

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34 No. 29

Friday, July 24, 1970

Price 15c

Aug. 6-9 actions planned

p. 3

Equal rights and protective laws

p. 4

Revolutionaries in China's jails

p. 5

Interview with El Fateh leader

p. 8

WHY ASBURY PARK GHETTO EXPLODED

By DERRICK MORRISON

ASBURY PARK, N.J.—Asbury Park is a neat little town of 22,000 people situated on the Atlantic Ocean. Its main attraction is its beaches, which make it a summer resort for thousands of people. In fact, it is normal for the population of Asbury Park to swell to around 80,000 people on the weekends during the summer months.

But this heavenly state of affairs came to an end on Saturday, July 4. That day, and for three subsequent days, Asbury Park's Black ghetto, which holds 47 percent of the population, rose up in rebellion.

Along Springwood Avenue, the main thoroughfare of the ghetto, white-owned stores were burned out after an expropriation of their goods. On Tuesday, the last day of the rebellion, several hundred Black youth stormed across the Penn Central train tracks that set off the ghetto from the rest of the city and the ocean. The business district begins of the other side of the tracks. Several stores were expropriated before the youth were viciously set upon by state and Asbury Park police. State police shotgunned 43 people in this incident.

After the rising was over, more than 100 people had been arrested and 165 were injured.

On Monday, July 13, I and two other *Militant* correspondents, B.R. Washington and Joseph Harris, talked with Willie Hamm and

Rochelle Sweet Jr., two of the spokesmen for the Black community. Hamm is 37 years old and an administrator for Rutgers University. Rochelle is in his early 20s and was a student at nearby Brookdale Community College. He is one of the leaders of a youth group called Uhuru (Swahili word meaning freedom). We talked with them in the West End Community Center.

In describing the conditions that led to the rebellion, Hamm stated, "There isn't a home over here—except maybe three or four—that can provide modern or standard-type living conditions. The urban renewal program has been an eyesore for a number of years.

"An urban renewal plan was laid down in 1960, to be completed in 1968. The plan would have taken all the vacant land and built individual-type homes. The city government was also going to remove old structures and build new homes that would be sold back to those who were dislocated.

"But somehow, the money never got down to the community. People were evicted very hastily from their homes. There were cases of people going to work in the morning and returning home to find their furniture standing on the sidewalk and their homes demolished. Some had heart attacks over all this. And some were never paid for their homes that were destroyed.

"An issue that I brought to the attention of the public last year was the disappearance

of a grant of \$500,000 that had been given to Asbury Park for the creation of a community park. This fact came out in a question-and-answer period before city council.

"This park site was laid out by the urban planners back in 1960. It was to contain seating and shade tree areas and areas for baseball, softball, football, and tennis. Well, now the site has a school on it. It is still under construction, to be completed this fall.

"The problem is that there is no park in this community. Now on the east side of town, there are four parks. And in that community, you have many people who live there, some who maintain residency there but do not live there, and others that are very elderly. There are very few children in that community, leaving the parks idle 24 hours a day.

"Our schools underscore the point where the children are at. More than 85 percent of the student body at Asbury Park High School is Black. A lot of the white kids who attend school here come from outside the city. As far as Asbury Park citizenry is concerned, 75 percent of all the students are Black. They live in this community but have no place to play, which contributes to the drug abuse problem and leads to idleness. Our children are out where the wine and whiskey is because there is no place for them to hang out."

In reference to the new school, Rochelle

(Continued on page 16)



Springwood Ave., the ghetto, Asbury Park

Photo by B. R. Washington

Layoffs, speedup hit auto workers

Industry in a crisis

Fremont, Calif.

As the fall auto negotiations approach, the auto industry is in crisis. International competition is being stepped up, and cost cutting through automation and speedup is the price the U.S. auto manufacturers want to make the workers pay.

Last year's three-month strike in Flint Fisher Body against GM over production quotas, the recent closing of the Ford plant in Dallas, the plans for building new plants for mini-cars which will nearly double the number of cars produced per man-hour are outward signs of the sharpening crisis. Inside the GM Fremont plant we are suffering the most intensified changes in work standards (speedup) and cost-cutting methods that our plant has ever had.

The direct visible effects of cost cutting can be seen in the two cutbacks in production which have laid off approximately 1,000 workers at our plant and also in a cutback affecting 10 percent of salary.

Each department, group and assembly line has just recently felt the effects of job elimination of inspectors, utilitymen, line assemblers, material handlers, etc., while still maintaining the present units-per-hour level of production.

Our local shop committee and officers remain silent on these attacks, unable to offer even mild criticism much less solutions to conditions that grow worse.

The petty bureaucrats who control our local union and follow behind the International UAW officialdom have all they can do to blunt and contain the hostile and explosive force that is building up inside our plant over rapidly deteriorating working conditions.

Tom Cagle

Student strike center closed; protest urged

Garden City, N. Y.

You may have read in *Newsday* or in the *Daily News* about the closing of the strike center at Nassau Community College. However, the facts are not all in those articles.

The strike center was used for organizing and educating against the war in Indochina. Among the things we were doing was carrying out classes

Letters from our readers

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

and discussions about the war in Indochina; distributing material; running off leaflets on a mimeograph we rented; holding public meetings as well as organizational meetings.

We were driven out of the strike center because the administration does not like what we are doing. We ask you to protest the closing of the strike center and to write or call the president of the college and ask him to permit us to continue our work in the strike center. Please send copies of messages to us.

We will continue to organize and educate against the war in Indochina no matter what the administration does. We feel, however, that the closing of our strike center is an attack on the rights of all students to express their point of view and ask your support on that basis.

Strike Committee
c/o Prof. Porter Kirkwood
Sociology Dept.
Nassau Community College
Garden City, N. Y.

In the mainstream of the struggle

Seattle, Wash.

I have read all sorts of "radical" papers; these were either infantile ultra-left or bourgeois collaborationist. *The Militant* is in the mainstream of the struggle and gives the revolutionary working class viewpoint in every article.

Keep publishing more articles on the Palestinian liberation movement.

Victory to the Palestinian freedom fighters!

A new reader

PL and motion on marshaling

New York, N. Y.

I agree with the main point made in H.C.'s letter in the July 10 *Militant* that effective marshaling curbed the disruptive intentions of the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society at the June 19-21 Cleveland antiwar conference.

However, in the interests of accuracy I must point out that H. C.'s first paragraph contains a factual error. H. C. refers to the defeated "motion by the Progressive Labor-SDS faction to dispense with the marshaling system that functioned throughout the conference and during the anti-Agnew demonstration that weekend." It is true that this motion was supported by PL and SDS, but the motion was made by a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. PL and SDS did not speak on this motion, which would have given them free rein to break up the conference, but simply restricted themselves to applauding and voting for it.

Arthur Maglin

For expanded Militant

Boston, Mass.

Enclosed find four subscriptions. We are impressed by and appreciate the jump to 20 pages. Hope you can continue it and expand further.

Bill Scheer

[We are aiming to expand the size of the paper on a permanent basis. To do so, however, requires financial resources which we do not have at the present time. — Editor]

On building mass movements

Neches, Texas

I thoroughly agree with the SWP-YSA and Student Mobilization Committee position of the single issue campaign "Bring All Troops Home From Indochina Now!" This slogan will gain the most support from all honest Americans who believe in peace and the right of the people of Indochina to decide their own fate. This is the best slogan as well in saving the lives of American servicemen of all races and is the best slogan to stabilize the economy, as much as possible, as well.

Separate mass movements should

THE MILITANT

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

Volume 34



Number 29

Friday, July 24, 1970

Closing news date—July 15

also be built on such individual issues as racism, ecology, women's liberation and anti-imperialism. Each movement should be separate to gain the widest consensus of support.

Continued and increased support should be given to the Black liberation struggle, the Chicano struggle (including their new Chicano Party), and the new Native-American (Indian) struggle. Besides these struggles, don't forget the Asian-American, the Native-Hawaiian, the Eskimo-Aleut, the Jewish people in their fight against anti-Semitism, and last but not least, the Puerto Rican Independence struggle.

Above all be always sincere in your dealing on all issues. The Communist Party of the U.S. as well as the Social Democrats have been so insincere in the past that it's hard to trust them on any issue.

Wayne Griggs

From a Canadian

Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

The Militant is a great paper. If it were not for your excellent coverage of recent developments in the U.S. student movement (the antiwar university), we would have been left completely in the dark. The bourgeois press here did a better than usual job of imposing a news blackout.

The new *International Socialist Review* [see ad elsewhere in this issue] marks a qualitative step forward in the development of a popular theoretical magazine. The articles in it are both extremely relevant and timely. Particular examples that come to mind are, in the May issue: Larry Seigle's "Ten Years of the New Left," and in the June issue: Novack's "Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism" and Mandel's "World Revolution Today—Trotskyism or Stalinism."

Jude Keast

From Ft. Ord stockade

Ft. Ord, Calif.

I've been a reader of both *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* for some time now. Due to the fact that I'll be in the stockade for a few months to come, I'll no longer be able to purchase your publications on the "local stands."

Enclosed [with subscription] is an extra buck in the hope that you might be able to send me a few back copies of both, as I've been confined to the fort for the past few months.

A private

Cancels subscription

Trevose, Pa.

Please cancel my subscription, as after much analysis, I have found it to be nothing more than pure Pro-Communist propaganda and a threat to our American Democracy of which I am proud.

It is most unfortunate that there are people susceptible to your perverted abuse of our freedoms.

I challenge you to publish this letter.
Steve J. Pritz

YSA

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

Join.

- ☐ I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA.
- ☐ I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
- ☐ ENCLOSED IS 75 FOR "INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE."

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ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ TELEPHONE _____

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

August 6-9 protests called in many cities



This building in Hiroshima stands as one of the city's monuments to one of the most barbaric acts in human history—the U.S. atomic bombing of Aug. 6, 1945.

By ERNIE DOUGLAS

Antiwar forces are building toward August 6-9, target date for the summer round of Vietnam protests throughout the nation called by the June 19-21 antiwar conference in Cleveland.

Candlelight ceremonies, marches, rallies, memorial meetings and discussions will mark the nationwide observances on the 25th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The atomic destruction of the two Japanese cities by the U.S. has been commemorated annually in recent years by antiwar activities linking the mass slaughter of August 1945 to its contemporary parallel in Vietnam.

Across the country, soundings of antiwar groups indicate that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Day demonstrations will be numerous but low-key. Plans have begun to jell in some cities. With all reports not yet in, this is a rundown on some protests which are coming off the drawing board and are now in preparation:

Arizona: A memorial demonstra-

tion and meeting is scheduled for Scottsdale.

Atlanta: The Atlanta Mobilization Committee and other groups plan a march from Piedmont Park to Hurt Park for a 2 p.m. rally Aug. 8.

Berkeley: Bay Area activities will focus on the radiation laboratory in nearby Livermore with plans now centered on a morning of workshops Aug. 8 and a march to the laboratory.

Boston: Under the auspices of the newly formed Boston Peace Action Coalition — composed of 12 groups — the antiwar movement will kick off activities in the Hub Aug. 6 with a memorial meeting, followed by three days of education-oriented programs.

Chicago: A march through the Loop is planned for Aug. 8.

Cleveland: Activists project a community-wide meeting for Aug. 9 to combine a memorial to the Japanese dead and a discussion of perspectives for the fall antiwar movement.

Detroit: Plans are being firmed up in the Motor City for memorial activities scheduled for Aug. 6-9.

Madison: Students at the U of Wisconsin plan an Aug. 6 memorial protest.

New York: There's a full week of events planned starting off with an Aug. 2 reception for six Japanese survivors of Hiroshima at a Riverside Church service. A four-day round-the-clock vigil at the Atomic Energy Commission and Selective Service begins Aug. 3. On Aug. 4, antiwar groups plan a public mass meeting at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64 St., at 8 p.m. A candlelight vigil at Times Square begins at 7:30 p.m. Aug. 5 and culminates with a floating lantern ceremony in Central Park. A demonstration at Riverside Research Institute's weapons lab is planned for Aug. 6. The week will wrap up Aug. 8 with a march and rally, noon to 3:30 p.m.

Philadelphia: A candlelight rally at City Hall is on the agenda for Aug. 6 beginning at 7:30 p.m. Building the Hiroshima Day action out of the SMC headquarters at 928 Chestnut St., organizers report that sponsors for the rally include J. J. Spillane, subregional director of the United Auto Workers, the Philadelphia Subregional UAW, Citizens for Progress, Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, SMC, Ethel Taylor of Women Strike for Peace, the Rev. John Studebaker and the Council of Black Clergy.

Legal setback is suffered in New York ballot fight

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK, July 15 — Supreme Court justice John Harlan yesterday granted the New York State attorney general a stay in implementing a June 24 ruling by a three-judge federal court which declared unconstitutional sections of the New York election law. The attorney general thus won a victory in a last-ditch attempt to prevent the court ruling from taking effect.

The suit challenging the law was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. It challenged sections requiring minority parties to gather at least 50 signatures on nominating petitions in each of New York's 61 counties; to sign, a voter had to be registered at the time of the preceding general election. The June 24 ruling meant that signatures could be collected anywhere in the state.

The SWP suit was combined with a similar one filed by the Socialist Labor Party.

Remarkably broad support for the challenge has been won in recent weeks by the Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York. Sponsors include a number of well-known literary and civil liberties figures, as well as candidates for state and national office of other parties. These include Arthur Goldberg, Democratic nominee, governor; Sen. Charles Goodell; Richard Ottinger, Democratic nominee, U.S. senator; Rep. Adam Clayton Powell; Adam Walinsky, Democratic nominee, attorney general of New York; and others.

The state appealed to an individual Supreme Court justice because the Supreme Court is not currently in session. When it reconvenes next October, it is expected to uphold the ruling declaring the New York law unconstitutional since it has previously upheld similar challenges in other states.

As soon as word of Harlan's decision was received, Leonard Boudin, chief counsel for the NECLC, and Bert Nueborne of the New York Civil Liberties Union, who is representing the SLP, sent him a telegram requesting that he reconsider and hear oral arguments. He agreed to reconsider, and arguments will be presented this week. Affidavits will now be submitted containing new evidence against a



Kipp Dawson, New York SWP candidate for U. S. Senate

stay. (Among such evidence is the fact that Harlan's decision, coming as it did several days after the opening of the petition period, meant that the petitions, re-worded to conform to the earlier ruling that was still in effect, would now be invalid. The thousands of signatures already collected would have to be thrown out.)

The brief submitted to Harlan last week requested him to deny the state's appeal for a stay on several grounds. The main ones were that in view of recent decisions by the Supreme Court in similar cases, the state "has no likelihood of success on appeal"; a stay would result in "immediate and irreparable injury" since finances and other resources have been reallocated in accord with the ruling of the court on June 24; and the state has been "striking in its failure" to show how the ruling in favor of the SWP would harm the electoral process. A stay, says the brief, "would turn the clock back as if neither this court nor the court below [the three-judge federal court] had ever spoken on the subject."

Complying with the unconstitutional election law at this point would restrict the SWP's petitioning efforts and its campaign in general even more than it would have originally.

In light of these considerations, the SWP plans to go ahead and file its nominating petitions in accordance with the June 24 ruling, confident that next October the Supreme Court will uphold that ruling.

L.A. SWP reopens hall to celebrate 26th of July

LOS ANGELES — Heavily armed Cuban counterrevolutionary *gusanos* [worms] seriously miscalculated when they thought that by assaulting the Socialist Workers Campaign headquarters here on May 27 they would put the SWP out of business. Adopting the slogan "More Business Than Usual," revolutionists and friends here have continued and in some cases stepped up their activities since the attack. On May 30, three days later, for instance, they were active participants in Memorial Day antiwar actions.

They also rallied to help initiate, together with persons representing broad social layers and differing political views, the Citizens' Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression, a broad defense group designed to put pressure on local and state authorities to apprehend the assailants and to help prevent such attacks in the future.

At the same time, a massive effort to repair the extensive damage to the campaign headquarters was undertaken. The renovation has been largely completed and the offices are now ready for full activity.

To celebrate this renovation, as well

as the anniversary of the Cuban 26 of July Movement, a banquet will be held on Saturday, July 25. The featured speaker will be Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Texas and a participant in the Venceremos Cane-cutting Brigade that went to Cuba earlier this year. The banquet will be held at 1702 E. 4th St., at 6 p.m. Tickets are \$3 for students, \$5 for adults. For more information, call (213) 269-4953.

III. SWP opens ballot drive

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party kicked off its drive July 11 to collect 40,000 signatures on nominating petitions to put its slate of candidates on the ballot in the fall elections. More than 18,000 signatures were collected on the first day. It may be possible to wind up the operation within a week.

At a predominantly Black shopping center on Chicago's West Side, people stood in line for a chance to sign. One campaigner alone collected more than 600 signatures the first day. While this was doubtless a record high for one person, it was also a dramatic sign of the deepening radicalization and the mounting dissatisfaction with the war and the Democratic and Republican parties.

We're back to normal size

With this issue *The Militant* is returning to its regular 16-page size. Our last five issues have been special 20 pagers. In the future, we hope to be able to expand to a regular 20-page format, but in order to do so we will need increased support from our readers. If you can help, send contributions to *The Militant*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Women's rights and protective laws

Expanding equal rights legislation

By CAROLINE LUND

A debate is arising within the women's liberation movement on what position to take regarding the proposed women's Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution (ERA) and on the protective laws for women workers. This article, the first in a series of three, deals with background information on recent legislation on equal rights for women. The second article will deal with the origins and meaning of the protective laws for women workers. And the third article will deal with the positions taken by the Communist Party, which opposes the ERA and supports protective legislation, as well as that taken by the United Auto Workers Union, which, on the contrary, supports the ERA but opposes the protective laws.

The movement for the liberation of women, which has burst on the scene in the past two years, is already having an impact far beyond the limits of the organized groups themselves. Growing female militancy is forcing numerous legal concessions from the government. That is, the government is beginning to try to eliminate some of the most blatant forms of discrimination against women.

A major step forward in the fight for women's rights was the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, in hiring, upgrading and all other conditions of employment.

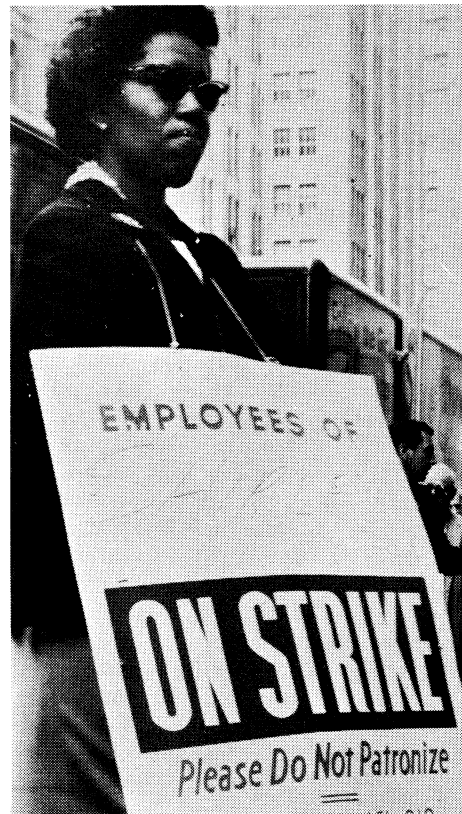
The addition of the word "sex" to this law was, however, not intended by the original proponents of the bill. The bill, passed in response to the rising militancy of the Black struggle, was amended to include the word "sex" on the day before the law was passed. The amendment was made by southern Democrat Howard Smith, as a joke and as a last-ditch attempt to defeat the bill.

The passage of the amendment was mainly due to the impact of the Black struggle in championing the human rights of all individuals. The amendment broadly extended the impact of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. In addition to seven million Black men and women workers, it also covered 21 million more white working women.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the agency set up to investigate charges of discrimination under Title VII, reported that during the first year of its operations one-third of its cases concerned discrimination on the basis of sex rather than race.

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act, a series of new state and federal laws dealing with the status of women have been passed or proposed.

Twenty-six states, for example, have passed state laws similar to Title VII. Last month President Nixon signed a new Executive Order banning discrimination against women on all federally contracted jobs. A similar order was signed by President Johnson in 1967, banning sex discrimination by government contractors for the first



time, but the Nixon order lists additional rights, such as maternity leaves.

In California, state senator Mervyn Dymally has introduced a series of 10 bills on equality for women in the California educational system. These bills would provide child-care centers for women students and staff, compensatory hiring of women, financial aid for women students to continue into graduate school, and elimination of all textbooks which portray women in stereotyped roles.

In addition, several states have recently repealed oppressive abortion laws and recognized the right of women to decide for themselves whether they want children or not.

Finally, increased attention is being paid to a proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution. This amendment reads, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be de-

nied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

A few of the major changes that would be brought about by passage of the ERA are the following:

1) Women could not be excluded from state colleges and universities, as they are now in a number of states, nor could they be subjected to higher admission standards than men.

2) Discrimination against women by state and local governments would be outlawed. (Government employers and educational institutions are exempted from having to conform to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.)

3) Equal pay would have to be instituted for public school teachers.

4) Women could not be exempted from serving on juries, and, theoretically, they would be liable to the draft.

These new laws have justifiably struck fear into the hearts of many employers who hire large numbers of women. Just to raise women's wages to equal those of men will take gigantic sums of money, let alone the costs of such things as child-care centers, job-training programs to bring women into new job categories, and paid maternity leaves—all of which are being increasingly demanded by women workers.

In 1963 the federal Equal Pay Act was passed, which backed up the poorly enforced equal pay laws existing in 36 states. As more and more legislation is passed for women's equal rights, it is easier for women to challenge unequal pay scales and get these laws enforced.

Thus it is not surprising that employers are intervening to stop this process of women winning greater rights both on the job and in other spheres. One tactic they are using is to attempt to prevent passage of laws ensuring greater rights to women. Another is to seek to do away with the state protective laws for women workers, with the argument that these laws are in contradiction to legislation barring discrimination against women.

(The protective laws, which vary from state to state, specify such things as minimum wages, maximum hours, adequate meal breaks, seating facilities on the job and other standards in working conditions.)

In California, for instance, the California Conference of Employers Associations hired 10 full-time lobbyists to oppose passage of a new state law, worded like Title VII, that would eliminate sex discrimination in all areas of employment. They finally succeeded in castrating the bill by getting an amendment added which would repeal all of the state's protective laws for women workers.

In New York and Michigan also, the state legislatures have recently repealed protective laws providing for a maximum 10-hour day for women workers.

Still another tactic the employers have tried is to use the protective laws themselves to discriminate against women and keep them in lower-paying jobs. For instance, laws on maximum weights that women can lift have been used by employers to classify jobs for men only on the basis of the weights that supposedly have to be lifted. This enables them to keep women out of certain jobs and pay them less.

But these attacks by employers on the rights of women workers are occurring at a time of increasing radicalization, greater legal recognition of women's rights, and a growing women's liberation movement.

The women's liberation movement has the responsibility to intervene in

British woman to speak in U.S.

A leader in the British women's liberation movement, Jo O'Brien, will be on a speaking tour in the U.S. the last week of July and the first week of August. Jo O'Brien is on the editorial board of *Socialist Woman*, a British women's liberation magazine.

She will speak on the development of the British women's liberation movement, including information on recent strikes by women workers in Britain, the role of the trade unions in women's equal rights struggles, the meaning of the Equal Pay Bill proposed by the Labour Party, abortion reform in Britain, and the activities of the women's liberation groups.

Jo O'Brien's schedule will be: New York—July 24, 25; Boston—July 26, 27; Toronto—July 28, 29; Cleveland—July 30, 31; Detroit—Aug. 1, 2; Chicago—Aug. 3-5; Minneapolis—Aug. 6, 7.

For further information on speaking engagements in these areas, contact the addresses listed in the socialist directory, page 15.

this situation, fighting for greater rights for women in all spheres, both general legal rights and rights and benefits for women on the job.

The winning of legal rights, such as the ERA and repeal of all abortion laws, will lay the groundwork for fighting the less blatant forms of oppression of women. And the struggle to defend the protective laws and decent working conditions for masses of women workers can help build a powerful link between the women's liberation movement and working women.

(To be continued)

Protests in L.A. on prison deaths of Chicanos

By BAXTER SMITH

LOS ANGELES—At a rally on Anglo Independence Day here July 4, around 300 members of the Chicano community protested the suspicious deaths during the past year of six Chicanos in jail, or in transit to jail, in East Los Angeles.

Sheriff's officials have described these events as "unfortunate incidents." The protesters viewed them somewhat differently.

Julia Mount of the Barrio Defense Committee related how three of the men were reported to have hanged themselves only hours after being booked. Family members had earlier overheard the racist sheriffs tell one of the victims that he had better watch himself or he would wind up hanged!

The elderly mother of another victim told of her son being involved in a dispute outside his home. Fearing for his life, she called the sheriff, hoping for protection. Her son was "taken into custody" for "creating a disturbance" and was reported dead upon arrival at the station—of a heart attack.

Another victim was allegedly beaten to death by a cellmate.

Rosalio Munoz of the Chicano Moratorium compared the oppression of Chicanos here in Aztlan to that of Chicano GIs and the Vietnamese people. It is part of the same overall strategy of the dollar-hungry gringo to systematically destroy the Vietnamese revolution while attempting to plunder and rape the Chicano community, he asserted.

Other speakers included members of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan), Carnalismo (Brotherhood), and family and friends of the victims.

mod donna

By Myrna Lamb

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

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

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

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Chinese Trotskyists victimized

Revolutionary fighters held in Mao's prisons

By LI FU-JEN

(The author has written a series of three articles on the Trotskyists who are imprisoned in China. We have combined here the first two articles, which appeared in the June 29 and July 13 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. The third and final article will appear in a coming issue of *The Militant*.)

I

Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration. The state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities. — Article 87, Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1954.

* * *

In December-January of 1952-53, in sweeping raids conducted by secret police agents of the People's Republic of China, all known Trotskyists were arrested and held for investigation. The nationwide operation had been well prepared. It was directed from the seat of power in Peking. Not only were known Trotskyists arrested, but also their friends and relatives. The police raids took place in the southwestern provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the central Yangtze provinces (particularly the Wuhan area) and extended northward to Peking and the northeastern provinces (Manchuria).

Because of the secretiveness of the Mao Tsetung regime where it concerns political opposition, I do not have complete and detailed information regarding the arrests and subsequent developments. However, friends close to the scene have reported that about 200 persons, men and women, were arrested. The prisoners were concentrated at three points: Shanghai, Wuhan and Peking. (Wuhan is the tri-city complex of Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang, at the confluence of the Yangtze and Han rivers, 600 miles west of Shanghai, and is now an important center of China's burgeoning heavy industry.)

What were the charges against the arrested Trotskyists and their friends? It is impossible to say, for there were no indictments, no public trials and no publicity in the Chinese press. Word reaching the outer world indicated that at closed hearings some of the arrestees were sentenced to hard-labor terms of five to ten years for "counter-revolutionary activities." No specific sentences were imposed on those considered the leaders. Their fate was to stay in prison indefinitely until they "reformed" — meaning until they renounced their political views and agreed to sing hosannahs to the genius of Mao Tsetung.

But whatever the charges may have

been, I know quite positively what the Trotskyists stood for and what they were against. They were unconditionally FOR the revolution that ended the era of Kuomintang-imperialist domination. They did NOT accept the Communist party regime of bureaucratic commandism and privilege masquerading in the guise of "people's democracy." They also rejected the type of policy that gave China's backing to the opportunism of Aidit in Indonesia — as if China's own tragic experience with this political poison in 1925-27 had never taken place. They wanted and they demanded a genuine people's democracy, with the right of political minorities to exist openly and legally.

For the Chinese Trotskyists none of this was new. Their leaders were seasoned revolutionary fighters, Marxist-Leninists. Some had served in Chiang Kai-shek's prisons before they came to know the jail cells of the People's Republic of China. Some of these comrades are known to me personally. To speak of them as "counterrevolutionaries" is to do violence to truth and reason.

What did they really do, these graduates of the school of revolution? Following the takeover of the country by the Communists, they continued to maintain, as far as possible, a group activity. They met together. They propagated their political ideas by word of mouth and the printed word. They committed no acts that could reasonably be construed as counterrevolutionary. In fact, there was no hint that the new regime considered their activity illegal until the sudden mass arrests in 1952-53.

The Constitution of the People's Republic was adopted at the First National People's Congress, September 20, 1954. As I noted at the beginning of this article, the Constitution guaranteed the broadest democratic rights to the people. Why, then, were the Trotskyists, who had then been behind bars more than one and a half years, not set free? Their offense was only the exercise of precisely those rights that Article 87 presumably vouchsafed to all citizens.

Sixteen years have passed since the adoption of China's "democratic" constitution. Fragmentary and often uncertain information from time to time had told of the death of some of the Trotskyist political prisoners. The survivors still languish in prison. Their continued incarceration is a stain on the Chinese revolution and a standing reproach to the government at Peking.

II

When Chairman Mao Tsetung's secret police agents pounced on the Trotskyists in December-January, 1952-53, they netted almost the entire cadre of the Chinese section of the Fourth International. Beyond their reach were those who had left the country three years before, when the People's Liberation Army completed the Communist party's takeover of the mainland.

It is of interest to note that the big sweep did not come until after the new regime had consolidated its rule and set up a national government at Peking. This suggests a question: If the Trotskyists were, as the government later alleged, criminal counter-



As it was in the Soviet Union in the days of the Stalin cult, photos of Chairman Mao dominate every public demonstration in China. And, also in the tradition of Stalin, revolutionary socialist fighters are jailed and killed by the regime for no other crime than an independent, anti-bureaucratic political perspective.

revolutionaries, why did it permit them to carry on their nefarious activities for three years without hindrance? The answer is that the accusation was trumped up to serve a political aim. Mao and his cohorts needed a pretext for cracking down on a revolutionary opposition considered likely to give them trouble as they laced the country into a bureaucratic strait-jacket.

No crimes were charged against the arrested men and women because no crimes had been committed. The blanket charge of "counterrevolutionary activities," devoid of any specifics, is reminiscent of Stalin's frame-up trials fifteen years earlier. The honorable records of the arrestees as revolutionary socialists alone are enough to refute the prosecutors' contrived accusation. Following are brief sketches of some of the imprisoned men:

Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of both the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, was born in 1901. He worked in Paris with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi (top leaders in the present Peking regime) at the end of World War I, and after the Bolshevik revolution went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Chen returned to China in 1925 to work in the Central Committee of the CCP. Having become proficient in English, French, German and Russian, he translated Communist textbooks into Chinese and engaged in the training of revolutionary cadres of the youth. During the high tide of the 1925-27 revolution, he played an important part in party work in the Wuhan area.

Following the defeat of the revolution, Chen became a Trotskyist. Arrested by the Kuomintang police, he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. With the onset of the Sino-Japa-

nese war in 1937, he was released, having served seven years. Chen spent most of his time during the next few years translating the works of Trotsky into Chinese. With Japan's surrender in 1945, he edited a semimonthly magazine, *The New Banner*, until it was proscribed by the Kuomintang.

When the People's Liberation Army took the city, some of the Trotskyists left for Hongkong to continue political activity from the outside. Chen and others remained in Shanghai, continuing their work until they were arrested. At this writing, Chen has lived as a political prisoner for twenty-five years—seven years under Chiang, eighteen years under Mao. Surely a record! He is now about seventy.

Chiang Tseng-tung. As a worker-communist, this comrade had a leading activist role in the Shanghai labor movement. He took part in the general strike and uprising in that city in 1925, continuing his work as a proletarian revolutionist under the Kuomintang dictatorship and, as a Trotskyist, upholding the banner of the Fourth International. He was arrested in the sweep by Mao's police in December, 1952. If alive, he is now about sixty years old.

Chou Jen-sen. A revolutionary intellectual. A teacher by profession, he taught in middle school (high school). Arrested by Mao's police in the Fukien port city of Amoy. Is believed imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ho Chi-sen. Student leader in Peking in early 1920s and joined the CCP shortly after its formation. During the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army that set out from Canton to wrest the country from the grip of reactionary warlords (1925-27), he played a leading role in revolutionary activity, together with

(Continued on page 12)

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Lifting a corner of the curtain

A reporter describes 'pacification' in Vietnam

By CAROLINE LUND

When Secretary of State Rogers returned to Washington after a two-week tour of Asia, his report to Nixon, according to the July 13 *New York Times*, was that "The United States must brace itself for a protracted war in Indochina" — hardly in line with the Nixonian propaganda about withdrawing troops and winning great victories.

But some interesting reports have appeared recently describing what is actually going on in Vietnam underneath the pronouncements of politicians like Rogers. An article by Gloria Emerson in the July 14 *New York Times* describes the bankruptcy of the so-called "pacification program" and the resistance to it by a Vietnamese village.

The village of Binhson is considered to be a supply depot and stronghold for the National Liberation Front. Virtually all the men of the village have left to join the NLF, leaving women, children, and older people.

Emerson writes that "Binhson is a hard place to 'pacify,' perhaps an impossible one. Thai soldiers work at it, Americans advise and pay for it, the South Vietnamese provide the police—and nothing seems to change."

The article goes on to describe what the "pacification" consists of. The village is encircled by miles of barbed wire and explosive mines, keeping the villagers imprisoned inside between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. Each house in the village is searched at a different time every day by South Vietnamese policemen, while, Emerson writes, "A psychological-warfare team headed by an American tries to make amends to the villagers."

The villagers have all been photographed and questioned. They are forbidden to buy more than one can of fish, and no dry fish at all, when they go shopping, because officials fear they will give it to the NLF. They

can only buy fresh fish, which rots quickly.

Thai troops, who are part of the occupation force of the village, boasted about killing three guerrillas one night. But, according to Emerson, "Some of the villagers feel that the three dead men may just have been unlucky civilians in the forest looking for mang, a bamboo plant they eat."

The "pacification program" can obviously never succeed — and has not during the past decade — because it is impossible to put a whole people into concentration camps and terrorize them into submission.

Further information came to light in the July 15 *Times* in an article by Takashi Oka revealing part of the real story behind the June 28 elections in South Vietnam for provincial and municipal councils. The Saigon government hailed these elections as a model of democracy, claiming that 75 percent of the people voted.

Oka reports the following about the way the elections were handled in one province of South Vietnam:

"Informants said that the day before the election, the province chief called in his civil and military assistants and told them that it was essential to keep Buddhists from a majority in the provincial council. The Buddhists, the province chief reportedly said, were pro-neutralist, and a victory on a national scale might provoke enraged army officers into a coup. To avoid this, the province chief reportedly said, the officials must see to it that the Buddhists were denied a majority.

"The province chief reportedly then told his assistants, who were in charge of the province's 51 polling stations, to increase totals for acceptable candidates by 10 percent by stuffing the ballot box from time to time, for example during the noon hour when few people come to the polls."

When it turned out that even the ten percent vote rigging was not



enough to defeat the Buddhist candidates, the polling officials, according to Oka, were awakened in the middle of the night and asked to sign new reports giving the government-favored candidates a majority in their districts.

The concentration camp pacification program, the widely publicized revelations concerning the "tiger cage" prisons on Con Son Island, and the latest fraudulent elections are further

indications of what is really meant by the U.S. rulers when they talk of the "free world" governments that American GIs are supposed to give their lives to defend and extend.

The nationwide antiwar demonstrations scheduled for Aug. 6-9 will be demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia — the only way the slaughter and destruction throughout Indochina will be stopped.

Austin socialists are target of new attacks by ultraright

AUSTIN—In the past weeks there have been two new attacks by ultrarightists here — one against a member of the Spartacist League, the other against Socialist Workers Party members.

Ruben Shiffman, Austin organizer for the Spartacist League, received a homemade bomb in the mail. The package carried the Austin Socialist Workers Party post office box as the return address.

Shiffman recognized the handwriting on the package from a threatening note he had previously received from a local right-wing, clandestine, self-proclaimed "counterrevolutionary" group called the Macabees. He immediately called the police, who sent a bomb squad to handle the package. It turned out that the bomb did not contain the necessary ingredients to explode; it was apparently an attempt at intimidation.

In another incident, during the night of July 3, all four tires were slashed on two cars belonging to members of the Socialist Workers Party. There

was nothing to identify who was responsible for this attack, but it took place on the day when a University of Texas hearing was to consider charges against the campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. University of Texas Board of Regents chairman Frank Erwin has been leading a campaign to have the YSA suspended as a recognized student organization because the socialist group has allegedly allowed more than three non-students to attend their Socialist Summer School classes at the university.

These two incidents are only the latest in a series of attempts at intimidation by ultra-right-wingers. On Feb. 3, a calling card of the Legion of Justice was found under the door of the Austin SWP headquarters. The Legion of Justice is an ultra-right-wing group which has carried out physical attacks on the SWP, the YSA and other radical groups in Chicago.

On May 27 a homemade bomb was found at the Austin SWP headquarters. It was defused by the Ft. Hood bomb disposal squad.

1000 at convention of Colo. Raza Unida

By ORRIN BROWN

BOULDER, Colo. — The fifth state nominating convention of the Colorado La Raza Unida Party was held on the University of Colorado campus here July 11. The convention added nine more candidates to the party's slate for state and local posts. The meeting was the largest so far, with close to 1,000 in attendance. Earlier meetings were held in Pueblo, Denver, Alamosa and Ft. Collins.

"It's just like rain," said Priscilla Salazar, party treasurer. "It began with a sprinkle, but is gaining momentum as the party reaches out all over the state. It's beginning to look like a downpour already."

Rather than have just one convention, La Raza Unida Party has been meeting in different areas around the state in order to "take the party to the people."

The new candidates, as well as some who had been chosen earlier, addressed the gathering. "Things have changed," said Ricardo Falcon, candidate for the state house of representatives, district 46. "We've been promised things for so long by the Republican and Democratic parties so that we would support their people for office. Once they get there they turn their backs on the people who put them in office. Things have changed. Now we are going to fight for a party that will speak to our needs because it is our party — La Raza Unida Party."

Al Gurule, who was chosen as the gubernatorial candidate at the Pueblo conference, spoke in the same vein. "The Democrats and Republicans are

getting very concerned," he said. "When they go to speak, they will tell the people they have come to hear the friendly voice of the Hispano. Well, I think that the people are tired of listening to the friendly voice of the Hispano. They are now going to listen to the more aggressive voice of the Chicano."

Candidates spoke on a number of subjects that affect the Chicano community, including the Vietnam war. "We are taking issue with the war in Vietnam," asserted Leo Valdez, candidate for state treasurer. "When our people are going out there and being used as cannon fodder, then I say we have to speak on that issue."

"One of our major efforts is to reach the college-age student who will now be able to vote for the first time," said Priscilla Salazar. Andres Gavaldon, leader of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) at the University of Colorado and La Raza candidate for Laramie County sheriff, commented on the relationship between UMAS and La Raza Unida Party: "This is the way we relate to the political system in this society. If we're going to get anything, we have to get it united as a third party. That way we will be recognized as a people, as a political force. . . . UMAS will start with voter registration, start educating all the people of La Raza to get them to vote for La Raza Unida. As you know, we have six or seven candidates from UMAS alone. UMAS is La Raza; La Raza is La Raza Unida."

The next conference is scheduled for July 26 in Rocky Ford, Colorado.

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

Women and Chicano liberation

By FROBEN LOZADA

The following is an interview with Enriqueta Vasquez, editor of *El Grito del Norte*, a Spanish-language Chicano paper published in Espanola, New Mexico. Froben Lozada, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for California attorney general, is currently touring Chicano communities in the Southwest.

* * *

Lozada: Do you think that the ideas in the Chicana workshop (women's liberation) resolution that came out of the Denver Chicano Youth Liberation Conference last March should be included in the program and ideology of La Raza Unida Party?

Vasquez: Well, I think that all the ideas of the Chicana workshop have to be included in everything. To begin with, any issue that the Chicano is talking about, that the movement in general is talking about, must include the woman. When you are talking about welfare you are talking about the woman; when you talk about crime or justice we talk about the woman. In the reformatories about 85 percent of the Chicanos there are from broken homes, so this means that the courts are having to be faced by women alone. And when you are talking about jobs, there are many women alone who have to go out and find a living and have to find housing.

In Denver, for example, 48 percent of the welfare recipients are Chicanas. Many are not given jobs because they have baby-sitting problems. Many are not given jobs because they are alone. And especially when you talk about health, you are talking about the Chicana. If you have a child that is not healthy, or if you don't have the money for a doctor, you are talking about a big problem of La Raza and it is faced by the Chicana.

The economy is a hard-hitting thing toward the Chicana. The Chicana is a total victim of the society we live in. But she doesn't realize how much she needs to get active in the Chicano movement.

And when we talk about culture especially, the Chicana is the center of the culture of our people. When we talk about raising children, teaching them Spanish and teaching them what we are and how we can live as a real challenge to the social system—it is one thing to challenge a system, but it's another thing to come up with something that is workable for our people. And in this area we have to come up with something that can work and that we know can work and we can live with, and the Chicana has the key to this.

We got this from our old people, our ancestors. We know a way of life, we know what our values are, and the Chicana is the one that takes care of the children, and she has to be-



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez, editor of *El Grito del Norte*, and Froben Lozada in San Cristobal, New Mexico.

come active and she has to be heard in this area.

So all of this ties in with La Familia de La Raza. You have to have the Chicana active thus completing La Familia, because everything the Chicano is saying the Chicana is feeling too. When we talk about the war, for example, that's another thing—that we're tired of raising our kids and feeding them into a war machine. The Chicana is the one who really feels that dolor (anguish), and when she gets mad and starts speaking up you're going to have a real Chicano movement—movement period.

Lozada: Do you feel that in the immediate future the Chicana will play a more important and vital role in the antiwar struggle also?

Vasquez: Absolutely. Eighty-six percent of the dollar is spent on the Defense Department and we don't even have those jobs. I worked at Hughes Aircraft in about '62, and there were 2,700 employees, yet only two were Raza. . . . The one place where we are well represented is "con el cuero," (with our hides), as our folks used to say. And we are getting tired of this! And when the Chicana gets active and knows this is happening to her children she is really going to raise Cain.

Lozada: Would you comment on your concept of La Familia de La Raza?

Vasquez: La Familia de La Raza is something that Raza can really live, because we understand the concept of living as human beings—as an extended family. For instance, many of us were raised in colonias, barrios, or villages, and old people used to look at the children as their children—regardless of whose children they were, and we see this now. It gives kids security because they not only have their own parents, but they look upon all their elders as their parents. . . . This is a way of life that has been handed down to us. It is a heritage of our Indian way of life.

When we talk about La Familia de La Raza we have to realize it's a big family. If we are really going to challenge this system on a human level this is going to be the level that we should really emphasize. Some of the young girls were asking me about La Familia de La Raza—they were looking at it as a unit. We have to remember that this is the gringo way, that is, as an alienated family, as a single unit. Raza is not that way.

Lozada: Fidel Castro made the remark that in the United States medicine is a big business whereas in Cuba they have eliminated polio and many other diseases and everybody has access to free medicine. What were some of your impressions along these lines when you visited Cuba?

Vasquez: We visited a clinica when they opened it and heard Fidel speak. He spoke to the people about how many children used to die from just smallpox or measles and all of the deaths they used to have. He spoke beautifully about el dolor de la mujer, de la madre cuando se le moria un nino (the grief of the woman, of the mother when her child would die); this was very humanistic.

He compared what they had before the revolution with what they have today to combat disease. We visited the clinic which was out in the country. It was very modern, but what was most beautiful was that it was free. . . . I had a sick child and it was so much worry, but not only worry. It is something to go to the hospital with a sick child and have them say, "We have to have \$50 before you can get him in." And here you have somebody sick!

Well, this isn't true in Cuba. Everything is free, and it should be that way.

I go to Mexico, I have a lot of family there, and you ask yourself, what happened to our beautiful revolution? In Mexico all you have to do is get off the highway and see how a very sophisticated and manipulative government is keeping those people down.

You go to Cuba and you see people sleeping on real mattresses, with bathrooms, and electricity. In Cuba everybody is benefiting, and it is a beautiful thing.

Lozada: What impressions with respect to Cuban women and the Cuban revolution did you bring back from your trip to Cuba?

Vasquez: In order to really appreciate the woman revolution in Cuba, one has to know what was going on inside Cuba before the revolution. At the time of Batista a young girl had no choice but to come into Havana and become a prostitute. You'd find young girls at 13 already becoming prostitutes. There wasn't anything for the woman to do. There wasn't anything else she could do. If she was married and had an unhappy home she had no choice but to live with it.

And now with what has happened to the woman in Cuba, she can get a job, she doesn't have to worry about the children. Not having the economic thing to worry about, with their change in government, she feels free. She owns herself. She doesn't have to do anything she doesn't want to. If she wants to enter some field and become a professional, she can do this.

And it is not based on a competitive thing. She is a completely free and equal human, which is the way it should be. There if a woman gets married it is because she wants to, not because she has to or because it's the thing to do or for economic security. This is one of the things that we have to look for also, even in the Chicana.

Lozada: Enriqueta, the international outlook of *El Grito del Norte* is outstanding among all Chicano papers. Could you tell us about it?

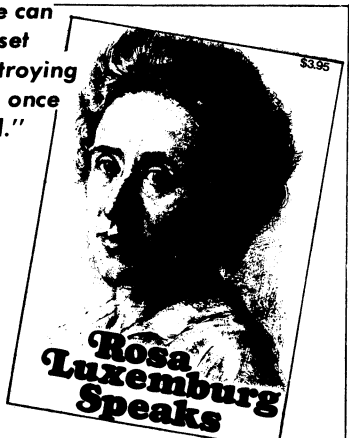
Vasquez: I think that this is something many of the Chicano papers should begin to do. We have to realize that with nationalism developing in the context of a racist country we have to tie our blood with Latin America. We are so brainwashed, we keep thinking that we are a minority, and this is one thing we have to begin to tell our people, that we are not a minority! We are a majority in this hemisphere. When we talk about culture, all we have to do is cross the border and visit our culture.

You know, they tell us we are the wetback, and that the mexicano crossed the river. Well, that's ridiculous! That border wasn't even there. Not only that, we were here about 25,000 years before the gringo wetback came across the ocean!

This is one of the things that we're talking about when we begin to talk more and more internationally. We have to know what is going on in other places. This country has 8 percent of the population and it is using 76 percent of the raw materials. Now where are these coming from? Latin America is a very important source. They are beginning Vietnamese in Latin America. Well, I'll be darned if I am going to raise a son to fight our Brown brothers in Latin America. This is one of the reasons it is very important for all Chicano papers to begin to look at Latin America as brother nations.

(Those interested in receiving *El Grito del Norte* may write P.O. Box 466 Fairview Station, Espanola, New Mexico 87532. A three-months subscription is \$1. One year is \$4. The paper is usually biweekly.)

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El Fateh spokesman disc

By CAROL LIPMAN

On June 25 I talked with Abu Omar, a spokesman for El Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian liberation organizations. He was visiting in Washington, D. C.

We began by discussing the roots of the recent crisis in Jordan, and why King Hussein was forced to back down from his moves against the guerrillas.

"The origin of the crisis," Abu Omar explained, "lies in the attempt of the government to side with imperialism by limiting or ending the activities of the Palestinian revolutionary movements. The government was not united on this policy, however, because there have been a whole series of attempts to control or liquidate the revolution, all of which have been unsuccessful and left the movement much stronger than before."

"So King Hussein had to back down because he was not able to rally enough power behind him. Some factions in the government and the army (especially members of the royal family like the king's uncle Sharif Nasser and his cousin Gen. Zaid Ben Shaker) thought that by acting firmly they could control the revolution. They were proven completely wrong by the course of events. So they had no choice but to retreat from their attempts to control the movement."

There had been charges of CIA involvement in the Jordanian moves against the guerrillas, and we asked Omar whether he knew of any evidence of this.

He thought it was important to note that the problem is much larger than just the CIA. "The Jordanian government has close ties with the American government. That is the problem—the whole American government, expressing itself through its ambassadors, through the CIA, through AID, and all its various organs."

"Through all its agents in Lebanon and Jordan, the U. S. government has been applauding and encouraging all attempts to control and liquidate the revolution."

We went on to discuss the question of the relationship between the Jordanian people and the Palestinian people, between the guerrilla forces and

the Jordanian people, and finally, between the guerrilla movement and the Bedouins, who supposedly have traditionally been on the side of the reactionary forces.

Abu Omar commented that the nationality labels "Palestinian" and "Jordanian" were not the most important questions. "It is very difficult to draw sharp lines between the Jordanian people and Palestinian people, because both peoples are part of the same society. The important thing is what predicament human beings face and what conceptions they have of life and of society."

"It is true," he said, "that the Palestinian people have suffered being thrown out and kept out of their own country. But one doesn't have to directly experience a given injustice to feel that he is threatened with it. The Jordanian and Palestinian people face the same general grievances."

Regarding the relationship of the Jordanian people to the guerrillas, Abu Omar continued, "It depends on the class or position of people in the society. The members of the establishment show various degrees of hostility, some of them pretending to support the guerrillas but not actually doing so. The masses of the people are sympathetic, expressing their sympathy by speaking out, by contributing in various ways, or by actually joining in the armed struggle."

"Bedouins," Abu Omar explained, in the past meant nomadic people who moved from place to place following the rains to find small patches of pasture land.

"There aren't many Bedouins left now," he noted. "Most of them have settled down to keep cattle and cultivate the land. But they still have a tribal structure and old attitudes. They tend to support hierarchic organizations or a traditional leadership like the king. If the king says something, they think, then who are they to have a different opinion?"

"The main problem," he continued, "is that they are not politicized. The revolution concerns itself with politicizing these segments of the population. We have special organizations and activities in these areas to win the

confidence of the population, such as medical services. We find that revolutionary doctors are very helpful in the process of starting a political dialogue with these sectors of the population."

I asked Abu Omar to briefly summarize the general aims of Fateh. "Fateh," he answered, "is fighting a national liberation struggle against the colonization of Palestine by Zionism, which is allied with world imperialism—led by the United States of America. Fateh sees itself as fighting the whole system of imperialism, through concentrating its attack on the concrete manifestation of imperialism in Palestine. We are for the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle and for the creation of a democratic, progressive Palestinian state not based on religion, where people can live without any discrimination on the basis of race, color or creed."

Regarding the meaning of Fateh's program for the Jews living in Palestine, Abu Omar thought that the revolution "should benefit the people of Jewish faith just as much as people of other faiths. What we hope will happen, as the revolution progresses, is that the Zionist ideology of exclusiveness and colonialism will be challenged. Progressive people in Jewish society will begin to analyze the history of Palestine in a scientific manner and will see that Israel is a colonial experience, a colonial society, a racist, exclusivist society implanted by force in Palestine through an alliance with imperialism."

"These people will begin to work toward creating a progressive society for human beings, not for Christians, Muslims or Jews. They will begin to fight against Zionism, against imperialism and for an independent society of people who want to live in Palestine regardless of their religion."

Abu Omar pointed out that revolutionary activities are developing inside the occupied territories of Palestine, although the conditions are much more difficult and therefore these actions are less visible.

"The Arab population—both Christian and Muslim—has been most active," he said, "but there have also been small numbers of Jews who have been working with the revolution politically

A Militant



Since creation of state of Israel, Jews driven from their homeland have proven a principal recruiting force.

as well as helping militarily in the armed struggle.

"There is a great need for more activity on the part of progressive Jews to create organizations and leadership in the fight against Zionism and to join with the armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine and the creation of a new society."

"We are not as strong in the occupied territories because conditions are more difficult, but this struggle will develop with the passage of time."

We moved on to a discussion of the membership criteria for joining Fateh, its social composition, and the role of women in the Palestine liberation movement.

Abu Omar began by stating, "Fateh calls itself a movement rather than a front or a party. Any individual who commits himself to the ideology and strategy of Fateh can become a full member after going through the stage of being a friend of the movement and then a candidate member."

"The social composition of Fateh covers the whole spectrum. As you would imagine, the people who join in guerrilla warfare activities, rather than simply pay money and contribute in other ways, are the dispossessed, the refugees who have nothing, neither work nor land. Many are ex-farmers or ex-peasants, who had a piece of land or worked a piece of land but who have no land now. Also ex-laborers who cannot find work, and revolutionary intellectuals."

"All segments of Palestinian society feel grievances against this occupation and will side with us on political questions. They are not part of the system that is against the revolution."

Concerning the role of women in Fateh, Abu Omar replied that the goal of the organization is that "women will be 50 percent of the revolution because they are 50 percent of the people."

"We do encounter many difficulties

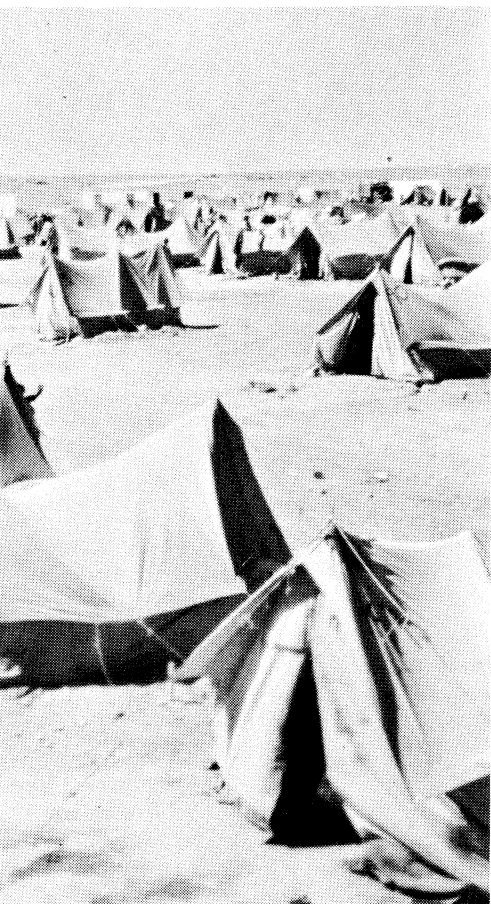


Palestinian commando receives training

Liberation News Service photo

Jesses Mideast revolution

Interview



Arab Information Center photo

masses of Palestinian Arabs have been refugee camps like this one. Camps ground for the Palestinian liberation

in attempting to carry this out, because the social environment we have to work in is conservative.

"In our attempts to mobilize women for revolutionary change, our approach is to stress the most important questions at the expense of more trivial questions. For example, if by wearing long skirts Fateh women can more easily discuss politics with other women and train them militarily, and if they could not accomplish this by wearing miniskirts, then we would choose the approach which would enable us to communicate with and organize the women.

"The problem of training revolutionary cadres is, of course, very important," he continued, "and with women it is even more important. We have a limited number of women cadres who are involved in training more cadres, but we are making progress in this direction. For the first time we have a women's organization, a women's union, which puts out a magazine dealing with specific problems of women.

"Women have been very active in the social institutions of the revolution, like taking care of families of the dead, and teaching.

"Women are members of our political organization the same way men are, but the men and women meet separately. There is some mixing between men and women on the cadre level.

"About a month ago we graduated the second group of Fateh militia women, who will participate just like men on guard duty and in defense of the revolution. For example, in the February crisis in Jordan, the women's organizations prepared the Molotov cocktails to use against the counterrevolutionary forces. Also women have been very effective in carrying out various activities against the occupying forces in occupied territories, because they are not as suspect."

My next question was on Fateh's relationships with the numerous other Palestinian liberation groups and also with the Arab governments. Abu Omar told us that Fateh works with 10 of the 11 existing fedayeen organizations.

"The eleventh," he said, "has not defined its position, but we will work with it when it defines its position clearly. This eleventh organization is the Partisans, which is the Communist organization.

"The Partisans did not come out for armed struggle until recently, and they still have not clarified the aims of the armed struggle they would support, so they are outside the framework of cooperation among the other groups.

"First we joined and helped revolutionize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)," he continued. "Most of the organizations were in the PLO. We founded the Palestine Armed Struggle Command to coordinate military activities, and also joined the Palestine National Council.

"At the last National Council meeting May 29 to June 4, Fateh put forth a military plan, and now we have a military council of all the fighting organizations. In addition to this, after the crisis of last February we organized unified militias in each city, with all militias working together under

one direction, despite the wide differences in rhetoric and strategy."

Fateh's position on relations with the Arab governments is to stress the importance of independence of the revolutionary movement. "Concretely," said Omar, "we think that the leadership of the struggle must be independent. The decisions and power of command must not come from outside the organization. To have the existing Arab governments involved in making decisions about the fate of the revolution is very dangerous in our opinion. The interests of the governments, given their structure, are not necessarily the same as the interests of the mass movement."

He thought that as the struggle deepens, the contradictions within the Arab societies themselves would deepen. "But," he stated, "we feel the main contradiction is between Zionist colonization, allied with imperialism, and the Palestinian people. It is true that imperialism is tied with many Arab governments and segments of Arab society. As the struggle escalates, these relationships become clearer and are worked out even though one is aiming at the primary contradiction."

We asked what Omar thought about the prospects for a socialist revolution in the Middle East, and he answered, "I think it is impossible to carry out

a national liberation struggle against such a monstrous force and enemy without making radical changes in the process. Even the process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people in struggle for our program is a definite socio-political change in the society.

"If you do whatever is necessary in fighting imperialism, other things will work out too. I think it is important to focus on the anti-imperialist struggle, which would not resolve all contradictions, but would result in definite changes."

My final question to Abu Omar was how he thought the international revolutionary movement, including the movement in this country, could support the Palestine liberation struggle.

"First of all," he said, "I think the Palestinian struggle against oppression, exploitation, and imperialism is not an isolated struggle. It is just one part of imperialist exploitation around the world. Therefore the first task of any progressive movement is to fight exploitation, injustice and imperialism in its own country. I think that is just as much a help to the Palestinian revolution as anything else.

"Secondly, you can raise the political consciousness of the people of your country, with analysis of the system they're living in and its relationship to the rest of the world."

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

Froben Lozada, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in California and currently on a tour of the southwestern United States with other SWP candidates, spoke to 40 GIs at the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse in Killeen, Texas. He talked about the significance and potential of La Raza Unida Party, the recently formed Chicano party. The Oleo Strutters gave him a good reception and asked him to return.

An article on mounting Chicano political activity published in the June 30 issue of Echo, an Austin, Texas, Chicano newspaper, has this to say about Texas SWP senatorial candidate Mariana Hernandez: "If she were elected for senator, instead of either Bush or Bentson, Texas would probably be a lot better off. . . . You may not agree with her on every issue, but she deserves the respect of LA RAZA for her great efforts."

When students from Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya and Sudan visited Atlanta as part of the Educational Travel Program of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U. S. State Department, they requested that their schedule include a meeting with the Georgia SWP candidates, who they had heard about from their stops in other parts of America. While this was not exactly to the State Department's taste, the meeting took place on July 3.

State Department officials forced smiles as the entourage entered the campaign offices. When an "escort" asked if the SWP was "Trotskyite," the student from Kenya corrected him — "Trotskyist," he said.

The students were especially interested in the SWP's position on Black

nationalism, the prospects for change in the U. S., and the objectives revolutionary socialists seek to achieve through participating in elections.

A lengthy interview with Georgia SWP candidate for governor, Linda Jenness, in the July 5 Atlanta Constitution states that she is "co-author with Fidel Castro of a pamphlet, 'Women and the Cuban Revolution,'" and that she was impressed with the social progress in Cuba during her visit there last year. The Georgia SWP received an order for 100 copies of the pamphlet from a bookstore following the article. (The pamphlet, which contains two speeches by Castro



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

and two articles by Jenness on her trip to Cuba, costs 35c and may be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.)

The Georgia SWP campaign is getting so much coverage in the news media that its scrapbook of clippings is already fat.

The July 9 Atlanta Journal features an interview with Linda Jenness by columnist Phil Garner contrasting the SWP's approach to campaigning with that of the capitalist candidates. "Hers is a campaign born of the radical movement and molded upon its own traditions — traditions not only foreign to those of the Democratic and Republican parties but dedicated to exposing their supposed representative 'bankruptcy,'" Garner says.

Another article in the same issue quotes at length a statement by Jenness blasting the Internal Revenue Service for snooping through the records of public libraries in Atlanta and Milwaukee in search of the identity of readers of so-called "subversive" materials.

Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor in California, shared a panel at the Afro-American Cultural Association in Los Angeles July 12 with two of its representatives, Tracy Brannon and Hern Cigar, and Vera Greenwood of the Progressive Labor Party. The topic was "Marxism versus Black Nationalism."

Fagg took issue with the wording of the topic and explained the relationship between Marxism and Black nationalism, demonstrating with examples the anticapitalist dynamic of Black nationalism.

— DAVID THORSTAD

The CP's electoral shell game

By BARRY SHEPPARD

Mike Zagarell, a leading member of the Communist Party, spoke in New York May 22 on "The Inside Job—Trotskyism in the Movement." This is the third in a series of articles dealing with questions raised by Zagarell's attack on revolutionary socialism. Previous installments appeared in our June 19 and July 10 issues.

* * *

At Stalin's behest, the switch from an extreme ultraleft line to the class-collaborationist "people's front" policy was made by the American Communist Party, the same as the other Communist Parties throughout the world. But in the United States, the realities of American political life gave the policy a unique twist.

While the CP was strongest of the left parties in those days, neither it nor any other party based in the working class enjoyed the allegiance of a significant section of the mass of workers. The mass of Americans—as is true today—supported one of the two major capitalist parties.

The essential policy of the "people's front"—subordination to the "progressive" section of the capitalist class—was carried out in the United States by support to the Democratic Party. This was first expressed in the 1936 election campaign when the CP gave de facto support to Roosevelt, whom they had labeled a "fascist" just months before.

At the time, for communists or even reformist socialists to cross class lines in politics and support candidates of the capitalist parties was a completely new, if rotten, concept, and the CP had to do some fancy footwork to pull it off.

The Stalin-appointed head of the CP through the 30s and half the 40s was Earl Browder. In a 1967 essay in the book *As We Saw the Thirties*, Browder describes how the switch to the "people's front" was made.

He and other Kremlin minions who led the American CP visited Moscow in 1935 to discuss the CP's position in the upcoming elections. The Kremlin at first wanted the CP to come right out in open support of Roosevelt. Browder argued against this, not from a principled point of view, but on the grounds that they could better support Roosevelt covertly. In Browder's own words:

"My final argument [was] that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's reelection we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled 'the Communist candidate' by the newspapers, most of which opposed him. . . ."

"On the other hand, we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt all votes under our influence except the die-hard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates. . . ."

Stalin thought it over, and finally gave his blessing to Browder's idea. "Thus," Browder continues, "I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of my 'rival' Roosevelt. The more the newspapers puzzled over this tactic, the more effective it became."

Some 30-odd years have passed, but not much is changed in CP policy. They are still using every trick they can think of to keep people who are becoming radicalized within the confines of the Democratic Party, and still finding it necessary to engage



Scene during infamous May 30, 1937, Memorial Day Massacre as Chicago cops shot, gassed and beat steel strikers and their families. Ten were killed and 40 wounded. Attack was part of drive by employers and politicians to smash a key steel strike. President Roosevelt, widely touted "champion of labor," remained piously "neutral" on side of employers. Meanwhile he continued to enjoy support of Communist Party and other reformists.

in fancy verbal footwork to explain the whole thing.

When asked during the question period at his forum "exposing" Trotskyism just what the CP's position on elections is, Zagarell explained that the CP operated on "different levels." One level is "running CP candidates." Another level is that the CP is for "independent tickets outside the two parties."

"But," he hastily added, "when you can't win the election, you must take into account the outcome of the election." You don't endorse "liberal" candidates, he explained, adding that the CP never endorses any candidate whose program it hasn't helped write. "But," he emphasized, "you must put your main thrust against the most reactionary candidate."

Thus, he concluded, without endorsing any candidate, "you influence the outcome of the election." Since the CP is not winning many U.S. elections these days, what this gobbledygook boils down to is that the third "level" of the CP's election policy—working for Democratic Party politicians—is the key "level."

Zagarell made his position even more clear by counterposing the CP line to that of the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Rising to heights of oratorical indignation, he quoted from a YSA document which motivated support to the socialist electoral campaigns of the SWP, and which pointed to the especial importance of those campaigns which were directed against capitalist "peace" candidates and Third World candidates running for one of the two capitalist parties.

This policy of opposition to all capitalist politicians evoked "ooohhs" of horror from the CP-trained section of his audience. Proof positive that the Trotskyists are "inveterate splitters and disrupters!"

What is involved here is the key question of American politics: the fact that the mass of workers, the mass of Blacks and other oppressed national minorities, and even a large section of those who consider themselves radicals or socialists—support one of the two major capitalist parties, mainly the Democrats.

The capitalist class has politics in this country completely sewed up through its control of the Democrats and Republicans, and there is no mass party independent of the capitalist class

—even of a reformist nature—yet on the scene.

Thus the twin parties of capitalism, which carry out capitalism's policies of war, oppression of national minorities, oppression of women, subjugation of labor, whittling away of our democratic rights—these parties enjoy a virtual political monopoly.

The key task for revolutionaries is to break that monopoly. That's why the YSA and SWP hammer away at the necessity of independent anti-capitalist political action, and encourage every genuine step in that direction, no matter how small.

That's why we have advanced the ideas of independent Black and Chicano political parties and have supported independent Black and Chicano candidates, and have given enthusiastic support to the steps taken to form an independent Chicano party in the Southwest.

That's why we have raised the concept of an independent labor party. And, that's why the SWP and YSA have waged socialist electoral campaigns against the capitalist parties.

This policy of independent class political action runs directly counter to the CP's "people's front" line of political class collaboration. That's what makes Zagarell furious about the SWP's position of running candidates against and doing everything possible to expose capitalist party candidates like Carl Stokes who became mayor of Cleveland. This is not primarily a matter of Stokes as an individual. The fact is that the Stokes campaign served to help keep Black people entrapped in the Democratic Party, a party which is one of the two political instruments used by the capitalist class to maintain the racist system.

The same is true of the capitalist "peace" candidates. Again, it's not a question primarily of these candidates as individuals—although most are phony opportunists, rotten to the core, and when push comes to shove, supporters of imperialism and its wars. What's basic is that these candidates help keep people who are opposed to the Vietnam war entrapped in the Democratic or Republican parties, again, the parties responsible for carrying out the capitalist class's imperialist policies and wars.

Zagarell raised another charge against the Trotskyists. It seems they were out there "splitting and disrupting" the attempt to form a "broad

people's coalition" in 1968, when the CP and some other radicals were plumping for the idea of a purportedly independent presidential ticket of Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock. It is true that the SWP and YSA were not in favor of this idea.

In the first place, such a "ticket" was not viewed as establishing an alternative political formation, a party, to the two capitalist parties, but was conceived as something to pressure the two parties to nominate better candidates.

Second, even if it did manage to set up a third political party, it was clear that this would not be a party in any way independent of the capitalist class. Its program would be, in capitalist terms, a "left" program, but it would definitely not be an anti-capitalist one and in no basic way would it challenge capitalism.

Unlike a labor party or a Black or Chicano party, it would not be based on an objectively noncapitalist social layer, such as labor or the oppressed national minorities, organizing itself politically independent of the capitalist class. In other words, it would have been a third capitalist party.

This brings us to the second "level" of the CP's electoral policy as outlined by Zagarell, that of supporting "independent campaigns outside the two parties." The CP in no way means by this a *class break* from capitalist politics, but a "left pressure" on the Democratic Party, part and parcel of its "work" inside of, and support of, that party.

The one time in the last 30-odd years when the CP didn't support the Democrats was during the Progressive Party campaign of Henry Wallace in 1948. The CP was a major force in setting up the Progressive Party. While this formation was "outside the two parties," it did not represent a break with capitalist politics. It was a third capitalist party as was indicated by its presidential nomination, the capitalist politician Henry Wallace, and by its founding convention's rejection of a proposed plank not for the abolition of capitalism but simply for the nationalization of certain basic industries.

However, the CP soon decided that even this form of capitalist politics was an "ultraleft" mistake, and it hurried back into the bosom of the Democratic Party where it remains to this day.

(To be continued)

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In Brief

By RANDY FURST

MORE FROM DOW: For years Dow Chemical manufactured napalm bombs before the onslaught of student demonstrations led the company last year to cancel its napalm contract with the Defense Department. But if Dow has parted ways with napalm, it is still in the chemical, biological warfare business. Take 2,4-D, for example, a little-known chemical compound produced by Dow and labeled by Thomas Whiteside in his new book **Defoliation** (Ballantine) one of the two most powerful herbicides currently in use. According to Whiteside, 2,4-D is used to destroy rice crops and mangroves in Vietnam as part of the United States 'food-denial program.' Now we learn that the chemical may destroy more than plant life. Dr. Jacqueline Verrett told **The Militant** that after several years of experiments with the compound at the Food and Drug Administration in Washington, she has discovered that 2,4-D produces fetal deformities in the embryos of baby chicks. She reported her findings before a congressional committee this spring with little results. The surgeon general refuses to ban it. The chemical is used extensively in the U.S.—by the U.S. Agriculture Department, the Forest Service, farmers, city park departments, and home owners lured by advertising that 2,4-D kills dandelions on lawns. Why won't the government ban it? The fact that the study found birth deformations in 80 percent of the embryos is insufficient, says Dr. Verrett. "It's quite a money maker," she explains. "I don't know how many millions of pounds they use in this country." She says there is extensive evidence that humans in contact with the chemical can contract an incurable disease called chloracne that attacks the liver, kidneys and skin. Other producers of 2,4-D beside Dow are Hooker, Monsanto and Hercules.

VETERANS ON BOTTOM RUNG: Four out of five disabled Vietnam veterans are "probably in marginal jobs, barely eking out a living," according to Harrold Russell, chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. Russell offered the statistic July 11 before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. . . . **YWLL ROBBED:** The Young Workers Liberation League reports that its New York offices were burglarized the night of July 9. Swastikas were painted on two posters on the office's walls and \$80 was stolen from a desk drawer.

TIGER CAGES: Thomas R. Harkin, a 30-year-old Catholic University law student provided fresh evidence last week of the U.S. role of unspeakable atrocity in Vietnam. In a statement to reporters July 7, Harkin described how he served as staff assistant to a 12-man congressional committee that visited Vietnam earlier this year. During the visit, he and two congressmen traveled to the island prison of Con Son, Harkin reported, where they found Vietnamese imprisoned in what guards called "tiger cages." Harkin photographed the cages, but when he and the other congressmen told the other committee members of their findings, the trouble started. "They tried to hush it up," Harkin said in a telephone interview. "They wanted to take away my photographs." The "they," says Harkin, was committee chairman G.V. Montgomery (D.-Miss.) who has denied Harkin's charges. All mention of the tiger cages was barred from the final report, says Harkin, who quit the committee staff in disgust. What did Harkin see at

Con Son? This is the way he tells it in an interview with **The Militant**: "The tiger cages constitute a small part of the Con Son prison, but they were never shown to anyone. People could never go in and see them. What they were were small pits in which they'd throw about five people in at one time. A lot of them were shackled to the bars so they had to lie in a prone position all the time. And they were kept in the cages for years. We talked to one man who'd been there since before the Diem regime." Harkin says that the prisoners, numbering close to 500, were beaten on the legs and feet so they were unable to walk. No sunlight, he said, pierces the interiors of the pits. "They feed them very little food and water," he continued. "They throw this lime dust down on them. The lime is an irritant and when you're thirsty and you throw this on them, it gets in your nostrils and your mouth and your eyes and it dries you out even more. These people in the tiger cages, most of them have never had a trial. Most of them are simply in for peace demonstrations."

DEEP-GOING OPPOSITION: A Louis Harris survey reports that by a 70-to-25-percent margin, college students agree that "America will be in trouble as long as it continues its arrogant imperialist policies." The poll was published in the July 13 **New York Post** and was conducted between May 20 and 28. . . . **SOLDIERS FOR WITHDRAWAL:** Some 470 reservists and national guardsmen have signed an advertisement for immediate total withdrawal. The ad appears in the current **August Ramparts** magazine. . . . **REFERENDUM GAINS MOMENTUM:** The Committee to Save Our Constitution has presented 37,000 names to New York's city clerk for a November referendum that would require the state attorney general under a new law to defend any person who refuses to fight in Vietnam. A committee coordinator, Linda Lichten, said she was confident that the referendum would be put on the ballot.

STATE FIGHTS NEWTON RELEASE: The state of California has appealed to the state supreme court to uphold Huey Newton's conviction, which was reversed in May by the state court of appeals. The prosecution is challenging the lower court ruling that the jury was improperly instructed. In overturning the conviction, the appeals court ruled that the jurors should have been instructed to acquit Newton of murdering a policeman if they believed his testimony that he was unconscious after he was shot. The prosecution contends that Newton's attorney should have asked for such instructions, and since he did not, too bad. . . . **PANTHER 21 TRIAL HELD OFF:** The trial of the New York Panther 21 is unlikely to begin until fall, according to Panther attorney Gerald Lefcourt. The reason, he says, is nearly 10,000 pages of testimony, affidavits and briefs which the judge must read before the trial can get under way.

IN REVIEW: Leon Trotsky's **Problems of Civil War** provides valuable lessons for contemporary revolutionists. Preparing for the direct struggle for power, writes Trotsky, is a communist party's

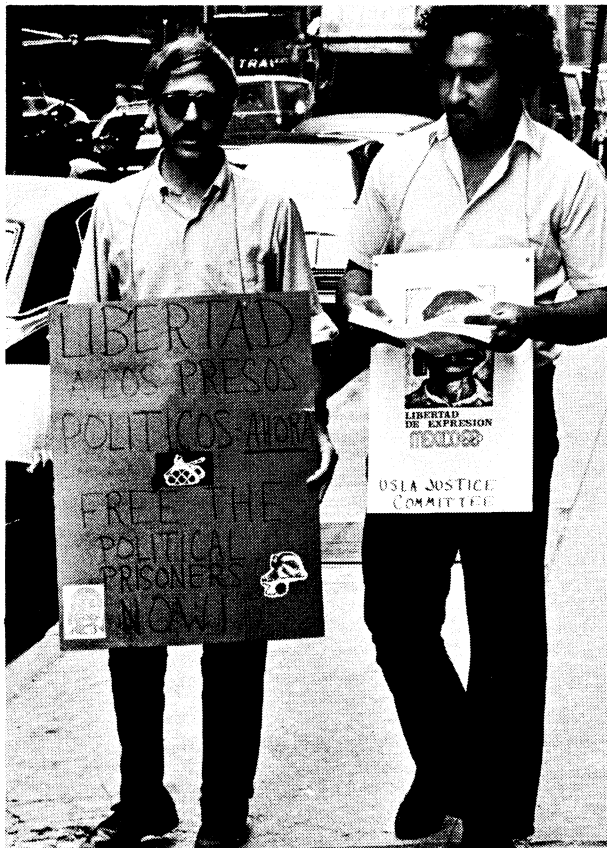


Photo by Howard Petrick

Pickets at the Mexican Consulate in New York City on July 14 demanded freedom for the nearly 200 political prisoners in Mexican jails. Demonstration was part of week of international actions in solidarity with Mexican prisoners.

most difficult task. The new pamphlet by the man who directed the military apparatus in the Bolshevik insurrection of 1917, is available from Pathfinder for 40 cents. . . . **Catch 22** is a first-rate antiwar film. . . . **Right On!** is an anthology of essays, short stories and poems. The writers are Black, their subject is Black people, and like the title, this paperback from Ballantine is right on. . . . **Cuba for Beginners** is a one of its kind book, a cartoon history of the Cuban revolution by a radical with a sense of humor. The cartoonist is Rius, a Mexican. The first English edition is published by Pathfinder. . . . The peace exhibition currently running at the New School in New York City combines sculpture, paintings and slides in a well wrought indictment of the American war effort. The exhibit was created by students at the Parson School of Design during the May strike and will remain open through July 23. It's worth seeing.

HIRSCHKOP FACES SUSPENSION: Movement attorney Philip Hirschkop faces suspension or disbarment following a recommendation of discipline by a committee of the Washington, D.C. Bar. Hirschkop was sentenced to 30 days for contempt of court on Feb. 10 at the close of the trial in which he defended a number of antiwar activists who broke into the Dow Chemical Co. in 1969. Hirschkop told **The Militant** that the contempt citation stemmed from assertions that he had been rude in court, an apparent reference to a motion he had made that the trial judge disqualify himself for prejudice against the defendants. . . . **HARRASSMENT IN LEWISBURG:** Father Philip Berrigan and David Eberhardt, currently imprisoned at the Lewisburg penitentiary, have gone on a fast to protest harassment by prison authorities. The two are part of the Catonsville 9, who napalmed draft files in Catonsville, Md., and were sentenced to two to six years in jail. But unlike other pacifists—the two are in maximum security cells, they assert, because two other Catonsville cohorts are still at large—Rev. Daniel Berrigan and Mary Moylan. The current prison treatment is just one of numerous incidents they say will continue until Daniel Berrigan and Moylan are apprehended. For further information on the situation, contact Dr. Rosemary Reuther, (202) 726-2861. Telegrams of protest can be sent to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, 101 Indiana Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., to Warden J. Parker, P.O. Box 1000, Lewisburg Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pa. 17837.

MINERS PICKET IN W. VIRGINIA: As many as 50 mines were picketed in West Virginia July 13 over demands for increased pension benefits and hospitalization funds. Many of the miners have no hospitalization allowance, Mike Trobovitch, chairman of Miners for Democracy, reports. "It's pretty rough. People work 25 or 30 years in the mines and when they get disabled, they get kicked out like a cur dog." . . . **POLICE CHIEF QUILTS:** Jack O'Keefe, for 20 years the police chief in Stockton, Calif., has quit in a huff. He says the city sold him out by asking for an investigation of police beatings of Chicano youths in July. O'Keefe also is angry that the youths had been freed after the intervention of the mayor. The city's Chicano community, meanwhile, says it does not trust any city investigation and plans its own.

WHALES FACE EXTINCTION: Two whale species have already been placed on the Interior Department's endangered species list and scientists are hoping that others will be added in the face of a growing crisis that threatens the extinction of several whale species. William Cooper, a staff biologist with Defenders of Wild Life, a Washington conservation group, said by telephone that the big blue whale and the humpback are on the Interior's endangered list. "Most of the other whale populations have been exploited to such a degree that they're going to have a hard time recovering," Cooper says. "Because of the pressure put on by the whaling industry, there haven't been any restrictions." Several major whaling firms assert that oil from sperm whales—one of the threatened species—is vital to the national defense. The oil is used as a lubricant. Cooper disagrees. But if the industry has its way, they will take the other whales off the contraband list, besides continuing to hunt the sperm whale.

RIGHT TO BREATHE: A letter signed by the United Auto Workers and six conservation groups was mailed to congressmen July 11 calling on them to prohibit the use of the automobile gasoline engine. The letter "calls on every congressman to guarantee every American the right to breath clean air." One of the signers was the Sierra Club. A club spokesman, Bob Waldrop, says that 60 percent of the country's air pollution comes out of the tailpipe of the automobile.

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Women's liberation notes

Preliminary plans are being made for women's liberation demonstrations to be held simultaneously in various cities around the country Aug. 26. In some areas, it is thought that such actions can play an important role in showing the growing strength of the movement and in drawing new women into activity during the summer.

Although the call for actions on August 26 was first issued by NOW (National Organization for Women), many other groups are becoming involved. In some cities—among them Washington, D. C., Atlanta, and New York—efforts are being made to mobilize broad coalitions of women's liberation groups to plan and build the demonstrations.

A leaflet issued by the Aug. 26 Women's Strike Committee in New York lists three proposed demands as a focus for the actions: 1) free abortion on demand; 2) 24-hour child-care centers under community control; and 3) equality in education and employment.

Activists in the Black Women's Alliance, a Third World women's liberation group in New York, report that there is a growing interest and response to their ideas. One indication of this was a debate held June 26 at the Harlem YWCA on the question "Do Black Women Need to be Liberated?"

Panelists at the meeting included Molita Norwood and Maxine Williams of the Black Women's Alliance, who debated with representatives of the Black Muslims. Against the almost unanimous opposition of women on the panel and in the audience, the Muslims attempted to defend their position that women should be "seen and not heard" and that women's "place" is in the home.

As a result of the meeting, a number of women expressed interest in joining the Black Women's Alliance. The Black Women's Alliance holds regular meetings every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at St. Peters Church. The

meetings are open to all Third World women. For information, write to Black Women's Alliance, c/o St. Peters Church, 346 W. 20th St., New York, New York.

The July issue of *McCalls* is filled with the usual chauvinist ads about how "Breck Thinks a Girl Should Be Pretty As a Picture," and the Virginia Slims, "You've Come a Long Way, Baby," but, surprisingly, it also devotes not a few pages to some very informative interviews with women's liberation activists.

It appears that *McCalls* learned something from the sit-in at the offices of the *Ladies Home Journal* and decided to attempt to stave off any similar protest in their own offices by publishing a women's liberation issue on their own.

In the same issue, they publish statements by both the men and women on their staff giving their personal reactions to women's liberation. Given the nature of *McCalls*, an amazing number of the comments were favorable.

The July issue of *Mademoiselle* also reflects the impact of women's liberation, but instead of accommodating themselves to the movement, they attack it head on. They have two articles, written by males, which seek to undermine the legitimacy of women's liberation by pointing to the many oppressions suffered by men. One article, subheaded, "... One Wonders If (Women) Have Even the Slightest Understanding of What a Lousy Lot A Man's Life Can Be," seeks to equate the oppression of women with the problems faced by males in trying to support a family, keep up a front of machismo, fight in the Army, etc.

One thing these people do not understand, or admit, is the simple fact that women's liberation has never had a goal of trading women's present status for that of men. The aim is to get rid of all oppressive and de-

humanizing sex roles and ideologies.

Women's liberation literature: A new pamphlet by Mary-Alice Waters, managing editor of *The Militant*, is now available on "The Politics of Women's Liberation Today." The pamphlet is a reprint of a report given by her last March and adopted by a meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. It deals with many of the central issues facing the women's liberation movement today. It can be ordered for 25 cents from Pathfinder Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

Although it is too late to buy it off the newsstands, the May issue of *Black Scholar* carried an article on "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation" by Linda Jo La Rue which is worth writing away for. Single copies of *Black Scholar* are \$1.25 and may be ordered at Box 908, Sausalito, Calif. 94965.

A detailed bibliography of women's liberation literature has been compiled by *pm*, a radical newsletter published in Tallahassee, Florida. For a copy, write to *pm* c/o B. Broedel, 308 S. McComb, Tallahassee, Florida.

Chauvinist quote of the week: "A man must be the dominant figure in a relationship between men and women. They are both happier that way." —Don McKinney, managing editor, *McCalls*.

Quote of the Week: "The boys I go out with now understand my intellectual position. They know I don't want them to pay for me—once a male pays, he has the advantage—or open doors for me, or light cigarettes. If women and men were truly equal, these silly customs wouldn't exist. They're symbols—reminders of women's old role. Opening a door is just a courtesy. I should be able to open a door for him too—no?" —Interview with Judy Stein, high school women's liberation activist, in July *McCalls*. —ELIZABETH BARNES



This is Shana Alexander. She edits McCalls.

Shana Alexander says, "I am quite sure that being a woman, particularly an American woman, is more interesting, more challenging, more exciting and rewarding and more complex than it has ever been before."

"Women are, by nature, conservative, or rather, conservative women do make things, to make environments, they are natural builders. I think this is why women are so often involved in the things that are new, the things that are different, the things that are better."

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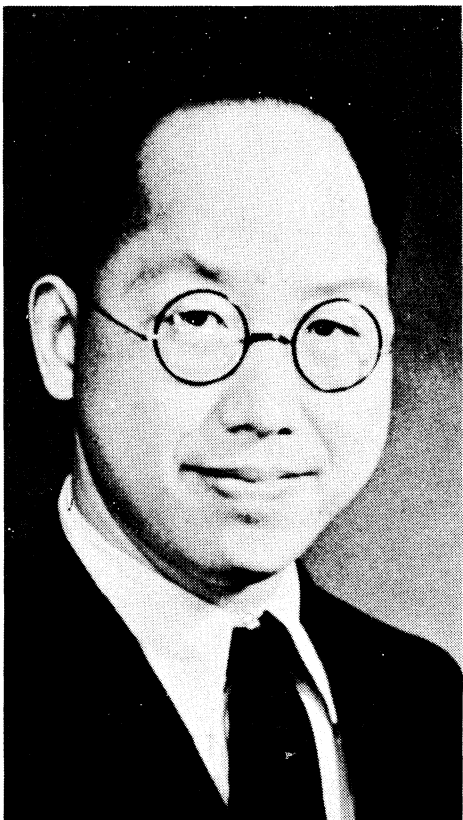
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The magazine for desirable women.

...revolutionary fighters in Mao's prisons



Imprisoned Trotskyist leader Chen Chao-lin. Photo is believed to have been taken in 1941.

(Continued from page 5)

Mao Tsetung, first in Wuhan, later in Hunan province. After Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary coup at Shanghai in April, 1927, Ho worked in the underground to revive the prostrate CCP.

In 1929, following the lead of Chen Tu-hsiu, he became convinced of the falsity of the CCP's Moscow-dictated political line and became a Trotskyist. He represented the "Proletarians," one of four Trotskyist groups that fused in 1931 to form the Communist League of China. The unified organization became the Chinese section of the Fourth International when it was formally launched in 1938.

In poor health when his old colleague Mao had him put behind bars, Ho is now about seventy-three years of age, if still alive. Nothing has been heard of him for many years. There is reason to fear that he may have died in a forced-labor camp.

Ling Hwer-Hua. This veteran of the revolutionary struggle was a member of the executive committee of the Printers Union of Canton when arrested by Mao's police at the end of 1952. He was sent to Wuhan with other Trotskyists arrested in the "Southwestern Administrative Area" and sentenced to work in a hard-labor camp

for an indefinite term. If alive, he is over fifty years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

Ling Sun-chi. A lecturer at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton. Arrested by Mao's police some time in 1953, after the mass roundup at the previous year-end. There has been no word of his fate.

Wang Kuo-lung. A middle-school teacher like Chou Jen-sen, Wang was arrested in Wenchow, Chekiang province, during the big roundup and is believed to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ying Kwan. Student in France after World War I. Took part in the 1925-27 revolution as a leading CCP activist in the central China province of Anhwei, where he was born. Embraced Trotsky's ideas in 1929 and worked to unify the four Trotskyist groups then in existence.

Arrested by the Kuomintang police in 1932, he spent two years in prison. Released in 1934, he was later re-arrested and again set free shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During the war years he worked among students.

After Japan's surrender, Ying Kwan resumed political work in Shanghai and continued after the Communist

takeover until his arrest by Mao's police. If still alive, he is about seventy years old. No word of him has reached the outer world.

The names I have given here, let it be emphasized, are but a few of the Trotskyist prisoners who were incarcerated in the lockups of the People's Republic of China. It is almost certain that some of those arrested have died in prisons or hard-labor camps.

In addition to the veterans of the revolution, many of the younger generation of Trotskyists fell into the clutches of Mao's police. These youthful revolutionists were sentenced to hard labor for terms ranging from five to ten years. I understand a few have regained their liberty, but the circumstances under which they were released are not known.

(In the final article in this series, Li Fu-chen will discuss the persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists as a factor in determining the real character of the Peking regime, contrasted with the "democratic" claims made for it by uncritical supporters.)

Rerun of an old charade

N.Y. Communist Party ballot strategy

By DAVID THORSTAD

On July 8, the Communist Party of New York State announced that it would field a statewide slate of candidates in the 1970 elections. Its candidates will be Rasheed Storey for governor, Grace Mora Newman for lieutenant governor, Arnold Johnson for U.S. Senate, and Jose Stevens for Congress from Harlem's 18th congressional district.

"There is need for a militant people's front whose scope and power surpasses anything history has ever seen," said Storey. His call for "the broadest unity beyond anything achieved before to meet the great challenges to our society of racism, repression and poverty" was a sign that this campaign would follow in the political footsteps of previous ones.

In an effort to defeat the menace from the right, which for the CP always looms large around election time, it uses its campaigns not to call for a break with all capitalist politics but to drum up support for liberal capitalist politicians.

This policy, which dates back to the 1930s (see article p. 10), was reiterated at an "emergency session" of the CP's national committee in mid-May, during the nationwide turmoil following the Cambodian invasion. An extensive report on this meeting appeared in the May 19 *Daily World*, the organ of the Communist Party.

In his report to the gathering, CP general secretary Gus Hall noted, according to the *Daily World*, that the mass upsurge by millions in May marked "a new stage." Yet, "if the moment is not seized," the report continues, "then the most dangerous reaction will be able to assert its power."

For the CP, last spring's dramatic spurt in the developing radicalization represents not a new opportunity to convince sections of the population to break with capitalist politics but a new chance to mobilize to "defeat reaction"—by supporting "less reactionary" capitalist politicians. "Hall strongly stressed that immediate actions is the key and called for full mobilization of the Communist Party and all its resources for the struggle to help solve the national crisis in the interests of the vast majority of the people and to defeat the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell forces, the ultraright, and the most reactionary sections of big business and the military with which they are allied."

To anyone familiar with the history of CP electoral policy, the intent of these lines is clear. Since the priority is to defeat the Nixon forces, and since no one expects the CP to be the vehicle around which will be assembled the "broad unity" necessary to achieve that goal, the only alter-

native for the CP is to support that section of the ruling class capable of electorally curbing the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell forces this year—primarily the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

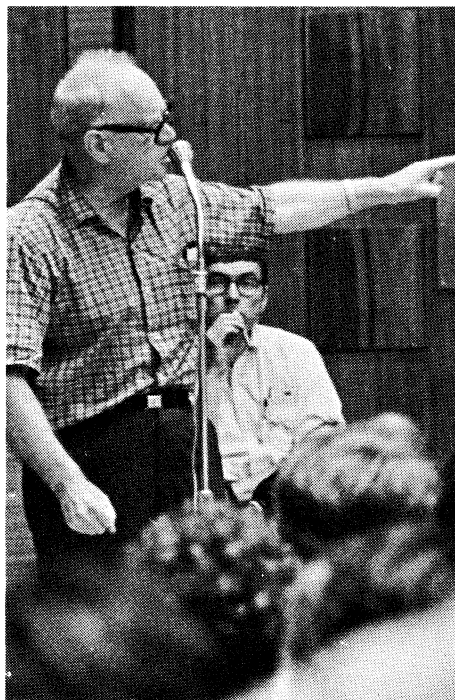
In 1964, the CP said the urgent need was to defeat Goldwater, so its policy was to support his "lesser-evil" alternative—Lyndon Johnson. The current brew being offered by the CP smells a lot like the old.

The July 9 *Daily World* says the recent Democratic primary in Harlem "highlighted the importance" of the need for a "militant people's front." ("People's front," "anti-monopoly coalition," "people's party," and similar terms are synonyms in the CP lexicon for its policy of subordinating the interests of the working class, the national minorities, and their allies to the creation of a political bloc with capitalist politicians—on the basis of a reformist, pro-capitalist program.) In the Harlem election, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was narrowly defeated by Charles Rangel, who also has the Republican nomination.

Powell has stated that he will run as an "independent" and three of his opponents in the primary have indicated they will support him if he does. This "would be a formidable lineup,



Rasheed Storey



Arnold Johnson

according to political observers," says the June 30 *Daily World*.

It is in this context that the CP announced that it would run Jose Stevens as its candidate in the Harlem district. Stevens said he would use his campaign to, among other things, "bring pressure to bear on other candidates of other parties for an independent people's party with the working class as its core. If we can reach agreement on issues with these parties, and it is in the interest of the people of Harlem, we might withdraw."

This appeared to suggest that the CP might be willing to join a coalition supporting Powell. The *New York Times*, in fact, titled its story on the announcement "Communists Offer to Support Powell."

Nat Weinstein, New York State campaign manager for the CP, however, told *The Militant* that the *Times* report was incorrect. Stevens, he said, was quoted "out of context." Asked to elaborate, he said the CP would like to see the creation of a "people's anti-monopoly party" but that in Harlem "there is no sign of this coming about." In the absence of such a development, the CP will campaign around a "broad program on advanced issues which meets the needs of the people of Harlem."

However, the offer to withdraw in favor of some other candidate, if agreement on issues could be reached, Weinstein said, still stood. On which issues would agreement be necessary? On this, he said, his party would be "flexible."

As to which "other parties" the CP might have in mind for such an agreement, the choice is actually quite small. It is certainly not thinking of Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 18th congressional district. The electoral policy of supporting capitalist politicians has been a fundamental dividing line between the CP and the SWP for decades. And while no principle would prevent the CP from supporting Rangel, coverage of the 18th district race in the *Daily World* suggests that the CP would not favor him. That leaves Powell.

In light of all this, it would hardly be reckless to predict that, as in the past, the CP will be using its campaign this year to promote its reformist policy of the "people's front" or the "anti-monopoly coalition." It has stated as much. Yet, this policy has had more than three decades in which to prove its worth, and it has a sorry record. To attempt to again spread illusions in liberal capitalist candidates, who have been put on the defensive by the growth of independent mass struggles against the war and for the liberation of Third World peoples, is to promote a policy of defeat for those struggles.

In contrast to the CP, the SWP will be using its campaign to help convince the people of Harlem of the need to break with the liberal capitalist politicians, of the need for an independent Black political party, controlled by them, to organize and lead the struggle for Black control of the Black community, the fight against the war in Vietnam, and the fight around other issues of vital concern to the community. While explaining how oppression and racism will be totally eliminated only through socialism, the SWP will also strive through its campaign to extend the organized participation of the people of Harlem in the struggles to end the war and for community control over the institutions in the Black community.

Cole debates Democrats in Atlanta

By JOHN SUGG

ATLANTA—The impact of Georgia's Socialist Workers Party campaign was demonstrated July 10 when the two Democratic Party congressional candidates in the fourth district participated in a symposium at the Militant Bookstore with Joe Cole, the SWP candidate for the same office. The topic was "Which Candidate Should Progressives Support?"

Fred Leclercq, an Atlanta attorney, said he wanted "immediate" withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. "Immediate," it turned out, meant sometime in 1971.

The other Democrat, Franklin Shumake, past president of the Georgia Education Association, said he was against the war but he wouldn't be tied down to the specifics of his opposition. He pointed out that he was a "better" choice than the Republican incumbent, an ultra-reactionary conservative.

Cole stated that the only solution to the war "is the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops—and I don't mean 1971."

He admitted that there might be other withdrawal plans, like Nixon's,

for instance, which would take literally hundreds of years to complete. "Nixon had a new strategy," Cole added. "He 'withdrew' into Cambodia."

Cole explained that the reason Nixon was forced to pull out of Cambodia is that "masses of American people are demonstrating in unprecedented numbers against the 'Commander-in-Chief.'"

Cole said that the reason the antiwar movement has power is that it is not tied to any political party. "When we look at the May strikes," he said, "if the movement had been tied to the Democratic Party, the strikes would have been for the Cooper-Church amendment, which certainly can't end the war."

The candidates were asked if they would support the demand for Black control of the Black community, and particularly of schools. Both Democrats had stated earlier that they had worked to end discrimination, but neither supported a position in favor of community control.

Cole said that Black control of schools was a fundamental demand that must be fought for. "Black people must have control of their destiny," he insisted.



Grace Mora Newman



Photo by Brian Shannon

Joe Cole at antiwar conference

Highland Park cops, Blacks in 2-day clash

By JOHN HAWKINS

DETROIT—Demonstrators and police clashed for two days last weekend in Highland Park, Mich., a suburb of Detroit.

Highland Park, which has a population of 38,000, is 60 percent Black. The demonstrations were triggered by the killing of a Black man, Jerome Lawlah, by a white bar owner, Grady Cash.

Lawlah had been playing pool with friends in Cash's bar when an argument occurred between Lawlah and a waitress over an unpaid tab. Cash allegedly pulled a gun and ordered Lawlah and his friends to leave.

As they were leaving, witnesses assert, Cash turned and fired, striking Lawlah in the chest and killing him.

The immediate response of the community was to protest the killing. A spontaneous demonstration of over 500 gathered in front of Cash's bar and posted signs that read "Murder must stop" and "Close forever."

During the afternoon, a window was broken. Police seized upon this incident as a pretext for firing tear gas and smoke bombs into the demonstrators, dispersing them and arresting 26 persons. A 12 midnight to 5 p.m. curfew was imposed. Saturday night, it was learned that Cash, who had been arrested and charged with second degree murder, had been released on bond. Cash's bar burned to the ground later that night and police made 40 more arrests for curfew violations.

Currently, 99 persons are jailed in lieu of bond ranging from \$500 to \$1,000.

Despite his apparent inability to comprehend that the Black people of Highland Park are simply outraged at the murder of Lawlah, Blackwell apparently saw the need to extend the curfew Sunday night from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. Monday. He also warned the community that he would ask the governor to declare a state of emergency if "new trouble flares up."

Highland Park's Black mayor, Robert Blackwell, tried to explain away the response of the community with the old hokum about "outside agitators." Blackwell cited "Black Panthers" (who no longer have a chapter in the Detroit area) as instigators in the two days of demonstrations. In making these accusations, Blackwell joins other politicians of his ilk who have been conducting a campaign of slander and murder against the Black Panther Party.



Photo by B. R. Washington

In aftermath of Asbury Park rebellion

New flare-up of ghetto rebellions

Reports from numerous cities around the country this week indicate a renewal of ghetto outbreaks on a significant scale.

Brief news items report there were such outbreaks in South Jersey in several communities near or fairly near Asbury Park, including protest actions in Red Bank and Somerville. In Somerville, Black youth stormed through the downtown area protesting city council delays on a housing project. A trail of broken store windows was left in their wake.

In Michigan City, Ind., National Guard troops were ordered in on July 13 and a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was imposed after nine people were injured by cops during two nights of embittered protest in the ghetto area, touched off by the conduct of cops arresting three Blacks in a downtown tavern. Four businesses were reported damaged by fire, including a laundry and lumber yard which were reported virtually destroyed. Nine other businesses were apparently damaged by rocks.

A curfew was also imposed July 12 in New Bedford, Mass., after four nights of protests during which a Black youth was murdered when whites in a car sped through the area and opened fire on a group of Blacks gathered on a corner. In addition to killing one, they wounded three. Police later picked up three white youth and charged them with murder and attempted murder.

The New Bedford outbreak was touched off when cops mistreated a Black man they had arrested for operating a car with a defective headlight.

Windows were smashed and buildings burned on the principal street running through the city's ghetto. Sixteen people were reported injured, including ten cops.

Afro-Americans constitute only about 3 percent of New Bedford's population of 104,000. But 10 percent of the population are of Portuguese-Cape Verdean descent and, according to reports, growing numbers of them are now seeing an identity of interest with the Black population.

Once a prosperous town that was the center of the country's large whaling industry, New Bedford has become an economically impoverished area and, in accord with U.S. racist patterns, the non-white population has suffered the brunt of the consequences.

The city has the second highest unemployment rate in the country—officially 8.3 percent last month and, with layoffs under way, an estimated 16 percent this month. Among the Afro-American population, the jobless rate is estimated as high as 35 percent.

Indicative of the kind of approach that has created the explosive atmosphere in New Bedford, one report describes the building of a highway (designed to pump money into the city's economy) which eliminated 1,200 homes. No low-cost substitute housing was provided, and the homeless simply had to squeeze tighter into the ghetto.

A United Front, including Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, has functioned in New Bedford since 1968.

Washington moves fast against rail unionists

By FRANK LOVELL

When the United Transportation Union (UTU) stopped three of the nation's largest railroads July 7, they struck at one of the anti-union pillars of class rule in this country—the dictum that workers, no matter how unjustly treated or grossly underpaid, shall not be permitted to leave their jobs if they are necessary to the maintenance of key links in the capitalist economy. This applies to postal workers and workers in the transportation and communications industries.

The dictum has been challenged before and will be again. But in the case of the railroad workers, where biased law and compliant union officials have combined to establish and perpetuate a no-strike tradition, this dictum still stands.

The speed of government intervention against railroad strikers—even the threat of strike—outraces everything else in Washington. The courts react immediately. The president tries to sign an order before the courts can issue an injunction. Congress is on permanent standby, always ready to strike a blow against the railroad workers.

The latest strike came as a last desperate move by President Charles Luna of the UTU to resolve an 11-year-old dispute over the hiring of railroad firemen on diesel engines in order to insure that two men will be in the locomotive cab at all times—basically a safety measure.

The strike call, like an alarm, set off action in all sensitive areas and departments. Workers on the three railroads—Baltimore & Ohio, Louisville & Nashville, and Southern Pacific—walked off to a man, disrupting freight and traffic in 16 states. The railroad

industry, in the person of John P. Hiltz Jr., president of the National Railway Labor Conference, immediately called on the courts to halt the strike. Other spokesmen for the capitalist class, specifically those in the coal fields of eastern Kentucky, demanded immediate relief, claiming mines would close if the rail strike "continues for one day."

Before the sun had set, Nixon responded with a Presidential Order to stop the strike. Even before Nixon acted, an alert federal judge, Barrington Parker, had issued a temporary restraining order against the strikers in compliance with the demands of the railroad industry.

Union president Luna says the aim of the operators all along has been to get the whole question of the size of train crews away from the labor-management bargaining table and into the lap of government arbitration boards. Nixon and the Congress are agreed that some new legislation is needed to insure compulsory arbitration of wages and working conditions in all key industries. And this short-lived strike serves as a test run to see how each will play out his part, including the union officialdom.

In this case, Luna performed according to script. He called off the strike and immediately agreed to the new "60-day cooling off period" for further study of a question that has been under study and adjudication for the past 11 years.

The strikers have gone back to work, but there are other issues, including the basic question of wages and working conditions, coming up in the railroad industry soon. Railroad workers cannot allow these questions to be long postponed.

ACTIVITIES CALENDAR

ATLANTA

THE NEW LABOR RADICALIZATION. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor editor of The Militant and former UAW union activist. Fri., July 24, 8 p.m. Followed by two weekend classes on the American labor movement: Sat., July 25, 12 noon; Sun., July 26, 7 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St. (at 14th St.). Ausp: Militant Book-store and Atlanta Socialist Summerschool.

BOSTON

GIs AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Guests: Joe Miles, Black ex-GI, antiwar activist, and SWP congressional candidate; and Terry Bell, Vietnam vet. Sun., July 26, 2 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1 MC. Militant Labor Forum of the Air (a weekly series).

DETROIT

A CUBAN 26 DE JULIO CELEBRATION. Film: The Story of the Battle. Talk: Educational and Social Achievements of the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Joe Sanders, member SWP and participant in 1970 Venceremos Brigade. Cuban refreshments. Fri., July 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1, h.s. and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

LOS ANGELES

MARKISM AND THE BLACK STRUGGLE. Speaker: Herman Fagg, Calif. SWP candidate for governor.

Tues., July 21, 8 p.m. Community Relations Center, 4506 Southwestern Ave.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Speaker: Herman Fagg. Wed., July 22, 12 noon. Women's Lounge, Ackerman Union, UCLA.

A PANEL DISCUSSION ON BLACK POLITICAL ACTION. With Herman Fagg; Tommy Jacquette, exec. dir. Watts Summer Festival; and William Farrow, deputy field agent for councilman Billy Mills. Fri., July 24, 8 p.m. Malcolm X Center, 4311 S. Broadway.

NEW YORK

CUBA'S STRUGGLE FOR THE 10 MILLION. Why the goal of 10 million tons of sugar in 1970 was not met. An analysis by Harry Ring, editor of The Militant. Fri., July 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway. (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

JULY 26TH CELEBRATION OF CUBAN REVOLUTION. Special speaker: Eva Chertov, lived in Cuba six years. Topic: Women in the Cuban Revolution. Sun., July 26, 6 p.m. Cuban dinner and music. Literature, slides of Cuba, refreshments, auction and raffle, dancing. Child care available. 2228 Spruce. Donation: \$3. Socialist Workers Campaign '70 and Young Socialist Campaigners. For information: CE6-6998.

The great society

Caveat emptor — A Houston jury found a drive-in movie operator who booked *Midnight Cowboy* not guilty of showing an obscene film. Charges were initiated by an irate farmer who travelled 40 miles with his wife and six kids to see what he had assumed would be a horse opera.

Nixon's next economic adviser? — The University of California, Berkeley, has conferred a BA in magic on Isaac Bonewits. It was the first such and Bonewits says he's going on for a Ph. D. in the field.

Dropping like flies — With Maj. Gen. George Casey's helicopter missing in Vietnam, it looks like we have now lost seven generals in that war. The others number about 50,000.

News of the week — Readers of the front page of the *New York Times* were startled to learn that there is now evidence suggesting that knowledge and learning are greater when buttressed by practical experience. Preliminary data indicating this was gathered over a five-year period by a taxpayer-supported survey team at a cost of \$7-million. Hopefully, the project will be completed in another ten years. Meanwhile, it's live and learn.

The unsocialized part — Resident doctors in British general hospitals are now billed 12 cents instead of the previous six for each night their wife shares their single cot. Hospital maids are expected to report each night such an event occurs. "It's all very undignified and unsatisfactory," one doctor protested, "for us, for our wives and for the maids who dislike having to report us."

He would have signed it — According to the Associated Press, 28 percent of the participants in a Youth for Christ gathering in Miami thought an excerpt from the Declaration of Independence was written by Lenin.

Moonlighting — An off-duty New York patrolman was charged with participating in a holdup at a social club.

Besides, someone could get caught — The New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association is seeking an injunction to curb a commission probing police corruption. The organization of New York's Finest said such a probe would result in "great expense, harassment and inconvenience" to policemen called to testify.

Our expanding civilization — The Japan Telephone & Telegraph Co. installed ten phone booths half way up Mt. Fuji.

— HARRY RING

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by

Mary-Alice Waters

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A major victory

Louisville 'Black Six' win acquittal

LOUISVILLE, Ky., (SCEF) — Louisville's famous "Black Six" won a directed verdict of acquittal here July 7.

Circuit Judge S. Rush Nicholson said the prosecution had failed to prove the charge of conspiracy against them. He instructed the jury to return a "not guilty" verdict after the prosecution closed its case on the ninth day of the trial.

The verdict came after a two-year battle that started in the wake of an uprising in Louisville's West End ghetto in late May of 1968.

The state charged that the six conspired to destroy private property during the disorders and implied that they started the uprising. Supporters of the six charged that public officials in Louisville were using them as "scapegoats" instead of facing and dealing with the real grievances of Black people that had produced the rebellion.

In a press conference on the day of the verdict, one of the six, Sam Hawkins, noted that the Louisville case had been the first of a rash of conspiracy charges against militant Black leaders around the country. He said it could also become the first of a series of victories.

"We are tired," he said, "of having to go into court and defend ourselves against conspiracy charges just because we want to be free. The Black people of Louisville will unite around this victory—and help our brothers around the country."

The other defendants were Ruth

Bryant, Robert Kuyu, Manfred Reid, Pete Cosby, all of Louisville, and James R. Cortez, formerly with SNCC in Washington.

The Black Six post-trial press conference was held in front of the jail here, where Cortez is being held. He has been in jail or prison since June 1, 1968, when he and Hawkins were first arrested. He is now serving a five-year prison term on a federal charge of transporting a sawed-off shotgun. This charge was also brought in the wake of the Louisville rebellion.

From the steps of the jail, Kuyu called for solid Black support for "our brother who is still in jail." An appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court on Cortez's gun-charge conviction was to be filed July 10.

When the conspiracy case finally came to trial in June, the prosecution put 22 witnesses on the stand but was unable to produce evidence that the six were ever all together in one place. The only factual evidence introduced against any of them was that Cortez, Kuyu and Hawkins made speeches at a street corner rally May 27, 1968, protesting a case of police brutality against Manfred Reid. It was after this rally that police cars roared into the dispersing crowd, and the disorders erupted.

Several witnesses, including a Black police officer, who had testified against the six at earlier hearings in Police Court and before the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC), did not appear at the final trial. It was reported by authoritative

sources that they had declined to testify.

During the 1968 disorders that produced the Black Six case, two Black youths were fatally shot—one 14-year-old by a white policeman with a sawed-off shotgun, and one 19-year-old by a white merchant. No charges were ever brought in these shootings.

The six had wide support in Louisville's Black community from the beginning. In the midst of the original hysteria, groups of white citizens also organized to urge the white community to recognize racism and poverty as the real causes of the uprising. An Ad Hoc Committee for Justice, the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), the Louisville Council on Religion and Race, and other groups all carried on a two-year educational campaign demanding that white Louisville face its real problems instead of looking for scapegoats.

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Fullerton: YSA c/o K.W. Jeter, 132 W. Valencia, #F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.
Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel. (415) 537-3656.
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.
Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.
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...Asbury Park

(Continued from page 1)

explained, "It is supposed to open by November. The name that the young adults have selected is Malcolm X Junior High. It is the name that we have selected and that is the name it is going to be. The board of education hasn't agreed to this yet because we haven't submitted the name to them as yet. We're waiting for them to have their next meeting."

Black students led a struggle in the high schools last February and got their demands met. One demand entailed setting up an Education Advisory Council to advise the board in its

More coverage p. 14

For story on Highland Park rebellion, and roundup on other ghetto explosions, see page 14.

relation to the Black community. Hamm is a member of the EAC.

This successful struggle led to demands for the appointment of Blacks to the board of education. The board has five members, all of whom are appointed by the mayor.

When a member resigned last May, various community and student organizations recommended to the mayor that their nominee, a Black person, be appointed to the all-white board. Telegrams were sent to city hall and groups met directly with the mayor and members of the five-man, all-white city council. The community was led to believe that their nominee would

be given a great deal of consideration.

But the mayor appointed some other Black person instead.

However, another vacancy on the board came down in June. This time, the students went to city hall en masse to make sure their nominee was given due consideration. But rather than respond to the legitimate demands of the community, the mayor just added fuel to the smoldering fire of discontent. He appointed a white person.

Knowledge of this decision became widespread the day before the July 4 weekend. The next day, the rebellion was on.

After the rising had subsided, people moved to set up community patrols which went into action on Wednesday night, July 8. Hamm explained, "This was organized basically by the young adults. It was part of an attempt to get the state police out of here. Believe you me, brothers, if you get stories about the brutality of the police, you can believe it. I'm not talking about the things I've heard, but I'm talking about the things I've seen."

"For example. Wednesday night of last week, I called the police station to ask if we might use their bull horn to go around in our own cars, which the police knew about, telling people to stay off the streets because we had a crisis here, about 40 people had just been shot. And it is very difficult to understand that the police were just firing over the heads, when a four-year-old gets his shoulder shot off, or a seven-year-old gets a bullet in his ankle, or when two people get an eye



Cop in Asbury Park takes deliberate aim

shot out. I went to the hospital very briefly Saturday morning, and it was just too much.

"But on my way down Springwood Avenue, I observed two state policemen using their rifle butts to break out windows, reaching in and pulling out chairs. They sat down, relaxed, and found it all laughable.

"After we arrived at city hall, we went into a meeting that night with city officials to discuss our demands. In the course of the meeting, we decided to take a five-minute break. We came out just in time to see one of our patrol members, who had been assigned to the street, being beaten and kicked up the steps of city hall by five state police.

"His hands were handcuffed behind his back. When they got the brother into police headquarters on the second floor, they beat him unmercifully. The screams were so loud that the police closed the window so as not to arouse anybody out on the street. Two minutes later, when this brother came down the stairs, his face was twice the size it was when he went up the stairs. They claimed that he had a weapon. My theory is that even if he had six weapons, if they had disarmed him, why should they have to kick him up the stairs. And on top of all this, he was not arrested."

Right now, Brother Hamm and others are locked into negotiations with the city government. Their demands include: amnesty for all those arrested, a rehabilitation center for drug users, a police review board, completion of the urban renewal program, and the restructuring of the local welfare office.

One of the central demands is for the employment of Black youth. Unemployment amongst the youth runs around 20 percent. But as a result of the rising, Hamm remarked, "More people have been hired on short notice within the last four days than perhaps the last five years."

Chicago cops charge right-winger with burglary in SWP hall raid

CHICAGO—A major breakthrough in the fight against the right-wing, terrorist Legion of Justice came Monday, July 13, when a warrant was issued for the arrest of Thomas Kevin Stewart on a charge of burglary. The charge stems from the positive identification of Stewart's fingerprints on file cabinets which were tampered with in the June 26th pre-dawn raid on the Chicago headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party (see The Militant, July 10). Bond was set at \$1,500.

Stewart, who has been frequently associated with the Legion of Justice, is currently under grand jury indictment for robbery, strong armed robbery and aggravated assault for his participation in the Nov. 1 armed raid on the SWP-YSA headquarters in which four people were injured.

These two recent cases of police action against the Legion follow months of a mounting campaign of public pressure carried out by the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks in order to force public officials to respond adequately to Legion terrorism. Police response in the past has been minimal.

Meanwhile, rebuilding of the Chicago SWP and YSA offices after the June 26th attack (which cost an estimated \$3,000 in damage) is still going on. Funds are desperately needed to replace stolen or destroyed equipment, files and books. Contributions should be sent to: Rebuilding Fund, Rm. 310, 180 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill., 60606.

Gusanos admit to L.A. attacks

By DON BECHLER

LOS ANGELES — Three counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles (gusanos) have admitted participating in arson assaults on several left-wing organizations and headquarters here in recent months. This evidence was presented by officer Luna of the Los Angeles Police Department at a preliminary hearing for four gusanos, held July 8 before Judge Bonnie Lee Martin. The purpose of the hearing was to determine if there was enough evidence to bring them to trial in connection with terrorist attacks on the Haymarket, the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters and the Ashgrove coffeehouse. Judge Martin ruled that the evidence was sufficient to warrant a trial, and arraignment was set for July 22.

District Attorney Stephen Trott presented the evidence which is bringing Reynaldo Gonzales, Mario Pelaez, Reynaldo Castro and Oreste Hernandez to trial on an assortment of 16 felony charges, including arson, conspiracy to commit arson, and burglary.

In Luna's testimony, admissions to the attack on the Ashgrove by Castro and Pelaez, and to all three attacks by Gonzales, were recorded. None of the defendants admitted belonging to an organization, although reference was made to a "mystery man" who organized the attacks. Mario Pelaez also mentioned belonging to a counterrevolutionary group when he was in Cuba.

The district attorney has indicated that he expects the gusanos to receive at least five to 15 years in prison.