government has been engaged for at least nine years in artificially increasing rainfall in Indochina. Weather modification as a weapon in the war has been rumored for some time, despite occasional denials from Washington.

In a series of articles published in the July 3, 4, and 9 *New York Times*, Seymour Hersh reported: The United States has been secretly seeding clouds over North Vietnam, Laos and South Vietnam to increase and control the rainfall for military purposes."

"A Nixon Administration official," Hersh wrote, "said that he believed the first use of weather modification over North Vietnam took place in

late 1968 or early 1969 when rain was increased in an attempt to hamper the ability of anti-aircraft missiles to hit American jets in the panhandle region near the Laotian border.

"Over the next two years, this official added, 'it seemed to get more important—the reports were coming more frequently.'"

Effect of bombing

The destruction being visited on Vietnam, North and South, almost



LNS/Vietnam Veterans Against the War

A North Vietnamese dike hit by U.S. bombs. U.S. rain-making increases danger of disastrous floods in North Vietnam.

defies description. There are now a reported 900 fighter-bombers and approximately 200 B-52s involved in the air war. More than 90 B-52s, each carrying as much as 30 tons of bombs, were recently sent against a single area near Hue in the course of only one day.

In the July 8 *New York Times*, Joseph B. Treaster quoted "senior United States air officers" as saying that the damage inflicted on North Vietnam since April is greater than that done in an entire year at the height of Johnson's bombing campaign.

"Senior officers," Treaster wrote, "say that with fewer limitations and more advanced equipment and weapons—especially the new 'smart' bombs, which are guided to pinpoint accuracy by either laser beams or television—they are subjecting North Vietnam to 'a whole new order of magnitude of war.'"

In a July 8 dispatch from Hanoi,

Jean Thoraval described his visit to Hungyen, a town thirty-six miles east of Hanoi, which had been hit by a U.S. raid.

"Hungyen is a town of workers and peasant farmers, with long, wide streets," Thoraval wrote. "Nowhere in the part of the town we visited could we see a barracks or a fuel dump, or even a warehouse that could be used for storing war supplies."

"The most badly damaged thoroughfare was Law Street, inhabited mainly

by craftsmen and farm workers. There, the meanest dwellings, straw huts for the most part, had been blasted and burned. Even more solid buildings were often reduced to rubble."

The bombardment of South Vietnam is, if anything, even more intense. Writing in the July 7 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland described the plight of civilians in the areas occupied by the liberation forces. His account was based on interviews with refugees who fled the bombing of Quangtri province.

"Many of the refugees spoke of the B-52 raids, and shuddered when they did so. According to the refugees, all the members of several families were wiped out in raids by the huge bombers."

"After the Communists took Quang Tri, the entire province was apparently turned into a 'free fire zone' for U.S. bombers and Navy destroyers." (Emphasis added.)

The refugees told Southerland of at least three groups of refugees—totaling some 750 persons—who had attempted to flee south to escape the bombing, had been sighted by observation planes, and had then been bombarded by planes and naval gunfire—presumably with "pinpoint accuracy."

The current offensive of the Saigon puppet army, which is attempting to recapture Quangtri city, is being made literally behind a curtain of bombs. The Saigon forces were reported advancing behind a barrage laid down by thirty B-52s and dozens of fighter-bombers, in addition to artillery and naval gunfire. The attempt to take Quangtri can only be for propaganda purposes. It is clear that if the puppet forces actually reach the city, there will be nothing remaining there to "capture."

Bay Area Hiroshima actions planned

By KATHERINE PON

SAN FRANCISCO—Organizations in the Japanese community and antiwar groups in the San Francisco Bay Area have organized annual commemorations of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in the past. This year, the Northern California Peace Action Coalition (NCPAC) initiated a plan for activities on Aug. 5 in response to an appeal by the National Peace Action Coalition and GENSUIKEN (Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs). These groups called for international actions Aug. 5-9 around the demand of "No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis! U.S. Out of Vietnam Now!"

The recent developments in the war, especially the bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam that protect millions of civilians from flood waters, have led to a very favorable response to the Aug. 5 action.

Endorsers in the Japanese community include the Reverend Koshin Ogui of the Buddhist Church of San Francisco; Bishop Funio Matsui of the Konkō Kyo Church; two of the elders of the Christ United Presbyterian Church of San Francisco; Velma Yemoto of the board of directors of the Pine United Methodist Church; and Joe Daigo, a member of the board of directors of the Hiroshima Prefecture, a group of 60 Hiroshima victims living in the Bay Area.

Although originally limited to a Hiroshima-Nagasaki commemoration at the Japan Trade Center Peace Pagoda in San Francisco's Japanese community, the Aug. 5 protest has been expanded to include a march and rally focusing on the war.

Resolutions endorsing the Aug. 5 action and declaring Aug. 5-9 "Hiroshima-Nagasaki Week" are being presented to city councils throughout the Bay Area. Many figures in the San Francisco Bay Area labor movement have endorsed the action.



Militant/Steve Chase

NPAC conference in L.A., July 21-23

LOS ANGELES—Volunteers are engaged in an intensive leafletting campaign during the 10 days leading up to the national antiwar convention scheduled for July 21-23 at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

High schools, college campuses, and shopping areas are the main places being leafletted. Materials are also being distributed that link the war with the problems Blacks, Chicanos, and other sectors of the population face.

The conference was called by the National Peace Action Coalition to discuss plans for intensifying the fight for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

It is being hosted by the Student Legislative Council of UCLA. Steve Halpern, UCLA student body president, will speak at the opening rally on July 21.

The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national steering committee meeting on July 23.

The conference organizing center is located at 308 Westwood Plaza, Kirkoff Hall 325, Los Angeles, Calif. Telephone: (213) 825-2849.

...George McGovern is no solution

Continued from page 1

ty to "do away with secret documents and secret meetings which only serve to protect the politicians." He said "political hypocrisy has no place in the Democratic Party." He called for prisoners of war to "not only come home again, but come home today." And he even called for spreading the available jobs among more people.

When he condemned the Vietnam war and war expenditures, a roar of applause engulfed the hall. Delegates stamped their feet in approval, chanting "Stop the war!" Some McGovern floor leaders tried to discourage the chanting.

Almost all the opening speeches reflected these themes. Florida Senator Laughton Childs said the Democratic Party was "sweeping out the self-interested boss rule and sweeping in the people." Chuck Hall, mayor of Miami Beach, recalled the conventions held by the Democratic Party in the past. "Now it's different," he said. "This is no longer a farce, it's a convention."

But for all the radical-sounding demands and attempts by the Democratic Party to identify with the move-

challenges to the 151 McGovern delegates awarded by the winner-take-all primary in California. In this vote, McGovern won an absolute majority of 1618.28 votes, as against 1238.22 who opposed seating the McGovern delegates.

The National Women's Political Caucus considered the South Carolina challenge a test case in their efforts to force the Democratic Party to abide by its own guidelines in encouraging participation by women.

McGovern spoke before a caucus of 1,000 women delegates July 10 and told them he would give "full and unequivocal support" to the South Carolina challenge. But when the roll call came, McGovern arranged for his delegates to lose the vote by quite a large margin because of parliamentary considerations relating to the upcoming vote on the California challenge.

Similarly, McGovern instructed his delegates to lose the vote on whether to seat the predominantly Black delegation of the National Democratic Party of Alabama along with the mainly white Alabama Democratic Party. So the Black Democrats from

tion; most others were angry.

One Colorado McGovern delegate announced that the platform discussion had moved him to quit the Democratic Party.

Youth delegates were especially upset over McGovern's statement that day (July 12) that he would maintain American "military capability" in Southeast Asia until the prisoners of war were all returned.

Feminist Betty Friedan, a non-delegate present at the convention, told this reporter that McGovern people tried to convince supporters of the Women's Political Caucus not to raise the abortion plank on the floor of the convention. "But we're going to fight anyway," she said.

Speaking in favor of the plank supporting the right of women to abortion were Jennifer Wilke, an uncommitted delegate from Alaska; Frances Farenthold, unsuccessful candidate for the gubernatorial nomination in Texas; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, human rights commissioner of New York City.

In obvious deference to the controversy surrounding this issue, the plank concerning abortion does not even mention the word "abortion." It reads:

But then, in a totally confused manner, she said perhaps abortion was of such a personal nature that it "should be kept out of the party and political process."

She never explained how women could get anti-abortion laws changed if they did not challenge the parties that uphold these laws. MacLaine concluded by urging delegates to "vote your own conscience, without accepting pressure or instructions from candidates or delegation heads."

The voice vote taken on the abortion plank was so close that a roll-call vote was approved. The plank was defeated by a 3-to-2 margin.

A voice vote also defeated a minority plank on the rights of gay people. The plank urged repeal of all laws regarding voluntary sex acts involving consenting persons and all laws regulating attire. It also urged civil rights legislation to ensure protection of gays from discrimination.

Black and Spanish-speaking delegates controlled some 601 votes, but they were deeply divided. Some members of the Black Congressional Caucus were attempting to line up as many Blacks as possible behind George McGovern. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, on the other hand, refused to urge her delegates to support McGovern in the California credentials fight. Because of this move by Chisholm, Representative Ronald Dellums of California switched his support from Chisholm to McGovern.

Chisholm urged all Black delegates to support her or remain uncommitted on the first ballot in order to be able to bargain with the front-runner more effectively. She told a caucus of Black delegates that the front-running candidates were "doing exactly the same thing to you folks that 'The Man' has been doing to us for years," according to the July 10 *Miami News*.

In his opening address July 10, Lawrence O'Brien had stated: "And in spite of a growing cynicism that is affecting the two-party democratic process, we have discovered in these last months that some people have not despaired. Their record turnouts in primaries and state conventions are clear evidence that a faith in political leaders and institutions still does exist." But the 1972 Democratic national convention indicated that his conclusion is wrong.

Many young antiwar activists, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and gay people did not come to this convention as loyal Democrats or with "faith in political leaders and institutions." They came, instead, to "give the Democrats one last chance" before trying other methods to bring political change. Many are concerned with issues, not patronage or privileges. As the Democratic Party continues to serve the interests of big business, these people are going to be looking for new forms of political action independent of both pro-capitalist parties.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Feminist Betty Friedan said McGovern organizers urged Women's Political Caucus not to raise pro-abortion plank on convention floor.



Opening ceremonies on July 10 at Democratic National Convention

ments of protest, the convention proceedings demonstrated that McGovern and the other leading liberal Democrats are not basically committed to these goals. And while the more radical-thinking delegates were behind McGovern and what they felt was the "new" Democratic Party, there still existed a schism between the young delegates and the Democratic Party leadership.

This was visible in a number of ways. One example occurred during consideration of the foreign policy plank of the proposed platform. In the midst of the discussion, delegates on the floor raised large banners calling for "Not One More Dead" in Vietnam and for an end to the mining of North Vietnam's harbors and the bombing of the dikes.

The hollowness of the promises made by the Democratic Party pros, including McGovern, was revealed during the consideration of the various challenges to delegations on the grounds of undemocratic procedures or lack of representation of women, Blacks, or youth. McGovern, although he had a clear majority of the convention, instructed his supporters not to fully back the challenges demanding nine more women in the South Carolina delegation and more Blacks in the Alabama delegation.

The fact that McGovern had a clear majority was evident in the vote on the

Alabama were not seated at all.

McGovern tried to make a deal with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley to seat both Daley's delegates and pro-McGovern challengers in return for Daley's support for McGovern in the California challenge. But Daley would not compromise, and his delegation was voted out of the convention. The Chicago mayor had sent goons to break up physically a caucus of opposition Democrats choosing an alternate delegation to his slate.

Another reflection of the division between McGovern and his supporters was illustrated in the convention deliberations on the platform. McGovern did not attempt to rally his majority to win minority planks on abortion, gay rights, and a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income.

Many McGovern supporters were dissatisfied with McGovern's refusal to fight on these issues. I spoke to Jeff Kassel, a reporter for the Kingsboro Community College newspaper in New York, who was very discouraged with the platform results.

Formerly a McGovern supporter, Kassel was now wearing a Chisholm hat because of McGovern's refusal to fight on the platform issues. Kassel had attended a meeting of about 100 delegates in the youth caucus on Wednesday, July 12, following the platform fight. He said only one delegate got up to defend McGovern's posi-

"In matters relating to human reproduction, each person's right to privacy, freedom of choice and individual conscience should be fully respected, consistent with relevant Supreme Court decisions."

Eleanor Holmes Norton explained that the wording of the plank was designed to encompass the problems of forced sterilization faced by Black, Brown, and poor women, as well as the unequal access of these women to family-planning facilities.

Jennifer Wilke pointed out that polls show the majority of Americans support the right to abortion. She said the only reason the platform committee would not include the plank in the proposed platform was because of pressure from well-financed, powerful forces that do not reflect the sentiment of the majority of Americans.

Eugene Walsh, a non-delegate from Missouri, spoke in opposition to the minority pro-abortion plank. Walsh talked about the "right to life" of the fetus and called abortion the "slaughter of the most innocent."

Shirley MacLaine, a McGovern delegate from California, immediately followed Walsh and spoke during the time for opponents of abortion. She began by saying that many women feel abortion is a fundamental right of women, and that "to deny her that right is to keep her a second-class citizen controlled by laws written by men."

Residual force in S.E. Asia

Youth protest McGovern retreat

By CAROLINE LUND

MIAMI BEACH, July 13—Young people here are protesting Senator George McGovern's new commitment to maintain U.S. armed forces in Southeast Asia, conditional upon the release of U.S. prisoners of war by North Vietnam. This retreat from earlier positions has provoked an outcry from delegates inside the convention and from the protesters outside.

Fifteen hundred to two thousand antiwar protesters gathered outside the convention center last night. Attempts were made to build dikes to symbolize opposition to U.S. bombing in North Vietnam.

Earlier in the day, 150 young people sat in at McGovern's headquarters at the Doral Hotel, demanding to speak with the presidential hopeful. McGovern took time out from his fence-mending operation with party bosses and labor bureaucrats to spend 15 to 20 minutes with the protesters. McGovern's clarification of his position on the war was met with boos and shouted protests.

One protester held up a large poster of Lyndon Johnson as McGovern was talking. TV viewers were treated to the image of LBJ with the voice of McGovern.

The number of non-delegate protesters in Miami is small compared to the turnout at the 1968 Chicago convention. This reflects the support by much of the radical movement for McGovern.

Young people set up campsites at Flamingo Park in the center of the city. Various groups set out their literature on tables and open-mike forums debated the question of supporting McGovern and what sort of actions should be held during the convention. Groups represented include the People's Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor Party, Gay Activists Alliance, Miami Women's Coalition, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Tenants Organization.

The last three groups published a "poor people's platform" as a proposed platform for the Democratic Party. On July 9 the three groups sponsored

a rally in Miami's Black community, attended by about 2,500. Ralph Abernathy, the main speaker, called for transforming the Democratic Party into a "people's party." He called for a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income and for 750 convention seats for poor people to enable them to lobby the delegates.

Daily demonstrations of from several hundred to two thousand were held at the Democratic convention site and other locations related to the convention. Among campers at Flamingo



Welfare rights protest outside convention hall in Miami.

Park there was a lack of political direction or purpose. Many seemed mainly interested in having a good time. Others were seriously concerned with the election issues and the possibility of winning changes through the Democratic Party. A young man named Frank who stood behind the Gay Activists Alliance table said he felt he could not support any of the Democratic Party candidates because none of them supported gay rights.

People's Party presidential candidate Benjamin Spock stood at the People's Party table answering questions from a crowd of young people. Asked what were the differences between the People's Party and SWP campaigns, he said he had not had a chance to read the SWP platform but that he felt it was better not to call outright for

socialism.

He told McGovern supporters he felt McGovern would not be able to carry out his promises because "industry owns the Democratic and Republican parties."

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley table was constantly surrounded by a crowd of interested young people. Many supported McGovern but were not enthusiastic about the South Dakota senator and were open to discussion about a socialist alternative.

Almost all had heard of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Cathy Perkus, a YSJP organizer, said one young woman she spoke to at the table was convinced to support Jenness and exchanged her McGovern button for a Jenness button. Ronald Mitchell, 22, was hitch-hiking to Miami Beach from Santa Barbara, Calif., when he was given a ride by a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. During the drive, he decided to join the YSA.

"I already agreed with the YSA's positions, and I came to Miami Beach hoping to find a group like the YSA which understands that the problems of this society go deeper than just racism, sexism and the war," Mitchell said.

The YSJP table sold \$310 worth of socialist literature, nearly 500 copies of *The Militant*, and passed out 5,000 copies of Linda Jenness's answer to George McGovern and 2,000 of the SWP platform. About 30 people signed up as new endorsers of Jenness and Pulley. Many people offered to help pass out Jenness and Pulley campaign literature and stickers.

Among non-delegates present in Miami was Dorothy Pittman Hughes, a welfare and women's rights advocate from New York. Asked why she came to Miami Beach, she said, "I just realized that this was the first time that a Black woman was challenging for the presidency, and I thought I'd just have to be there."

Two young Black women from Miami expressed a similar feeling about Shirley Chisholm. One wore a yellow button saying "By any means necessary" and the other wore a black, red, and green nationalist button. Asked who they supported, they said, "Chisholm, right on." They said they didn't think they would support any other candidate when Chisholm did not win the nomination.

SWP to open N.Y. ballot drive

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—On July 20, supporters of the election campaign of the New York Socialist Workers Party will begin the biggest petitioning drive in its history. A total of 41,000 signatures are required to place Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, and six congressional candidates on the New York ballot.

The petition drive is the second largest any SWP campaign has undertaken, topped only by the recently completed Massachusetts petitioning. It is the first time that such an extensive slate of congressional candidates will be placed on the New York ballot.

Twenty thousand signatures are required for Jenness and Pulley. In addition, 3,500 signatures must be obtained for each of the six congressional candidates.

The scope of the petition drive and the short time in which supporters plan to reach the goal of more than 41,000 signatures reflects the growing support for the socialist alternative.

Three campaign offices will be coordinating this effort. The Brooklyn SWP Campaign Committee will be working to place James Mendieta and John Hawkins on the ballot in Brooklyn's 14th and 12th congressional districts.

The Lower Manhattan SWP Campaign Committee will secure ballot status for Rebecca Finch in Manhattan's 18th C.D. and for Hedda Garza in the 5th C.D. on Long Island. And the Upper West Side SWP Campaign headquarters will coordinate petitioning for candidates Joanna Misnik, 20th C.D., and B.R. Washington, 19th C.D.

A real boost to the petition drive will be a New York tour by Linda Jenness from July 26 through Aug. 3. Jenness will speak at numerous street rallies to meet the people who are signing petitions to place her on the ballot.

Bilingual rallies are planned for New York's garment center and Brooklyn's Fort Greene housing projects, areas with large Spanish-speaking populations.

On July 28, Jenness will debate N.Y. State Assemblyman Richard Gottfried on "The Democratic Party: The Way for Radical Change?" The debate will take place at St. Gregory's Church 144 West 90th St., at 8 p.m.

Petitioning teams will be leaving from all three campaign headquarters every morning and in the evenings after work. Two giant days of petitioning are planned for both Saturdays in the drive, July 22 and 29. It is hoped that more than 200 supporters will petition on those days.

Volunteers are needed. Contact the SWP Campaign Headquarters nearest you: in Brooklyn at 136 Lawrence Street, telephone: 596-2917; in Lower Manhattan at 706 Broadway, 982-6051; and Upper West Side at 2744 Broadway, 663-3000.

— C. L.

Support despite criticisms

McGovern delegates interviewed

"I'm not a Democrat—I'm here to change things," said Brad Enger, a young McGovern delegate from Long Island, N.Y., when I asked him how he felt about the Democratic Party.

Enger said he disagreed with McGovern's positions opposing abortion rights, gay rights, and a \$6,500 annual income, but "if he's going to get elected, I guess he has to oppose these things."

When asked what he thought of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, he said, "My friends in the SWP on Long Island are always trying to get me to support Jenness. It's not that I totally disagree with her, it's just that I see her campaign as a lost cause in 1972."

Randy Elkins is a 17-year-old alternate from Morgantown, W. Va. Asked what he thought about McGovern's opposition to the right of women to abortion, he said, "If I was running I would probably wait until I took office before I said or did anything

on that issue." He felt, however, that abortion should be completely legalized and is a basic constitutional right.

Anna Chavez, 27, and Tom Espinoza, 24, are among the 15 Chicanos from Arizona elected as delegates to the convention. I asked Anna Chavez whether she thought working in the Democratic Party was more effective than building an independent Raza Unida Party. She said she felt the RUP "is very effective on a local level," but would not be effective nationally.

Asked whether she thought the war was an important issue for Chicanos, she responded, "Definitely!" She said she was very much in favor of antiwar demonstrations by Chicanos because Chicanos comprise a disproportionate number of draftees and casualties of the war.

Several gay delegates were elected on the basis of their fight for gay rights. One of these is Deni Covello, an alternate McGovern delegate from New York. Covello was one of a

group of women who attended the founding convention of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition last year and argued that WONAAC should adopt as one of its major demands "freedom of sexual expression."

I asked her why she was supporting McGovern when he did not support gay rights. She answered that she thought he did support gay rights because he had instructed his delegates to vote according to their consciences on the minority plank for gay rights, instead of telling them to vote against it. She felt that the introduction of the gay rights plank had been a "consciousness-raising experience—and that's all we could have done this year."

Joe Kugelmass is an alternate delegate from Massachusetts committed to Shirley Chisholm. He is also a member of the Communist Party. I asked him whether his position as an alternate for Chisholm reflected CP policy of supporting Democrats. He refused to answer and turned away.

...Jenness

Continued from page 1

Committee, said in his opening address to the convention, "the candidate is more important than the platform. It's the candidate that we elect to be president."

This kind of politics is not new, and calling it new doesn't make it so. Democratic and Republican politicians have always operated this way. Refurbishing their image and getting delegates from protest movements to their convention won't change it.

In contrast to George McGovern, the Socialist Workers Party candidates are not backpedaling on any of their positions nor pushing any of them under the rug. We have consistently condemned U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia. We call for all U. S. forces to be pulled out immediately with no strings attached. And we help organize mass demonstrations against the war while we campaign.

I sincerely hope that many McGovern supporters, including those who were delegates at the convention, will also help organize antiwar actions this summer and fall despite McGovern's refusal to support them.

We oppose all forms of oppression suffered by women. We not only support the right of women to control their own bodies, but have helped organize demonstrations demanding the repeal of anti-abortion laws. We also oppose legal, economic, and social discrimination against homosexuals. Unlike George McGovern, the Socialist Workers Party candidates are not embarrassed to state loudly and clearly where we stand on these questions.

We are not beholden to any corporate interests, labor bureaucrats, or Southern governors. We are running on a platform that speaks to the needs of the majority of American people and offers very specific answers to such problems as unemployment, inflation, racial and sexual oppression, environmental pollution, taxes, and housing.

We believe that the tiny clique of businessmen and bankers who run this country will have to be removed from their seats of power and replaced by a new government of the working people.

Earlier this year I challenged George McGovern, along with other Democratic and Republican candidates, to debate the issues in the 1972 elections. McGovern told many audiences that he would not debate me because he had not yet been selected as his party's candidate. He is now the candidate, and I again extend my challenge to a debate any time and any place he chooses.

The rich get richer

The colonial revolution that swept the world following World War II removed the flags of imperialist powers from dozens of former colonies. Colonial administrations were replaced by formally independent governments. This historic achievement awakened millions of oppressed workers and peasants in nearly every corner of the globe, giving them a sense of dignity and self-pride.

But despite all this, most of these countries have not won full social and economic independence. The imperialist masters still maintain a stranglehold on their economic life and consequently on their politics.

Statistics from a recent report issued by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations illustrate this. The report shows that the gap between living standards in the advanced capitalist nations of Western Europe, the United States, and Japan on one hand, and the former colonies on the other, is steadily widening.

For example, the total per capita output, industrial and agricultural, of the developed countries increased by 43 percent from 1960 to 1970. At the same time, the per capita increase in the underdeveloped countries was only 27 percent. In 1970 the oppressed nations, with a population more than twice as large as the economically developed countries, consumed only a little more than one-seventh of the total energy produced.

From the dozens of other statistics cited in this report it is clear that the imperialist robbers have done nothing to help industrialize the former colonies and establish the conditions necessary for a rapid improvement in living conditions.

For the businessmen and bankers, these countries are a source of raw materials for their factories or a market for their goods manufactured elsewhere. Investments are not made on the basis of what will aid the people of those countries but for the profits they will bring to the corporate interests in New York, Tokyo, London, and Paris.

What the U. N. figures show is that the struggle for full independence—social, economic and political—is not yet completed. The local capitalists and landlords who are tied hand and foot to their imperialist overlords are incapable of leading this struggle and economically developing their countries.

The only places where significant steps have been taken to improve the living standards and develop the economies are those countries like Cuba and China, where the workers and peasants threw out the imperialists and the native capitalist-landlord cliques and established nationalized, planned economies.

Letters

Labor for Peace

From time to time I am lucky enough to see your excellent paper. I am very opposed to (current) U. S. involvement and (recent) Australian involvement in Vietnam. Accordingly, I was agreeably surprised to read in the June 26 *Newsweek* that a number of labor's top echelon were scheduled to hold a Labor for Peace meeting in St. Louis. I intend to write them to let them know why an increasing number of Australians oppose the war.

P. R.

Artarmon, New South Wales
Australia

Paredon Records

In one of your issues this year there was an article on the Puerto Rican movement that mentioned a record, *Tengo Puerto Rico en mi Corazon*, by Pepe and Flora Sanchez (*Militant*, Feb. 25). This record is produced by Paredon Records.

I wrote to this company to order this record but the letter was returned to me (insufficient address). Therefore I would like to ask you for the whole address of this company.

C. H.

Nijmegen, The Netherlands

In reply—Paredon's full address is: 701 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y. 10036.

Communist Party and McGovern

Just received *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* for our discussion class. We're especially thankful for *The Militant*. The police swiped my copy this week. The new international section is great. Also, the *ISR* looks larger.

I really enjoy *The Militant's* perspective after reading a couple of issues of the *Daily World* [newspaper reflecting the views of the U. S. Communist Party.] They've completely capitulated to bourgeois liberalism, the McGovern-Abzug-Dellums variety.

Dig this. In the June 23 *World*, [Jarvis] Tyner [Communist Party vice-presidential candidate] was quoted as saying: "Without a principled (!) Left, without the Communist Party election campaign, a McGovern candidacy means nothing."

That about sums it up. Without this unbridled, unashamed opportunism, a McGovern candidacy would mean nothing. Young workers and students would give up their dependence on capitalist politics and split from the Democratic Party once and for all. They would form their own independent movements with class-struggle programs. But the CP's abandonment of even elementary political principles "makes" McGovern's treachery mean something.

A prisoner

Indiana

Abortion movement: 'something missing'

Isn't it time to reconsider the present three-demands policy of WONAAC to see if something isn't missing?

The three demands (abolish all anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization, repeal all contraceptive laws) are not reaching Mrs. White Suburbia in order to get her interested in voting them out or to demonstrate against them.

In fact, as reported in *The Militant* and other radical media, fewer numbers than expected show up for demonstrations which put pressure on the government.

Some of these media attribute this situation to the liberal element of the Republican and Democratic parties, which is syphoning off votes from the radical left by promising to work for these three and other women's demands. Also they syphon off people from demonstrating.

This analysis has much truth in it, however it isn't the whole truth.

At the founding WONAAC conference 200 women walked out because they felt, and rightly so, that their full needs were not satisfied by the three-demands policy then adopted. Therefore, both Valerie Robinson and myself feel something was then and still is missing.

In addition to the three demands, two others should be added, not in opposition to but in conjunction with the three demands, totaling five demands. These demands are:

- 1) Repeal of all anti-abortion laws;
- 2) Free, quality abortion on demand;
- 3) No forced sterilization;
- 4) Repeal all contraceptive laws;
- 5) Freedom of sexual expression.

Since Mrs. Suburbia isn't really interested, let's get those who are and maybe then we can force the government to listen to us.

Barbara Keenan

Valerie Robinson

Cleveland, Ohio

In reply—These and other issues will be debated at the WONAAC conference in New York, July 15-16. For *The Militant's* views on the conference, see our article on page 12.

Prices soar, vets' pensions cut

Mr. Milhous Nixon and Company must believe that veterans are either stupid, forgetful, or a combination of both.

A few years back, senators Ralph Yarborough of Texas and Allan Cranston of California sought to restore, as was only proper, the losses caused by inflation by increasing the cold-war GI Bill education allowance to \$190 per month. Nixon, who currently collects over \$16,000 per month, threatened to veto the bill, so veterans got only \$175 a month.

Furthermore, Nixon said he would get us out of Vietnam. Yeah, out of Nam and into Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, etc.

I suggest: first, end wars of unilateral aggression; second, restore all unused or expired GI Bill benefits to all veterans who couldn't use them, regardless of reason. Quit screwing us around with so-called interpretations. Increase all payments on all pensions to at least \$200 per month or to the amount originally paid (with true and accurate compensation for inflation), whichever is greater.

We veterans know what's going on. Food, clothes, rent, utilities, supplies, books, services, entertainment—in short, all things, whether classified as necessities or luxuries—are sky-high and still soaring.

May I suggest to you, Mr. Nixon, or to your successor, that what your collective irresponsibility has taken from us be restored?

G. G.

Kingsville, Texas

The Great Society

Correction

The Militant is the most widely read, respected, and influential newspaper in the Chicano movement, the only one with a national perspective and coverage. Mistakes do sometimes creep in, however.

My article on the Colorado Raza Unida Party in the June 16 issue was incorrectly edited to read "El Cinco de Mayo (May 5), the traditional day of celebration of the victory of Mexican independence." It should have stated that "May 5 is a celebration of victory by Mexican forces over the French in 1862."

The traditional day of celebration of Mexican independence is Sept. 16. In 1810 Father Miguel Hidalgo gave the cry of revolt in Dolores, Mexico, and today Sept. 16 is celebrated throughout Mexico and Aztlan as a day of independence.

Al Baldivia
Denver, Colo.

Maryland Defense Committee

The Maryland Defense Committee has been formed in response to the urgent needs of people harassed, arrested, sentenced, and fined while the University of Maryland campus was subjected to Governor Marvin Mandel's "state of emergency." The authorities of the state of Maryland set aside due process of law in an effort to quell the mass movement against Nixon's latest escalation of the war in Southeast Asia and against university complicity with the war machine.

After the U. S. attacked Hanoi on April 17, 186 persons were arrested on the College Park campus. Charges ranged from "minor" violations (e.g., of curfews imposed with 20-minute notice) to "serious" charges, such as assault and arson. Under the new Maryland law, the governor may establish military rule and set curfews at his sole discretion. A curfew violator can be jailed for 60 days and fined \$100.

Of the 186 arrested, there was no evidence for pressing charges against 88 persons. So after eight to 20 hours in jail, they were released. Many of those who finally were charged had to appear before a military tribunal before they could return to their residences, classes, and work on campus. Defendants had to arrange for their own counsel at their own expense and were banned from the campus until after this hearing.

Your support is needed. We call on all people of good will to provide the funds necessary for a proper court defense and to challenge the legality of Governor Mandel's "emergency" regulations used to suppress dissent.

Maryland Defense Committee
P. O. Box 73
University of Maryland
College Park, Md. 20742

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

It figures—Ralston-Purina says their long experience in turning out dog food makes them a natural to move into the health food market. "Animals which customarily have food put in front of them eat better than you and I do," a company representative said.

Birchwater?—Houston sprays a Vietnam chemical defoliant ingredient in its drinking water to control water plants. Use of the defoliant was reportedly discontinued in Vietnam because of its danger to humans. In Houston, an official said only small amounts were used, which he did not consider dangerous. We were wondering if it's the Birch Society's response to fluorides.

Political semantics dep't (I)—"Without a principled Left, without the Communist Party election campaign, a McGovern candidacy means nothing." —Communist Party vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner as quoted in the June 23 *Daily World*.

Political semantics dep't (II)—"Stalking horse: . . . Anything put forward to mask plans or efforts, a pretext. . . . A candidate used to screen a more

important candidate."—*American College Dictionary*.

Serving the people—A. W. Clausen, president of Bank America, the world's biggest commercial bank, says the U. S. should be ready to put a lot of money into North Vietnamese reconstruction after the war's end, and that private capital should play a key role. "We must work out arrangements to stimulate orderly capital flows," he said. Maybe he thinks those were gold mines Nixon planted in Haiphong harbor.

Travel tip—If you're making it to Europe this year, don't miss the chance to spend some time with royalty. For instance, the Duke and Duchess of Bedford offer tea at \$20 a head, dinner for \$75, and an overnight pad, \$200. Best of all, the prices help assure quality companionship. As one blue blood's leaflet puts it, the deal is for "people in sympathy with traditional values," not for those "of the ordinary sort." Particularly those grubby money-chasers.

Socially conscious—With touching concern for the innocent bystander,

the New York Police Department is now using a flat-tipped bullet known as the "semi-wadcutter." Officials explain it is less likely to ricochet in crowded city conditions. An added feature is the wadcutter's efficiency in "antipersonnel" activity. It tends to punch through bone rather than bounce off it.

Esthetics dep't—Determined to eliminate graffiti from the subways, New York's Mayor Lindsay is seeking legislation to jail anyone caught in a public place with an open spray-paint can. One cannot but appreciate the mayor's determination to preserve the sparkling ambience and decor of the subways and the charm of an atmosphere surpassed only by the comfort and quality of the transportation itself.

The watchmen—The director of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee says politics are as dirty as ever, but if it wasn't for the work of his committee they might be even worse. The nonpartisan committee includes such notable fair campaigners as Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and past national chairmen of the Republican and Democratic parties.

—HARRY RING

By Any Means Necessary

MISSISSIPPI POULTRY WORKERS WIN STRIKE. The following is from a July 1 news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) about a strike at a poultry plant in Forest, Miss. The plant is relatively modern. Its assembly-line operation begins with freshly killed chickens and ends with the packaging of whole and cut-up chickens. Of about 200 workers, 60 percent are Black.

"FOREST, Miss.—More than 60 workers who walked off their jobs at Poultry Packers Inc. on May 10 have won their strike here. The company gave in to demands of the newly formed Mississippi Poultry Workers Union for increased pay and pay for breakdown time.

"Before the strike, workers were not paid while the production line was being repaired, but they were required to stay on the job without pay. The strike started during a breakdown.

"At first the strike only involved Black workers. However during the course of the strike, white workers began to talk to the union and to attend union meetings.

"Although only about 60 workers were involved at Forest, this strike may represent the beginning of a large movement of working people in the Deep South. Thousands of people work in the chicken processing plants in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Almost all of the plants are small, pay low wages, and have atrocious working conditions.

"During the strike, workers at Poultry Packers asked for and received support from the NAACP, the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, and the Southern Conference Ed-

ucational Fund (SCEF).

"The next step for the Mississippi Poultry Workers Union will be to seek recognition as bargaining agent for the workers at Poultry Packers. An election supervised by the National Labor Relations Board is expected soon."

EXPRESSIONS OF BLACK FEMINISM. According to the June 27 *Atlanta Journal*, 16-year-old Kimberly Faulkner, the retiring Miss Black Teen-age Georgia, made some very unkind remarks about beauty pageants.

Speaking before an audience where she ceded the title to a new queen, she started off with the usual expressions of gratitude to the sponsors, coordinators, and her mother, and with talk of "setting the pace and being a good example for future contestants."

But then, like a thunderbolt out of the blue, she said, "But for some reason I feel these are irrelevant things in my life as a queen. . . . I feel it is my responsibility to heighten the contradictions of Black beauty pageants."

She said that none of the pageants she has been involved in offered college scholarships. The scholarships offered are to modeling school—which is all right, she stated, for those who want to improve their grooming instead of their minds.

Faulkner also attacked the emphasis on competition, which makes the winner regard the girl next to her as "your enemy instead of an ally."

She lamented, "Why should dissension of this kind be allowed among us when we are finally beginning to rely on each other. . . . This is a contradiction."

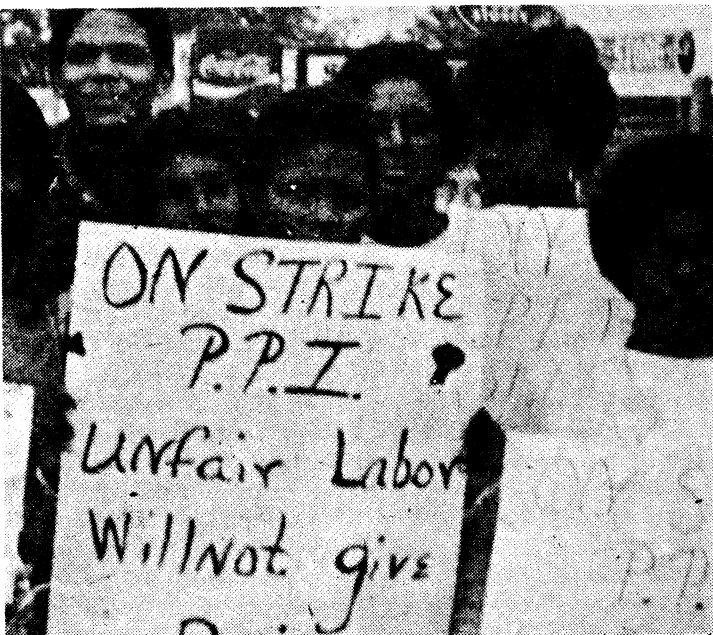
She went on to say, "Is there any value to such an exploited yet popular event that could relate to the black struggle? Is it a worthwhile goal which a beautiful black girl should aspire for? . . . We are all black beauties and therefore don't need any kind of commercialism to tell us this."

Faulkner said most of these thoughts were developed during her year's reign as queen.

HARVARD BLACK STUDENTS CONDUCT COMMENCEMENT PROTEST. In the early part of this year Black students at Harvard University and Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Mass., planted Black crosses in the snow to symbolize the loss of African life as a result of Harvard's \$18.5-million investment in 683,000 shares of Gulf Oil Corp. stock. Gulf has operations in Angola and is helping the Portuguese wage war against the growing African insurgency there.

This spring Black students seized campus buildings as part of the protest. During commencement exercises, according to the July 6 *Jet*, Black graduates accepted their degrees in one hand while carrying a black cross in the other.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Striking Mississippi poultry workers

Southern Patriot/Ken Lawrence

UCLA drive to 'clean up' campus

L.A. cops arrest three antiwar leaders

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES, July 6—Flanked by about a dozen supporters, three prominent antiwar activists today surrendered themselves to L.A. police officials for arrest. The charges against them stem from their participation in a May 10 antiwar demonstration held near the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

Charged with disorderly conduct, creating a public nuisance, and disturbing the peace were Mike McGraw, chairman of the UCLA Student Mobilization Committee (SMC); Peter Herreshoff, chairman of the UCLA Young Socialist Alliance; and Carl Finamore, staff coordinator for the National Peace Action Coalition-West (NPAC).

Bail was immediately posted for the three. They were released pending arraignment, which was set for July 11.

The arrests mark the latest round in a two-month campaign by the UCLA administration to eliminate campus activism following a wave of student protest over Nixon's May 8 mining of North Vietnamese ports. In this drive, according to NPAC staff members, administrators have often acted in concert with the Los Angeles Police Department.

In a joint statement delivered at the time of their surrender, McGraw, Herreshoff, and Finamore claimed they—along with 40 others arrested so far on similar charges—were identified from photographs university and city police took during the demonstration. As evidence of such collaboration, they cited the arrest of one student at his home by officers from both police forces.

These charges were later substantiated when NPAC and SMC mem-

bers were shown copies of the photos—marked for identification—by a plainclothes city officer. The officer indicated at that time the photos would be used for issuing further warrants against demonstrators.

Finamore, in earlier remarks to reporters during surrender proceedings, emphasized the political nature of the arrests and the fact that UCLA officials had fully complied with the LAPD in carrying them out.

On its own, the UCLA administration has already banned from campus three student organizations—including Youth for McGovern and Students for a Democratic Society—for minor leafletting infractions.

In addition, a national antiwar convention, slated for July 21-23 at UCLA, was the target of similar exclusionary moves by UCLA Chancellor Charles Young. His efforts, however, were thwarted by a massive campaign mounted by NPAC, which is hosting the convention.

Finamore pointed out that the arrests had been highly selective. Warrants were issued only for key activists, he said, in a demonstration that numbered more than 400 people. People were arrested not on the basis of what they did, but on whether or not they were known to authorities as leaders of the antiwar movement.

This, Finamore concluded, indicated a clear pattern of repression on the part of university and city officials. There could be little doubt this was anything other than an open attack on the antiwar movement.

The demonstration of May 10 was, in fact, generally peaceful. A short rally on the UCLA campus was followed by a well-monitored march down Westwood Boulevard to the Fed-



Mike McGraw (left), Carl Finamore, and Peter Herreshoff (partly obscured). The three antiwar activists surrendered for arrest in L.A. July 6.

eral Building on Wilshire Boulevard, where the crowd peacefully dispersed. City police assisted monitors in holding traffic to make way for the march, and at no time was anyone informed that what they were doing was illegal.

Now, two months later, more than 40 arrests have been made, with assurances from several sources that more will follow.

Under the title of the UCLA (University Civil Liberties Antiwar) Defense, a broad-based effort has been launched to defend all persons arrested for participating in the May 10 protest.

Statements of support and contributions to the defense may be sent to UCLA Defense, 111 N. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004.

Gov't figures mask real unemployment rate

By LEE SMITH

JULY 8—Yesterday the U.S. Department of Labor announced that the unemployment rate in June had fallen to 5.5 percent, the lowest official rate in 20 months. Dr. Ezra Solomon of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, according to today's *Washington Post*, "suggested that the turning point was at hand" in what has been a three-year trend of growing unemployment.

However, a close look at the figures released yesterday reveals that the number of unemployed grew last month by close to 1.5 million—from 4 million in May to 5.4 million in June. Not much of a "turning point." How is it possible to talk of a 0.4 percent drop in the rate of unemployment when the number of jobless workers has grown by well over a million?

The trick is a statistical sleight of hand called "seasonal adjustment." In June the labor force is swelled by millions of jobseekers from 16 to 24 years old who leave school that month. Last month the labor force grew by 2.5 million. About 1.1 million jobless workers, many of them from this new influx into the labor market, found employment last month. That still left 1.4 million more unemployed workers in June than there had been in May. But "seasonal adjustment" to account for the influx allowed the official rate to decline slightly.

This is only one example of the way in which the government's unemployment statistics conceal the true extent of the job crisis. An article by two members of the AFL-CIO Depart-

ment of Research in the June issue of the official AFL-CIO magazine, *The American Federationist*, points out other ways in which the monthly government statistics fail to give a true picture of unemployment.

The article, "Who Is Unemployed—A National Profile" by Rudy Oswald and Phillip Ray, explains that many factors are left out in the monthly reports. Annual reports, which most people do not hear about, include data not available in the monthly figures. These include such things as estimates of the number of workers unemployed between the dates for which the monthly figures are compiled.

Oswald and Ray compare the difference between the monthly reports and the annual reports to the difference between a still photograph and a movie. By focusing on the annual figures, the two writers draw a picture closer to the real situation.

The last year for which the complete annual report is available is 1970, but the writers have used the 1970 report and the monthly figures from 1971 to estimate the true extent of unemployment in the past year. The difference is not a trifling one.

For example, according to the government's own annual statistics for 1970, the actual number of unemployed workers that year was 14.5 million (or 15.3) percent. But the monthly reports that year showed the number as 4.1 million (or 4.9 percent). The same relationship between the monthly figures and reality can be assumed for last year.

Not only has the number of workers unemployed in a year grown, but the length of time between jobs has grown, and the frequency of unemployed spells between jobs has grown.

At the same time, more workers have become discouraged and stopped looking for work because they are

convinced they won't find any. The number of discouraged workers in this category rose by 200,000 from 1969 to 1971. Black workers accounted for about 25 percent of the rise and account for about 25 percent of the total (775,000). They aren't included in the government's monthly unemployment figures.

More men than women experienced multiple spells of unemployment and long-term unemployment in 1971. But more women than men are in the situation of wanting full-time work and only being able to get part-time jobs.

More than half of the workers in this category are employed in the service and trade industries, including household employment, where women and members of oppressed nationalities make up the majority. In recent years their numbers have been augmented, however, by hundreds of

Continued on page 21



As more than a million joined unemployment lines last month, 'official' unemployment rate declined.

Ukrainian political prisoners ask Davis for help

From Intercontinental Press

[The following letter was addressed to Angela Davis June 15 following her acquittal on frame-up charges of conspiracy and murder. The signers, the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, consist primarily of students of Ukrainian descent. The committee was formed in January 1972 in response to news of the arrest of dissidents in the Ukraine.]

Sister Angela Davis:

We congratulate you on your victory over oppression and welcome your statement that you will struggle to free all political prisoners.

In light of your righteous position we would like to inform you about the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, many of whom are Marxist-Leninists.

Accompanying this letter are two books and a pamphlet about political prisoners from the largest minority in the Soviet Union, the Ukrainians.

The book *Internationalism or Russification?*, by Ivan Dzyuba, a political prisoner as of this year, denounces from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint the Russian Communist Party for its Russian chauvinism and the consequential economic and educational discrimination against the Ukrainians and other minorities in



Angela Davis

the Soviet Union. Likewise we have included *Ferment in the Ukraine*. This book is a collection of articles written by Ukrainian political prisoners, many of whom were members of the Communist Party at the time of their arrests in the 1960's.

The pamphlet is about the nineteen Ukrainian intellectuals who were arrested in January of this year for their political views. These men and women cry for your help. If past Soviet experience is to be our guide, we can safely conclude that the trials of the Soviet political prisoners will be closed to the Soviet as well as to the world community.

At your trial there were many foreign journalists, among them the Soviet journalist E. Baskakov. Consequently we ask you to demand from the Soviet government that foreign observers and journalists be present at the upcoming trials of the nineteen Ukrainians, among them Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychny, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Yevhen Sverstyuk.

We want to meet with you anywhere on your itinerary before you leave for your trip to the Soviet Union in order to discuss the issue of Soviet political prisoners.

Freedom for All Political Prisoners.

Israeli army atrocities admitted

By TONY THOMAS

A series of discussions within the Israeli cabinet has brought to light recent atrocities against Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories. Admissions of these actions came as a result of a public dispute within the Israeli government in which Premier Golda Meir has threatened to increase civilian control over the country's armed forces.

On July 9, at the formal weekly meeting of the Israeli cabinet, Meir accused Defense Minister Moshe Dayan of "painful irregularities." Dayan claimed that measures would be taken to prevent army officers from taking acts of what he termed "bad judgment."

These comments stemmed from a scandal over Israeli destruction of Arab farmlands in the village of Akra-ba, about 10 miles southwest of Nablus in the occupied West Bank territories.

According to the July 10 *New York Times*, Israeli soldiers seized the lands, sprayed the crops with poison, and fenced them off from their owners. Meir, Dayan, and other Zionist officials have admitted all this publicly.

Despite Israeli attempts to paint their rule over the occupied territories as benevolent, this type of action — similar

to American tactics in Vietnam — occurs daily.

The height of brutality to the Palestinians came in the Gaza Strip on the Mediterranean Sea in early 1971. Israel has occupied this area since 1967.

John Cooley, writing from Gaza in the March 2, 1971, *Christian Science Monitor*, described the Israelis' attempts to discipline the Palestinians as a "wave of terror." He reported, "Practically every male in Gaza [which has a Palestinian population near 400,000] has been beaten. . . ."

"Bashir Rayiss, director of education, found soldiers taking one wheel off his car. They then rolled it down the street and forced him to run after it."

Cooley continued, "One girl student living alone with her grandmother came home to find that the grandmother and a small child had not escaped beating."

The savagery of the actions was so great that some Israeli soldiers refused to carry them out.

In the current incident at Akra-ba, Dayan, pressured by Meir, criticized his own soldiers. However, according to the July 10 *Times*, he agreed with those officers that the Palestinians had made "illegal use of land that the Is-

raeli Army had long since taken for its own use."

As long as the Israelis seek to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination, and as long as the Israelis seek to hold on forcibly to parts of Egypt, Syria, and other Arab countries, their government and armed forces will have to use these types of tactics.

In a related development, Ghassan Kanafani, a leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and his 17-year-old niece were assassinated on July 8 in Beirut, Lebanon.

Kanafani was formerly the chief public spokesman in Lebanon for the PFLP and was the editor of its publication *Al Hadaq* at the time of his murder. The PFLP has claimed responsibility for terrorist actions in the Middle East, including the raid on the Lod airport at Tel Aviv on May 30.

He and his niece were killed when a bomb exploded in their car in Beirut. Lebanese police "said a plastic explosive had been placed in the car's exhaust pipe," according to the July 9 *New York Times*. The *Times* reported that the PFLP issued a statement blaming the "imperialist-Zionist

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Maps reelection plans

Boyle convicted by federal gov't

By LEE SMITH

On June 30, United Mine Workers president W.A. (Tony) Boyle let it be known that he will run for reelection in the government-ordered UMW elections this December. Three days earlier a federal judge handed down Boyle's sentence for the UMW president's March conviction of illegally using union funds.

Boyle was convicted March 31 on 13 counts of approving illegal political contributions totaling \$49,250 between 1967 and 1969. The biggest chunk of that total — \$30,000 — went to Hubert Humphrey's 1968 presidential campaign. On June 27 Boyle was sentenced to five years in prison, fined \$130,000, and ordered to pay back the \$49,250 taken illegally from the UMW treasury. The 70-year-old union head spent six hours in jail while his attorney filed for appeal and arranged a \$179,250 deposit with the court.

Just 11 days before Boyle was sentenced, another federal court had issued a sweeping order giving the U. S. Department of Labor authority to oversee virtually every aspect of the UMW elections and much of the union's business between now and the elections. New union elections had been ordered in another court decision earlier this year, overturning the results of the last election in 1969.

In the 1969 election, Boyle and his crew had declared themselves the winners against a challenging slate headed by Joseph A. (Jock) Yablonski. After that election, Yablonski and his backers charged Boyle with unfair practices and appealed to the Labor Department. Shortly after that, Yablonski, his wife, and his daughter were found murdered at their Clarks-ville, Pa., home.

The Miners For Democracy (MFD), a group formed by those who had backed Yablonski, held a convention in May of this year to nominate a slate to oppose Boyle in the new election. The convention, attended by more than 500 miners, picked Arnold Miller, chairman of the Black Lung Association, to run for president. Mike Trbovich, chairman of the MFD, was nominated for secretary-treasurer.

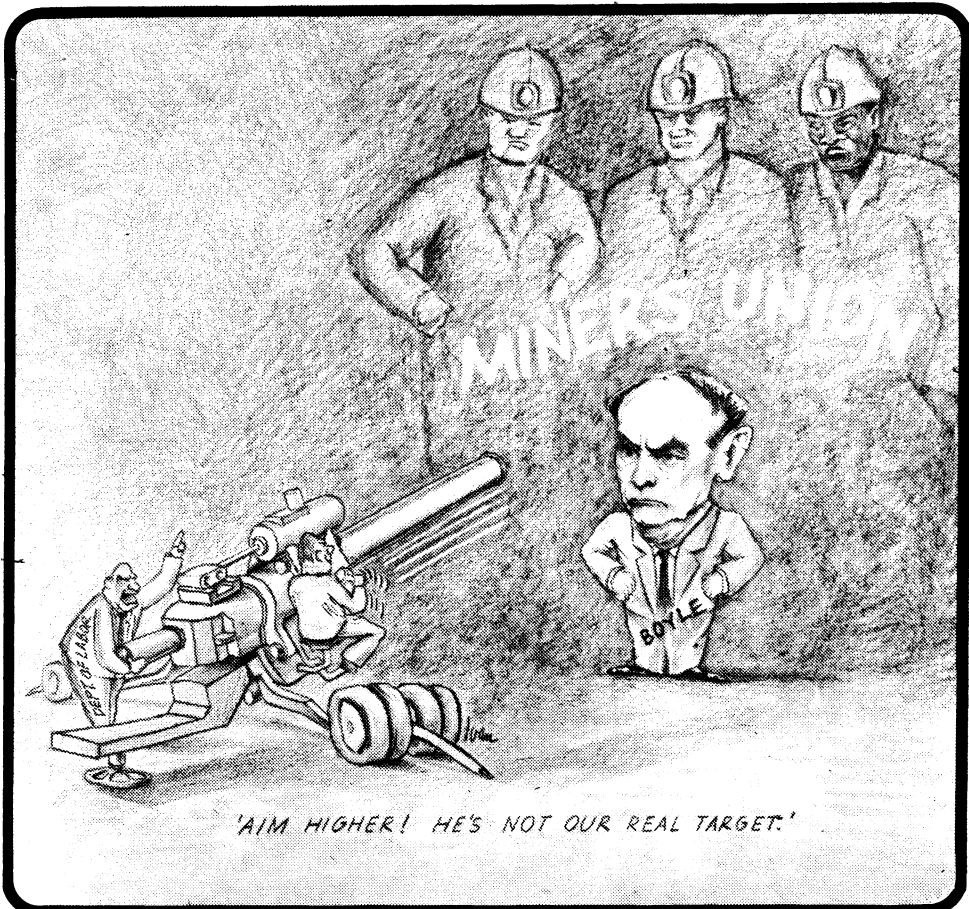
Tony Boyle is a rotten, crooked bureaucrat. He clearly has mismanaged union funds for his own self-aggrandizement. Like his predecessor, John L. Lewis, he has run the UMW like an iron-handed dictator. But unlike Lewis, who for a period in his career as UMW president led the miners in magnificent battles against the employers and the government, Boyle has failed to fight for decent wages, safety conditions, or anything but the barest gains in the 19 years he has held office.

Without making any attempt to apologize for Boyle's criminal role, however, and without denying the obvious fact that the miners would be better off by replacing him with a less corrupt leadership, the point must be made that this is a job for the miners themselves. It is not a job that can be entrusted to the courts, the Labor Department, or any other agency of the bosses' government.

After the June 16 court decision, the *New York Times* editors opined that the MFD's attempt to replace Boyle "would have been hopeless had Mr. Boyle and his lieutenants once again been allowed full latitude to juggle the rules and stifle the expression of the will of the U. M. W. rank and file."

This touching concern for the rank-and-file miners has never been evident in *Times* editorials when the UMW has been on strike battling for concessions from the coal operators whose profits can literally be measured in miners' blood.

The headline of the June 17 *Times* editorial was "Federal Rule for Miners." This is pretty close to what the government moves are aiming at. And the real target of federal rule in the union movement is not the corrupt officials, but the union itself and its power to fight and bargain for its membership.



A Militant Interview

Owusu Sadaukai on African liberation and the '72 elections

By JOHN HAWKINS

The May 27 African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstrations were dramatic expressions of opposition to U. S. policy in Africa. The demonstrations drew tens of thousands of people of African descent into the streets in Canada, the Caribbean, Washington, D. C., and San Francisco.

I recently interviewed Owusu Sadaukai, chairman of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC), the coalition that organized the demonstrations. Sadaukai is also head of Malcolm X University, an independent Black school in Greensboro, N. C. We talked about the significance of the actions, other developments in the Black struggle, and the 1972 elections.



Militant/B. R. Washington

Owusu Sadaukai

Sadaukai explained the origin of the ALD demonstrations. "African Solidarity Day—which led to the African Liberation Day demonstrations—was established in 1963 at the first OAU [Organization of African Unity] meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The idea was for May 25 to be a day when peoples of African descent would show their solidarity with brothers and sisters who are fighting for liberation.

"Last year African Solidarity Day activities centered on raising money and other material contributions for the African liberation organizations. Most of this was done on the West Coast and in Texas.

"The trip that I made to the continent [Sadaukai visited Tanzania and the liberated areas of Mozambique last fall—J. H.] only emphasized to me the importance of doing something like that again. So when I returned, we pulled together a meeting of a number of brothers and sisters from various organizations and discussed methods of making that effort larger. We decided to have the ALD demonstration on the 27th rather than the 25th in order to involve more people than we could have in the middle of the week."

Sadaukai discussed the expectations of the organizers. "We predicted a low turnout [official estimates before the D. C. demonstration were 10,000] because we were not sure that people would respond to that issue and were constantly told that people would not. A number of politicians—politicians in the broader sense of political thinkers—told me that the most we could expect was 3,000." [In Washington alone 25,000 demonstrators turned out for the May 27 action—J. H.]

What effect would the African Liberation Day demonstrations have on Black activists, I asked, in the light of the general abandonment of protest demonstrations since the civil rights marches of the 1960s.

Sadaukai said that while demonstrations are not tactically advisable in

every situation, "demonstrations are an important tactic to involve masses of people and give masses of people a chance to express themselves.

"There's an ever-present reality," he added, "that massive demonstrations like that can be met with massive force, particularly when Black people are involved. And the massive force that comes down on Black people does not end up being simply putting people in jail, but ends up with people being shot. That was in the back of our minds the whole time. We had a lot of discussion about that and were very much concerned about that."

Sadaukai thought that police and white racist attacks on civil-rights marches "played a part in people wanting to move away from the dem-



Militant/B. R. Washington

Part of the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D. C.

onstration as a tactic."

I asked Sadaukai what he thought accounted for the growing acceptance of Pan-Africanist ideas among Afro-Americans. "There are several reasons," he responded. "One is that in the past two or three years a number of organizations and individuals have been trying to lay out the Pan-Africanist ideology. More and more people have visited Africa. Many have gone to places like Tanzania and have seen what a progressive African nation can mean to Black people. A number of Pan-Africanist works are being read and studied now that were not before.

"But at another level, there is a growing awareness on the part of Black people about the conditions Black people face everywhere and a willingness to understand that these conditions everywhere are related. That doesn't come from books, travel to Africa, or speeches that people give, but from a gut-level feeling that's related to the heightening of oppression that's going on within Black communities everywhere. People simply connect those things."

How would he assess, I asked, the overall significance of the Black Political Convention in Gary and the African Liberation Day demonstrations? "The significance of ALD or Gary," he answered, "does not begin or end with the event itself. The events were significant and we have to say they are. But the larger significance depends on what happens after that. The significance of Gary may not be seen until 1976, assuming that by 1976 we are able to organize some independent Black political thrust in this country. Unless we do that, then to me Gary will be a failure.

"In terms of ALD, if we're not able to sustain certain kinds of things within this country over the next year, develop more education of Black people, turn out even larger numbers of people next year, whether it's the same type of demonstration or not—unless

we're able to do that then we will have failed."

A number of speakers at the ALD rally in Washington, D. C., spoke of the need for an independent Black party. I asked Sadaukai his view of such a party. "An independent Black political party," he said, "shouldn't be confused with any third-party bargaining politics. What you're talking about is a whole different kind of thrust.

"An independent party," he went on, "first of all, doesn't find its total expression around electoral politics, because that's not all there is to an independent political thrust. It finds its expression around self-reliance, self-determination, and it uses electoral

politics as a tactic when it sees that that's valuable."

On the 1972 elections Sadaukai said, "Now a lot of people are talking about McGovern being the 'new' politics. But essentially McGovern is 'old' politics with a new name and new trimmings.

"When the time comes to really make

On June 21 the steering committee of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) met to discuss future activities and to assess the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations. The meeting noted the success of the May 27 actions and formally disbanded the ALDCC. A planning council, composed of individuals from the steering committee and organizers of the May 27 demonstrations, was appointed to convene a national meeting of local ALDCC organizers to plan future activities. The meeting is scheduled for late July.

decisions on which way to go, he's going with those people who control him. And for all the talk about the army of volunteers—that's not where American politics are, that's not where the power of it is. The people who control the economics control the state, whether it's McGovern in office or Nixon."

I asked what he thought of the recent statements of various Democrats supporting Israel, especially the refusal by members of the Congressional Black Caucus to endorse the plank in the Black Agenda condemning Israeli aggression.

"It's detrimental to the African liberation struggle," said Sadaukai. "You can't talk about South Africa without talking about Israel. They're doing the same things, and they're building an even closer relationship with

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France supports colonial wars of Portugal

By TONY THOMAS

One of the central targets of the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations was U. S. complicity with the Portuguese colonists through the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) alliance. Portugal uses weapons supplied through this anticommunist alliance to wage war against freedom fighters in its African colonies of Mozambique, Guinea, and Angola.

In the July 1 issue of *Rouge*, a weekly newspaper published by the Communist League (the French Section of the Fourth International), Olivier Petit reveals how France and NATO funnel military aid into Portugal. France is not formally a member of NATO.

"Portugal," Petit points out, "is a small, very underdeveloped country. Along with Turkey and Greece, it is one of the most backward nations in Europe. Without the military, financial, and political support of the big capitalist countries, it could never carry out such a repression of the colonial peoples' liberation struggle.

"Portugal receives this support because it is itself in turn economically and politically colonized by the big powers. By helping Portugal hold on to its colonies, international capital is at the same time defending its large economic and financial interests in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea."

Portugal, Petit writes, "has a very special position among the NATO countries." The NATO headquarters for the Iberian-Atlantic sector is stationed in Lisbon, the Portuguese capital. Both the United States and West Germany maintain air and naval bases in Portugal. NATO itself has military installations on the island of São Miguel and at Fonte da Telha in continental Portugal, where a secret underground base has been built.

France maintains its own missile-control base on the Portuguese Island of Santa Maria, according to Petit, and has supplied Portugal with many of the weapons it has used in Africa.

In their attacks on Zambia in 1969, the Portuguese used French-made missiles. France has also supplied Portugal with transport aircraft and since 1963, with more than 70 Alouette helicopters. Since 1970 the French have furnished PUMA helicopters, capable of carrying 20 armed men, for use in the Portuguese colonies. Cannons and submarines have also been provided.

Petit concludes by pointing out that it is the duty of French revolutionists to support the African revolution by opposing French complicity with Portugal.

He writes, "Under the slogan 'Stop the delivery of arms to the Portuguese colonists!' revolutionary militants must intensify the struggle against the collaboration between French and Portuguese capitalists.

"Stop the delivery of arms to the Portuguese colonists!"

"Long live the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea!"

Black Dems retreat from Gary Agenda

By DERRICK MORRISON

The course the Black Democratic politicians have taken since the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., last March bears out the contention that it is impossible to use the party of the capitalist oppressor to build the political power of the Black oppressed.

The most important achievements of the Gary convention—in the view of its organizers—were the Black Political Agenda and the proposed National Black Political Assembly.

The Agenda, drawn up before the convention, called for an "independent Black political movement" and spelled out a program for the political, social, and economic "empowerment of the Black community." Its thrust was radical and nationalist.

The idea of the Assembly was conceived by the Congress of African People. The intent was to build a national coalition of Black politicians, Black community activists, and Black nationalists.

Initially, the Black Democratic politicians who helped organize the convention went along with the Agenda and the proposed Assembly. However, right after the convention they registered opposition to two convention resolutions. One called for dismantling the state of Israel and for supporting the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs. The other proclaimed that Black control of Black education with adequate financing—instead of busing—was the main route to quality education for Black people.

Despite disagreement on these two points, the politicians on the post-Gary steering committee,

including members of the Congressional Black Caucus, said they remained committed to the Agenda and the building of the Assembly. But this commitment proved fleeting as Democratic Party presidential election activity picked up.

As Hatcher, Conyers, Stokes, and other Black politicians climbed aboard the bandwagons of Humphrey or McGovern, the Agenda, which was to be used as the bargaining basis for Black sup-



Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher is one of Black Political Convention leaders retreating from decisions of convention.

port, became an obstacle. For how could the white capitalist politicians endorse a program advocating what they decry as "separatism" and "go-it-aloneism" for the Black community?

To resolve this dilemma the Black politicians shelved the Agenda, and on June 1 the Congressional Black Caucus unveiled what they termed a "Black Bill of Rights."

The June 2 *New York Times* observed that the proposals in the bill of rights were "mild" compared with those in the Agenda. Although it proposed Black control of Black schools, self-determination for the District of Columbia, and breaking off U.S. relations with South Africa, it was tailored for wheeling and dealing within the Democratic Party.

This move by those Black politicians associated with the Gary convention puts a question mark over their participation in the proposed Assembly. For if the Agenda is the political program of the Assembly and the politicians now declare no responsibility for that program, then why should they make any effort to build the Assembly?

The force that will counteract their participation in the proposed Assembly is the same force causing them to retreat from the Agenda—the Democratic Party. Thus we see once again that there is no possibility for building a viable Black political base in this party of the rich. The Black politicians and other community leaders should break the chains binding them to the Democratic and Republican parties and move toward building an independent vehicle, a Black party.

A truly "independent Black political movement" will start with the construction of such a party.

Ex-jail guard faces 300-year sentence

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—Earl Whittaker, a Black correction officer who was taken hostage during the 1970 uprising at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs), now faces up to 300 years imprisonment. Whittaker is charged with 29 counts of kidnapping, inciting to riot, unlawful imprisonment, obstructing governmental administration, and criminal solicitation in connection with that rebellion. He is currently free on bail.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Whittaker described how he went from being part of the prison hierarchy to facing imprisonment himself. Whittaker, 41, began working as a guard in the Tombs in 1968. "It was just a job," he said, "and the pay was fairly good."

Whittaker is convinced that the charges he now faces flow from his refusal to participate in the brutality and violence, so much a part of prison life.

To make his point, Whittaker described a series

of incidents. On one occasion, a Black inmate was being processed into the Tombs. The guards took the \$160 he had and gave him a receipt for \$20. When the inmate protested, the guards demanded, "Are you calling us thieves?" They then took him into a back room and beat him. Other guards streamed to the scene to join the assault.

Whittaker refused to participate. He told the other guards he would testify against them if they later charged the inmate with assault on them—a standard procedure for explaining an inmate's wounds.

Whittaker states that at that time he had not yet learned that the entire prison system is based on protecting "those guards who like brutality." It is a culture, Whittaker asserts, that makes heroes out of guards with nicknames like "Hot Hands."

He went on to describe cases where prisoners were pulled out of their cells at random and savagely beaten. In such situations, it is considered the duty, and in fact a privilege, of all guards

to "jump in and start stomping." Whittaker recalled the "glee" with which the guards would continue to "stomp the hell out of men who were unconscious."

He claims that such brutality is intended to carry a clear message to the prisoners: "You don't do anything and this is what happens to you. Just imagine what you'll get if you do something."

Because he refused to "go along with the rest of the mob" and attempted to get decent medical care and food for the prisoners, Whittaker became known as "an inmate man." The other guards grew nervous that since he wasn't with them, he must be against them, and began a campaign to "get Whittaker."

There was something else about Whittaker that bothered them. He refused to join the Correction Officers Benevolent Association—further proof he wasn't with them. As Whittaker puts it, "I just didn't want to be a cop."

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New moves won't stop rising food prices

By LEE SMITH

Since the Price Commission decided on June 25 not to act on the surge in food prices, the Nixon administration has made two moves allegedly aimed at holding back the rise.

On June 26 the president lifted the import quotas on meat for the remainder of 1972. Then on June 29 he ordered a list of raw foods, including fresh fruit, vegetables, eggs, and fish placed under the Phase Two "price controls"—after but not at the first point of sale.

Neither of these steps will do much, if anything, to halt the advance of food prices for the average consumer.

There are three reasons why the lifting of meat import quotas will have little impact on rising meat prices. First, the quotas are lifted only until the end of the year. Foreign producers will not increase production because the quotas will be back in force by the time they could have more cattle, sheep, or hogs ready for market.

Second, imported meat is seldom used for the cuts that have become most expensive—most of it winds up in sausage, hot dogs, and hamburger. Finally, it is likely foreign meat producers will raise their prices for the higher-priced American market.

The placing of some raw foods under controls after sale by the grower is not very meaningful



'Good news, dear! The President says lifting import quotas on meat will stabilize the situation.'

either. In theory, wholesalers and retailers will only be allowed to increase their prices enough to pass on increases in farm prices. In practice, there is no way to make it work.

First of all, large numbers of small retailers are formally exempt from these new "restraints." Second, there is no means of policing the large chains to see that their increases correspond to the increases paid where the product first enters the market. Wholesalers and retailers are both relatively free to cheat under the guise of protecting their regular rate of markup.

As *The Militant* has continued to stress, prices are fixed by the monopolies under the pressure of market forces. The administration's "price control" is a charade.

Donald Rumsfeld, the Cost of Living Council director, came close to admitting as much when the controls were extended to raw food last month. This move, he said, according to the July 10 *U.S. News & World Report*, "cannot drive food prices down. Only increased supply or reduced demand could do that."

Rumsfeld still maintained that the steps would "exert discipline on markups and margins at each step of the food marketing chain." But don't be surprised if you don't notice any evidence of this so-called discipline when you go to the store.

By CAROL LIPMAN

The July 15-16 Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) conference comes at a critical time in the abortion struggle. In the year since its founding, WONAAC has established itself as the only national organization of women consistently fighting for repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

The forces bent on maintaining the status quo and rolling back the limited victories women have won will be watching the WONAAC conference closely. They are waiting to see whether the pro-abortion forces can unite and outline an action program to take the fight for repeal forward.

A series of articles on the various political questions facing the abortion movement have appeared in the *WONAAC Newsletter* and other publications. These questions include: 1) What is the best way to unite the pro-abortion forces in action? 2) What position should WONAAC take toward reformed abortion laws, such as the liberalized New York State law? 3) What position should WONAAC take toward the 1972 elections? A full discussion of the different perspectives on these questions is one of the crucial tasks of the conference.

Unfortunately, some women participating in this discussion have attempted to push aside these important questions and to obscure the real issues by saying, "The real problem with WONAAC is the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance."

What began as differences over questions such as whether to continue to organize pro-abortion demonstrations has been reduced to organizational slanders against some of the women who support WONAAC's present mass-action perspective.

Some women within WONAAC argue that socialists have been too active or too prominent in building WONAAC. Ellen Shapiro, a former WONAAC staff member, wrote in the July *Majority Report*: "The major issue [at the conference] will be the SWP's role in WONAAC . . . if only by virtue of the Party's overwhelming involvement."

The SWP and WONAAC "can only be hurt," Shapiro said, "by [the SWP's] over-zealous activity in WONAAC since such swarming around the organization has scared away women who might have sympathized with the Party's goals."

In case people aren't frightened by socialists "swarming around," a second argument was raised at the July 4 national coordinating committee meeting of the coalition: the SWP "dominates" and "controls" WONAAC.

If women in the SWP and YSA were really concerned with building WONAAC, this argument runs, they would try to be less conspicuous. Hasn't their participation in WONAAC scared potential supporters away? Hasn't it given WONAAC a bad image? Shouldn't socialist women maintain a "low profile"?

This is not a new concept. When the feminist movement first began to develop mass support in the late 1960s, there were those who said that gay women should keep a "low profile." If lesbians were openly active in the leadership of the women's movement, it was argued, this would isolate feminists from masses of radicalizing women.

Feminists united and responded that there is no second-class citizenship in the women's movement. All women are welcome to participate and give whatever they have to offer. Because women stood up and rejected the concept of the "lavender menace," gay-baiting is no longer an effective way of attacking the women's movement.

The baiting of socialists is just as ingrained in the consciousness of the

American people as gay-baiting; it is just as serious a threat to the development of the women's movement. For this reason, the concept that any one group of women should be less active than they could be, that they should not "swarm around" because they might "alienate" other women, must be strongly opposed.

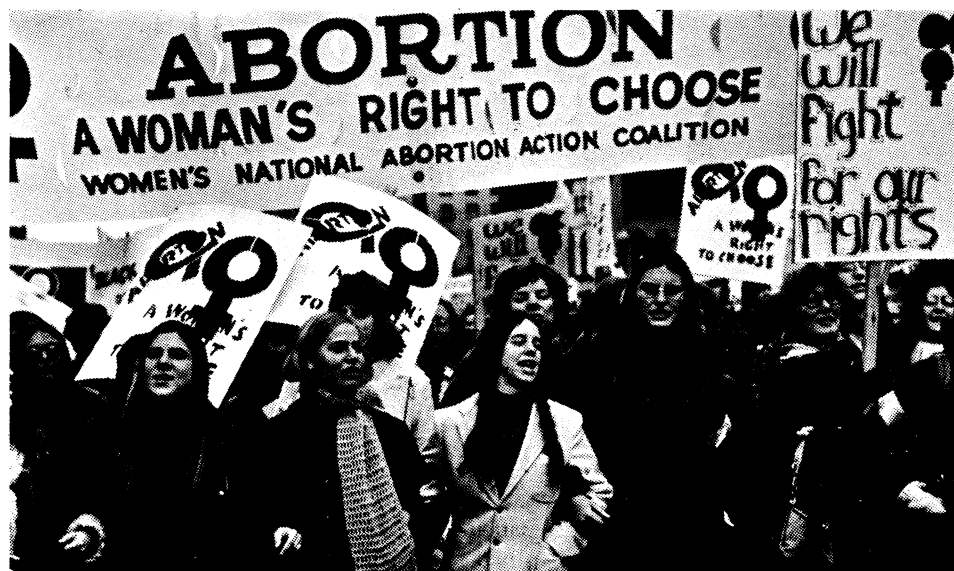
Although WONAAC has involved thousands of women in many different forms of activity, it is true that it has not yet received the active and enthusiastic support of some important feminist groups. For almost a year the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) have concentrated on working in the Democratic and Republican parties to

discredit the role of radicals within those movements. They charge that "reds" are out to "control" movements for their own purposes. In this way, they hope to divide and frighten away participants.

The practice of red-baiting is not confined to the ruling circles, however. Sometimes it even crops up within movements for social change. Some participants use it in an attempt to drive out or discredit those with whom they have disagreements. They hope that by labeling the source of a person's idea, they won't have to debate the correctness or incorrectness of the ideas themselves.

Shapiro's assertion that the SWP opposes even a "whisper" of criticism about its policies is simply not true.

We must unite to win abortion law repeal



Militant/Howard Petrick

the exclusion of actively participating in the abortion struggle.

If NOW decided tomorrow to give up its "low profile" in the abortion movement and to build WONAAC—even to "swarm" around the WONAAC offices—the abortion struggle would take a major stride forward. The active participation of NOW, the NWPC, and many other groups is what WONAAC needs, what the abortion law repeal movement needs, and what the women's liberation movement needs.

In response to the attacks on the right to abortion in New York, WONAAC was able to carry out some united activities with forces in NOW and the NWPC. These joint activities showed the potential for broadening WONAAC in the future. The SWP wholeheartedly supports such efforts.

What is red-baiting?

The authors of the attacks on the SWP's role in WONAAC have disagreed when some of their arguments have been labeled red-baiting. Shapiro says in *Majority Report* that red-baiting has been charged "when ever anyone so much as whispers a criticism of the Party."

What does the term "red-baiting" mean? Red-baiting is a practice that originates with the anticommunist policies of those who run this country. In order to intimidate and destroy movements for social change, the capitalist rulers have frequently organized campaigns to slander and

The SWP wants to see the fullest possible debate of all the issues before the abortion movement. But attempts to cloud over that discussion, to discredit ideas by slander, can only hurt WONAAC.

The logical conclusion of the objections to SWP participation is to make SWP members second-class citizens within WONAAC, or perhaps to exclude them altogether. Such an attempt to restrict the rights of any one group of women would jeopardize the rights to full participation of all women in WONAAC. It would make it easier for the right wing to attack the movement.

As Barbara Roberts, a WONAAC national coordinator, explained in her article in the July 9 *Newsletter*: "To exclude any women who want to work for that goal [repeal of the anti-abortion laws] from WONAAC is political suicide, is playing precisely into the hands of our enemies. Does anyone seriously doubt that the government, the Church, the fetus fetishists would be delighted if WONAAC were purged of SWP/YSA members? Does anyone seriously doubt that such a move would injure not only WONAAC but the women's movement as a whole?"

In a broader context, many of these organizational charges raise the question of the nature of a coalition like WONAAC. One of the WONAAC national coordinators, Joan Gombos, stated in the July 9 *WONAAC Newsletter*:

"The women in the SWP in WONAAC are determined to keep the organization 'independent,' which means that they will not do lobbying for abortion law repeal and they will have nothing to do with the Democratic and Republican parties. I feel this is a matter of individual choice, but I don't like the fact that the SWP considers it its duty to keep the whole organization 'independent.'"

WONAAC and the elections

WONAAC was confronted with the question of its relation to the elections at its February 1972 conference. That conference overwhelmingly passed a motion that reaffirmed the character of WONAAC as an education and action coalition based on the demands: repeal of all anti-abortion and contraception laws, and no forced sterilization. The motion also declared WONAAC a nonpartisan coalition that takes no positions on candidates or political parties.

Women at the conference defeated another motion calling for WONAAC to oppose the New York congressional campaign of Democrat Bella Abzug. SWP members voted against this motion, even though the SWP is opposed to all candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. The SWP supports building WONAAC as a coalition that can unite women who are for many different candidates. Any motion that excludes supporters of any candidate or party simply narrows the coalition.

Although WONAAC takes no position on the elections, this certainly does not mean that individual women within WONAAC will not be supporting candidates for office in November. Nor does it mean that WONAAC should not seek to involve women who belong to the Democratic, Republican, Socialist Workers, Raza Unida, Communist, or other parties.

The July 15 *WONAAC Newsletter* contains an article by Carol Hanisch, a member of Everywoman's Right to Choose. She draws to their logical conclusion some of the arguments previously raised by critics of WONAAC's perspective.

"It has been my experience," Hanisch writes, "that socialism and feminism are mutually exclusive, despite all the rhetoric to the contrary. . . . It is not that the women who run WONAAC are in SWP/YSA per se that they should be ousted from the leadership, but because those women hold certain anti-feminist political positions and therefore should no longer be allowed to make policy for the group."

Hanisch's position that feminism and socialism are incompatible leads her to the conclusion that all socialist women, particularly those who belong to organizations with men, are not feminists. They should not be allowed to participate in an organization like WONAAC unless major restrictions are placed on them. Their participation should always be carefully watched, their motives continually challenged.

Why are members of the SWP participating in the abortion-law-repeal movement? Women who are seriously interested in the relationship between socialism and feminism should read the recently published anthology *Feminism and Socialism* (see "In Review," page 20).

This book includes the resolution on women's liberation passed by the 1971 SWP national convention. That document states, "The right of a woman to decide for herself when and if she will have a child is a fundamental precondition to liberation. So long as a woman cannot control what goes on inside her own body, so long as she remains the victim of state-enforced motherhood, she does not have control over the most basic factors determining her life."

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World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a weekly newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

JULY 21, 1972

Nixon's summitry: its meaning for Vietnam

[Following are major excerpts from an article in the July 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. We are devoting the entire World Outlook to this article because of the importance of these developments to world politics. Joseph Hansen is the editor of *Intercontinental Press* and a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.]

By Joseph Hansen

To find a parallel in cynicism to the summit conference staged by Nixon and Brezhnev May 22-29, it is necessary to go back to the eve of World War II, when Stalin made his pact with Hitler and boasted that it was a historical contribution to "peace."

However, the ceremonies accompanying the signing of even that agreement were more restrained than the Nixon-Brezhnev show. In 1939 Ribbentrop for the Germans and Molotov for the Russians were designated to sign the historic scrap of paper. Stalin stood modestly in the background; Hitler was not even present. In 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev clinked champagne glasses while the Pentagon brought the U.S. air war in Vietnam to new heights of destructiveness and mass murder. Within minutes after the newscasts on the great step taken toward "peace" by Nixon and Brezhnev, the television screens switched to scenes of the escalated bombing in Vietnam.

What Was Accomplished?

All the agreements signed in the Moscow television show were reached before Nixon left the White House.

In a dispatch from Moscow published in the May 26 issue of the *New York Post*, Gaylord Shaw listed the following:

"The two accords signed on Tuesday [May 23] were agreed upon at least a month earlier.

"One, on cooperation in medical science and public health, was announced on Feb. 11.

"The second, on cooperation in environmental protection, was signed in Moscow more than a month ago. . . .

"Two more agreements came on Wednesday. One, on cooperation in science and technology, was settled on April 11 when a broad exchange agreement was signed and announced. The other, establishing a joint space exploration program, was agreed on in Moscow April 6, and the details were fully reported in the American press weeks ago.

"Yesterday's lone agreement, intended to prevent naval confrontations on the high seas, was concluded in Washington 10 days ago. But Nixon had Secretary of the Navy John Warner fly from the Pentagon to Moscow to sign the agreement inside the Kremlin as the champagne glasses clinked again."

The agreement to prevent naval confrontations on the high seas was in the true spirit of the summit conference, coming as it did immediately after Nixon ordered the mining of all the harbors in North Vietnam. The plain meaning is that Soviet ships will not attempt to run the U.S. blockade of North Vietnam.

Both sides affirmed the existence of "realistic conditions" for an expansion of trade. Concrete negotiations, however, were deferred until later in the summer. Nixon, it was leaked to the press, was insisting that the Kremlin compel Hanoi to meet the terms he had laid down for ending the Vietnam war, that is, giving up the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation.

As for the accord worked out in more than two years of strategic-arms limitation talks [SALT], this was ballyhooed as the most promising achievement of the summit conference.

The *Wall Street Journal* took this with "a grain of salt." Writing in the May 26 issue of this U.S. businessman's newspaper, staff reporter Richard J. Levine said:

"President Nixon has declared in Moscow that 'an agreement in this area could begin to turn our countries away from a wasteful and dangerous arms race and toward more production for peace.' When it comes—perhaps this afternoon—it will undoubtedly buoy the hopes of people throughout the world.

"But some of the initial optimism is likely to fade as the narrow nature of the pact becomes clear. For the hard reality is that the SALT agreement is riddled with loopholes; because it doesn't limit the quality of the weapons involved, the two superpowers can continue to upgrade their offensive nuclear missiles, adding more warheads as well as more destructive warheads. And they can freely persist in developing new bombers, submarines and other conventional war machines. Thus, the accord won't halt either the international arms competition or the seemingly inexorable growth of the U.S. defense budget, now climbing above \$83 billion yearly."

Levine quoted Paul Warnke, a military expert who served as an assistant defense secretary during the Johnson administration, as saying: "The SALT agreement won't interfere with any of the projected American (offensive) strategic programs."

Warnke predicted further that these programs will increase the strategic-weapons budget by \$5,000,000,000 to \$6,000,000,000 annually by the middle of this decade.

Thus there was no reason for the surprise voiced widely in the U.S. communications media over Secretary of Defense Laird's testimony June 5 before the Senate and House appropriations committees that the arms-limitations agreements just signed in Moscow would not permit a reduction in spending on offensive strategic missiles. At most, Laird said, \$550,000,000 might be saved on "defensive" weapons.

Laird also testified that the current escalation of the war in Vietnam would add \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 to the present defense budget.

Nixon Stands Up to "Bullying"

To properly weigh the attitude of the Kremlin at the summit conference, it is necessary to recall some key preceding events.

Nixon began escalating the bombings during the first part of the year. On March 23 he canceled the Paris peace talks, explaining the following day that he had done this because the Vietnamese had been using the talks as a means of "bullying the United States."

In fact the White House delegates had been taking a truculent attitude in the Paris talks since last September. This line was proving ineffective with the U.S. public. A Harris poll, published March 16, showed that 53 percent of the sampling gave Nixon a "negative" rating on his handling of the negotiations. Only 43 percent gave him a "positive" rating.

The truth was that the Vietnamese had succeeded in the talks, as elsewhere, in gaining sympathy by refusing to kowtow to Nixon's bullying. For Nixon, who required a victory and a settlement on his terms to justify his four-year course of keeping up the war, the talks had become an embarrassment.

On March 30, one week after Nixon's cancellation of the Paris talks, the Vietnamese launched their massive counteroffensive. If they had chosen to use the terminology of the Pentagon, they could have called it a "protective reaction ground strike."

They scored impressive victories. In particular, they exposed the fraudulent nature of Nixon's "Vietnamization" program. The Saigon puppet armies disintegrated in face of the advancing liberation forces.

Nixon responded by ordering the most massive bombing in history.

This was still not sufficient, however. He sent more warships, especially aircraft carriers, and stepped up the bombings still further.

On April 15-16 U.S. planes, including B-52s for the first time, bombed Hanoi and Haiphong.

In the United States the antiwar movement scored an impressive achievement with the nationwide April 22 demonstrations. Similar demonstrations in many other countries showed that the antiwar movement was responding internationally to the need to express greater solidarity with the Vietnamese.

As the North Vietnamese continued to gain victories, the White House appeared to be caught in a crisis. Nixon

delivered a most belligerent speech April 26. He reentered the Paris talks only to leave again within days.

On May 8 Nixon delivered his infamous speech announcing his intention to "interdict" all shipment of supplies to the Vietnamese. He had ordered the harbors of North Vietnam to be mined. He had ordered the overland supply lines from China bombed so as to make them unusable.

In the same speech Nixon singled out the Kremlin for a specific warning. He in effect ordered Stalin's heirs to stand aside while he proceeded to pour such fire power on North Vietnam as to wipe that country off the face of the earth unless Hanoi capitulated. At the same time he dangled a carrot—he was still willing to go ahead with the projected summit conference.

The mining of the harbors of North Vietnam was a major military move. In the June 10 *New York Times*, Washington correspondent Neil Sheehan reported what the White House cabal expects to gain from it:

"Nixon Administration officials say they intend to deny North Vietnam any sea-borne goods that are essential to its long-term war effort. About 85 percent of the 2.2 million tons it received last year from China, the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries arrived by sea, most through the now mined port of Haiphong. American military leaders say the mining is reasonably effective.

"Current plans also call for bombing by the Navy from aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin and by the Air Force to try to reduce the flow of weapons, ammunition, petroleum, food, clothing, medical supplies and other goods moving by alternate routes. The main routes from China consist of two railroads, the northeast line to Kwangsi Province and the northwest line to Yunnan, eight roads and the Red River waterway."

In short, Nixon's scheme was to seal off 85 percent of the supplies, including food, clothing, and medical necessities, which the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam had been receiving; and to cut off the remaining 15 percent by continual bombing of the rail lines, roads, and waterways leading down from China.

The Johnson administration considered mining the ports of North Vietnam but refrained because of the exceedingly dangerous nature of the gamble. It could touch off a vigorous response from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the powerful allies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Nixon also refrained for the same reason during the preceding years of his administration. What led him to think he could now get away with it?

A Triumph for Maoism

The answer is to be found in the conclusions Nixon drew from his trip to Peking February 21-27. Even before that trip, Nixon could judge the attitude of the Mao regime toward the Vietnamese by one telling fact (not to mention others)—the decline in military assistance ("from \$145 million in 1967 to \$75 million last year," according to C.L. Sulzberger in the May 24, 1972, *New York Times*). Nixon, however, put Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai to the acid test.

In the weeks before his departure, he stepped up the bombings in Indochina. During his stay in Peking, he kept up the bombings.

The response of Mao and Chou was up to Nixon's fondest hopes. It was to be seen in the television spectacular of wining and dining and clinking of glasses while napalm splashed on Vietnamese civilians.

Nixon's hosts thus gave him the green light to do whatever he liked in Vietnam. His decision some two months later to mine the harbors of North Vietnam can thus be marked down as one of the results of the Maoist policy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

There were other consequences. The reception given Nixon in Peking released Brezhnev and Kosygin from all restraint in following their own policy of bidding for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

No matter what lengths the Kremlin bureaucrats went to in crawling on all fours before Nixon in their projected summit conference with him, they were assured in advance of freedom from attack from their Chinese counterparts. After all, what could Mao and Chou say? Wouldn't the heirs of Stalin and Khrushchev only be doing what had been done three months earlier in Peking?

The two summit conferences in Peking and Moscow thus represented a widening of the rift between China and the Soviet Union at the expense of North Vietnam and the Vietnam revolution. Instead of closing ranks against the common foe, they were now vying for favors from U.S. imperialism.

"Winding Down the War"

Nixon won office on the promise that he had a "secret plan" to end the war. The secret plan turned out to be nothing but a scheme to stall for time in hope that a

military victory could be achieved.

The opposition to the war, particularly in the United States, compelled Nixon nonetheless to make a considerable concession—gradual withdrawal of American ground forces.

In compensation for this, however, Nixon escalated the air war. The official records in Washington show that during the Johnson administration, U.S. planes dumped 3,100,000 tons of bombs on Indochina. Since Nixon assumed office, U.S. planes have dumped more than 3,400,000 tons. In this field, Nixon caught up with and outdid the war criminal of the Democratic party.

The statistics of the destruction and death rained on Vietnam by the U.S. war machine provide a poor index of the suffering inflicted by the world's richest power on the poverty-stricken population of a small country, yet they do serve to indicate to what lengths U.S. imperialism is prepared to go in trying to put down a struggle for national liberation.

Because of lack of studies on the subject, the consequences of the massive bombing of the country are not well known. Perhaps the study by Arthur H. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer, entitled "The Cratering of Indochina," in the May issue of the *Scientific American* may help to alter this. It deserves the widest publicity.

During three tours of the war zones to assess the damage done by herbicides, the two authors became increasingly conscious of the scarring of the landscape by bomb and shell craters. "From the air some areas in Vietnam look like photographs of the moon." They estimated that Indochina is pitted with 26,000,000 bomb and shell craters. Most of these are in South Vietnam, their estimate being 21,000,000.

They became interested in determining the ecological effects of this "physical alteration of the terrain." Here are the figures they provide on the *amount* of bombing:

"In the seven years between 1965 and 1971 the U.S. military forces exploded 26 billion pounds (13 million tons) of munitions in Indochina, half from the air and half from weapons on the ground. This staggering weight of ordnance amounts to the energy of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs."

One of the main objectives of the Pentagon has been to "disrupt and destroy the social and economic fabric of rural, agricultural Vietnam in order to drive the peasant population into areas under central control and to deprive the guerrilla enemy of a power base.

"Only about 5 to 8 percent of the U.S. bombing missions in Indochina have been directed at tactical military targets, that is, in direct support of troops. The rest of the bombing missions are described as 'harassing' or 'interdiction' attacks. They are also referred to as strategic bombing missions."

Rice-growing has been disrupted. The intricate irrigation systems have been broken up in many instances. Near the seacoast, bombing has opened the land to encroachment by salt water. Rice paddies pocked by craters have been abandoned, one of the reasons being the hazard of unexploded munitions buried in the ground. "A number of farmers have been killed by the detonation of such shells or bombs by their plows. Moreover, the ubiquitous missile fragments in the ground cut the hooves of the water buffaloes used as draft animals, causing infection and death of the animals. The unexploded bombs and shells lying about in the soil of Indochina are known to number several hundred thousand."

The ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism is shown in still another way:

"Bombardment and defoliation are by no means the only methods used by the U.S. military in its struggle with vegetation in Indochina. Beginning in the mid-1960's a vast program of systematic forest bulldozing has been developed. The employment of massed tractors organized into companies for extensive forest clearing had apparently replaced the use of herbicides to deny forest cover and sanctuary to the other side. The effectiveness of the tractors, called Rome plows, is in some ways clearly superior to that of chemicals and is probably more destructive to the environment."

In their conclusion, the authors said that the full consequences of the American presence in Indochina have yet to be assessed.

"The cumulative impact of the munitions attack on the land has to be seen to be grasped fully. Reports by military observers speak of the landscape's being 'torn as if by an angry giant,' and of areas of the green delta land's being pulverized into a 'gray porridge.' Our brief survey has only suggested some of the grim consequences for the present and future life of the inhabitants of Indochina. Still to be assessed are the effects of the persisting bombardment on the people's habitations, on the animal life and general ecology of the region. The damage caused by the large-scale disorganization of the environment may be felt for centuries.

"Meanwhile the steady bombardment and shattering of the land, shielded from the Western world's view and concern by the wide Pacific Ocean and the supposed 'winding down' of the war, goes on with no end in sight."

'This is the painful real Vietnam, a nation representing the hopes for victory of the disinherited, is tragedy of American imperialism. Its crimes are immense on the whole world. But they who at the decisive moment in making Vietnam an socialist territory -- yes on global scale, but also of American imperialists. And they are guilty with insults and tripping each time ago by the representatives of the biggest powers in the world. We ask, seeking an Vietnam isolated or not a balancing act between the powers?

'And -- what grande by this people! What in this people! And what world their struggle has



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Ché Guevara, 1967



To bring things up to date, it is necessary only to indicate how Nixon has escalated the bombing beyond all previous levels.

In the May 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Allen Myers, who has been following developments in Vietnam closely, cited two reliable commentators in the bourgeois press on the intensity of the bombings.

"The air war against the peoples of Indochina has already reached an intensity that almost defies comprehension," Myers wrote. "The explosive power carried by the giant B-52 bombers is particularly staggering. Their effect was described in the May 3 *New York Times* by Raphael Littauer, a physicist who coordinated a study of the air war conducted by scientists at Cornell University:

"They carry over 100 bombs each, to a total of 30 tons, and shed them rapidly from a close-formation flight at high altitude. The bombs explode in a dense pattern covering, for a typical mission of six planes, 1.5 square miles with 150 tons of explosives. Such a B-52 box of distributed tonnage is lethally effective. It is easy to calculate that the blast overpressure will exceed 3 PSI (pounds per square inch) everywhere within the pattern, enough to knock down any residential structures other than reinforced concrete. Six hundred points will be hit directly by bombs, and all locations in the area will be within 125 feet of such a hit.

"By way of comparison, the Hiroshima [atomic] bomb covered 6 square miles to 3 PSI—just four times the area of the B-52 pattern."

"Littauer was describing the situation *before* the latest escalation. Some of the terrible possibilities for the future were mentioned by columnist Anthony Lewis in the May 13 *New York Times*:

"If mining Haiphong does not work in the sense of making the North Vietnamese accept Mr. Nixon's terms—and almost no informed person thinks it will—what will this President do next? Bomb the Red River dikes to flood North Vietnam? Use B-52's to turn Hanoi into a salt plain? Use nuclear weapons?

"Nothing can be excluded. The possibilities may sound fantastic now, but even a little while ago so did mining Haiphong. And each step makes the next easier."

In a dispatch from London published in the June 26 *New York Times*, Anthony Lewis cited new facts showing that what sounded fantastic in May was already a reality in June.

"Over the last month North Vietnamese officials and diplomats have said repeatedly that American planes are bombing dikes. The charges have been extremely specific and detailed."

Lewis concluded with the following paragraph:

"Is the United States now systematically bombing the dikes of North Vietnam? Americans know from experience that such things can happen without a President informing the public—or without the President knowing. Those American officials or members of Congress who care about the possibility of causing mass civilian deaths in North Vietnam might want to ask."

To appeal to a congress of war criminals was hardly realistic. Yet it would have been just as utopian of Lewis to address the Soviet or Chinese leaders.

Unanimity in Moscow and Peking?

The purging of Lin Piao, Mao's "closest comrade in arms" and the man designated in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China to succeed Mao, led to persistent speculation that he was opposed to a "peaceful coexistence" deal with U.S. imperialism at the expense of Vietnam. Lin Piao, it has been suggested, favored establishing a common defensive front with Moscow against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. As yet no hard evidence has appeared that might confirm this line of speculation.

It is highly dubious that Lin Piao, even if he favored an oppositional view of this kind, would have gone so far as to try to overthrow the regime of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai; that is, to risk touching off a political revolution. Most likely he was eliminated in a mopping up operation tied in with the intrabureaucratic struggle that lay at the bottom of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Lin Piao, of course, has not been permitted to speak for himself. Under the Stalinist system, to which Mao has added his own refinements, even a *potential* oppositionist is marked for elimination. The first step in the case of Lin Piao, as of others before him, was to place a wide strip of tape across his mouth. The next step was to bundle him out of sight. His subsequent fate is a carefully guarded state secret.

If we concede the possibility that Lin Piao might have argued for a different course than selling out Vietnam to Nixon in return for a seat in the United Nations and that this was the reason he was purged, then we must conclude that he was cut down as an object lesson to any others in the bureaucracy who might have shared similar opinions. If Mao would not hesitate to place the

head of Lin Piao on a pike, what fate awaited lesser figures in the bureaucracy?

That Mao and Chou were not concerned about possible opposition to their counterrevolutionary foreign policy was demonstrated when they delivered substantial quantities of new military equipment, including jet fighters and tanks, to Pakistan June 2. This was the first consignment of economic and military aid worth \$300,000,000 granted to President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto when he visited Peking early in February.

The shipment included sixty MIG-19 jet fighters, the type of equipment needed against the B-52s now bombing North Vietnam with impunity.

But then what Mao and Chou want, like their peers in Moscow, is "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism and its satellites.

Somewhat more substantial information than in the case of Peking is available about differences in top Kremlin circles over the capitulation of Brezhnev and Kosygin.

The syndicated Washington columnist Jack Anderson reported (in the *New York Post* May 15) that the CIA had received "reliable" information that the heads of the armed forces in particular were against inviting Nixon to a summit conference under the circumstances.

Diplomatic channels in Moscow also passed on reports about hot discussions in the Political Bureau. The name of Pyotr Y. Shelest was mentioned in this connection.

That there was substance to these reports was shown by the announcement in Moscow May 25, three days after the arrival of Nixon, that Shelest had been dismissed from Communist party leadership of the Ukraine. That gesture must have pleased the royal guest.

On June 15, *Pravda*, the Communist party daily, admitted for the first time that there had been differences in the Political Bureau over inviting Nixon to Moscow after he mined the harbors of North Vietnam. According to the newspaper, the talks with Nixon went ahead "despite obstructionist actions by rightist and leftist foes of relaxation" and those who wield "revolutionary phrases."

Yu. Chernov, the author of the article, did not identify the opponents. He said it was to the credit of the Political Bureau that "the dialogue took place despite the complexity of the international situation and in face of the sometimes direct opposition of those who like to warm their hands by fanning the fires of hostility and tension."

The world's greatest practitioner of warming his hands by fanning the fires of hostility and tension is, of course, Nixon. In acknowledgment of one of his supreme achievements in this field, the mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, the counterrevolutionaries in the Kremlin toasted him with champagne.

Cuba and North Vietnam

Without waging an open struggle, the Cuban government has indicated its opposition to the summitry carried on by Peking and Moscow. During Nixon's trip to Peking, the Cuban press gave greater publicity, as was proper, to the continued bombing of Indochina than it did to the various summit talks. These were handled by the Cuban editors with contempt. The "x" in Nixon's name was replaced throughout by a swastika, as has been customary in the Cuban papers and magazines for some time. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 1, 1972, for a photographic reproduction of an example.)

At a news conference in Sofia on May 26, while Nixon was in Moscow, Fidel Castro was asked about a report in a Mexican newspaper that he would meet with Nixon in Warsaw on June 1. "There is nothing to talk to Nixon about," he said.

The reporters asked him to say more and to say it in English for the benefit of the American television audience.

"We would never think about talking with Nixon about anything," Castro replied. "What would we tell him? To stop being an imperialist? To lift the blockade of Cuba? To stop his acts of aggression?"

Despite their feelings, the Cubans will not put up a vigorous opposition to the Kremlin's policy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. Because of the nearness of their island to the U.S., they are exceptionally vulnerable to military attack. Without heavy outlays in material aid, including military equipment, from the Soviet Union, the Cuban revolution would have been crushed long ago. The U.S. blockade has made Cuba even more dependent on Soviet supplies. One of the prices exacted by the Kremlin for this aid has been political concessions from the Cuban leaders.

In addition, the Cubans have floundered in their efforts to extend their revolution to the rest of Latin America, oscillating between fostering the schema of guerrilla war and crossing class lines. This has weakened their base of support in the Western Hemisphere and made them more vulnerable to pressure from Moscow.

The position of the North Vietnamese government is much like the one held by the Cubans. Articles have appeared in the Hanoi press indicating opposition to the betrayals committed by Peking and Moscow. An example

'The most effective support to Vietnam has come from the international antiwar movement'

is the sharp criticism that appeared in *Nhan Dan*, the organ of the North Vietnamese Communist party, of some of Nixon's statements during the Moscow summit conference.

Nhan Dan commented: "The president's fine words are being drowned out by the noise of American bombs that day and night are plunging the Vietnamese homeland into mourning."

Noting that "Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontations provoked by small powers," *Nhan Dan* commented: "Does he want the great powers to follow the example being set by the United States in Vietnam? He threatens other countries so that they will let the United States have its way, and he denies them the right to support the victims of this aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

Up to now, the Vietnamese have expressed only muted opposition to the course of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism set by Moscow and Peking. One of the reasons is their excruciating dependence on Moscow and Peking for military equipment and other material aid. Another reason is that they have not yet settled accounts with Stalinism.

Are they resourceful enough to mount telling pressure on their two giant allies? This remains to be seen. It is to be noted, however, that during both the Peking and Moscow summit meetings they made no attempt to create a scandal that might have embarrassed Nixon's hosts.

What is to be expected instead is that enormous pressure to meet Nixon's terms will be exerted on Hanoi by both the two giant allies. On this Peking and Moscow have succeeded in reaching de facto agreement. In return for small favors from Nixon, they are working in concert against the Vietnamese revolution. They have made a united front on a single issue. This was the meaning of Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny's trip to Hanoi June 16-18. He came as an agent not only of Brezhnev but of Mao and of Nixon.

The Antiwar Movement

The most effective support to the Vietnamese national liberation struggle has come from the international antiwar movement that formed around the slogan "U. S. Troops Out Now!" and that has sought since 1965 to mobilize nonexclusive mass demonstrations in the streets to further this objective.

Nixon's announcement May 8 that he had ordered the mining of the harbors of North Vietnam met with an immediate reaction from antiwar activists. Preparations went ahead at an accelerated pace for nationwide demonstrations in the U. S. May 21. Similar actions elsewhere in the world were given fresh impetus.

Alarm swept sections of the American ruling class over Nixon's risking a showdown with Moscow and over what might develop out of the upsurge in the antiwar movement.

The incipient crisis failed to develop thanks to Nixon's collaborators in the Kremlin. On May 11 the Soviet government issued a statement that (1) criticized the mining of North Vietnam's ports, (2) did not assert the right of North Vietnam's allies to continue shipping material aid and military equipment to the beleaguered country, (3) did not warn of countermeasures unless Nixon deactivated his mines, (4) did not encourage antiwar demonstrations.

The same day the statement was issued, as a further assist to Nixon, Nikolai S. Patolichev, the Soviet foreign-trade minister and a member of the Communist party Central Committee, made a "courtesy call" to the White House. Before reporters and photographers, he participated with Nixon in a staged display of a "cordial atmosphere."

On his way back to the Soviet embassy, Patolichev was asked by a newsman whether Nixon's visit to Russia was still on.

"We never had any doubts about it," the Soviet diplomat said through an interpreter. "I don't know why you asked this question. Have you any doubts?"

Moscow's refusal to stand up to Nixon's "bullying" tactics seriously injured the antiwar movement. It served to decrease the size of the May 21 demonstrations, for the sense of urgency was gone. Still worse, instead of helping to raise the political level of those concerned about ending the war by encouraging them to engage in significant action in the streets—an extraparliamentary action—the Kremlin's decision to appease Nixon set this process back.

The antiwar movement in the United States already had to contend with the election-year efforts of "peace" candidates, particularly in the Democratic party, to divert the movement from mass demonstrations in the streets into drumming up votes for capitalist candidates.

McGovern was the cleverest at this game. His phenomenal rise as "presidential timber" in the Democratic party is ascribable almost totally to his success in turning antiwar youth into crusaders for his candidacy, and there-

fore into supporters of capitalist politics. This was the role that Eugene McCarthy sought to play in 1968. McGovern indirectly owes much to Peking and Moscow's dedication to the policy of "peaceful coexistence."

Nonetheless the main gainer was Nixon. That was why he scheduled the two summit conferences as opening "spectaculars" in his campaign for reelection. He, of course, calculated correctly. The "average voter" sincerely wants an end to wars and peace on earth, and thinks that this can be achieved if the leaders of "the two sides" just "get together."

The deep-seated opposition of the American people to the war in Vietnam assures that it will remain a key issue in the 1972 elections no matter what Nixon does in collaboration with the Chinese and Russian bureaucrats to try to bury it. The "average voter" cannot help but think, "What would happen if Nixon had another four years in the White House with not even the curb of considering how to get reelected?"

Nixon's monstrous decision to bomb Vietnam out of existence if the Vietnamese do not drop to their knees is likewise disturbing the conscience of the American people more and more. Are those who fail to speak up and fail to act any better than those in Germany who acquiesced in the operation of Hitler's gas ovens?

Clearly, despite all the difficulties, the antiwar movement is duty bound to continue its work along the same lines that have already had such impact. "U. S. Troops Out Now!"

The Fourth International

The world Trotskyist movement, organized in the Fourth International, has stood in the forefront of the struggle in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. It has followed developments with the utmost attention, utilizing the Marxist method to reach key conclusions. Its forecasts have stood the test of time.

Besides contributing on the theoretical level, the Fourth International has participated in mass mobilizations on all continents, although it must be admitted that some sections have an uneven record on this.

In the United States, the Socialist Workers party has advanced the stand of the world Trotskyist movement on Vietnam in two ways. On the American scene it has been the most vigorous and consistent advocate of non-exclusive mass mobilizations around the slogan of "U. S. Troops Out Now!" In fact, the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance were part of the first sector of the antiwar movement to advance this line.

The second way in which the Socialist Workers party has advanced the Trotskyist stand on Vietnam has been in the elections. In 1968 it nominated an antiwar slate headed by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle as candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. In 1972 the two main candidates are Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

For the world Trotskyist movement, the aggression of U. S. imperialism in Vietnam has constituted the central international issue since 1965 when Johnson escalated the war. It still considers it the central international issue.

Again and again and again it has pointed to the danger that U. S. intervention in Vietnam could touch off World War III. It has called attention to the fiendish weapons the Pentagon has been testing out in Vietnam. From the beginning it has warned that the assault on Vietnam constitutes an assault on all the other workers states; and year after year it has urged the Soviet and Chinese governments to grant adequate material aid to the Vietnamese and to close ranks against the common enemy.

The world Trotskyist movement recognizes that it requires substantial forces to cause U. S. imperialism to pull out of Indochina and that these can be assembled only among the ranks of the workers and their allies. That is why the Trotskyists have persisted in pressing for mass mobilizations. This course also represents the most effective way in the current situation to advance revolutionary socialism and to build the revolutionary party required for a socialist victory.

The betrayals of the Vietnamese revolution by the Chinese and Russian bureaucrats at the two summit meetings have made the tasks facing the Trotskyists more difficult. But the betrayals have also served to educate many revolutionists who still had confidence in the two centers. They will move toward the Trotskyist movement, which has never wavered in its support of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Vietnamese have provided the world with an imperishable example of courage and heroism in holding out against overwhelming odds. Millions have been moved by what they have done. The example of the Vietnamese has helped inspire fresh revolutionary outbursts around the globe. Even in the United States their example is sinking into the minds of the people. These are omens of the coming doom of U. S. imperialism. □

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

LOS ANGELES—The second statewide convention of the California Raza Unida Party (RUP) was held at East Los Angeles City College July 1-2. The gathering reflected the increased potential for building an independent Chicano party as well as the internal problems facing the developing party, particularly in the Los Angeles area.

One disputed question at the convention was whether the Raza Unida Party should be a Chicano party or a multiracial "people's party." Another disagreement concerned the Dixon Arnett law and the deportation of undocumented Raza

sibility of running a presidential candidate.

Other resolutions from the Political Strategy Workshop included a strong antiwar stand. The motion was presented by Miguel Pendás, the coordinator of the Raza contingent of some 4,000 in the April 24, 1971, antiwar march in San Francisco. It read, "We call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all troops and matériel from Indochina, and we support all demonstrations for this purpose."

Throughout the Political Strategy Workshop, participants raised objections to the undemocratic way in which the convention was organized. The Los Angeles Central Committee of the RUP, which

California Raza Unida Party

Activists discuss problems of building a Chicano party



Political workshop at Raza Unida Party conference

Militant/Antonio Camejo

workers. This issue came up in the Labor and Deportation Workshop and in the final plenary session.

In the Political Strategy Workshop, which attracted 200 of the 450 conference participants, some workshop participants proposed a definition of "La Raza" that would encompass "all oppressed races." These formulations imply the inclusion of "poor whites" in the party.

One participant pointed to the fact that in Texas at least one Black and several Anglos are running as RUP candidates in local races. This development in Texas reflects the views of some RUP activists and such organizations as the Communist Party who oppose the building of a nationalist, all-Raza, political party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans. They propose instead to transform the Chicano party into a "people's party" that would include Anglos as well as Blacks and Chicanos. Such a party, according to its more candid proponents, would orient toward the "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party.

The convention strongly rejected the "people's party" concept and adopted resolutions in favor of an independent all-Raza party.

The convention also rejected supporting the presidential ticket of either the Republican or Democratic parties. One workshop participant who suggested that McGovern should be considered was immediately booed, a reflection of the general mood of most of those present.

The resolution the convention adopted stated, "We, LRUP of California, despite relentless pressure from the Democratic and Republican parties, the two-party monopoly system of the United States, reaffirm our position that we will not support any candidate for any office from any party other than our own in the 1972 elections."

The convention rejected, however, the idea of running an independent Chicano campaign for president. José Gonzales, a district coordinator of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, was in Los Angeles to give a report on the recent national leadership meeting held in Denver (see *The Militant*, June 30) that discussed the '72 elections.

Although a motion that Gonzales be allowed to speak under the discussion on running a presidential candidate was ruled "out of order," Gonzales did speak later. He reported that most of those present at the Denver meeting were in favor of having the national RUP conference to be held in El Paso, Texas, Sept. 1-4, consider the pos-

sibility of running a presidential candidate. Other resolutions from the Political Strategy Workshop included a strong antiwar stand. The motion was presented by Miguel Pendás, the coordinator of the Raza contingent of some 4,000 in the April 24, 1971, antiwar march in San Francisco. It read, "We call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all troops and matériel from Indochina, and we support all demonstrations for this purpose."

Each chapter of the RUP was allowed two delegates whether the chapter had three members or 50 members. According to some RUP activists, many nonexistent chapters were approved by the credentials committee. This gave the Labor Committee heavy influence among the 25 official delegates.

The 25 delegates constituted a "screening committee" to go over all resolutions passed by the various workshops, supposedly to reject "duplicate" resolutions or those that "contradicted" resolutions passed at the first statewide convention, held in San Jose, Calif., April 8-9.

At the San Jose gathering members of the Labor Committee red-baited and successfully forced the exclusion of Raza members of the Socialist Workers Party from the political workshop. Although the Labor Committee made no such attempt at this gathering, they did organize a goon squad to close down a literature table set up by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

The pressure brought to bear by many workshop participants forced the Labor Committee to promise that resolutions would not be tampered with. They pledged that any resolutions not passed by the "screening committee" would be open for discussion by the final plenary session.

A heated controversy took place in the final session over two contradictory resolutions from the workshop on labor and deportation.

Members of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Center for Autonomous Social Action) presented a series of resolutions opposing the deportations being carried out by the U.S. Immigration Service. CASA is an organization of some 15,000 Raza workers, the majority of whom are in the U.S. without visas.

The Labor Committee presented a position paper as an "alternative to the Dixon Arnett law." (The Dixon Arnett law forbids employers to "knowingly" hire "illegal aliens" and thus facilitates the deportation of undocumented Raza workers.) In reality, the Labor Committee proposal accepted the deportation of undocumented Raza workers and amounted to no more than a sugar-coated version of the Dixon Arnett law.

A Los Angeles Superior Court recently ruled the law unconstitutional because it encroached on immigration policy, which is the sole jurisdiction of the federal government. A new law now be-

ing proposed avoids the objections of the court ruling without modifying the old law's objective.

Pedro Arias, coeditor of *La Raza* magazine, attempted to initiate a discussion on the Labor Committee position paper. He was ruled out of order and shouted down by the chair, who threatened to have him removed from the conference.

CASA leader Nacho Uribe was likewise threatened with physical attack if he attempted to speak. Raul Ruiz, RUP candidate for California's 40th Assembly District and a leader of the City Terrace chapter of the RUP, defended the ruling of the chair and the Labor Committee proposal, and succeeded in moving the agenda. (Ruiz is not a member of the Labor Committee.) Arias has since resigned from the City Terrace chapter.

Miguel Pendás, another City Terrace chapter member and a Socialist Workers Party activist, has come under attack by Ruiz and others for having stated his views at the convention. At the City Terrace caucus meeting, Pendás had supported the CASA proposals and Arias's proposal to discuss the Labor Committee position paper. A motion to expel Pendás from the City Terrace chapter carried with the support of Ruiz.

The attempt by the Labor Committee to silence opposition to their views through strict interpretation of parliamentary procedure and outright threats of violence at the convention raises serious questions about the role they have been playing within the Chicano movement.

During preparations for the April 22 antiwar march in Los Angeles, Labor Committee leader Jimmie Franco stated that the RUP would oppose the action if the National Peace Action Coalition did not accept ending the deportations as an equal slogan with ending the war.

Yet, not long after arguing this position before an antiwar meeting in Los Angeles, he and the Labor Committee argued that the RUP should take a "neutral" position on both the Dixon Arnett law and the deportations because opposing them would "divide the movement." In the discussion at the RUP conference in San Jose, the Labor Committee supported the Dixon Arnett law.

If the Raza Unida Party is to develop into a broad-based, mass, independent political party of La Raza, it will have to reject the sectarian and divisive politics of cliques like the Labor Committee. Only by building an open and democratic Raza party that clearly opposes both the Democratic and Republican parties will we be able to attract the massive number of supporters necessary to bring about social change not only in California but throughout the country.

Many participants in the California convention who left in protest of the bureaucratic manner in which it was run could well have been valuable in the further building of the party.

Chicano leader urges wide participation at national Raza Unida Party meeting

The following is from a July 3 statement by Bert Corona, leader of the Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) in Los Angeles.

The National Raza Unida Party convention planned for Sept. 1-4 in El Paso, Texas, gives us a great opportunity to bring together *mexicanos* and other Spanish-speaking groups throughout the nation around an independent political position. We can develop an independent political vehicle that would be in opposition to the two major parties, which have been the political enemies of the Chicano people.

I think the conference should attract all our people and be as broadly based as possible, with all points of view welcomed. It should be a wide-open convention and we should encourage as broad a participation as we possibly can.

The Raza Unida Party is too small so far. We need masses of people to come and hundreds and hundreds of groups who are not yet in Raza Unida parties in the states where we live in large numbers.

It is unfortunate that in some states, mainly here in California, we have not worked as broadly, openly, and democratically as we should to attract the masses of the Chicano people into La Raza Unida Party. But in El Paso I believe that we have an opportunity.

If we take a very firm stand against both parties, against endorsing one of their candidates and for endorsing one of our own and maintaining our independent position, we can play a significant role, a meaningful political role, in this election year of 1972.

National protest campaign urges support for Jenness's right to be on Ohio ballot

By LARRY SEIGLE

The nationwide campaign to win Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley's rightful place on the ballot in Ohio is picking up momentum as telegrams, statements of support, and signed petitions of protest are sent to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown. Brown has decided that he won't place Jenness and Pulley on the ballot because they are "too young" to serve if elected.

While support mounted for the SWP ballot spot, however, Brown moved to widen his attacks on independent candidates. On July 5 Brown ordered an investigation of "possible misrepresentation" in getting persons to sign independent nomination petitions for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the Communist Party presidential ticket.

"One voter who signed the petition," Brown said, "did so under the representation that the purpose of the petition was to reinstate a university professor." Brown also claimed that petitions circulated on the Cleveland

State University campus carried a peace symbol and the words "Student Government, CSU." If the investigation confirms these charges, Brown said, he will declare all the petitions "invalid."

As soon as they heard of Brown's fantastic charges, Jenness and Pulley issued a public statement defending the CP's right to be on the Ohio ballot. "Brown's decision to threaten the CP," Jenness said, "makes all the more urgent the broadest possible effort to prevent Brown from proceeding to illegally and arbitrarily restrict the ballot to those parties and candidates he finds personally acceptable."

Jenness had sent letters to all of the presidential candidates, urging them to make a statement in defense of her rights as a candidate. In response to this request, Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidate of the People's Party, wrote to her on July 6:

"I vigorously support your right to

run as a presidential candidate and to be on the ballot in all the states, even though you are not old enough to hold the office of President. The attitude of the Secretary of State of Ohio seems to me arbitrary and unprecedented in view of the rulings of other states regarding your candidacy, the candidacies of other underage persons in previous elections, and the court rulings in Ohio regarding the relevant functions of the Secretary of State and the candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948."

So far, neither Gus Hall nor any of the other candidates has responded.

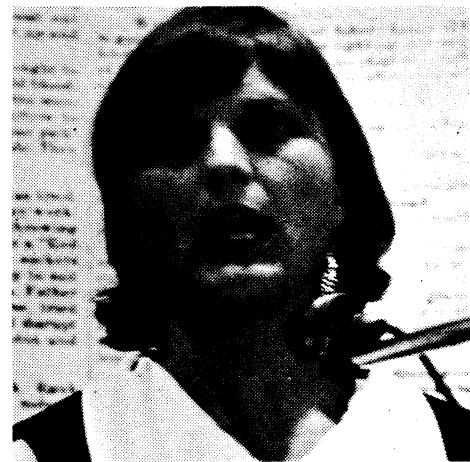
The Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women unanimously passed a resolution supporting Jenness's right to run, expressing particular concern that an attempt was being made to prevent a woman from running for office.

Cleveland supporters of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) plan to introduce a resolu-

tion supporting Jenness and Pulley's right to appear on the ballot to the next meeting of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1746.

Jenness will be on tour in Ohio

Continued on page 21



Linda Jenness

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Sixty hear Jenness in Pittsburgh

Pennsylvania SWP ballot drive completed

PITTSBURGH, Pa., July 11 — Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters here and across the state finished a record petitioning drive this week, collecting 50,233 signatures to place SWP candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot. State law requires 35,624 signatures.

The high point of the drive in Pittsburgh was a meeting of 60 people

who came to hear Linda Jenness on July 5. The size of the gathering indicates the growing support for the SWP campaign in the Pittsburgh area. Since petitioning began here, 40 people have endorsed the campaign and two people have asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the July 5 meeting, Jenness congratulated campaign supporters for

their efforts to get the SWP on the state ballot. Pittsburgh petitioners collected a total of 12,340 signatures during a 26-day period.

Paul LaBlanc, a Pittsburgh antiwar activist who spoke at the meeting, urged those present to endorse the SWP campaign. United Farm Workers activist Gabriel Vasquez also addressed the meeting.

One petitioner read a statement from Bill Peterson, a Farm Workers organizer, who related the SWP campaign to his own activity in Pittsburgh. "The United Farm Workers," he said, "have long since left their period of adolescence when they could exist isolated from other struggles and other movements. . . . Inasmuch as the Jenness-Pulley campaign builds this unity, I support such efforts."

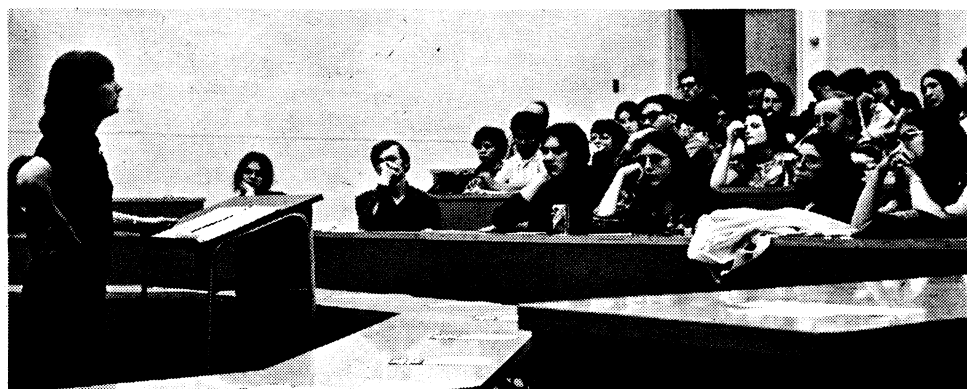
A recent court victory made the SWP's ballot drive in Pennsylvania possible. Earlier this year, the state legislature had increased fourfold the number of signatures required on nominating petitions. The SWP and

other parties went to court and won a decision on June 12 striking down the restrictive 21-day period for gathering signatures. The courts extended the petitioning period to two months.

Along with Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the petitions will qualify Harvey McArthur, SWP candidate for state treasurer, and Joe Sanders, SWP candidate for auditor general, for ballot status. In February the SWP filed 4,500 signatures for Nancy Strebe, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st C.D.

The Communist Party has also filed for ballot status in Pennsylvania. It filed approximately 40,000 signatures in March to qualify its presidential ticket.

The Socialist Labor Party and the People's Party filed less than the required number of signatures last spring, and their petitions were rejected. However, because of the court order, both parties now have until Aug. 14 to obtain the necessary signatures.



Jenness addressing campaign meeting in Pittsburgh, July 5.

Petition drive in Miss. gets good response

By JOEL ABER

JACKSON, Miss., June 10 — This weekend campaign supporters carried the nationwide SWP ballot drive into Mississippi, the state where Andrew Pulley was born.

Mississippi requires 1,000 signatures on nominating petitions. In three days, a team of nine Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters obtained more than 2,000 signatures. They plan to continue until 3,000 signatures are collected to assure that enough valid signatures have been obtained.

Although this is the first time that the SWP has met ballot requirements here, a number of Mississippians indicated that the SWP is known in the Deep South.

In Oxford (pop. 13,846), when the petitioners stopped at the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services office

to ask for information, they found a copy of the McGovern truth kit published by the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on the conference table.

In another part of the state, petitioners ran into a political science professor from Tougaloo College who said, "Oh, Socialist Workers Party — I'll gladly sign for that."

Tougaloo was one of many Mississippi colleges a team of Afro-American campaign supporters visited this spring to lay the groundwork for the SWP campaign. They signed up more than 100 campaign endorsers in the state and obtained the required presidential electors. There are now 193 persons in Mississippi who have endorsed the campaign.

When Linda Jenness accepted the SWP nomination last August, she

spoke of a "Southern strategy" for her campaign that would seek to place the SWP on the ballot in as many Southern states as possible.

Campaign supporters have now completed petitioning requirements in Louisiana, Tennessee, Florida, and Mississippi, four states where the SWP has never before met ballot requirements. The success of these petitioning efforts indicates the soundness of that strategy.

By MARVIN JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS, July 9 — In the first week of petitioning to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Minnesota ballot, campaign supporters have already surpassed the requirement of 5,000 signatures. More than 8,000

have been collected so far, and canvassers plan to shoot for 10,000 to assure enough valid signatures.

Dan Kushke, a campaign supporter and recent high school graduate, led the petitioning effort by obtaining more than 700 signatures in just two days.

The petitions will place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot, along with Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 5th C.D.

Campaign supporters plan to file signatures at the capitol in St. Paul on July 13. Linda Jenness will fly to Minnesota to be present for the filing.

The SWP has been on the Minnesota ballot in every presidential election since 1948.

High school student sues for Detroit ballot rights

By JEFF BERCHENKO

DETROIT—Sixteen-year-old Barbara Fox, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit Central School Board, filed suit in U.S. district court on July 6 to obtain a position on the city ballot for the August 8 elections.

On June 20 Fox filed 950 signatures, nearly twice the number required, with the board of elections. Election clerk George Edwards took the petitions from her. With TV cameras recording his actions, he dramatically ripped them in half, announcing that the petitions could not be accepted because of her age.

Five radio stations, two TV stations, and a daily newspaper sent reporters to the news conference Fox held immediately after her petitions were rejected.

Fox is being represented by Ron Reosti, legal director for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). At the news conference Reosti expressed CoDEL's support for Fox's right to be on the ballot. He noted that a 17-year-old student was appointed to the school board in Newark, N.J., by Mayor Kenneth Gibson last year.

Fox's suit challenges the constitutionality of the law requiring a candidate to be a registered voter, and thus at least 18 years old, to qualify for ballot status.

Fox has pointed out the similarity between her case and that of Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate. Jenness has been arbitrarily ruled off the Ohio ballot by Secretary of State Ted Brown because she is not 35, the age required to serve as president. CoDEL has filed suit to have Jenness's name placed on the Ohio ballot and is now waging a national campaign in support of this suit.

Fox attends Cass Technical High School, where she has been active in the Student Mobilization Committee and the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition.

Another "underage" candidate in Michigan, Sonio Yaco, has launched a suit, supported by CoDEL, to fight for her right to appear on the ballot in Ann Arbor. She is running as the Human Rights Party candidate for school board. Fox's suit seeks to have the court hear both cases at the same time.



Barbara Fox

Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Calif. officials back down

Pulley wins fight to visit prison

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, July 11—Andrew Pulley ended a successful week-long tour of the San Francisco Bay Area today. During his tour he met with longshoremen and prisoners and spoke at student rallies on four campuses. One hundred thirty people attended a San Francisco campaign rally for Pulley held on July 7.

Pulley visited the state prison at Vacaville July 6, after officials at the Department of Corrections backed down on their refusal to allow him to talk with prisoners. The department had originally denied him the right to tour any prisons, using the excuse the SWP will not be on the ballot in California (because of restrictive election laws).

However, after a picket line that Pulley's supporters formed in protest outside the San Quentin prison received extensive TV and radio coverage, the state let Pulley into Vacaville. Several prominent individuals, including Representative Ron Dellums,

had also supported Pulley's right to enter the prisons.

Vacaville contains the California Medical Facility, where prisoners who are gay or "violence-prone" are subjected to lobotomies and shock treatment. Pulley spent half an hour talking with individual prisoners and exchanging addresses.

He also visited the office of the Black Cultural Association, a Black prisoners' group at Vacaville. There several inmates told Pulley they had learned of the SWP campaign while listening to him on a radio interview earlier in the week. They said they would attempt to have other SWP candidates address their organization.

On the waterfront, Pulley talked with longshoremen on the pay lines and distributed campaign literature. Eight longshoremen endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

During his tour here Pulley attended a meeting of about 60 people addressed by Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party candidate for vice-president.

Tyner gave a radical-sounding

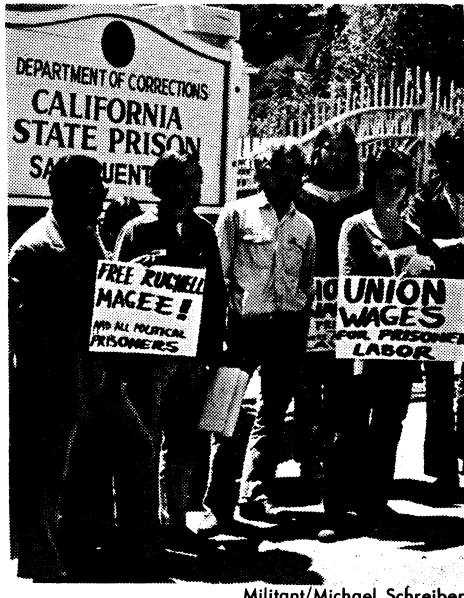
speech that emphasized plans for the CP ticket. But he said the CP should be prepared to "shift our emphasis" to work within the Democratic Party or with other "independent" electoral formations.

Tyner referred to the SWP's criticism of his party's orientation toward working in the capitalist parties by complaining, somewhat dishonestly, "we didn't tell the masses of youth gravitating around McGovern to enter the Democratic Party." However, he said, since many youth are now working inside the Democratic Party, the CP will continue to work there also, while "trying to extend the understanding for a third political party—a popular-front-type party like the Popular Unity in Chile."

When Pulley rose in the audience to ask why Tyner refused to debate him on these issues, the CP candidate lamely replied, "Our task is to aim at the masses. A debate with the SWP would be a digression from that task."



Militant/Steve Beck



Militant/Michael Schreiber

Part of crowd of 100 campaign supporters who greeted Pulley when he arrived at San Francisco airport, July 1 (left); Pulley and supporters picketing San Quentin July 3 in support of prisoners' rights and of SWP vice-presidential candidate's right to visit prisoners.

Chicago welfare workers hear Jenness on war, McGovern

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO, JULY 11—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, addressed a business meeting of the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees (IUSSE) here July 7. The IUSSE helped build antiwar protests this spring in response to Nixon's escalation of the war in Southeast Asia.

During the discussion after her talk, several unionists who supported George McGovern asked Jenness why she did not believe he could be trusted to end the war. Jenness pointed out that McGovern has urged his supporters to stay away from antiwar demonstrations and to rely instead on electing "good individuals."

"The only way the American people can force an end to the war is by building the independent antiwar movement," she asserted. "That's where our power lies."

Following the meeting, three unionists endorsed the SWP campaign.

On July 8, 160 people—from as far away as Kansas City, Mo.; St.

Louis; Madison, Wis., and Milwaukee—came to hear Jenness speak at a campaign rally in Chicago. She shared the platform with Patricia Grogan, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois; Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney. Campaign supporters donated \$1,300 at the rally.

During her tour here, Jenness met with 40 women at a wine-and-cheese party held in her honor. Many of the women were activists in the feminist movement on campuses in Chicago. They were especially interested in Jenness's description of the growth of the women's liberation movement in Argentina.

In addition to speaking on her recent tour of Latin America, Jenness discussed the relationship between feminism and socialism. She explained that women's oppression is rooted in the capitalist system and that the goals of feminism can be fully realized only in a socialist society.

Jenness also appeared on the Irv

Kupcnet Show, a late-evening TV talk program with a large audience in the Chicago area. She blasted Nixon's systematic moves to destroy the dikes in North Vietnam. She said that these bombing raids "prove once again that it is clear Nixon plans to level Vietnam to the ground."

On July 7 Jenness held a news conference to announce the SWP's intention to file for ballot status in Illinois. SWP campaign supporters have collected a total of 42,000 signatures in Illinois. The signatures will be filed the first week of August, the earliest possible time under state law. The *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and several radio stations covered the announcement.

Today Jenness addressed a group of 85 students at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus. She spoke last evening to a meeting of 75 gay women.

Since Jenness's tour began here, 31 people have endorsed the SWP ticket, and two people have joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Chicago debate

Is Communist Party for McGovern or not?

The following exchange between Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois, and Jack Kling, cochairman of the Illinois Communist Party, took place on the Cromie Circle program on Chicago's WGN-TV.

The program's host is Robert Cromie, Washington Post and Chicago Tribune columnist. Kling was standing in for the Communist Party's senatorial candidate Arnold Becchetti, who was out of the country.

The program was aired July 2 in response to an equal-time demand by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee after Charles Percy and Roman Puchinsky, the Republican and Democratic candidates for the same office, had appeared on the show.

CROMIE: You gentlemen . . . can't consider yourselves rivals really. Are you more or less running on a friendly basis against both Puchinski and Senator Percy?

HALSTEAD: That would be my attitude. I consider the Communist Party a working-class party. I wish the Communist Party itself would stick to that instead of supporting the Democrats. They usually support the Democrats. I think they probably still are right now.

We have various other differences. I'd like to know what Mr. Becchetti or Mr. Kling thinks about the Nixon-Brezhnev trip, for example.

CROMIE: Let's find out.

KLING: Well, let me just make a comment on the previous statement. Our main enemy is not the Socialist Workers Party in this election. Our main enemy is the Democratic and Republican parties.

CROMIE: But he just said you were going to support the Democratic Party.

KLING: That's what he said. We're going to support Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner (the Communist Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates). And we're going to support in this state Arnold Becchetti and Ismael Florey.

Now, we are also—I do not share his position, his estimate let's say for example, of the politics inside the Democratic Party. You see, we're very realistic and practical people. We are for a radical change. We think socialism ultimately is the answer to all the problems facing the American people.

But that will take a long time and that will be realized when the majority of the American people feel that's the path they want to take. Until that's realized, we don't close our eyes to the political scene today in America.

In the 1972 elections our main concern is to defeat Nixon and Nixon's policies. Nixon and Nixon's policies mean Nixon per se and it means the policy as enunciated by Humphrey, Muskie, Jackson within the Democratic Party.

CROMIE: Then you would back McGovern.

KLING: I said—let me make it clear—I said we would back Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. That's who we are backing. But we recognize—we don't put McGovern in the same slot as Nixon. We don't say there is really no difference between McGovern and Nixon.

We don't place any faith in McGovern. We don't place our faith in any politician representing the two political parties. Where we place our faith in on the independent political work of the working people, the poor people, the middle-class people—on their own political strength.

CROMIE (to Kling): Well, does he

still think you are backing McGovern?

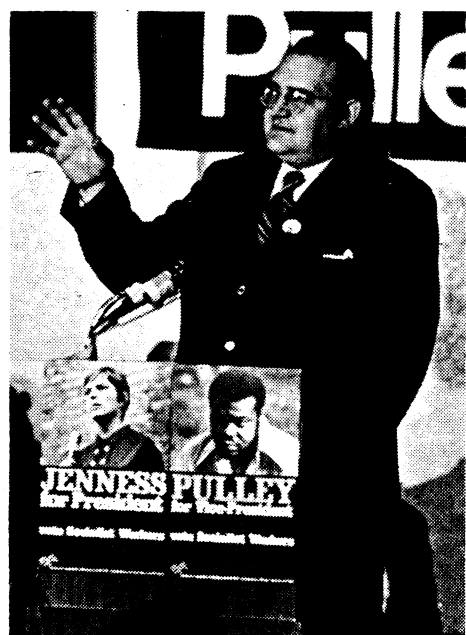
HALSTEAD: Yes. He hasn't said no.

KLING: We have our criticisms of McGovern. Now McGovern is not identical with Nixon. I mean, to say that is just blind to the situation, totally unrealistic as to what the situation is. Nevertheless, we have our criticisms of McGovern.

McGovern says he would cut down the war budget to \$53-billion. But that's not far enough. We would slash it. That's one big difference.

CROMIE: But let's get to the point. You are nonetheless supporting McGovern, of the two major candidates, assuming he gets the nomination.

KLING: No. I would do the following: I would urge people to vote for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.



Fred Halstead

Militant/Brian Shannon

CROMIE: And if they don't vote for them?

KLING: If people come to us, as they do, and say: "But look, I'm sympathetic to Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner's program. But I don't think they really have a chance, and I want to put my vote where it might back a winner. I'm not going to vote for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner."

I would say to such people that if you want to develop a critical support for McGovern, that's your business. But do not trust him. Don't depend on him. Other people have made promises and betrayed. The strength of McGovern will depend on what type of rank-and-file movement exists below. . . .

HALSTEAD: Just let me make this one point. He says he is going to vote for Hall and Tyner—and I'm sure he will—but also encourage other people to build the machine of McGovern within the Democratic Party. That's just the point, a major point on which we disagree.

We say build the machine of the oppressed, not of the oppressor. Every ounce of political energy, every bit of work, talent, every vote that you put into building the Democratic or Republican party is just building up your enemy if you are one of the oppressed in this country.

You are better off building your own machine. And then you'll have some power from which to work, and even on the day-to-day practical level, some leverage against the oppressors. And whatever capitalist candidate gets in this time will have to reckon with that growing power of the oppressed. But when you build their power it will be used against you.

CROMIE (to Kling): Consider yourself chided.

(Kling never answered the question about Nixon and Brezhnev.)

'72 Socialist Campaign

Jeanne Lafferty, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Massachusetts's 9th C.D., issued a statement July 6 supporting the Communist Party's right to place its candidates on the ballot in Massachusetts. Lafferty denounced the Boston Elections Department for refusing to accept petitions from the CP on the basis of a McCarthy-era law banning the CP in the state.

"This attack on the CP is an attack on the rights of every independent candidate or minority party," Lafferty said. "The SWP believes that any independent or minority candidate should have the right to be on the ballot."

A valuable new piece of socialist campaign literature is now available. A four-page tabloid, it contains the written debate between Linda Jenness and George McGovern, an open letter to McGovern supporters from Jenness, and an article on Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. The written exchange occurred last January when McGovern wrote to Jenness attempting to defend himself from radical critics of his positions on the war, his refusal to debate Jenness, and other questions. The reprint is available for \$1 per 100 copies. Single copies are free.

A prominent article in the Corvallis (Ore.) Gazette-Times gives us a sampling of the political message Andrew Pulley is delivering to millions of Americans during his current tour. "What we should learn from Vietnam is that we cannot trust any Democrat or Republican. We need to organize the power of the oppressed in this country . . . make the government heel," Pulley is quoted as saying.

"Pulley said the most dangerous weapon being used against Americans is the 'weapon of confusion.'"

"As long as the opposition can have the oppressed thinking they can get their liberation from the Democratic party, then they don't have to worry about using the dangerous weapons they are using in Vietnam," he said."

Bruce Schwartz of the Philadelphia Bulletin reported on the enthusiastic campaign rally for Linda Jenness held in Philadelphia on June 30. The rally, held in the middle of a massive petition drive, drew 120 campaign supporters.

Schwartz was obviously impressed with the spirit and enthusiasm of the rally. "Democratic Party fundraisers would have envied the collection that ended last night's SWP rally. It was noted that the party's full-time petitioner staff was going to require \$1,000 over the next three weeks. The entire amount was pledged in a few minutes. Three persons gave \$100 or more."

The total of \$1,200 pledged is only a drop in the bucket compared with what McGovern probably spends on makeup. What Democratic fundraisers would envy is not the dollars themselves, but the depth of commitment and dedication that Jenness-Pulley partisans feel. It's a refreshing contrast to the calculated "investments" with which the millionaires and bankers buy "a piece" of the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Georgia Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley made a big impact on a rally of 5,000 people for McGovern in Atlanta on June 27. Two hundred fifty-four McGovern truth kits were sold.

Joel Aber reports: "The crowd was saturated with Socialist Workers campaign literature by 35 supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Thousands of SWP platforms were distributed, 90 Militants were sold, and the largest banner at the rally, seen from all points, had the slogan, 'Make your first vote count, vote Socialist Workers in '72,' emblazoned in bright blue and gold lettering."

Following are excerpts from letters received recently by the SWP national campaign:

"I, along with some other Brothers, have become interested in the YSJP campaign. We have been supporting Senator McGovern because we felt that his election would pave the way for future socialistic gains. However, we have become disenchanted with his political movement towards the 'center' in recent weeks. We would be interested in seeing your YSJP organizer's kit as we are now generating enthusiasm for your campaign. If you have any socialist buttons available, please send them. We are ready to replace our McGovern buttons." — Rock Marion, Bartlesville, Okla.

"I am relieved to discover that there is a cohesive party structure which is feeling the pulse of the nation's discontented and offers something more than the same old co-option bureaucracy. (As a matter of fact, somebody mentioned a place called a wishy-washy and I thought they meant the McGovern headquarters—it was really a laundromat!) I am willing to contribute great time, effort, and even a little bread to the movement. . . ." — R. D. Frost, Panama City, Fla.

"Enclosed is a check for \$25. I had intended to send this money to my alma mater, but I cannot escape the conclusion that this campaign in this election year will have a more decisive, more beneficial effect on our American society. My applause to Linda Jenness!" — L. M. A.

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All requests for information and literature should be sent to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676. — LARRY SEIGLE

Dorothy Healy and the Communist Party

The role of a 'house maverick' in the CP

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Reformist tendencies within the working-class movement often ape the methods of the capitalist political forces with which they seek to ally. One such method is to tolerate the presence of what might be defined as "house mavericks."

Such types often prove useful when a party gets into trouble with its own supporters and it becomes necessary to persuade the disenchanted to "give the party one more chance." The presence of the house maverick lends credence to the notion that a salvage operation is possible.

That seems to be the principal function of Dorothy Healy, a veteran spokeswoman for the West Coast Communist Party.

In last week's *Militant*, we reported on Healy's public criticism of the CP's editorial effort in the *People's World* to justify Brezhnev's cordial meeting with Nixon immediately after the mining of Haiphong harbor.

In reporting this, we expressed the view that the public dissidence of someone like Healy doesn't represent a basic challenge to party policy. Instead, it is intended to hold the party milieu together at difficult moments. We will try to indicate here why we think this is so.

Healy has been a leading figure in the California Communist Party since the early 1930s. She has experienced—and accepted—all the political twists and turns that came to symbolize the politics of that Stalinized party.

Prior to 1956, the Communist Party in this country was a grotesque junior edition of Stalin's party. Any questioning of party policy invariably led to expulsion. Public dissent from the party line was equivalent to the declaration of a break with the organization.

When Khrushchev's bombshell speech to the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, confirmed some of the monstrous crimes of Stalin, the Communist parties in many countries were plunged into crisis. In parties like the CPUSA, monolithic methods of rule were shattered and have not been restored to this day.

The shattering of the monolith permitted a new role for someone like Healy, who began to assume the role of "independent thinker" and sometime public critic of party and Kremlin policy.

When the CP was thrown into renewed crisis

by the crushing of the Hungarian workers uprising in the fall of 1956 Healy expressed public concern about the use of Soviet tanks in Hungary.

She has also voiced concern about the treatment of Soviet Jews and has asked if it's really necessary to suppress dissident Soviet intellectuals. In 1968 she joined others in the CP in criticizing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

And now she separates herself from the party leadership's false contention that the Brezhnev-Nixon meeting aided the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

Improve party's image

What Healy and others like her try to do is improve the party's image. They want to convey the idea that the CP leadership is not simply and exclusively a collection of mindless hacks who echo by rote every piece of drivel emanating from the Kremlin.

How do they get away with it?

Part of the answer is that the leadership of the Communist Party is not in a position to deal with dissidents in the same ruthless way it did prior to 1956. For criticizing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, for example, Healy was only temporarily removed from her leadership position.



Militant/Dave Warren

Despite her criticisms, Dorothy Healy carries out CP policy. For example, she opposed April 22 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles.

People's World editor Al Richmond, who shared Healy's opposition to the Soviet invasion, was demoted and replaced by the more reliable Carl Bloice.

But the real reason "mavericks" like Healy survive in the party is because their occasional challenges are predicated on basic agreement with the CP's reformist politics. They are not left-wing critics of party policy.

Healy, for example, is a solid supporter of the CP's campaign on behalf of George McGovern. Almost weekly, in her radio program, she lectures McGovern campaigners on the need to organize "independently" to keep McGovern "honest." That is, she tries to explain how she and her party think they can campaign for McGovern more effectively.

To underline that her dissidence is not from the left, she carefully combines it with virulent anti-Trotskyism. She engages in Trotsky-baiting, I'm sure, because her heart is really in it. But it also helps in delineating the limits of her variance from party policy.

But, it might be argued, at least she went so far as to say that she was opposed to subordinating the needs of the Vietnamese revolution to the aim of "peaceful coexistence."

If Healy were really serious about this, she would be doing something more than criticizing one editorial. She would exert her influence to help force an end to the Communist Party's criminal refusal to join consistently in the work of building an effective mass movement in the U.S. against the Vietnam war.

That Healy does not do. Instead, she joins with her party in denouncing and slandering those who are working to build such a movement.

CP wrecking operation

Specifically, as was reported previously, when the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) organized a major antiwar demonstration here April 22, the Communist Party conducted a wrecking operation to try to prevent that demonstration from occurring. It went so far—at the very moment of a new escalation of the war—as to call for a boycott of the protest action. When all its efforts to destroy the demonstration failed and its position was widely discredited, it gave last-minute formal endorsement.

Continued on page 21

Women: The Insurgent Majority

BRAZILIAN WOMEN HOLD NATIONAL CONFERENCE—At the end of May a national women's congress took place in Miguel Pereira, Brazil. According to the June 12 *Time* magazine, this was the first such national gathering of women in 26 years. More than 100 delegates were present.

In some ways, the status of women in Brazil is similar to that of women in the United States. Brazilian women can vote, hold office, and sign contracts. (It was not until 1962, however, *Time* says, that the civil code that "put married women on an equal footing with prodigals, savages, minors and the insane" was abolished.)

Brazilian women face some of the same problems that the women's movement here is fighting. Abortions are illegal in Brazil and working women receive about 70 percent of what men are paid for the same jobs. Divorce is still illegal in Brazil.

The three-day conference in Miguel Pereira discussed such topics as child care, school lunch programs, campaigns against drug use, and care for older people. A general theme stressed by the organizers of the gathering, according to the June 8 *Washington Post*, was increasing women's role in social and political affairs.

There was disagreement, however, on how to win equality. Aristolina de Almeida, one of the conference organizers and the mayor of Miguel Pereira, was quoted by the *Post* as saying, "We're not thinking in terms of emancipation, but rather participation."

Some young delegates felt this perspective was too limited. Maria de Lourdes Alves, a 28-year-old professor from the University of Valenca, said: "What this congress should do is show Brazilian

women how to develop their potential instead of helping to perpetuate a system that says women should be 'protected.'"

WOMEN HELD DEMONSTRATIONS IN INDIA recently to demand more rights and to protest rising food prices. According to a May 18 Canadian Press dispatch sent to us from a *Militant* reader in Canada, the actions took place in several cities in the state of Madhya Pradesh and involved hundreds of women.

Their demands were: more schools for women; lower prices for such commodities as sugar, cloth, wheat, and vegetable oil; cooperative stores; and better police protection for women on the streets.

The article describes the demonstrations as "militant" and says the women "shouted slogans asking the government to yield to their demands or quit." In one city the demonstration lasted six hours.

FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO DEBATE ABORTION LAW REFORM—The June 16 *Le Monde* reported that 2,000 women gathered in Grenoble, France, on June 15 to announce the introduction of an abortion law reform bill into the National Assembly.

The bill, drawn up by an organization called Choice (Choisir), would make it legal to perform abortions in hospitals up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. At the present time, all abortions in France are illegal. A woman who has, or tries to have, an abortion may be fined as much as \$1,296 or be sent to prison for up to two years.

In addition to legalizing abortion, the proposed bill calls for Social Security to pay the costs.

Among those *Le Monde* lists as backing the bill are feminist author Simone de Beauvoir; Gisèle Halimi, a well-known radical; and Michel Rocard, national secretary of the Unified Socialist Party (PSU—Parti Socialiste Unifié) and a member of the French National Assembly.

According to *Le Monde*, Rocard planned to introduce the bill on the floor of the Assembly in June.

—CINDY JAQUITH



French women's liberation demonstration in Paris.

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34) edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1972. 380 pp. \$8.95, paperback \$3.45.

This selection of Leon Trotsky's writings, some of which have never appeared before in English, represents work done during the first year of his two-year stay in France. The opening article in the book was actually written on the ship that took the revolutionary leader from Turkey, where he had spent four and a half years of his third exile. He was expelled from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929. Earlier exiles were under Czarist rule.

This article called for a sharp change in the position held by the author and his associates since the 1927 split in the international commu-

to that discussion is the principal content of this book.

Shortly after Trotsky's arrival in France a conference of left socialist and communist organizations was held in Paris. A declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninist (Trotskyist) delegation was addressed to this gathering. The document reiterated the Trotskyist position that the Soviet Union remained a workers state, stated its support for the program developed by four congresses of the Communist International, and called for the building of a new, Fourth International.

At the same conference a document entitled "The Declaration of Four" was submitted in the name of the Trotskyist International Left Opposition, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, and the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland.

These two documents, written by Trotsky and

Another valuable contribution by Trotsky included in this new volume of writing is an article called "Nationalism and Economic Life." It is a concise exposition of the real relations between nationalism and internationalism as expressed in the driving forces of modern capitalism. In this piece the author accurately predicted, "Sooner or later American capitalism must open up ways for itself through the length and breadth of our entire planet."

Along with American ambitions, Trotsky took up the economic forces driving Germany under Hitler. He pointed out that Hitler's pacifism in the first period of his rule was caused only by Germany's fear of preventive attacks by its enemies.

"Hitler is ready," Trotsky wrote, "to cover the walls of the war factories with pacifist speeches and nonaggression pacts." These, Trotsky ex-

Trotsky's 1933-34 writings

The need for a revolutionary international



Leaders of the Left Opposition after their expulsion from the Soviet Communist Party in 1927. Standing from left to right: Rakovsky, Drobni, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky. Sitting: Serebryakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky.

nist movement. Up to this time the policy of the Trotskyists was to try to reform the Communist (Third) International and its member parties, all of which had become bureaucratized under Stalinist domination.

The defeat of the German working class in January 1933, when Hitler took power, revealed that the political deterioration of the Stalinized parties had gone so deep that it was no longer possible to change their course by reforms.

Hitler's victory had been aided by the German Communist Party's refusal to form a united front against the Nazis with the Social Democrats. The CP, the Social Democratic Party, and their supporters outnumbered Hitler's Nazis and could have defeated them.

The German CP took the absurd position that the Social Democrats were the main danger, and called them social fascists and Hitler's twin. It held that even if Hitler took power, the German people would quickly tire of him and that their turn would come next. (See *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1971.)

Upon assuming power, however, Hitler rapidly proceeded to destroy the Communist Party, the Social Democrats, the trade unions, and all other working-class organizations.

The new policy outlined by Trotsky called for a complete break with the Communist International and all its sections. Trotsky wrote, "... it is necessary to assert openly what is: *the Comintern is dead for the revolution.*" (Emphasis in original.) This diagnosis proved to be correct. But Stalin buried it only 10 years later as a gesture to his wartime allies, Roosevelt and Churchill.

For a new international

Trotsky called for the formation of new parties and a new, Fourth International. Heretofore, Trotskyists had considered themselves an unjustly expelled faction of the Communist (Third) International.

This was the main change in policy that Trotsky and his followers and associates decided upon in the middle of 1933, several months after Hitler's victory and the subsequent failure of the Stalinists to learn anything from it. The Stalinists, after keeping silent for several weeks, approved the course outlined by the Comintern and followed by the German CP that had led to the worst defeat of the workers movement in history.

One result of these events was to churn up discussion of all fundamental questions in many organizations as radicals sought the answers to the tragic events in Germany. Trotsky's contribution

included in this book, were not adopted by the conference, which consisted mainly of centrist elements moving in various directions.

On the question of building a Fourth International, Trotsky wrote, "It is necessary to say clearly *what* International we have in mind: the restoration of the miserable Two-and-a-Half International or the unification of the international proletarian vanguard on the basis of a revolutionary program that actually corresponds to the problems of our epoch." (Emphasis in original.)

Trotsky directed this toward groups that had broken with the Second and Third Internationals but hesitated to take the next logical step, the formation of a new, revolutionary international. (The reference to the Two-and-a-Half International was to similar elements who vacillated between the Second and Third Internationals following the Russian Revolution.)

Class nature of Soviet state

It was only natural that a reevaluation of the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern would raise questions about the nature of the Soviet state. Trotsky insisted upon his traditional position that it remained a workers state, although severely bureaucratized. However, he changed his position on the possibility of reforming this state.

In an article entitled "The Class Nature of the Soviet State," he concludes that a political revolution will be required to reestablish workers democracy in the Soviet state.

Trotsky previously took the position that reforming the state was possible. He now concluded that the degeneration had gone too far. However, he didn't feel that a complete social and economic revolution was required. The nationalized and planned economy established by the 1917 revolution remained intact and, therefore, no fundamental change was needed in this sphere. Only the political superstructure of Soviet society, the ruling institutions, had to be overturned. This would require a political revolution.

These new positions recommended by Trotsky were eventually adopted by the world Trotskyist movement. They are still a part of the fundamental ideas of this movement.

The actual organization of the Fourth International was still four to five years away when Trotsky wrote the material in this book, and his desire to form it earlier was not realized.

The political revolution in the Soviet Union remains in the future, but many signs of its coming have already been seen in Russia as well as in other workers states, especially Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

plained, are only a cover for the rapid militarization of Germany.

Perhaps the most important single contribution in this book is the document called "War and the Fourth International." This became the fundamental position of the international Trotskyist movement, adopted by all the parties that belonged to the International Communist League and later, the Fourth International.

Without trying to exhaust the many rich parts of this piece, two quotations of unusual prophetic quality must be given. The first states, "The same causes, inseparable from modern capitalism, that brought about the last imperialist war have now reached infinitely greater tension than in the middle of 1914. The fear of the consequences of a new war is the only factor that fetters the will of imperialism. But the efficacy of this brake is limited. The stress of inner contradictions pushes one country after another on the road to fascism, which, in its turn, cannot maintain power except by preparing international explosions. All governments fear war. But none of the governments has any freedom of choice. Without a proletarian revolution, a new world war is inevitable."

The second excerpt says, "U.S. capitalism is up against the same problems that pushed Germany in 1914 on the path of war. The world is divided? It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must 'organize' the world. History is bringing humanity face to face with the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."

These predictions, made in 1934, so accurate in every respect, prove the superiority of Marxist methods over those of all others. At the time this was written the Stalinists were joining the League of Nations and bellowing "collective security." The social democrats, later joined by the Stalinists, were firmly grasping the coattails of the liberal capitalists, who were giving the world a demonstration of how ineffective their methods were against fascism and war.

Trotsky deals with many other subjects of interest in the volume, the sixth of an 11-volume series. It is a valuable addition to Trotsky's published works.

An article by Andre Malraux, the French novelist and sometime admirer of Trotsky, later a Stalinist and finally a Guallist, is included as an appendix.

The editors have furnished good explanatory notes, an index, a chronological record of the year in which the book was written, and a preface.

—MILTON ALVIN

Quebec language struggle: 'We want to save the soul and culture of our people'

By TONY THOMAS

MONTREAL—"I was arrested at least two or three times merely for wearing a sweater with 'Québec Libre' [Free Québec] written on it. Therefore, I gained the conclusion that Québec wasn't free. I have been arrested 16 times for fighting for independence for Québec. The police of the province of Québec do not protect the interests of the Québec people but protect the interests of the colonizers."

These are the words of Reggie Chartrand, for many years one of the best-known and controversial Québécois nationalist militants in Montréal. Chartrand is a leader of Les Chevaliers de l'Indépendance (Knights of Independence), and was a leader of the Common Front for the Defense of the French Language, which has rallied thousands of Québécois for a French Québec.

In an interview here, Chartrand stressed that only a French Québec could solve the problems of the masses of Québécois. The program of the Trudeau government in Canada for the Québécois is bilingualism—supposed equality between the French language and the English language. But Chartrand pointed out that bilingualism actually means "Québécois must learn English to get a good job." The percentage of French-speaking Québécois has declined because of this "bilingualism."

For demanding that this policy be ended and that French be made the only official and working language of Québec, Chartrand has been called a racist and an extremist.

Chartrand told me, "On the question of racism, I consider that the racists in the province of Québec are the English minority, who are treated as if they were the majority. We are oppressed, and the oppressed and colonized can never be racists. We are always in a defensive position. Now, what we want to save is the soul and

culture of our people, which is the French language. It is normal for all people on earth to want to speak their language in their own country."

He pointed out that in Germany, the language is German, in England, English, and that the language of Québec should be French, the language of the overwhelming majority of its population.

Chartrand stressed that national independence and a French Québec cannot be won without a massive confrontation with the English-Canadian and American business interests who control Québec. He pointed out that the Parti Québécois (Québec Party—PQ), the nationalist-capitalist party of Québec, is inadequate to gain independence for Québec or to defend the French language against the "Anglicization" process. He stated that the PQ's strategy avoids a head-on fight with the Canadian government.

For instance, René Lévesque, leader of the PQ, has stated that the PQ would wait several years, even if they were to establish an independent Québec, before making Québec French. The reason, they say, is "so that the English-speakers could learn French." Chartrand pointed out that 210 years of oppression was long enough to wait for the English to learn French.

Chartrand told me that mass action is the main course to gain the rights of Québec: "Nothing in the world has been accomplished as long as the masses were not gathered together to go into the streets to demonstrate publicly their dissatisfaction with the government that has betrayed them. . . . Therefore it seems to me that it is the duty of every Québécois to go into the street and demand complete independence, and that we speak French and work in French in Québec."

Chartrand saw the recent workers' upsurge as part of the nationalist struggle. He pointed out that the same

companies and government institutions that the workers of Québec have been fighting against were also the principal oppressors of the Québécois as a nation. It would be a serious error, he said, to separate the nationalist struggle for independence from the struggle of Québec workers.

people who are fighting for it—the workers, the laborers, do the fighting. So if you try to separate socialism from national independence, you're completely wrong."

Chartrand discussed the relation between Québec nationalism and internationalism. "You win the right to



Labor Challenge

Reggie Chartrand (right) addresses mass rally of 8,000 Oct. 16, 1971, in Montreal demanding an independent Quebec.

Chartrand pointed out, "Independence and socialism are closely connected. It goes without saying that Québec independentists, Québec nationalists, are people who are on the side of the weaker against the stronger. If you are on the side of the weaker people against the stronger ones, you have to be left-wing or socialist."

"You can see that the rich people never fight for national independence. It's always the small, disinherited

be an internationalist by freeing your own country, and I point to the thinking of Fidel Castro, who says, 'Every people that frees itself is a new stage won in the battle for the liberation of another people.'

"To prove our solidarity with all the colonized peoples of the world, we will make Québec independent. And this is the best way . . . to encourage other nationalist and independence struggles among other peoples of the world."

The National Picket Line

LONGEST STRIKE IN U.S. HISTORY: The bosses and their government have won another round in their attempt to destroy the union movement. The July 3 *Wall Street Journal* announced that the Florida East Coast Railway signed an "agreement" with the rail workers, ending the longest strike in the history of this country—nine years, one week, and one day.

The "agreement" was a total defeat for the unions. Although they won "union recognition" and the strikers were allowed to return to work, even the union officials admit that this means very little. Under terms of the agreement, union membership will be "voluntary." As many union members pointed out to the *Wall Street Journal* reporter, this makes it a mockery to call the railroad a union shop.

Furthermore, some of the strikers had already gone back to work for the line. Others found jobs elsewhere. But many of the veterans still out when the strike was settled may never get their jobs back. Advanced age or physical disabilities make it impossible for them to pass the necessary examinations.

The strike began in 1963 when 1,200 members of the Railway Clerks walked out after the line refused them a 10 cents per hour wage increase. This would have brought their wages up to par with other Florida rail workers. The operating unions respected the picket line from the beginning. Later they joined the strike, bringing the total number on strike to 2,000.

Following the strike's defeat, one striker charged

that the "vapid" leadership of the unions was responsible, according to the *Wall Street Journal* report.

Certainly the victor in this long battle was Ed Ball, the 84-year-old chairman of the line. The railroad was actually tied up for only 10 days. Ball, who took over the leadership of this almost defunct road, instituted his own rules. Today the line is showing a tremendous profit.

Under Ball's new regulations, union work rules went by the board. Before the strike, a five-man crew hauled a train 100 to 125 miles and then changed crews. Florida East Coast now uses three men to make the entire 345-mile run from its home base in Jacksonville, Fla., to Miami.

This has cut the company's labor costs by 78 percent. With 14 daily runs, the daily saving is more than \$6,000; the annual saving is more than \$2-million.

In addition to saving on wages, Ball has been able to repair the badly kept roadbeds (with non-union labor, you may be sure) and to replenish much of the rolling stock.

The financial gains would have been even greater had it not been for a variety of factors, according to the *Wall Street Journal* account. These include a high turnover of scab labor, a rash of accidents (blamed by union officials on hastily trained workers and poor maintenance), more than 400 alleged acts of "sabotage," payment of more than \$350,000 annually for "security," heavy modernization, and substantial legal costs.

There are so many damage suits against the

line that a judge, who spends all of his time on them "hopes he can clear them up by the time he retires in 1976." There are more than a dozen other suits now in federal courts, some brought by individuals or their unions, some brought by the scabs hired to break the strike.

But the unions that have "won" suits in court haven't come out too well. For instance, the Brotherhood of Firemen sued for \$2.5-million—and settled for \$800,000. Now the membership is demanding that this money be prorated among the firemen who were on strike. The union is holding fast to the money, claiming that it spent more than that on the strike.

One of the strikers, J.B. Kitchens, a railway clerk, described what it's like to be on strike for so long:

"You feel like a boxer who kept staggering to his corner between rounds to hear his manager tell him how close to victory they were. The boxer said, 'We may be winning but somebody's beating the hell out of me.'"

Kitchens has another grievance—this one against his union officials who advised him to take his pension when he reached 69. Had he held out just three months longer, his pension would have been \$70 a month more than he now gets.

Ball was jubilant when the unions capitulated and ordered their members back to work. One disillusioned striker said: "God knows he ought to be. . . . He ran the unions off, and that's what he set out to do so he could run the railroad the way he wanted to. . . ." —MARVEL SCHOLL

In Review

Books

Feminism and Socialism

Feminism and Socialism. Edited and with an introduction by Linda Jenness. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 160 pp. \$5.95, cloth. \$1.95, paper.

The first years of the women's liberation movement were distinguished by a flurry of literary activity. But because these writings were generally mimeographed, and one had to be part of a feminist communications network to have access to them, most women were unable to benefit from this discussion.

The major publishers quickly caught on that the women's movement was snowballing into a profitable market and began publishing many of its writings. Analyses of the origins of female oppression and the nature of its cultural underpinnings were able to give voice to the many debates that are part of any new movement.

In recent months, few documents that are as thorough as Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, for example, in detailing the nature and source of woman's oppression have been produced. There is instead a tendency toward simply reprinting material that has already appeared in other collections. The feminist movement clearly needs an infusion of new material and ideas.

Feminism and Socialism, an anthology just released by Pathfinder Press and edited by Linda Jenness, the 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will be important in beginning to fill this vacuum.

Feminism and Socialism offers ideas on how the feminist movement can take the next steps forward. The 16 articles, interviews, and documents within its pages represent the socialist point of view on the questions that have occupied the feminist movement since its beginning.

To understand the significance of the appearance of this collection, it is necessary to step back and look at where the feminist movement stands today. In its earliest days, the movement was animated by outrage at the way every woman has been systematically mutilated so she fits into this sexist society. The job was then to convince other women that they are oppressed too and should join with their sisters in the women's liberation movement.

It soon became obvious, however, that being convinced of the correctness of feminist demands was not the same as having those demands met. It was necessary to take action that would force changes in the institutions that prop up male supremacy.

And there have since been thousands of actions, aimed at virtually every form of oppression women face. Despite press distortions, most women in this country now agree that at least some of the demands of the feminist movement are in their interest. Nonetheless, the organized groups that comprise the women's liberation movement have not been able to grow to a size that accurately reflects the support that exists for their goals.

Feminism and Socialism is important reading for all feminists because it thoroughly outlines a perspective for building the women's liberation movement into a force that can help change this society.

This is done most comprehensively

in "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement," the resolution on women's liberation passed at the 1971 national convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Here we find an analysis of the nature and roots of female oppression and a discussion of the strategy that is needed to fight it.

The discussion on strategy begins by asking *how*—around what demands, through what type of organizations—can women organize their power to fight for their interests.

One example that is discussed is the struggle to repeal all laws restricting the right of abortion. A militant struggle around this right (which is under serious attack) can show that sisterhood *is* powerful, and that by uniting on the basis of shared oppression, women can shake this country up.

Whereas "Towards a Mass Feminist

weapon in our struggle for liberation."

An equally important question dealt with in this volume is the failure of any postcapitalist government to totally do away with female oppression. In "Women and the Russian Revolution," Dianne Feeley explains that in spite of tremendous initial advances, the failure of the Russian revolution to meet women's full needs flowed from the degeneration of the revolution under Stalin.

The relationship between feminism and the struggles of oppressed nationalities is taken up as well. In "Why Women's Liberation is Important to Black Women," Maxine Williams attacks the argument advanced by some that a matriarchy exists in the Black community, and thus Black women should simply sit still while the Black male (whom they have supposedly oppressed) moves forward.



Movement" deals with a wide range of questions that have been raised by the women's liberation movement, other contributions focus on specific problems.

For example, "In Defense of Engels on the Matriarchy" by Evelyn Reed takes up the question of whether women have always been the second sex. Reed is a Marxist anthropologist whose writings on the matriarchy have been best sellers in the feminist movement, as well as sources of annoyance to bourgeois anthropologists who base their theories on the assumption that female oppression is "natural."

Reed points out that at the dawn of recorded history, women enjoyed real equality. This was not lost until the transition to class society and the subsequent need to establish the patriarchal family as a social unit so property could be inherited.

The feminist movement is much in need of articles such as Reed's, which points out that women's oppression is a social phenomenon, not a natural inevitability. As Reed asserts, "Knowledge is power! And correct knowledge . . . is an indispensable

And in "Chicanas Speak Out—New Voice of La Raza," Mirta Vidal refutes claims that Chicana feminism will divide the Chicano movement. She points out that there can be no unity based on the submission of women. Any victories won by Chicanas can only advance the Chicano movement as a whole.

Both of these articles point out that women of oppressed nationalities can unite in action with white women around specific demands. However, the racial discrimination they face in addition to their sexual oppression dictates that they organize independently as well.

All the articles in this book examine the relationship between feminism and socialism. The authors, all members of either the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party, agree that female oppression flows from the needs of class society. This system's greedy quest for profits feeds on the continued oppression of women, working people, and the oppressed nationalities.

In "Are Feminism and Socialism Related?"—a response to those who insist they are incompatible—Mary-Alice Waters explains this relationship.

She makes it clear that although the SWP thinks a socialist revolution will ultimately be necessary if women are to win their freedom, this does not mean women can postpone their struggle until then. To the contrary, revolutionary socialists give full support to the independent organization of women right up to and even after the revolution.

In the course of Waters's article, it becomes clear that far from being competitors, the feminist and socialist movements are related. Just as a women's liberation movement is needed to unite women who want to fight their oppression, a revolutionary-socialist party is necessary to coordinate and lead all the struggles of the oppressed in overturning the capitalist system.

The the most uncompromising feminists will ultimately conclude that there can be no women's liberation under capitalism and will become socialists is dramatized in an interview by Caroline Lund. She speaks with four Boston women, founding members of Female Liberation, who joined the YSA in 1970. In a lively discussion, they give their reasons for doing so.

The contributors to *Feminism and Socialism* belong to organizations that have been the focus of heated debate in recent months. In many parts of the country, for example, the SWP has been slandered as a group "outside" the feminist movement that has somehow been using that movement for its own devious purposes. As a part of this discussion, SWP women have been accused of being everything from male-dominated to thieves.

In "Why Red-Baiting Hurts the Feminist Movement," Carol Lipman takes these slanders head on and asserts that they are really substitutes for discussion of the political differences some women have with the SWP.

Another particularly timely article is Betsey Stone's "Women and Political Power." Stone addresses herself to what is one of the major questions at this time: Can women win their liberation by placing their fate in the hands of the Democrats and the Republicans? The present leadership of the National Women's Political Caucus thinks this is possible; the SWP disagrees.

Stone points out that we must look at the party allegiance and program of the many women who are running for office. If this is ignored, she says, women will end up working for the very parties that are responsible for maintaining the oppression of women. Feminists must cast off any illusions they have about the capitalist parties and organize an independent movement.

One of the slanders spread by the red-baiters is that socialists have secret "infiltration manuals," made available only to the most loyal party members. The fact that the SWP's strategy for the women's liberation movement is available in *Feminism and Socialism* flies in the face of such accusations.

It is hoped that many feminists will read this book and debate its perspectives. The enthusiasm and determination expressed in *Feminism and Socialism* is contagious. One emerges with confidence that, this time around, We Shall Win!

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

...jobs

Continued from page 8

thousands of prime-working-age men holding nominally full-time jobs who are forced to work shorter weeks.

Along with women, Blacks and members of other national minorities, teen-agers, Vietnam veterans, and construction workers suffer disproportionately high unemployment. In 1971, 16.9 percent of teen-aged workers seeking jobs couldn't find any. The jobless rate last year was 8.8 percent for Vietnam veterans, or 326,000 unemployed. In the construction industry, the rate was 10.4 percent in 1971.

And new workers are joining the labor force at a rate far outpacing the rate at which new jobs are opening up. As the situation continues to get worse, the country actually will reach a "turning point"—but in a sense quite different from what was meant by Dr. Solomon in his statement yesterday.

The sense in which a turning point is being approached is referred to by Fred Halstead in the July-August *International Socialist Review*: "... the labor movement... is a little quiet at the present time, but [it] won't be forever, and unless I miss my bet not for much longer. And I say that because I've been trying to pay for food in the grocery stores recently. That kind of stuff can't go on forever. Sooner or later somebody is going to get awful mad."

...Israel

Continued from page 9

camp" for the murder, which they saw as being aimed at the entire Palestinian resistance movement.

On July 9, Yasir Arafat issued a statement on the murder. Arafat is the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, an umbrella group that included the PFLP. He is also the leader of Fateh, the largest resistance organization. In the past, Fateh and Arafat have had deep differences with the PFLP.

Arafat's statement said that the assassination "is a sign of a new development in the struggle introduced by Israel." He asserted that the Palestinian movement "must retaliate with painful blows that will shake the entire Israeli society."

The assassination came in the wake of recent Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon.

...Africa

Continued from page 10

each other.

"It's no secret why people are shaky on the question of Israel. It all gets down to who's financing you. And when you start talking about the Democratic Party, who are you talking about? Who finances the Democratic Party? That financing comes with definite strings attached. The IOUs are always there, and people who get caught up in that party have to pay those IOUs."

We discussed the propaganda campaign in defense of the U. S. position in South Africa that is currently being waged with the support of some Afro-American leaders, entertainers, and sports figures.

Sadaukai noted the problem of gaining the access to the media that these figures command, pointing to the recent coverage of NAACP leader Roy Wilkin's visit to South Africa.

"We're going to have to combat all that," he said, "through the development of strong organizational structures that speak to what we're talking about. We can't hope to deal with them on any other level. Our resources are not their resources," he added. "We have to organize our people to combat them."

...Ohio

Continued from page 14

from July 22 to July 25, and the controversy with Brown has generated a great deal of interest in her visit. She will appear on the syndicated Alan Douglas TV show July 24 to discuss her case.

As a result of the legal challenge, she has also been invited to appear at the City Club in Cleveland on Aug. 4. Her speech there will be carried in full by five radio stations. The City Club is a traditional forum for candidates. In the past it has sponsored John Lindsay, George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey, and Robert Kennedy.

The list of those who have joined in protesting Brown's actions is growing daily. In addition to Dr. Spock, Margery Tabankin, president of the National Student Association; Edith Tiger of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; and James Lafferty of the National Peace Action Coalition have sent messages of protest to Brown and to Ohio Governor John Gilligan.

Others who have sent protests include: Ken Cockrel, Labor Defense Coalition, Detroit; Ernest Mazey, American Civil Liberties Union; Abdeen Jabara, editor, *Free Palestine*; Dr. Richard Kunes, author of *Your Money or Your Life* and founder of the Medical Liberation Front in Detroit; and Dean Kilpatrick, Dean of Women at Case Western Reserve University.

Also, Louis DeMars, Minneapolis city councilman; Dr. Matthew Stark, president, Minnesota Civil Liberties Union; Tom Erwin, president, Mat-tachine Midwest; the Reverend Jack Mendelsohn, First Unitarian Church of Chicago; Leon M. Despres and Dick Simpson, Chicago aldermen; John Kearney, Independent Voters of Illinois; and Polly Connelly, of the Chicago Peace Action Coalition and of Feminist Voice.

...guard

Continued from page 11

The attempt to "get Whittaker" finally succeeded in the Tombs uprising. At that time, Whittaker states, he was convinced that the police who had been brought in were about to provoke a "bloodbath," so he urged the inmates to surrender.

Mayor John Lindsay had offered the inmates amnesty (which was later retracted). At one point Whittaker had told the prisoners, "Don't give up" on Lindsay.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, his superiors insisted that Whittaker's words had meant that the prisoners should not surrender. Whittaker was accused of having been a major instigator of the uprising. He was called a "Black Panther." It was rumored that an uprising that took place in his native Trinidad when he happened to be home on vacation had been organized by him.

Whittaker's trial is scheduled to begin Sept. 5. He says it may be postponed, as it has been six times already. The district attorney's office told him, "We'll postpone it ten years if you keep on talking."

Nonetheless, Whittaker is determined to keep on talking and raising people's consciousness about the brutality and violence of the prison system that is attempting to frame him.

An Earl Whittaker Defense Committee has been formed through St. Clement's, Whittaker's church (423 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y. 10036). His case is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Meanwhile, the trial of three of the Tombs inmates indicted for kidnapping during the uprising continues at Manhattan Criminal Court, and the

state has put a number of the hostages on the stand. This writer attended the trial July 6. Proceedings have been greatly hampered by the court's refusal to allow any evidence on the prison conditions the defense claims justified the uprising.

The hostages who have been called as witnesses apparently refuse to take the defense seriously. When questioned by the prosecution, they have been able to offer lengthy descriptions of supposed wrongdoings by the inmates during the rebellion. When cross-examined by the defense, however, the only statement they seem to be able to make is "I cannot recall." The trial is expected to continue into August.

...abortion

Continued from page 12

The resolution points out that the right to abortion will be won only by a mass movement of women building the broadest possible coalitions to carry out the struggle. In this way the real feelings and the power of masses of women can be brought to bear upon the government.

But even this is not enough to win our full liberation as women and as human beings. The same capitalist system that is responsible for the oppression of women is also responsible for the oppression of working people, Blacks, and Chicanos.

In addition to supporting the independent movements of all the oppressed, it is necessary to build a mass - socialist party capable of leading the struggle to take power out of the hands of those who rule this country.

Many feminists fighting to do away with abortion laws and other forms of women's oppression have drawn this same conclusion. Growing numbers see the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party as organizations that support these perspectives of struggle and are putting them into action.

...Healy

Continued from page 17

What did the fearless critic Healy have to say during this disgraceful activity, which can only be characterized as a crime against the Vietnamese revolution?

In the private meetings and discussions, she expressed the view that the CP and the Peace Action Coalition (PAC), in which the party is influential, were making a mistake in isolating themselves from an action that might prove significant. Publicly, she said not a word.

That was better than what she did after the demonstration.

Her radio program of May 6 was devoted to a discussion of "problems" of the antiwar movement. She had a number of guests join in.

What was the problem Healy centered the discussion on? Perhaps the lessons to be learned from the CP's sorry record of trying to sabotage the April 22 action?

Not on your life. Her entire program was devoted to a scurrilous smear attack on those who built the demonstration.

The program rehashed the false charges leveled by the CP against NPAC and the Socialist Workers Party to justify the CP's attempts to wreck the demonstration. NPAC's insistence on making "Out Now" the central focus of the demonstration, rather than the seven-point negotiating plan of the

Vietnamese, was again demagogically branded as "racism."

When one of her guests said he thought NPAC and the SWP were government agents, Healy chided him good-humoredly, saying they really didn't have to be agents to do what they were doing. The others joined in appreciative laughter.

Not satisfied with this kind of Stalinist gutter tactics, Healy and her studio group then went after Ron Ridenour, a movement journalist and unaffiliated activist. What was Ridenour's crime? He had written an article for the *Los Angeles News Advocate* urging support for the April 22 action and criticizing the CP and the PAC for refusing to help build it.

Healy charged that this article proved Ridenour was a vicious liar. Needless to say, she made no serious attempt to substantiate her charge.

Healy and her associates also virtually demanded on the air that Ridenour be fired. (Publisher Tom Ritt responded with a call to the station assuring that from then on all opinion would be deleted from Ridenour's articles. Ridenour subsequently resigned in protest and is now writing for the *Los Angeles Free Press*.)

Not surprisingly, in this hour-long program Healy had not a word to say about the April 22 demonstration itself—a demonstration generally considered to have been as big or bigger than any ever held here, and probably the broadest in terms of participating constituencies.

If Dorothy Healy were as concerned about defending the Vietnamese liberation forces as she says she is, she would have saluted that demonstration and those who built it, not slandered and vilified them.

USLA forms speaker's bureau

By LYNN SILVER

NEW YORK—The U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) recently initiated a Latin American Speaker's Bureau. According to USLA spokesman Frank Grinnon, the purpose of the bureau is "to provide background information and analysis of the Latin American scene," and "to aid concretely in the defense of political prisoners and civil liberties in Latin America."

Speakers available through the bureau include James Petras, Pennsylvania State University professor and author of many books on Latin America; Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review* and coauthor of *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*; the Reverend William Wipfler, executive director of the Latin American Department of the National Council of Churches; and Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*.

The bureau also provides films and from time to time has special speakers available, such as José Revueltas, well-known Mexican author and former political prisoner. Honorariums for speakers and films are used to help build the defense of political prisoners in Latin America.

For a brochure containing information on the speaker's bureau or for arranging a speaking engagement, contact: Latin American Speaker's Bureau, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 68 Peachtree St. N.E., (Third Floor) at 8:30 p.m. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

Sat., July 22, and Sun., July 23: Two classes on **The Cochran Fight**. Teacher: Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party trade union director.

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 611 W. 29th. For more information, call (512) 478-8602.

Mon., July 17, Thurs., July 20, and Mon., July 24: Classes on **United Front vs. Popular Front**.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8051.

Tues., July 18, and Thurs., July 20: Classes on **Stalinism**.

CAMPAIGN WEEKEND. Fri., July 21, and Sat., July 22. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

Fri., July 21, 5:30 p.m.: high school students' meeting with Linda Jenness; 7:30 p.m.: **Socialism—Can It Work?** Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Donation: \$1.

Sat., July 22, 11 a.m. **How the Majority Can Change Society.** Speaker: Pat Galligan; 2 p.m.: **Towards a Socialist America—The Role of the Young Socialist Alliance.** Speaker: Alan Einhorn; 4 p.m.: **Film: How To Make a Revolution.** Donation for all day Saturday, including lunch: \$1.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station).

VOICES OF DISSENT. Speakers on Women's National Abortion Action Coalition conference held July 15-16. Wed., July 19, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., July 22, 6 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Dinner served at 6:30 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

Tues., July 18: **Class Nature of the Soviet Union.** Teacher: Peter Buch.

Wed., July 19: **Stalinism and Women's Liberation.** Teacher: Cindy Jaquith, staff writer for *The Militant*.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES: HEAR CARLOS FELICIANO. Speakers: Carlos Feliciano, Puerto-Rican nationalist; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress

from 12th C.D. Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donations: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by the Militant Forum. Dinner at 6 p.m., \$1.50. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. 50c per class. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

Mon., July 17, and Thurs., July 20: Classes 3 and 4 in a 5-class series on **Stalinism**.

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND ON LENIN ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. Three talks by Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310. \$1 for all three lectures, 50c per class. Sponsored by the Chicago Socialist Summer School. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

Fri., July 21, 7:30 p.m.: **The Question of Self-determination.**

Sat., July 22, 11 a.m.: **Democratic Demands and National Movements**; 3 p.m.: **The Leninist Party and the National Question.**

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Wednesday evenings at 6:45 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Dinner at 6 p.m. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.

Mon., July 17: **Chile: The Unidad Popular of Allende.**

Wed., July 19: **The Trade Unions and the Class Struggle.**

Mon., July 24: **The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours.**

DENVER

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.

Tues., July 18: **The Soviets and the Last Coalition.**

Thurs., July 20: **The Fourth International and World War II.**

Sun., July 23: **History of the SWP: 1945-1950.**

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at Wayne State University, State Hall, Rm. 101, 7 p.m. 50c per class. For more information, call (313) TE 1-6135.

Mon., July 17: **How an Oppressed Nationality Can Change Society.**

Wed., July 19: **The Black Struggle Today.**

Mon., July 24: **Stalinism and the National Struggle.**

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND ON FEMINISM TODAY. Teacher: Cindy Jaquith, staff writer for *The Militant*. Saturday classes held at Wayne State University, State Hall, Room 101. 50c per session. Donation for entire weekend, including dinner party, \$3. For more information, call (313) TE 1-6135.

FORUM: Fri., July 21, 8 p.m.: **The Women's Movement in an Election Year**, including firsthand report on WONAAC conference. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

CLASSES: Sat., July 22, 11 a.m.: **Origins of Women's Oppression**; 1:30 p.m.: **Feminism and Socialism.** Dinner party, 4 p.m., 75 McLean, Highland Park.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m., through July 27. All sessions in the University Center at the University of Houston. Information and class schedules at Pathfinder Bookstore, 6409 Lyons Ave. Classes include: **The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The United Front vs. the Popular Front.** For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

HEAR JOHN RATLIFF, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from 3rd C.D. Fri., July 21, 6:30-9 p.m. on **WELI-AM**, 960.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN AMERICA. A series of classes sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. 50c per class. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 19: **The 1953 Split in the Fourth International.** Guest instructor: Tom Kerry, national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and former editor, *International Socialist Review*. Co-sponsored by **Upper West Side Socialist Summer School**.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. 50c per class. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

Mon., July 17: **The United Front vs. the Popular Front, the Spanish Civil War.** Teacher: Bill Massey.

Thurs., July 20: **Chile—The Unidad Popular of Allende.** Teacher: Richard Hill.

Mon., July 24: **What is Stalinism.** Teacher: Russell Block.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held on Sunday at 4 p.m. and Tuesday evenings at 6:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). 50c per class. For more information, call (215) WA 5-4316.

PORTLAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201. 50c per class. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

Tues., July 18: **Foreign Policy of the Stalinist Bureaucracy.** Teacher: George Kantanis.

Thurs., July 20: **Soviet Union, Women and Family, National Question, Youth and Culture.** Teacher: Phil Hardy.

SAN FRANCISCO

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 2338 Market St. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

Mon., July 17, and Thurs., July 20: **History of the Russian Revolution.**

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at University of Washington **HUB** (room will be posted). 50c per class. For more information, call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., July 20, 8 p.m.: **United Front vs. Popular Front** (second session). Teacher: Mike Arnall.

Mon., July 24, 8 p.m.: **United Front vs. Popular Front** (third session). Teacher: Helen Meyers.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY: Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, **KPFK-FM**, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. 50c per class. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

Thurs., July 20, and Mon., July 24: classes on **Aspects of Socialist Election Policy.**

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. 75c per class. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Wed., July 19: **The CP and the Current Radicalization.** Fri., July 21, 8 p.m.: **Why a Leninist Party?** Teacher: Les Evans, editor, *International Socialist Review*.

Achtung!

Was ist Ihnen bei einer Wochenzeitung wichtiger: Aktualität, Genauigkeit, oder Kritik?

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

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

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Lloyd, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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Recently Kris and Pedro Vasquez decided to join the YSA. Kris and Pedro were among the founders of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) and have been leading activists in Raza Contra la Guerra, a Chicano antiwar group.

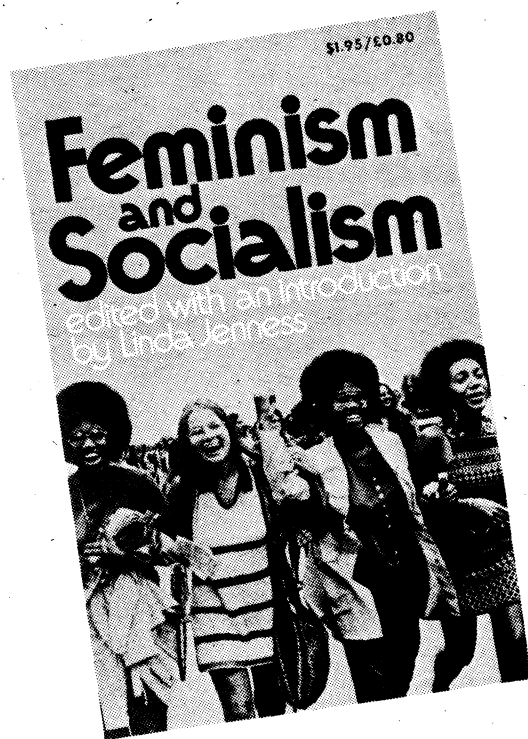
Pointing to the reasons for joining the YSA, Pedro commented: "My ideas developed in struggles demanding Chicano control of the Chicano community. . . . I was one who began to realize that it was this whole system that needed, not to be overhauled, but to be replaced."

"We Raza members of the Young Socialist Alliance," Vasquez explained, ". . . wish to organize and mobilize our Raza against capitalist oppression. We stand for the building of a socialist society—where we as Chicanos can determine our own lives and futures."

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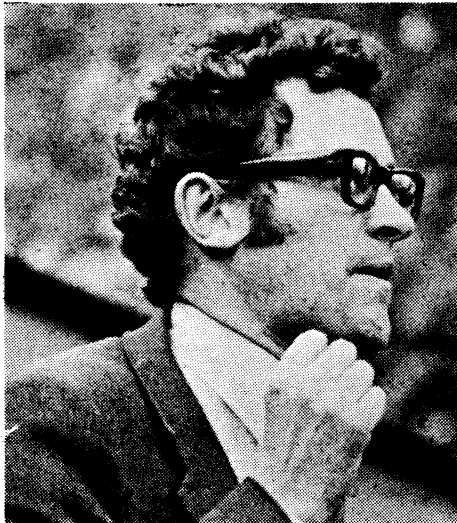
More British troops sent to N. Ireland

By DAVE FRANKEL

JULY 11—Another 1,200 British troops have been ordered to Northern Ireland following the breakdown of the truce between the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the British army on July 9.

The Provisionals ended their participation in the truce because of an incident in the Andersonstown section of Belfast. Although British officials had allocated a number of empty houses in that area to 16 homeless Catholic families, the right-wing Ulster Defense Association wouldn't allow the families to occupy the houses.

The British army refused to protect the homeless families. When a march of 1,000 Catholics was organized to



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Sean Kenny

install them in the empty houses, the army attacked the marchers.

The British army's reaction to the Andersonstown march is one more example of the role it has played as a bulwark of the traditional system of discrimination and oppression directed at the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. Similarly, internment and arms searches have been directed only against the Catholic ghetto areas.

Sean Kenny, a spokesman for the Official IRA, said at a New York news conference on July 10 that "the resumption of the bombing campaign by the Provisionals will bring civil war nearer." Kenny said that the Official IRA continued to support the

truce and would work to put pressure on the Provisionals to end their bombing campaign.

Kenny also condemned the U. S. government's convening of a grand jury in Fort Worth, Texas, to investigate alleged violations of the gun laws by groups aiding the IRA. Four American citizens and three British subjects have been called by the grand jury. Five have been imprisoned for refusing to answer questions.

Although those imprisoned were in no way connected with the Official IRA, Kenny demanded their release. "This is the first step," he said, "towards interference with the rights of all groups supporting the Irish freedom struggle. We must defend the right to work legally and openly."

N.Y. assault described by gay activist

By JEANNE LAWRENCE

NEW YORK—Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) member Morty Manford spoke to 80 people at the Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum here on July 7. Manford is one of five gays who were savagely beaten while leafletting a news reporters' dinner at the New York Hilton on April 15. The GAA was protesting the discriminatory treatment of gay people by the news media.

One of those who attacked Manford at the Hilton was Michael Maye, president of the Uniformed Firefighters Association. Maye kicked Manford in the stomach and the groin. Another GAA member, Jim Owles, suffered serious injury to one eye.

The GAA filed charges of assault against Maye, but a grand jury hearing on the case reduced the charges to "harassment." On July 5, Maye was acquitted of all charges.

Criminal Court Judge Shirley Levittan found Maye innocent despite the fact that five prominent city ad-

ministrators testified against him. These included Leonard Cohen, deputy borough president of Manhattan; Jerome Kretchmer, New York environmental protection administrator; and Mark Steinberg, a former aide to Mayor John Lindsay.

At the July 7 forum Manford explained that the GAA was unable to get any cooperation from the police in its efforts to identify other attackers. He told the audience cops said they were reluctant to "believe the stories of creeps like you." It took five weeks after the April 15 beatings for Maye to be charged with harassment.

Manford also pointed out that during the selection of the grand jury, prospective jurors were never questioned regarding possible prejudices against homosexuals.

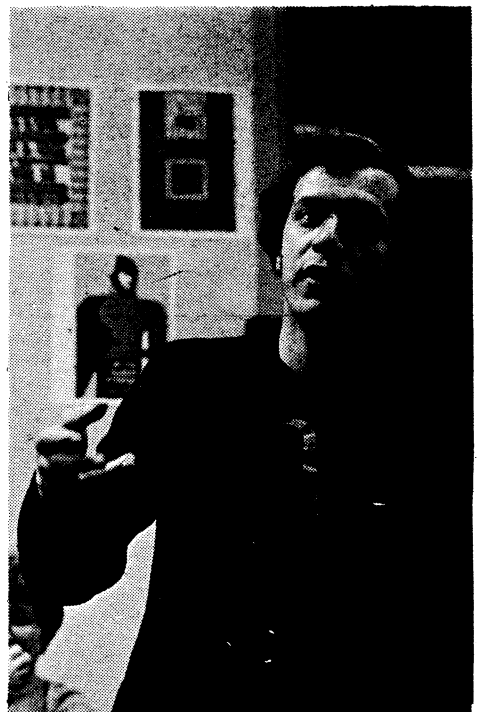
At Maye's trial, Manford was able to identify another person who had beaten him at the Hilton—Firefighters union vice-president David McCormick, who appeared as a defense witness. The GAA is now in the process

of bringing charges against McCormick.

"We are starting to move more and more into specific aspects of our oppression," said Manford, "for example, exposing Maye and these attackers." Manford described some of the actions the GAA has organized recently, such as an April 10 demonstration at the New York *Daily News* to protest a vicious anti-gay editorial, and the New York Hilton action.

"There will not be an attack on gays now without thinking twice," Manford said. "In three years the gay community has transformed itself from a frightened and hidden bloc of people into an angry and visible movement storming the morally corrupt Bastilles of the present day."

For more information or to contribute to the GAA defense efforts, contact Gay Activists Alliance Legal Defense and Bail Fund, Box 2, Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 226-8572.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Morty Manford

20,000 Boston hardhats: 'We want jobs!'

By MARK SEVERS

BOSTON—About 20,000 construction workers rallied at the State Capitol here on June 28 to protest Governor Sargent's veto of a multimillion-dollar renewal project that would create several thousand new jobs. The project was proposed by Boston Mayor Kevin White to renovate a section of downtown Boston.

The demonstration was called by the Buildings and Construction Trades Council of Greater Boston. Busloads of workers came in from outlying construction sites to join workers from city construction projects. Many risked losing a day's pay.

As the demonstrators assembled at City Hall, a few blocks from the capitol, the workers began to chant, "We want jobs!" As the marchers proceeded to the capitol, nearly everyone picked up the chant. A dummy with the word "unemployment" written on it was

hung in effigy.

When the marchers gathered at the capitol, the union officials attempted to speak. But even though they were using sound equipment, they were drowned out by the chant "We want jobs." Soon the workers started chanting, "We want Sargent."

Sargent finally emerged from the capitol and was greeted with a loud chorus of boos. When he attempted to address the crowd every statement was met with increasingly louder boos. Even when he said, "You want jobs; I want jobs too," the sound of boos drowned him out. The union officials tried to dampen the militancy but were also drowned out by the chanting.

As Sargent completed his remarks and turned to go back into the capitol with some union leaders, several workers attempted to follow. A slight scuffle between some of the workers and the

capitol police ensued.

When the union leaders attempted to disperse the huge crowd, the workers refused to leave and continued to move up the capitol steps. For almost an hour repeated attempts to disperse the crowd failed; each bureaucrat was met with boos and chants. Finally, Sargent came back out again, and the demonstration broke up.

The call for the demonstration, drawn up by the building-trades officials, included a reactionary protest against the state's insistence on hiring Black and Puerto Rican workers on publicly financed construction projects.

But this was not picked up by the workers on the march. All the demonstrators I interviewed agreed that the hiring of Black and Puerto Rican workers was not the issue. All agreed that the central demand of the demonstration was for more jobs. Sev-

eral workers told me that the antiwar movement had won some of its objectives with demonstrations and that it was time for workers to start organizing demonstrations for jobs.

In a statement released to the news media in Boston, John Powers Jr., Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 8th C.D., supported the demonstrating workers. "The workers are justly demanding 'jobs for all now,'" he said. "But another insurance high-rise building like Park Plaza is not the answer. We need a 30-hour workweek with 40-hours pay, so that the unemployed, both Black and white, can be trained and helped to find jobs."

Powers called for building low-cost housing, new schools, more hospitals, more recreation centers for the youth and elderly, and a free mass-transit system to help provide jobs.