

# THE MILITANT

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

## For a Black party! No support to Republicans and Democrats

**STATEMENT FROM ANDREW PULLEY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, TO THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS ATTENDING THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION:**

There are varying viewpoints as to what should come out of the national Black political convention taking place here in Gary, Ind.

Nearly 5,000 Black people attending preconvention delegate-selection meetings in New York City approved platforms calling for Black control of the political, economic, and cultural life of the Black community. They felt that the pressing problems of housing, jobs, education, and drug addiction could be successfully dealt with only by establishing Black control of the Black community.

Bryant Rollins, executive editor of the Amsterdam News, an influential New York Black weekly, recommended that the Gary convention call for a national Black political party. Reflecting sentiments held by many of us, Rollins wrote in the March 4 issue of the News, "Such a Party should operate on a national, regional, state and local basis and provide a vehicle for implementing the programs and strategies that result from Gary. It is time to dispense with the fantasy that the Democratic or Republican parties are willing or able to seriously and consistently deal with the critical

survival issues that affect Black communities."

On the other hand, Imamu Amiri Baraka, one of the temporary chairmen of the Gary convention and a leader of the Congress of African People, has called for the formation of a national Black political caucus within the Democratic and Republican parties. Baraka outlined this idea at an Essex County (Newark) Black political convention held Jan. 15.

However, neither of these proposals offers a real prescription for achieving Black political power. Rollins puts the question of a Black party in the abstract by stating that this convention

should come out in support of one of the Democratic Party presidential hopefuls, who range from Representative Shirley Chisholm to Senator Edmund Muskie. But none of these Democratic Party aspirants are for a Black party. They even reject the demand for Black control of the Black community.

Baraka minces no words. He quite candidly says that a Black caucus would simply be a bargaining tool to operate in the Democratic and Republican parties.

But neither Rollins nor Baraka will wield any kind of decisive decision-making power at this convention. The people holding the reins here are the Black Democrats, namely the Congressional Black Caucus. The CBC and other Black Democrats are not using this convention as a starting point to seriously tackle the problems of Black prisoners, Black GIs, Black women, Black students, Black workers, and Black people in general. They are using the convention to bolster and enhance their meager positions in the Democratic Party. They want to be "power brokers" for Black America at the Democratic Party national convention in Miami next July.

Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and other Democrats have circulated a paper in which they state the essence of their "Black agenda." They want to pressure Democratic Party presidential aspirants for "firm commitments for Black cabinet posts or agency chairmanships of sub-

stance."

Sutton and others see "real power in a Black being Secretary of the Treasury or chairing the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Reserve Bank and other such nonblack positions in America's power structure."

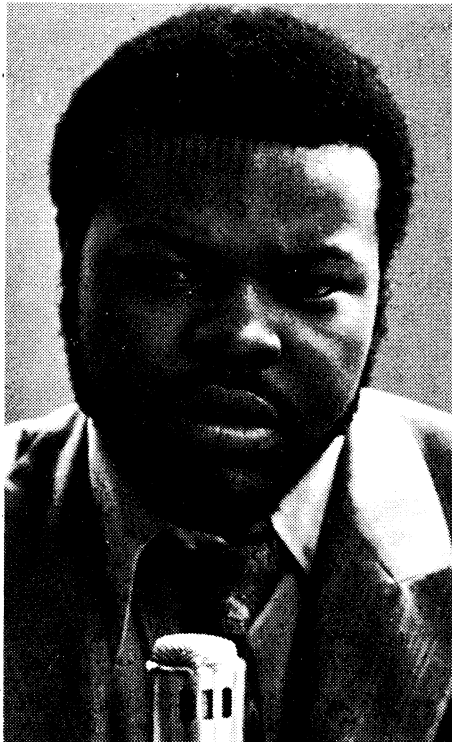
A Black cabinet member is not the answer to the powerless state of our people! Brother Malcolm X pulled the covers off this scheme back in 1965 when Lyndon John-

*Special feature: Malcolm X and the struggle for a mass Black political organization. See page 12.*

son was president. "I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, Black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other.

"And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, 'Look how much progress we're making: I'm in Washington, D. C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman, I'm your, you know, your leader.' But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and put it out when the flames begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood,

*Continued on page 14*



Andrew Pulley

Photo by Brian Shannon

## Massive protests hit murder of French auto worker



Photo by TRIX

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**ANTI-ZIONIST ARRESTED IN ISRAEL:** The March 4 issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the Communist League (the French section of the Fourth International) reports that Arie Bober has been imprisoned by the Israeli authorities. Bober, one of the leaders of Matzpen (Israeli Socialist Organization), is charged with refusing to serve in the Zionist army in Israeli-occupied territories. Bober toured the United States in 1970, explaining the anti-Zionist position of the Israeli Socialist Organization.



Arie Bober

**PART OF THE 'FREE WORLD':** Six young Iranian revolutionists were executed by a firing squad in Teheran on March 1. A press release from the Iranian Students Association in New York identified those executed as Abbas and Assadollah Meftahi, Massoud and Majeed Ahmadzadeh, Hamid Tavakoli, and Gholam-Reza Golavi. The March 3 *Le Monde* reports that on Feb. 29 Said Aryan, Abdol Karim Hadjian Sepeleh, Mehdi Savalouni, and Bahram Aingue were executed.

In an attempt to justify the murders it was about to commit and to counter the international publicity generated by Iranian students, the regime organized an "anti-foreign" and "antisubversive" demonstration of "the Iranian nation" for Feb. 29. After predicting that more than 200,000 would attend (schools, government offices, and private enterprises were closed down), "tens of thousands of people" participated, according to the semiofficial Tehran daily *Ettelaat*. They demanded the maximum penalty for the "foreign elements" and "terrorists." *Le Monde* reported that slogans included "faithfulness to the monarchy" and "for the continuation of the white revolution."

**PRISONERS THREATENED BY MOVE ON WBAI:** To facilitate the further victimization of prisoners involved in rebellions and to intimidate the broadcast media, WBAI, a listener-sponsored FM radio station in New York, has been ordered to turn over to the Manhattan district attorney's office tapes of broadcasts made during the October 1970 uprisings at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs). WBAI's general manager, Edwin A. Goodman, has refused to give up the tapes on constitutional grounds and on the basis of a New York civil rights law that states, "no professional journalist or news-caster . . . shall be adjudged in contempt of court . . . for refusing or failing to disclose news or the source of any such news coming into his possession in the course of gathering or obtaining news."

Goodman was found in contempt of court and served two days of a 30-day sentence before a federal judge ordered him released pending appeal. The DA wants the tapes in order to prosecute prisoners whose calls to WBAI were broadcast. Another station, WLIB, turned over such tapes, and attempts are being made to force the *Village Voice* and WNDT-TV to surrender news sources.

**GAY RIGHTS VICTORY:** The Gay Activists Alliance of New York has won an important civil liberties victory: the right to incorporate as a homosexual civil rights organization. The unanimous decision on March 2 of the Appellate Division Third Judicial Department reversed previous rulings by the secretary of state of New York and the state supreme court. Incorporation had been opposed by the state on the grounds that the name of the organization was "not a fit name for a corporation" and that GAA existed for an illegal purpose.

The new decision argued that "the word 'gay' is not a word proscribed by statute from use in the title of a proposed corporation. Neither is it obscene or vulgar, even though it is considered synonymous with homosexual." It also stated, "an examination of the stated purposes reveals that they are not in and of themselves unlawful. . . . It is well established that it is not unlawful for any individual or group of individuals to peaceably agitate for the repeal of any law."

**WAR INDUSTRY PROBE IN BERKELEY:** The Berkeley City Council passed a motion (6 to 2) on Feb. 22 calling for an investigation and subsequent listing of war-related industry in Berkeley. The motion was proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Air War, a local group formed in response to the intensified bombing in Indo-

china. It is the first action taken by the council that directs city officials to carry out antiwar activities. The resolution orders the city manager to direct the city staff and planning commission to "begin investigations of the city's ability to regulate activities and locations of war-related industries, using city ordinances and zoning laws, and to prohibit further expansion of these industries in the city of Berkeley."

A proposal of the ad hoc committee calling for immediate withdrawal of troops and an end to U.S. support of Thieu was also approved by the council. On Feb. 23, the ad hoc committee held a picket line of 60 at the Air Force recruiting center in Oakland. Despite police harassment, a rally was held featuring a recently released Air Force officer, Ken Kluxor.

**VIETNAM AND ABORTION BIGGEST CONCERNS:** According to a survey conducted by the *Minneapolis Tribune*, Vietnam and abortion were the two biggest concerns of Democratic and Republican party caucuses in Minnesota. Although the Feb. 22 caucuses did not make policy for the capitalist parties, they offered one gauge of sentiment among rank-and-file party workers. One third of the precinct caucuses of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (Minnesota's Democratic Party) passed resolutions advocating immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Vietnam.

The *Tribune* studied a sample of 100 of the 3,800-plus precincts where caucuses were held. Only three of these caucuses defeated resolutions favoring immediate and total withdrawal. Again referring to the sample of 100, the *Tribune* reported, "Eighteen DFL caucuses and 11 Republican caucuses advocated liberalization of a state law which now permits abortions only to preserve the life of the mother. Three DFL caucuses and four Republican caucuses opposed such a reform."

**SUPREME COURT REFUSES TO HEAR FARINAS CASE:** The March 6 *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League, reports that "the United States Supreme Court has refused to review the conviction of Juan Farinas. The decision was taken over the objections of two judges. Juan Farinas will be imprisoned shortly in a Federal penitentiary for two years."

Farinas was convicted on charges of interfering with the Selective Service System and refusing the draft after he exercised his constitutional right to distribute antiwar leaflets to fellow inductees.

**STATEHOOD PARTY HOLDS CONVENTION:** The D. C. Statehood Party, whose goal is statehood for Washington, D.C., held its first convention Feb. 26. Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. Delegate to the House of Representatives, reports, "After much discussion on the need for pressure outside as well as inside the Democratic Party to force it to change its ways, the convention voted to affiliate with the People's Party, whose 'stand-in' candidates for president and vice-president are Dr. Benjamin Spock and Statehood Party leader Julius Hobson. Charles I. Cassell, presently a member of the school board, was nominated as the Statehood Party's candidate for D.C. Delegate."

"The convention endorsed and pledged itself to build the April 22 mass antiwar actions in New York and Los Angeles."

**ANTIWAR BENEFIT:** Militant correspondent Norton Sandler reports that on March 5 the Northern California Peace Action Coalition (NCPAC) sponsored a reading of Donald Freed's play, "Inquest—The U.S. vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," as part of its publicity and fund-raising campaign to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in Los Angeles and New York. The Los Angeles playwright and Barboura Freed conducted the reading. They were joined in a discussion of political-prisoner trials by attorney Charles R. Garry; Black Panther Huey P. Newton; and Sydney Clemons, daughter of Morton Sobell. The Rosenbergs were executed and Sobell imprisoned as part of a frame-up in the 1950s in which they were accused of stealing nuclear secrets for the Soviet Union.

Mark Zola, staff coordinator for NCPAC, summed up the evening by noting that the antiwar movement has helped to create an atmosphere that denies the government the ability to witch-hunt at its leisure. Significant "Out Now" demonstrations on April 22, he said, would be a step forward for all movements for social justice.

**WITCH-HUNTERS FUNDED AGAIN:** The House Internal Security Committee has been granted more than \$500,000 to continue its antidemocratic activities. Led by southern Democrats, 302 representatives voted for the appropriation and 102 opposed it. The "no" vote was the largest yet in the effort to put HISC out of business. Representative Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.) and other opponents of the committee centered their fire on the more than 750,000 dossiers kept by the committee on people who exercise their constitutional right to dissent from government policy.

—JOEL BRITTON

# Massive protests hit murder of French worker

By MARCEL BLACK

The murder of Maoist activist René-Pierre Overney by a factory guard at the state-owned Renault factory in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt on Feb. 25 has brought about the most significant mobilization of France's left-wing organizations since the May-June 1968 general strike.

Overney was participating in a demonstration demanding that Renault rehire Sadok Ben Mabrouk, a worker fired for selling a Maoist newspaper, *La Cause du Peuple* (People's Cause). Overney, who was 23 years old, had been fired from the plant in 1970 for political activities.

A young worker described the police attack on Overney and the other demonstrators in this way: "I was near Overney and his comrades. There were twenty of them at most. They had just turned away from the guards and were moving toward the 'barbouzes' [undercover factory guards]. One of these men dressed in civilian clothes steps aside



Photo by Flax Hermes

May 1968 demonstration in Paris. Renault workers sparked nationwide general strike when they struck and occupied their factory.

from the group of watchmen. . . . He's one of the administrative employees of the surveillance service. . . . Suddenly, out of his pocket he pulls a rather high-caliber revolver—9 millimeters, I think—and in cold blood fires at Overney, who collapses, hit in the chest. . . ." (*Le Monde*, Feb. 27-28.)

A security guard from the Renault factory, Jean-Antoine Tramoni, has been indicted for murder in this incident.

One thousand workers and youth demonstrated in Paris the evening after the murder. More than 300 were picked up for "identity checks" by police during the demonstration. The same evening, the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, called for a united-front meeting at its headquarters the following morning.

Besides the League, the groups represented at this meeting were the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist Party), Lutte Ouvrière (Workers' Struggle), *La Cause du Peuple*, the Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, the AJS (Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism), Révolution, and Secours Rouge (Red Aid, an anti-repression group). The meeting called for a mass demonstration on Feb. 28 against the murder and repression inside the factories and urged "all workers, all workers' and democratic organizations, and all antifascists" to join it.

According to the March 4 *Rouge*, more than 40,000 marched on Feb. 28. The march was led by Michel Rocard, national secretary of the PSU, two PSU deputies to the French National Assembly; physicist Jean-Pierre Vigier; Alain Krivine, Henri Weber, Michel Rotman, and Charles Michaloux—leaders of the Communist League; publisher Jean-Edern Hallier; and Jean-Paul Sartre. *Le Monde* also reported that a number of organizations in addition to the sponsors participated, including the MLF (Mouvement de Libération de la Femme—Women's Liberation Movement) and the Center for Communist Initiative, which involves a number of former leading figures in the French Communist Party such as Vigier, Charles Tillon and Roger Garaudy. At the close of the rally, Charles Michaloux of the Communist League urged a massive turnout for Overney's funeral.

The funeral procession to Père Lachaise Cemetery March 4 "produced the biggest show of strength of the New Left since its near-revolution in 1968," wrote John Hess in the *New York Times* the following day. Hess estimated the size of the procession at 50,000, while the national Broadcasting Company put the figure at 100,000.

The French Communist Party and France's largest trade-union confederation, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), which is controlled by the Communist Party, refused to support these actions because they feared another May-June 1968. In his N.Y. *Times* article, Hess paraphrases CP leader Georges Marchais as declaring that "The French workers do not want a repetition of the outbreaks and strikes of 1968. . . ." On March 1, the po-

litical bureau of the French CP issued a statement saying, "Naturally, Communists will not take part in such a demonstration." The statement charged that the murder of Overney and the actions following it were provocations intended to "divide the workers and the democratic forces."

By this the CP means that mass actions by workers and youth—which it has tried very hard to discourage—might upset its plans for an electoral bloc with the Socialist Party and capitalist liberals in the legislative elections, which are scheduled for late 1972 or 1973. By denouncing Overney and other leftists in the plants, the CP is fighting against the rising influence of revolutionaries, especially the Communist League, in the French working-class movement.



Front page of March 4 *Rouge*, newspaper of the Communist League, an organization that helped initiate mass protests. Slogan reads, "Worker self-defense against company cops."

Expressing its own fears on this same point, the London *Times* of March 1 stated: "Perhaps the most significant aspect of the events of the past few days is that students as such have hardly figured in them. . . . The organization which took the initiative in calling the [Feb. 28] demonstration, and which provided the stewards for it as well as a good part of the rank and file, is not a student group but an adult political organization, the Communist League. These events therefore serve to highlight two aspects of the development of the revolutionary movement in France since 1968: it has become more 'political,' and it has moved out of the universities toward the working class."

## Renewal drive finds friendly response

By MIKE LUX

MARCH 6—*The Militant* renewal campaign made more gains this week. One hundred four renewals were received by the business office, bringing the total to 775 so far. Ninety-six new introductory subs and 13 new one-year subs were also sent in. Oakland-Berkeley netted one-fourth of the renewals this week with 26.

All of the new subscribers from the fall drive who have not renewed their subs are no longer receiving *The Militant*. This underlines the importance of local units of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance reaching as many of these new readers as possible to discuss renewing their subs. Organizing the renewal drive as a high-priority, well-planned effort in the coming weeks should be the goal of every area.

Chris Rayson, renewal drive director for the Oakland-Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance, writes: "We're lining up cars and people in advance, and we're concentrating on getting regional teams out. The renewal campaign is making an impact. Over and over again, you run into subscribers who are impressed with the level of our activity and our seriousness because we take the time to interest them in a renewal."

One of the central features of the renewal effort has been tying the renewal drive to the Jenness-Pulley election campaign. Many participants in the drive have found that the SWP presidential campaign is very well received by virtually everyone approached. Ruth Getts, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Oregon, reports: "Most of the

people we have talked to have turned out friendly in one way or another. All are interested in the campaign and a good number have endorsed it."

Getts continued, "The Northwest Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley team has just reported that 20 people in Ashland, Ore., are now campaign endorsers as a result of the team's visit to subscribers in the area. Two women saw Linda Jenness on a previous tour and want to see her again to find out more about the campaign. They also saw Portland Women's National Abortion Action Coalition debates on television and wanted more information. One person who renewed his sub before the team got there has been saving campaign articles from *The Militant* and wants to start taking a bundle of papers to sell at work."

The following letter was received by the business office this week from Roy Miller of Reno, Nevada: "I received your renewal letter just as I was going down to the Post Office to send in a subscription for a year of *The Militant* and a half year of the *International Socialist Review*. Although I am not familiar with the *ISR*, living in a complete social and political vacuum in Reno, I have found *The Militant* to be one of the finest radical papers in the U.S. It provides relevant movement news in striking contrast to the gross distortions and misrepresentations of the capitalist press. I would be interested in joining the YSA and would like to know if there are any other socialists in the Reno area who would be interested in organizing a Socialists for Jenness and Pulley group among the students of the University of Nevada here.

I feel that the Jenness-Pulley campaign offers the only real alternative to the lies and deception of the Democratic and Republican parties. . . . There is a significant mass of radical students who, given organization and leadership, could prove to be a force to be reckoned with in democratizing the University and humanizing the city. *The Militant*'s a great paper. . . ."

The *International Socialist Review* continues to bring in an impressive number of renewals. Last week 32 more *ISR* renewals came in, bringing the total to 211. This is more than 6 percent of the number of persons who bought introductory subscriptions last fall.

A sampling of mail from last week gives an indication of the attitude of readers toward *The Militant*. "I am a prisoner at Dallas [Pa.] State Correctional Institution and can commend you on your work. I have been receiving *The Militant* for a month now. *The Militant* aids me in my need of various articles, and also gives me an excellent elaboration on the different problems which now surround us. I say keep up the good work. More power to *The Militant*, and all Black organizations in progress."

A reader from Wheaton, Ill., writes: "Please find enclosed herein my check of \$6.00 for a subscription to *The Militant* for a period of one year. Let me add that I am certainly gratified to know that there are people who are concerned enough to publish a periodical which has a fetish for the truth."



# Nationwide buildup for April 22

By DAVE FRANKEL

MARCH 7—Antiwar organizations around the country are beginning to step up their activity as the April 22 demonstrations planned for New York and Los Angeles draw closer.

On the West Coast, 400 people attended a Feb. 23 teach-in sponsored by the University of Washington Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) in Seattle. Supporters of the teach-in included the Black Student Union, Young Democrats, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Youth for McGovern, Ecology Works Council, Washington Democratic Council, the incoming student body president, and many individual professors.

In building for the teach-in 150 junior high school students, after informing the school board of their intention to leaflet, gathered at their principal's office and then marched to the teacher's lounge, where they passed out leaflets on the teach-in. The SMC is now demanding official recognition so that it can sponsor antiwar assemblies in the high schools on April 19.

Portland SMC activists have also applied to the board of education there for high school antiwar activities on April 19. An April 15 march and rally in Portland is planned as a build-up action to the national demonstration. On April 1 there will be an antiwar conference in Portland. Teach-ins were held last week at Portland State University and Portland Community College.

An antiwar conference planned for March 11 in San Francisco will be organizing the northern California regional participation in the upcoming actions. Supporters of the conference, which is being organized by the SMC, include Youth for McGovern, Youth Coalition for Muskie, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Youth for McCarthy, and many other groups.

In other parts of the country similar activity is being carried out. Austin, Texas, will be having a local demonstration on March 18, and a GI and Veteran's Speak-Out on March 8. Democratic Party candidate for governor of Texas, Francis Farentold, has endorsed both the April 22 and March 18 demonstrations.

In Muncie, Ind., a statewide meeting of the Hoosier Peace Action Coalition on March 4 was attended by several hundred people. It declared its support for the April 22 demonstrations and planned a week of intensive activity April 15-22.

Activists in Pennsylvania are mobilizing people for a mass demonstration in Harrisburg April 1 to protest the war and the frame-up trial of the Harrisburg defendants. In addition, Philadelphia is planning a high school antiwar conference for March 25 and an April 15 teach-in.

The Washington Area Peace Action Coalition (WAPAC) reports that Congress has declared March 26-April 1 a "week of concern for POWs." WAPAC will be showing its concern for the POWs by organizing a picket line to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina as the only way to have the POWs returned home.

## New Minn. endorsers for April 22

By GLEN BOATMAN

MINNEAPOLIS—Two presidential aspirants and a number of local labor leaders are the latest in a series of Minnesota figures to endorse the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles.

Senator Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy, both candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, added their names to the list of supporters of the spring actions demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina. Humphrey publicly endorsed the April 22 actions on a local radio show, while McCarthy endorsed after a local campaign rally.

Other prominent political figures in Minnesota who have endorsed the demonstrations include Governor Wendell Anderson, Lieutenant Governor Louis Perpich, Congressmen Donald Fraser and Joseph Karth, Minneapolis City Councilman Louis DeMars, Ramsey County Commissioner John

Milton, and Minnesota State Senator John Bolland.

Labor support for the actions is also off to a good start. Local 59 of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers endorsed the April 22 actions unanimously.

Local union officials who have backed the marches include Norm Hammink, president of the St. Paul Typographers Union; Joe Miller, field director of UE Local 1139; Elvis Swann, international representative of the Distributive Workers of America; Fred Stover, president of the U.S. Farmers Association; and Barry Noack, national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.

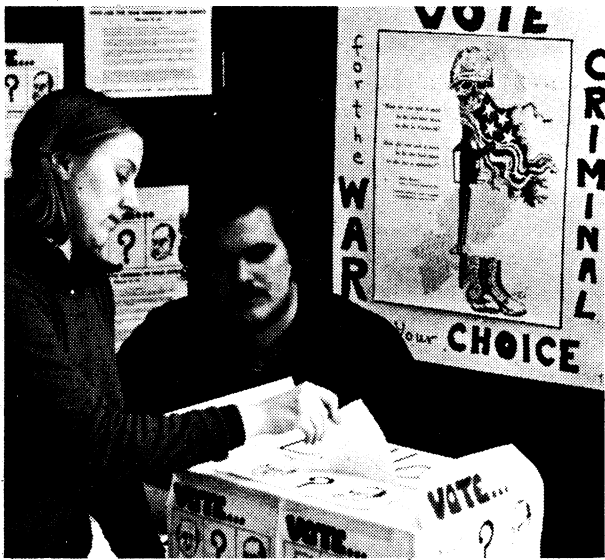
Other endorsements include Mathew Stark, president of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union; and Jack Baker, University of Minnesota student body president.

MINNEAPOLIS—Stephanie Coontz, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, toured Minnesota Feb. 18-21, appearing at eight public meetings and a press conference organized by the Minneapolis Peace Action Coalition.

Recently returned from the Versailles peace gathering, Coontz encouraged participation in the April 22 antiwar demonstrations. "Nixon is lying," she told a student group at the University of Minnesota. "The war is not winding down, and it is students who must tell people the truth."

She spoke to students at Mesabi and Vermillion Junior Colleges on the Iron Range, Carleton College in Northfield, Metropolitan State Junior College in Minneapolis, and the Duluth and Minneapolis campuses of the University of Minnesota.

Coontz also spoke to the Greater Metropolitan Federation, a coalition of more than 90 social action groups, and to some 60 people at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum.



Richard Nixon was elected chief Vietnam war criminal in SMC-sponsored polls at the University of Minnesota (shown above) and the University of Washington in Seattle.

## L.A. antiwar action draws wide support

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES, March 7—Endorsements for the April 22 antiwar demonstration continue to pour into the NPAC-West headquarters here. Latest additions include Democratic presidential-hopeful John Lindsay and Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton. José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder of La Raza Unida Party in Texas; Harrisburg codefendant Eqbal Ahmad; and Leonard Levy, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, have also endorsed the action.

In addition, Carole Feraci, the singer who gained nationwide attention by demanding during a White House performance that Nixon end the war, has agreed to serve on the NPAC steering committee and assist in public relations work.

The excitement generated by L.A.'s first national antiwar action since the Chicano Moratorium in August of 1970 is reflected in the large turnout for the three coalition meetings held thus far. More than 160 people attended the March 2 meeting.

Among the organizations represented at these meetings have been: the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Angela Davis Defense Committee; L.A. Peace Action Coalition; United Prisoners Union; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Gay Liberation Front; Young Workers Liberation League; several local Black Student

Unions; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Women and the War; Organization of Arab Students; Student Mobilization Committee; L.A. Raza Unida Party, and several local chapters of MECHA, the Chicano student organization. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has also been represented at these meetings.

The 15 full-time organizers currently working out of the NPAC-West headquarters include two regional travelers from the Student Mobilization Committee who are building the action throughout the Southern California area. Also projected are Black, Chicano, Irish, women's, and gay contingents, and a veterans march that will go from Santa Barbara to Los Angeles over the Easter weekend.

The Los Angeles Free Press, the Staff, and the Los Angeles News Advocate, with a combined circulation of about 250,000, are running weekly news articles on the April 22 demonstration and are donating free advertising space. The Los Angeles City Council is being asked to declare April 15-22 Peace Action Week, and the NPAC-West staff is in the process of getting out four different posters and hundreds of thousands of stickers, bumper strips, and leaflets publicizing the April 22 action.

## Harrisburg trial enters 7th week

By LEE SMITH

MARCH 6—The frame-up trial of seven antiwar activists in Harrisburg, Pa., for "conspiracy" continued today with further testimony from the government's star witness, agent-informer Boyd F. Douglas Jr.

While Father Philip Berrigan and the six other defendants are charged with conspiring to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, to bomb underground heating units in Washington, D.C., and to raid draft offices, the prosecution has already conceded that the first two acts were not seriously contemplated at the time of the indictment. The government still maintains that the acts had been planned earlier by the defendants, but even this is a retreat from the dramatic original charges. It indicates that chief prosecutor William S. Lynch intends to take maximum advantage of the ambiguity of the conspiracy law.

About the only thing certain regarding Douglas' testimony—aside from the fact he is getting paid \$36 a day in "witness fees" for giving it—is that he says exactly what Lynch wants him to say. Lynch and the government are still trying to pass off this pathetic creature of theirs as a sincere friend of Berrigan's who turned to the FBI because the priest's schemes offended his patriotism.

Last week the defense revealed a letter from Douglas to the FBI that gave evidence of his deep "patriotism." In it, he asked for \$50,000 and a fake Army record as payment for his help in framing Berrigan and the rest.

Today Douglas claimed the FBI never gave him him the fifty grand he asked for. Instead, he alleged, he received "only" \$1,700 while still in jail, plus \$25 a day for four months after his release in December 1970 (and \$36 a day beginning in December 1971 and still coming in).

In addition to Douglas, other witnesses who have appeared in the trial so far have included the following:

- Jane Hoover, 22, who was a student at Bucknell University at the same time Douglas was. She said she had acted as a "mail drop" for letters allegedly carried into Lewisburg for Berrigan by Douglas. She also said Douglas had encouraged her to take part in illegal actions. He said it was necessary to "do more than demonstrate" against the war, Hoover reported, and claimed he had tried to blow up napalm trucks on the West Coast.

- Alice Quinn, a teacher, who told of seeing a diagram allegedly depicting the vicinity of a draft board) at a North Philadelphia house that serves as a day-care center.

- A Philadelphia cop and an FBI agent who established that Father Joseph Wenderoth's car had been parked outside the day-care center on a particular date.

- Sister Judith Savard, who said she received mail for Sister Elizabeth McAlister, one of the defendants, when the two taught together at Marymount.

- Zoia Horn, 53, a librarian, who refused to testify and has been jailed for contempt. She called the trial a "black charade."



# Why Mao seeks a détente with Nixon

This is the first of two articles discussing Peking's strategy in the détente with Nixon.

By DICK ROBERTS

What does the détente between Washington and Peking mean for the future of the struggle for world socialism? The communiqué issued by President Nixon and Chinese premier Chou En-lai, after a week of secret negotiations, does not tell much.

Neither Washington nor Peking has any desire to reveal the real content of their long talks behind closed doors. Any agreements that were reached will be kept in top-secret files for an indefinite period. To date, for example, many of the secret agreements between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin made at a series of "Big Three" summit meetings during World War II have not been revealed to the world public, although they influenced the whole course of postwar history.

In view of the realities of international politics, it is a disservice to the radical movement that anyone should attempt to take the Nixon-Chou communiqué at face value. But this is precisely what the editors of the "independent" radical weekly, the *Guardian*, ask us to do.

In their March 8 issue they state, "Of positive value was the Nixon administration's agreement to 'progressively reduce' U.S. forces and military installations on Taiwan 'as the tension in the area diminishes.'"

"... the Chinese expressed support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in Indochina and backed the seven-point peace program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. . . .

"In sum, the Chinese yielded nothing; the U.S. yielded something. This is a step forward toward independence, liberation and revolution."

The *Guardian* editors fail to explain why this myopic viewpoint is not shared by the revolutionary fighters in Indochina. From the outset of the announcement of Nixon's impending visit to China, leaders of the PRG and officials in Hanoi have consistently insisted that the war cannot be settled in Peking. On March 3, the official Hanoi newspaper *Nhan Dan* declared: "It can be seen from Nixon's activities regarding the Vietnam question and other problems that this aggressive, bellicose, ferocious and obdurate nature of U.S. imperialism has not changed a bit, that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy, the enemy No. 1 of all nations in the world." (*New York Times*, March 4.) That is a far cry from the Peking statement on Indochina in the communiqué, which refused to label U.S. imperialism as the sole aggressor in Indochina and did not even call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia.

Bourgeois commentators who are in a position to know what the Nixon administration is after also dismissed any notion that Washington would make concessions on Taiwan without reciprocal agreements from Mao and Chou. In their nationally syndicated column March 1, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak opined: "The American presence on Taiwan (Formosa) will continue until the Vietnam war is settled."

"In the absence of hard information on what was said at the summit, that interpretation is widely held here. But it implicitly carries with it the need for China to intervene in Hanoi for a Vietnam compromise settlement—no easy task considering the militancy of the North Vietnamese government."

"Yet, in the view of experts here, nothing other than a secret Peking pledge to help settle Vietnam could balance Nixon's concessions. . . ."

(Emphasis added.)

## China's isolation

The inability of the *Guardian* editors to explain Mao's rapprochement with Nixon flows from their longstanding failure to analyze the fundamental problems facing the Chinese revolution and the character of the Chinese leadership headquartered in Peking. What could have been done after the revolutionary victory in 1949 to raise the miserable living standards of this vast and most populous nation on the globe? What policies did the Chinese Communist Party pursue?

One must begin by squarely facing the magnitude of the problem. Even in 1970, the *New York Times* estimated (in the absence of statistics from Peking), that the annual per capita income of the more than 750 million Chinese residents was about \$125. The comparable figure for the Soviet Union was \$1,678 (in 1968), and for the United States it was \$3,910 (in 1970), more than 31 times the figure for China. (*New York Times Almanac*, 1972.)

Unlike the United States, where a socialist revolution would quickly provide an adequate income for all Americans and moreover a surplus that could be distributed to the rest of the world, socialist revolution in China could not and cannot raise the living standards of the masses of people without substantial foreign aid. China needs the advanced technology of other nations, and at times has even been forced to import agricultural goods.

But world imperialism, and above all U.S. imperialism, responded to the victory of the Chinese revolution by blockading China, by depriving it of desperately needed goods and financial aid, and by surrounding it with pacts and military bases bent on crushing the revolution at the earliest favorable opportunity.

Under these circumstances the role of economic aid to China from the Soviet Union assumed extraordinary importance. The disparity between the Soviet and Chinese economy is hardly less striking than that between China and the United States. China in 1949 began from a more primitive economic foundation than that of the Soviet Union in the 1920s. By the time of the Chinese revolutionary victory, the Soviet Union was the world's second-ranking economic and military power. It was the elementary socialist duty of the Soviet workers state to provide China with economic and military aid to the maximum extent possible, granted that even under the best of circumstances the aid from Soviet Russia could not have met in full the pressing needs of the Chinese economy.

But no course close to this was followed by the Moscow bureaucrats. The rulers of the Kremlin rationed out aid to China and other workers states only on the basis of attempting to bend these regimes to Moscow's policies. After Stalin's death in 1953, friction with China came more and more into the open. As Khrushchev pursued a modus vivendi with world imperialism, aid to China was slashed and Moscow refused to provide China with an adequate nuclear defense against the U.S. military forces that surrounded and threatened the People's Republic.

During 1959-1961, in the midst of horrendous famine following the disaster of China's "Great Leap Forward," Peking had to spend scarce foreign reserves to import grain from Canada, Australia, and elsewhere—while Moscow increased its aid to the "neutralist" capitalist regimes of India, Egypt, and Indonesia. Moscow broke off hundreds of economic pacts with

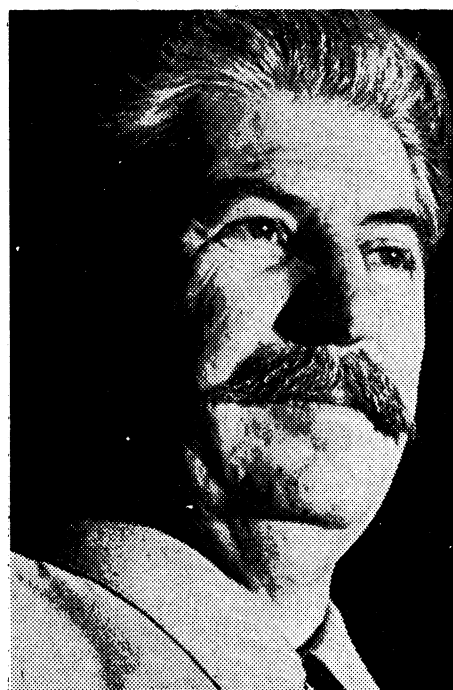
China and withdrew the technical personnel that were needed on every level of the Chinese economy.

What course could the Chinese leaders follow in these conditions of economic blackmail? Fundamentally, only two alternatives were open: On one side they could turn to the forces of world revolution, break with the Stalinist policies of the Moscow bureaucracy, expose these policies to the world working class, and actively promote the needed extension of revolution in the underdeveloped and advanced countries as the only guarantee of the long-term stability of the Chinese revolution. Or the Peking leadership could turn its back on the world revolution and orient toward an accommodation with imperialism, above all toward its most powerful sector, the United States. Mao's détente with Nixon shows what course the Peking bureaucrats have opted for.

## Lenin's strategy

Is the perspective of extending the world revolution an unrealistic means of defending and strengthening the workers states? Lenin and the other Bolsheviks who took power in Russia in 1917 did not think so. The Bolsheviks did not have any illusions about building a socialist society of abundance in the backward, overwhelmingly peasant nation seized from the Czarist monarchy. Lenin wrote in February 1917, "The Russian proletariat cannot with its own forces victoriously achieve socialist revolution. But it can . . . improve the situation in which its chief, its reliable ally, the European and American socialist proletariat, will enter the decisive battle."

This was the hallmark of Bolshevik policy. The leaders of the new workers state were always frank about the terrific economic and political obstacles facing the Russian masses. They proclaimed the necessity of socialist



Teacher: Joseph Stalin, pupil: Mao Tse-tung

revolution and fought to extend it despite the fact that the Soviet Union was surrounded by hostile imperialist powers, many of which had supported the attempt of the White armies to crush the Russian revolution in 1918-1920. Joseph Stalin correctly characterized Lenin's strategy in an April 1924 pamphlet entitled *The Foundations of Leninism*:

"The overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country alone does not, per se, mean the complete victory of socialism. The chief task, the organization of socialist production, still lies ahead. Can this task be performed, can the final victory of socialism be gained, in one country alone, and without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several of the most advanced countries? No,

this is out of the question. The history of the Russian Revolution shows that the proletarian strength of one country alone can overthrow the bourgeoisie of that country. But for the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the strength of one country (especially a peasant country, such as Russia) does not suffice. For this, the united strength of the proletarians in several of the most advanced countries is needed. . . ."

But already by the end of 1924, Stalin and the encroaching bureaucracy in the Soviet party and state apparatus had abandoned this revolutionary strategy. In a new version of the pamphlet Stalin turned Leninism into its opposite. He now wrote: "Having consolidated its power, and taking the lead of the peasantry, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society." (For further discussion of these opposing views of Lenin and Stalin, and of Stalin's search for "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, see: *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1939-40), pp. 5-50. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. 10014, \$2.45.)

The conception that socialism can (and must!) be built in a single country, even a backward one that is isolated from the world revolution, is the hallmark of Stalinism. It was even codified in the 1936 Soviet constitution. This view reflects the narrow, national-minded mentality of the bureaucracy that came to power in the degeneration of the Russian revolution. It subsequently spread to other workers states through Communist Party leaderships trained in the Stalin school.

Debasing the Marxian concept of socialism to mean nothing more nor less than the bureaucratized workers state that they controlled, the Stalinists proclaimed a foreign policy that subordinated the world revolution to



their own national needs—the strategy of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. Lenin's revolutionary internationalism was discarded and its adherents were tracked down and murdered as "Trotskyites." The world revolution paid a terrible price as the Stalinized Comintern sacrificed one potential revolution after another in its attempt to placate world imperialism.

The Maoist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party accepted these bureaucratic conceptions in toto from the Kremlin. Mao zealously followed them down to 1949 and during the Chinese revolution. It is impossible to explain Mao's orientation toward U.S. imperialism without placing the policies of the Peking regime in the context of these Stalinist origins.

To be continued.

# In Our Opinion

## Abolish death penalty

In campaigning for reinstitution of the death penalty in California, Governor Ronald Reagan conceded there would be a "certain cruelty" in slaughtering the 107 prisoners who are on death row in that state. But, he said, "I think there is cruelty when you execute a chicken to have a Sunday dinner." In so glibly comparing human beings to chickens, Reagan exposed his own moral depravity and his contempt for the lives of poor working people, mostly Blacks, who have historically been the victims of capital punishment.

The Feb. 18 ruling of the California supreme court that the death penalty is unconstitutional followed on the heels of a New Jersey supreme court decision Jan. 17 which voided that state's death penalty. But hundreds of prisoners are still awaiting the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court as to whether capital punishment violates the "cruel and unusual punishment" provision of the U. S. Constitution's Eighth Amendment.

Capital punishment is the most extreme form of repression used against poor, Black, and Chicano working people under the capitalist system of "justice," which amounts to "justice" for the rich. Of the 697 persons on death row as of Jan. 18, more than 50 percent are Black. The discriminatory use of the death penalty is even more obvious in the South. Of the 61 people who have been executed in Georgia, 58 were Black. Of the 455 people executed for "rape" in the South as a whole since statistics have been kept, 405 were Black. These figures do not include lynchings.

You don't find capitalists or bankers on death row—or even in prison. Yet they carry out murderous wars and live on profits stolen from working people. These are considered "legal" under this system. Capitalist "justice" for example, doesn't put Ronald Reagan in jail for stealing from the public by paying no taxes last year. Nixon and former attorney general Mitchell won't be imprisoned for illegally dropping the billion-dollar ITT antitrust suit. Owners of war industries are not put on death row for living off war profits—for living off the systematic slaughter of the Indochinese peoples and American GIs.

The entire legal system, prison system, and the institution of capital punishment are designed to terrorize, punish, or eliminate those who have been most victimized by this society, the most downtrodden and brutalized by the inequality and violence of capitalism.

The voiding of the death penalty in California must be defended against the attempts by Reagan and other reactionaries to reinstate it and to execute the death-row prisoners. And the decision in California should be extended so as to end the death penalty throughout the country.

## Real debate needed

Everyone seems to agree that the nationally televised debate on March 5 between the Democratic Party contenders in the New Hampshire primary was a complete farce. Neither McGovern nor Muskie seriously challenged each other, and the four journalists appointed to ask questions cooperated by keeping their questions mild and not putting anyone on the spot.

There was no real debate because the candidates are in basic agreement on almost all the issues.

The New York Times, a prominent voice for the capitalist class, stated in a March 7 editorial that the debate was "fatuous and anticlimatic" and "recalled the Lincoln-Douglas exchanges only by the vividness of the contrast." The Times editorial concluded that debates between candidates are "folly" and should be done away with altogether. They want to eliminate debates because at least they do show the American people what mediocrities the Democratic and Republican party candidates are and that there are no basic differences between them.

Other commentators used the fact that there were so "many" candidates in the New Hampshire debate as an argument for abolishing the "equal time" law.

How refreshingly different, however, would be a debate between the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, and any of the Democratic or Republican contenders. The only candidate who promised and followed through on his promise to debate Jenness was Republican candidate Paul McCloskey. That debate, held in New Hampshire on Jan. 15, was a lively and relevant discussion of the undemocratic nature of the two-party system itself—a topic the Democratic and Republican contenders would never discuss on their own, although it is a question on the minds of a great many Americans.

Lindsay, Hartke, and McCarthy have all agreed informally or before large audiences to accept Linda Jenness' challenge to debate. But all three have since made excuses and otherwise beat around the bush, refusing to formally agree to debate Jenness.

Such debates would help clarify the record of these candidates, all of whom support this rotten capitalist system that breeds wars, racism, sexism, and poverty. Such debates would also enable the American people to hear a presidential candidate who favors building a new society around the needs of the masses of working people.

# Letters

### Clarification

I think your reprint of my article about the Jenness-McCloskey debate from *The News*, the Boston University weekly student newspaper, needs some clarification. (See Feb. 18 *Militant*.) By no means did *The News*, by the publication of my article, intend an endorsement of the Jenness campaign, as the editors made abundantly clear to me. The article was bylined "special to *The News*" and represented only the opinion of the author, myself.

Speaking personally, I feel that the Jenness campaign effort is a valuable tool in exposing the ideologically bankrupt politics of the two major capitalist parties. To support Jenness, one does not necessarily have to endorse the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance. Furthermore, the Jenness campaign does not entail a belief in a ballot-box revolution. Firstly, a ballot-box revolution inherently continues the bureaucratic form of government now perpetrated on the American people. Secondly, the ruling forces of America would never allow a Socialist victory at the polls.

However, many people are duped to believe in the two-party process, even some self-styled revolutionaries. Perfect examples are Rennie Davis' general endorsement of the Democrats, Gloria Steinem's support of McGovern, and many of the Young Workers Liberation League members' support of the well-intentioned but misguided Shirley Chisholm.

Through Jenness and Pulley, radicals have a weapon to expose the meaninglessness of the leap-year election rite, and at the same time to educate the American people to the superiority of the Socialist program over the fakery of capitalism.

I think that it is about time for the petty factionalization of the left wing to cease so that we can focus on the real enemy, in this case, the Republican and Democratic parties. To do this, we must unite and support the Jenness-Pulley candidacy.

*Rick Cohen*

*Brookline, Mass.*

### 'Set the date'

Those who urge the Nixon Administration to "set the date" for ending U. S. military operations in Indochina should take note that President Nixon has in fact announced a terminal date for the U. S. involvement. In an interview in the Jan. 3 issue of *Time* magazine Nixon states: "The issue of Viet Nam will not be an issue in the campaign, as far as this Administration is concerned, because we will have brought the American involvement to an end."

Taken at face value, the statement means that the U. S. will be totally out of the Indochina war in a matter of months.

There are two things wrong with the Nixon commitment. First, the right of the peoples of Indochina to run their own affairs is a present and immediate right. That right has been criminally violated for decades—indeed, for over a century. Nixon's pronouncement means that the U. S. will stay on in Indochina for a further period of time and that the U. S. will continue to deny to the Indochinese their right to self-determination.

Second, it would be foolhardy to place any stock whatever in the Nixon pledge. Given the sordid history of U. S. aggression in Southeast

Asia, the enormous stake in achieving a military victory there, the atrocities committed against the Indochinese to promote that stake, the intensified air war the U. S. government wages throughout Indochina, and Nixon's broken promises and hypocritical "peace" plans, what basis is there to believe that Nixon really intends to order total U. S. withdrawal before the November elections?

Those who believe that "set the date" is the way to end the war will hopefully agree that stepped-up pressure on the government to get out of Southeast Asia now is still in order. Such a course of action is certainly preferable to passively waiting for "the date," which might come and go without the promised withdrawal. The April 22 national antiwar demonstrations slated for New York City and Los Angeles—called by the National Peace Action Coalition—to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. land, sea and air forces from Southeast Asia—can be major events in helping to end the U. S. intervention. All opponents of the war are strongly urged to support and build these demonstrations.

*Jerry Gordon*

*Adelphi, Md.*

### Prisoners strike

Here is a brief account of the strike which started Feb. 16 here at the Lewisburg penitentiary. The work action began in the prison industries and the mechanical shops. At first about 200 workers walked off. There was a meeting outside with speeches. After an hour or so the meeting moved inside to the auditorium, where the workers were joined by people in the dorms. Speeches were given and a council of representatives was chosen to negotiate with the prison administration.

That night the police, under pressure, gave us permission to use the auditorium again. A mass meeting was held, with over half of the total prison population participating. The council of representatives was confirmed by the whole body, and the chief demands of the prisoners were set forth: a revamped parole system, more paroles, the minimum wage for all prisoners, and the right to organize a prisoners' union.

The tone of the speeches was militant, but no violence was planned or even suggested. Everyone who has ever been in a strike of this kind before realizes the unequal correlation of forces. It was agreed that if there was any violence, the police would be the instigators.

There was no trace of racism during the meeting. Racism can be broken when unity of action is decided upon. The meeting was also very democratic. In the Council, three representatives were chosen from each of the following groups: Black, white, and Spanish-speaking. Also one Italian delegate and one French-speaking delegate were chosen. To complete the council, a chairman was chosen by the whole meeting. The unions could learn something from us about democracy!

At this moment, our morale is very good. No one in the prison is working today! (except in the hospital, so as not to deny any convict medical attention). The prison administration doesn't want to negotiate.

You can help our strike by immediately petitioning the Bureau of Federal Prisons in Washington, D. C., to force the prison administration

# The Great Society

here to seriously negotiate with us, and by telling the truth to everyone about what really goes on inside these walls.

Leslie Bayless

U. S. Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa.

## Rail contract

Your excellent article from Chicago by John Spaulding in the Feb. 18 **Militant** on the new contract covering railroad workers is the only analysis I have seen so far of what this will mean to those of us who work in the industry. I think it will take a while before the majority realizes what has been done to them, because the changes in work rules will not take effect immediately and will probably be introduced piecemeal.

There is one point in your report that tends to convey an incorrect impression. Road crews will not necessarily be working over a 300-mile expanded division, and if they do, they will not be doing so for the same wages as they now get for shorter division. True, they will not get three times as much per trip, but it will be close to that.

The big gain for the carriers under their new work rules will come from further reduction in the work force, already greatly reduced. This means there will not be much hiring on the railroad for quite a while, and many now working may be laid off. Attrition will take its toll and those who remain will eventually do double work for the wages of one.

We need more money to meet the rising cost of living. We also need a shorter workday and more jobs.

C. S.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Thanks to Hoffa

I have read **The Militant** of Jan. 28 and found you in error on an important fact: James Hoffa did do something for the prisoners while he was serving time at Lewisburg penitentiary. I watched him get jobs for men to be released—and I mean decent jobs, for men who never had a decent job in their lives. And Mr. Hoffa did not care what the person looked like, only that he needed a chance!

I ought to know, as I did time at the same time and I got to know Mr. Hoffa. He tried to help me in many ways, and he tried to help other prisoners not only with jobs, but sitting down and talking over problems the prisoners might have and sometimes doing something about it. He made phone calls for men until the prison officials put a stop to it. He did more for the working man than all your so-called upstanding liberal men. He could have stopped this country from moving, because the workers loved him. He gave them a living wage; name me one other labor leader who did as much.

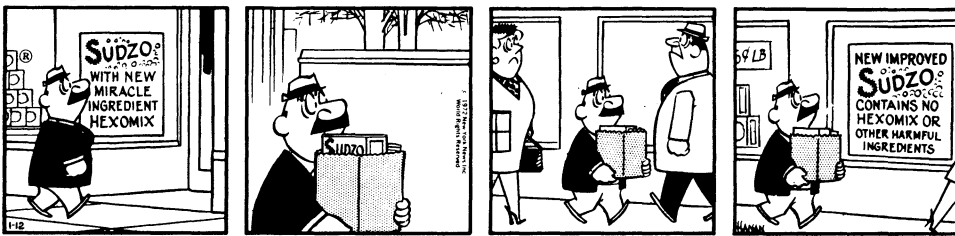
As I am still a prisoner of this corrupt system, this is the only way I can tell you, Mr. J. Hoffa, thanks!

Neal Deschamps  
Norfolk Prison  
Norfolk, Mass.

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

**Mao Tsenixon thought**—Those who suspect that the American people weren't given the most straightforward account of Nixon's secret talks in China should consider how the Japanese feel. Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda reported that an American official had assured him that most of Nixon's private talks with the Chinese leaders were devoted to "philosophical discussions." He said he was told, "Mao and Chou and Nixon were able to understand each other philosophically, from an historical point of view."

**Bless 'em all**—Ruth Graham, wife of the evangelist, told a Los Angeles assembly to carry out the biblical injunction to pray for your enemies. "Have you ever prayed for Chou En-lai or Mao Tse-tung?" she asked. "Or for the Internal Revenue Service men who give you so much trouble? Or for hippies and militants?"



**The upward march of civilization**—Offering a positive response to the growing shortage of burial space, a group of Brazilian real estate operators are putting up a high rise cemetery in Rio. The 21,000 vaults in the 39-story glass and concrete edifice will go for \$1,000 each. The upper floors—Nearer Thy God—we presume will be a bit extra. For the convenience of out-of-towners, a rooftop helicopter pad is planned.

**Sight gag**—Afflicted with a strong resemblance to the president of the "free world," actor James LaRoe has turned a liability into an asset. He's taken the name Richard M. Dixon and for \$500 you can have him for your next business meeting or sales convention, double-V sign and all.

**Back to nature**—Los Angeles county officials have called off a \$75,000 project to line a renovated thoroughfare with plastic trees. The county

fathers originally saw the project as saving gardening costs and proudly called in TV newscasters to record their contribution to the science of government. Now one official explains the project was "purely experimental." "We've found out a number of things so far," he explained, "and one of the things we have found out is that people don't like plastic trees."

**Sounds reasonable**—A study by the American Council on Education shows that among those most likely to finish college are students who don't smoke. A psychologist associated with the study said they didn't know why this was the case. Maybe the addicted dropouts simply weren't in condition for a four-year stretch.

**Balancing the budget**—Nearly one-third of those eligible for admission to the University of California under a needy-student program are being turned away for lack of funds. Meanwhile, it was disclosed that various high officials in Governor Reagan's "austerity" administration—including his chief aide—are enjoying the unrestricted use of "undercover" cars. The unmarked state vehicles are supposedly for sleuths.

— HARRY RING

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

**A SHARP DROP IN THE U.S. BIRTH RATE** has occurred since 1966, according to a new study by Planned Parenthood-World Population. The survey shows that between 1966 and 1970 the greatest decrease in the birth rate—21 percent—occurred among women with incomes under \$5,000. There was an 18 percent drop for all other women.

The biggest decline took place among Black women. During the period studied, (1966-1970) there were 49 fewer babies per thousand Black women, compared to 32 fewer babies per thousand poor women as a whole.

A Planned Parenthood spokesman explained that in the past low-income women had to rely on the least effective methods of birth control, but now they can more readily gain access to better methods. Clearly, legalization of abortions in several states and the changing social attitudes toward women and child-bearing have also had a significant effect on the birth rate.

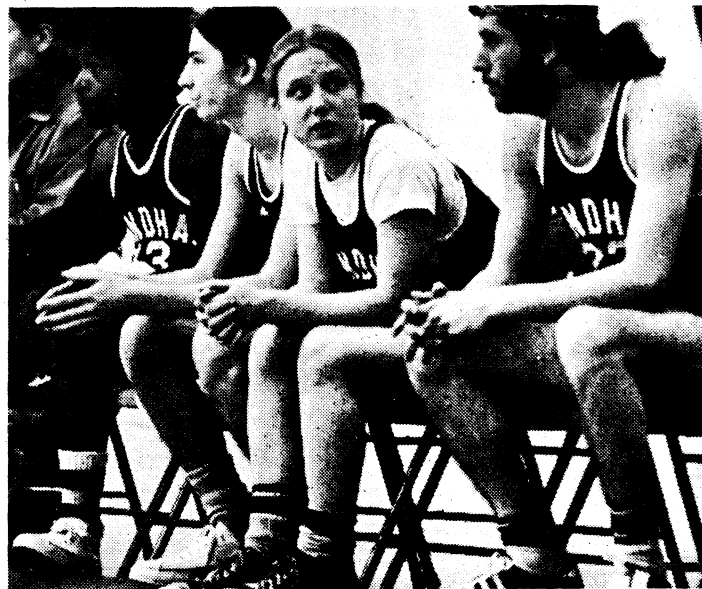
The results of this new study expose the racist myth that Black women and Chicanas have large families because they want to get on welfare or because "they just don't know any better." The study also undermines the arguments of those who advocate forced sterilization and other methods of coerced population control rather than supporting the woman's right to choose.

**ANOTHER BLOW STRUCK AT ANTI-ABORTION FORCES**—On March 1 a three-judge federal court ruled that the 122-year-old New Jersey abortion law is "vague" and violates a woman's "constitutional right of privacy . . . to determine for herself whether to bear a child." The decision stemmed from two suits against the New Jersey law—one a class action suit involving 1,200 New Jersey women, and the other a suit by doctors, individual women, the New Jersey Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Princeton YWCA.

The New Jersey decision follows on the heels of a series of court decisions, most recently in Vermont, Florida, and Virginia, where the courts have ruled all or parts of the states' abortion laws unconstitutional. Just prior to the New Jersey decision, the New York State Court of Appeals upheld that state's liberalized law in the face of a challenge by anti-abortion proponent Robert Byrn.

These new victories set further precedents for ridding every state of its oppressive abortion laws. Legal fights against these laws will be part of the focus of Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

**THE FIRST WOMAN COLLEGIATE BASKETBALL PLAYER**, Karen Wise, is fighting for her right to play on the Windham College (Putney, Vt.) team. After playing in two games, Wise received a letter from the Eastern



Karen Wise

Collegiate Athletic Conference (ECAC) stating that she did not qualify for Conference-sponsored events. ECAC rules for player eligibility include a "male only" clause. Wise plans to challenge the rule with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In order to get on the Windham team, Wise had to confront the opposition of the school coach. Even now she has to sit out the game if another team objects to playing Windham because she is on the team.

**A CHILDREN'S MARCH FOR SURVIVAL** has been called for March 24-25 in Washington, D.C. Organizers of the action hope to focus national attention on the inadequate government measures to provide children with health services, decent schools, proper diets, and child care.

Included in the plan of activities are demonstrations against the Family Assistance Plan (FAP). This bill would force those on welfare to apply for work or job training unless they are mothers of children under six. FAP would set a guaranteed yearly minimum income for a family of four at \$2,400, far below the official poverty level of \$3,960.

Sponsors of the children's march include the National Welfare Rights Organization; Operation PUSH; Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc.; the D.C. American Federation of Teachers; Congresswoman Bella Abzug; and Dr. Benjamin Spock, stand-in presidential candidate of the People's Party.

For information, contact Children's March for Survival, 1424 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. Telephone (202) 483-1531.

— CINDY JAQUITH



# Chicano workers organize in Crystal City cannery



Del Monte cannery in Crystal City, Texas

Photo by Howard Petrick

By HARRY RING

A very interesting trade-union development has been taking place in Crystal City, Texas, where La Raza Unida Party holds municipal office.

The biggest single employer in Crystal City is the Del Monte Company, which has a cannery there. The company presently has a contract with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. All but a handful of the workers, however, now refuse to pay dues to the Teamsters and are intent on winning a contract for an independent union they have organized, *Obreros Unidos Independientes* (United Independent Workers).

During a recent visit to Crystal City, I talked with Tony Rios, 31, the president of *Obreros Unidos*. Rios is a strong supporter of La Raza Unida Party and active in community affairs. His principal activity is in the union at Del Monte, where he has worked since he was 16. The story he told offered an example of how the nationalist struggle of an oppressed people and their struggle as organized workers can interact and influence one another.

For many years Crystal City was a choice location for Del Monte. A combination of Texas antilabor laws, cheap *mexicano* labor, and Del Monte's exemption (as a processor of agricultural products) from federal labor statutes provided many benefits. The plant generally employs several hundred people—a large percentage of whom are women—from Crystal City and a number of nearby towns. During the height of the season the number increases and includes workers brought in from Mexico.

There is little overtime pay at the plant. During the season, state and federal regulations permit ten 50-hour weeks with no overtime pay and ten such 48-hour weeks. The rest of the year it's supposed to be time-and-a-half after 40 hours, but this is practically meaningless since there's only two or three days of work a week for the regulars. Even though he is now a skilled cook and

works every week, Rios estimates that he works a total of only nine months a year. He worked in the plant nearly 10 years before he got enough work to qualify as a "regular."

When Del Monte set up the plant in 1945, a company-town situation was established whereby city services such as water would be provided, but no city taxes would be levied. (The Raza Unida administration has since incorporated the cannery into the city and is now collecting taxes from it.)

An amalgamated, catch-all local of the Teamsters, based in San Antonio, organized the Del Monte workers about 15 years ago. They were not permitted a separate local but were simply incorporated into the San Antonio local, with an appointed local business agent and with the principal officers in San Antonio.

Initially, organization by the Teamsters brought improvements for the workers. But they still had big problems on the job.

For the 1963 elections, the Teamsters helped organize PASO (Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations) in Crystal City and several other Texas towns. PASO was designed to win Chicano political representation within the framework of the Democratic Party.

In Crystal City, an all-Chicano slate entered the elections. One candidate for city council (later named mayor by the council) was Juan Cornejo, a Del Monte worker who had been appointed local business agent by the Teamsters. His campaign, which received some financial aid from the Teamsters, was successful, and Crystal City had an all-Chicano city council as well as a Chicano mayor. All, however, were Democrats.

This last fact proved decisive. "Cornejo really tried to do the best he could," says Tony Rios, "but somehow he couldn't do very much. Not like La Raza Unida Party."

The moment of political truth came for the Chicano people of Crystal City with a high school walkout in 1969. The entire community supported

the students and expected that the Chicanos in the city administration would do likewise. But, they discovered, the members of the city administration were Democrats first and Chicanos second. The expected support was not there. It was this that turned José Angel Gutiérrez's initial group of activists into Crystal City's major political force, La Raza Unida Party.

## Teamsters don't represent workers

Meanwhile, Cornejo, who had served one term as mayor, continued to try to represent the interests of the Del Monte workers as their business agent. He began to realize that the Teamster officials were more concerned with the welfare of the company than that of the workers. He initiated an effort to have the Del Monte workers reorganized into their own local of the Teamsters, with their own officers and decision-making body. For this he was fired as Teamster business agent.

Another plant worker, Juan Falcón, was appointed in his place and apparently did little to disturb the status quo. Then, two years ago, Falcón died. The workers met and voted that Tony Rios, at that time a shop steward, should be their leader. Nothing was heard from San Antonio.

Under the leadership of Rios, the workers tried to get proper representation and service from the union to which they were paying dues. Committees traveled to the district office of the union in Dallas to try to get satisfaction. They got nowhere. They sent a committee, including Gutiérrez, to the union's international offices in Washington. Again, they got nowhere.

They then decided to leave the Teamsters and affiliate with the AFL-CIO. They couldn't find anyone in the AFL-CIO who was interested in having them. Weighing the entire situation, the Del Monte unionists decided that the only recourse left was to form their own union capable of dealing with the company.

In December of 1970, the Teamster contract expired and *Obreros Unidos* petitioned for an NLRB (National Labor Relations Board) election to determine which union should represent the workers. The NLRB received their petition and then gravely advised them it was too late, the filing date for such a petition had passed.

As the contract expiration date approached, the workers were called to a plant meeting to approve a new Teamster contract. The company literally locked the doors and tried to force the workers to vote approval of the contract. Upon realizing that they had been locked in, the workers raised such an uproar that the company was forced to unlock the doors. The workers then walked off the job for the rest of the day. Afterward, nearly 250 resigned from the Teamsters and joined *Obreros Unidos*. About 10 remained in the Teamsters and four of them signed the new contract, which runs until the end of 1972.

The new union is preparing for the 1972 expiration of the contract and will be filing an election petition that will be in the hands of the NLRB within the legally designated time period. Rios anticipates strong resistance from the company and the Teamsters. There is speculation that to win, it will take a national boycott like the one that won union rights for California grape pickers.

One big advantage *Obreros Unidos* has, Rios points out, is that in this fight it will have a Raza Unida city administration on its side.

# Appeal for halt to terror in Argentina

By CANDIDA McCOLLAM

NEW YORK, March 4—A number of professors and civil libertarians joined the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Prisoners (USLA) in a news briefing here today to appeal directly to the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations for a halt to government terror against Argentine political dissenters.

The news briefing was held just prior to a conference at which Ambassador Carlos de Rozas was to be a featured speaker. The conference, held at the New School for Social Research, was entitled "Paternity or Fraternity: the Relative Attitudes of the United States towards Latin America."

At the news briefing, co-signers of an open letter to the ambassador cited examples of abduction and intimidation in Argentina, indicating that these practices are widespread and at times

indiscriminate. Participating media included AP, UPI, TASS, and the *Catholic Reporter*.

Professor Dale Johnson from Rutgers University compared the professional terrorists and their practices in Argentina to the notorious Brazilian variety and the "squadron of death." Relating firsthand experience, the sociologist told of being forced at gunpoint to raise his hands as he strolled through Buenos Aires last year.

Another participant at the conference, Professor Sandra Levinson from Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, urged support for the USLA Justice Committee in its efforts to press for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Argentina and for a halt to the abduction and torture of dissidents.

Referring to the infamous practice

of "selective terror" under General Lanusse's police state, USLA staff member Judy White stated that according to *Marcha*, a Montevideo weekly, one disappearance every 18 days was reported during 1971. White pointed out that the extent and severity of torture, abductions, and assassinations in Argentina were confirmed in a 60-page testimony of political prisoners that was released in January by the Association of Guild Lawyers in Buenos Aires.

The importance of having all civil libertarians join in support of the Argentinian campaign was underscored by Richard Garza, a long-time officer of the committee.

Although Ambassador Rozas failed to open the conference as scheduled, other prominent guests in attendance included Theodore Sorenson, and Charles Mayer, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

The request to the ambassador or his emissaries to support the demands in the open letter was to have taken place during the hour allotted on the agenda to "audience participation." The "participation" lasted only seven minutes before the chair abruptly adjourned the conference. This followed the refusal to permit a USLA Justice Committee speaker and literature table at the conference.

However, obvious interest in the committee's challenge to Ambassador Rozas—in spite of his conspicuous absence—was expressed throughout the day as conference participants anticipated the confrontation.

Information concerning the campaign to halt the arrests and brutal treatment of political dissenters in Argentina can be obtained by writing USLA at 137A W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

# Texas Raza Unida slate for 1972

By RICHARD GARCIA

HOUSTON—The Texas Raza Unida Party recently announced a slate of 54 candidates for state and local offices. Ramsey Muñiz of Waco and Alma Canales of San Antonio are the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. Flores Amaya is the candidate for U.S. Senate.

The Raza Unida Party candidates stated that they "offer an alternative to the two major parties" for the 1,357,000 Chicanos of voting age in Texas. 1972 is the first time a Chicano party in Texas has fielded candidates in a statewide election. This opens up the opportunity to extend the example of independent Chicano political action beyond the few counties in the Crystal City area and in the Rio Grande Valley—areas where Raza Unida city administrations have been elected.

The Chicano party has the possibility of deciding the outcome of the November election. For example, if 50 percent of the potential Chicano voters cast their ballots for the Raza Unida candidate for governor, that would be four times the difference between the number of votes pulled in the 1970 gubernatorial election by Democrat Preston Smith (who won) and Republican Paul Eggers.

If the Raza Unida Party nominated presidential candidates and half the potential Chicano votes were cast for them, Raza Unida's vote would be four times the difference in the Texas vote between Humphrey (who carried the state) and Nixon in 1968.

In order to be placed on the ballot, the Texas Raza Unida Party needs more than 22,000 signatures of eligible voters who have not voted in

this year's primaries. Raza Unida organizers are confident that they can meet these undemocratic requirements. "Obtaining these signatures should be no problem," said Mario Compean, the party's state executive committee chairman.

The Raza Unida slate also includes candidates for state treasurer, rail commissioner, land commissioner, Texas Board of Education, and other posts ranging from state representative to constable.

## N. Calif. Raza Unida campaign

By JOSE PEREZ

OAKLAND, Calif.—More than 200 Chicanos and Latinos attended a Feb. 26 rally organized by the Oakland Raza Unida Party at Lake Merritt Park. At the rally, Antonio Abarca of the Union City, Calif., Raza Unida Party announced his campaign for California State Assembly, District 13. José Matias Santana of the Patterson, Calif., Raza Unida Party announced his candidacy for Patterson City Council.

The rally was called around the demands of Raza control of Raza education; preferential treatment for Raza at all levels of the educational system; bilingual and bicultural Raza studies; free meals for public school students; and free 24-hour child care provided by the schools.

Speakers for the Oakland Raza Unida Party emphasized that this was only the beginning of a concerted campaign to bring needed change in racist educational practices in Oakland.

In addition to Abarca and Santana, the rally featured José Angel Gutiérrez, president of the Crystal City, Texas, school board and leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party.

All of the speakers stressed the need of building Raza Unida parties and organizing La Raza independently of

the Democrats and Republicans. Abarca pointed to the need of using both protest demonstrations and electoral campaigns as a way of building the party and reaching out to more people.

In a brief *Militant* interview following the rally, Antonio Abarca commented on what he intends to do during his campaign. "The main thrust of the campaign is to educate and organize La Raza, to show our people how the two-party system has done nothing for us—especially the Democratic Party."

Abarca, 28 years old, is a student at Chabot College and works at a meat company. After returning from Vietnam he became involved in the farm workers movement. He attended the founding meetings of the Raza Unida Party in northern California and became active in the Raza Unida Party in Union City, where he worked as a registrar of voters.

Abarca had some strong words on the subject of wage controls: "Nixon has frozen our wages but the property taxes went up, the food prices are going up, everything is going up. . . . What Meany should have done is to have told his members, 'OK, since Nixon is going to freeze our wages, we're going to freeze our work.' But instead he has gone along with it."

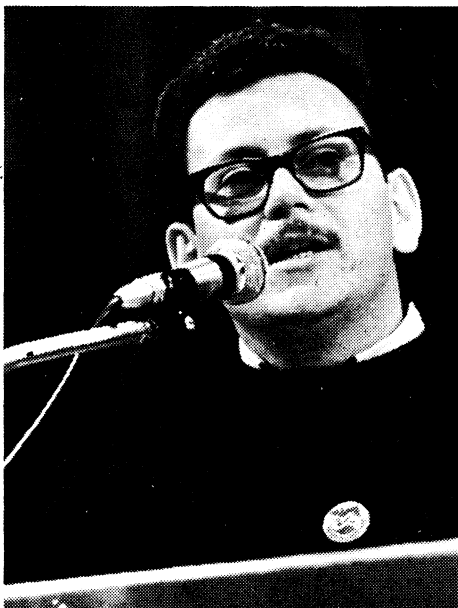


Photo by Dave Warren

José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party.

# Suits challenge Calif. election laws

LOS ANGELES—Three separate suits have been filed recently in Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Alameda counties challenging the candidate filing fees required under the present California election code.

All three cases are being supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which has assisted in the preparation of the suits. Plaintiffs include candidates of the Socialist Workers, Peace and Freedom, La Raza Unida, Democratic, and Republican parties.

Marge Buckley, a CoDEL endorser and the American Civil Liberties Union attorney for one of the cases, contends that the fees violate both the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. "They discriminate against poor candidates, deny voters a full range of candidates from which to choose, and abridge the right to engage in association for the advancement of political beliefs and ideas," she explained in a Feb. 17 news release.

"Recent federal court decisions in Texas, Georgia, and San Francisco have struck down such filing fees," Buckley noted. All three of the cases cited involved Socialist Workers Party candidates.

The fees being challenged range from \$192 for State Assembly and State Senate, to \$701.62 for Los Angeles County supervisor.

SWP candidate Sandy Knoll, a plaintiff in the Alameda County suit, is running for supervisor. The filing fee for this office amounts to \$295.76.

# ¡La Raza en Acción!



**CHAVEZ SIGNS FLORIDA'S FIRST FARM PACT:** A precedent-setting contract was signed Feb. 29 between the United Farm Workers of California and the foods division of the Coca-Cola Company after a six-month organizing campaign in the "sunshine" state.

The March 1 *New York Times* quoted Chavez as saying that this contract "will not only drastically change the lives of the 1,200 workers for whom we have been negotiating, but as in California, it will benefit all agricultural workers in the state."

The contract will cover full-time and seasonal workers in the orange groves of central and south Florida. Full-time workers will receive a 25 cent an hour wage increase, bringing wage rates within a range of \$2.25 to \$3.70 an hour. The piece-work rate was increased by five cents a box for most fruits, raising pay to 40 cents a box. The contract package, according to the *Times*, includes nine paid holidays, 10 paid sick days and two to four weeks of vacations for full-timers, and about half the package for seasonal workers.

This marks the first farm-labor contract to be signed with the United Farm Workers in Florida and could spur on an organizational drive to unionize Florida's 120,000 farm workers. Although Coca-Cola, which produces Minute Maid orange juice, signed without a strike, organizing the rest of the state could prove to be another matter. The Citrus Industrial Council, a reactionary and powerful organization of citrus growers, has vowed to fight unionization, in spite of Coca-Cola's decision. Their strategy is to import seasonal West Indian labor and thus prevent unionization in much the same way that California growers imported scabs directly from Mexico and other

parts of California to fight the United Farm Workers in the San Joaquin Valley.

**SURVEY REVEALS MALNUTRITION AMONG FARM WORKERS' CHILDREN:** A study of 1,400 members of migrant farm worker families in Hidalgo County and other regions of South Texas by 15 physicians revealed that children "were often dying of medical neglect or growing up without hope because of malnutrition." Thus reported a newsletter of the Texas Boycott office of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The team of doctors stated, "We saw rickets, a disorder thought to be nearly abolished in this country, and every form of vitamin deficiency known to us. . . ." The study was financed by the Field Foundation.

**MIGRANT STUDENTS WIN RESIDENT STATUS:** After members of COPA (Chicanos Organizados Para Progreso y Acción—Chicanos Organized for Progress and Action) staged a brief demonstration Feb. 15 at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant, Mich., the administration agreed to give migrant students the status of full residents of the state. This will mean that university fees paid by migrant students will now be lower.

In addition, Chicano students are demanding that three Chicanos be placed in administrative positions and that a Chicano Studies Department be set up.

According to the Feb. 18 issue of *Central Michigan Life*, the CMU newspaper, COPA successfully argued that since "migrants spend much of each year in Michigan and play a large part in supplying tax revenue for the state's economy,"

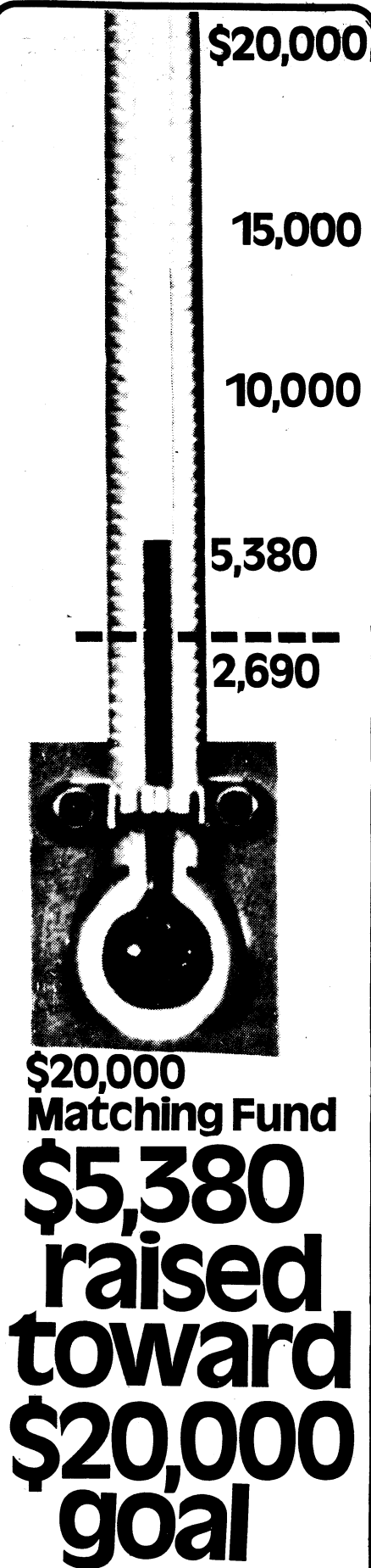
they should have all the rights that full residents are entitled to.

**SOUTH TEXAS RAZA UNIDA PARTY LEADER RULED INNOCENT BY JURY:** After a 10-day trial, Efraín Fernández, vice-chairman of the state executive committee of the Texas Raza Unida Party and a well-known community organizer in Hidalgo County, was declared innocent Feb. 25 of the charges of "destruction of public property" and of "participating in a civil disorder."

The charges stemmed from Fernández' participation in a legal demonstration, Feb. 6, 1971, in Pharr, Texas, against police harassment of Chicanos who opposed city officials. The demonstration was attacked by police with fire hoses and shot guns, resulting in the death of Alfonso L. Flores, a 20-year-old construction worker. Fernández was accused of having both thrown rocks and given a signal for other demonstrators to throw rocks at police. The prosecution's case was so weak, according to the Feb. 25 issue of *Ya Mero*, that Fernández' attorney, David G. Hall of UFWOC, felt it necessary to call on only one witness. Testifying for Fernández was Bishop Patricio Flores, first Chicano bishop in the United States, who made a special airplane flight to be at the trial. Bishop Flores stated that having worked with him in the past, he could testify that Fernández was a "peaceful man dedicated to the betterment of his people."

This important victory was a further setback to those reactionary forces in Texas (namely the Democratic Party) who have maintained a stranglehold on political activity in the Rio Grande Valley. Congratulations Efraín!

— ANTONIO CAMEJO



Campaign supporters have already contributed \$2,690 to the Matching Fund. The Matching Fund was established when a California supporter of the Jenness-Pulley campaign offered to match all contributions, up to \$10,000, to the campaign until April 14.

Nearly half of the \$2,690 was accounted for by the collections taken during Andrew Pulley's tour of New York. Forty percent of these collections (\$1,280) goes to the national campaign. The 60 percent that remains with the local campaign committees was not credited to the Matching Fund.

The remainder of the \$2,690 has come from individual contributions from campaign supporters.

If you can help raise the \$20,000 needed by the Jenness-Pulley campaign, send your contribution with the attached coupon. It's worth twice as much to us as it is to you.

- ( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$20,000 Matching Fund.  
( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the Matching Fund at the rate of \$\_\_\_\_\_ per month between now and November.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Mail to: '72 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Jenness leads in Tampa poll; runs 4th at UC Santa Barbara

"Back Talk," a regular column in the *Tampa Tribune*, the major Tampa newspaper, is running a weekly presidential preference poll. Reprinted below are excerpts from the Feb. 28 "Back Talk":

"As the pendulum swishes by, the trend in our presidential poll has swung from the right to the left. From George Wallace of the Democrats to Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party, a name we spelled wrong last week according to many of her supporters. Sorry about that, Ms. Jenness. Anyway, L. Jenness is ahead this week by the comparatively wide margin of five votes over Republican President Nixon and Democrat Henry 'Scoop' Jackson, who tied for second with 11 votes each. Wallace is still hanging in there, with a total of 10 votes this week. Make no mistake about this: the vote count each week

will be totals of all votes sent in, not just those of the past week. We will continue to add candidates to the list as people write them in. So pick one on our list or write one in, whatever turns you on, just do it.

"Communist Party U.S.A.: Gus Hall, zilch; Democrats: Shirley Chisholm, 2; Vance Hartke, 0; Hubert Humphrey, 3; Henry 'the Scoop' Jackson, 11; E. Ted Kennedy, 0; John Lindsay, 2; Eugene McCarthy, 0; George McGovern, 1; Wilbur Mills, 0; George Wallace, 10; People's Party: Benjamin Spock, 1; Republicans: Richard Nixon, 11; John Ashbrook, 1; Pat Paulsen, 1; Socialist Workers Party: Linda Jenness, the big 16."

The March 3 *UCSB Daily News*, the student newspaper at the University of California, Santa Barbara, printed the following results of a UCSB presidential preference poll:

George McGovern, 244; Shirley Chisholm, 160; Eugene McCarthy, 55; Linda Jenness, 51; Edmund Muskie, 50; Paul McCloskey, 47; Richard Nixon, 47; John Lindsay, 42; John Ashbrook, 9; Hubert Humphrey, 4; George Wallace, 4; Henry Jackson, 3; Samuel Yorty, 2; Vance Hartke, 0. Write-in votes: Benjamin Spock, 4; Gus Hall, 2; Gary Hart, 2; Tom Hayden, 1.

Many campuses and high schools are organizing Choice '72 presidential polls in April. These referendums will include all the presidential candidates, as well as questions on major political issues. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are actively building support for Choice '72 and seeking endorsement of the poll from other youth candidate-support-groups, student governments, and campus and high school political organizations.

## Right-wing paper attacks SWP, Muskie, antiwar movement

By EVELYN CLARK

BOSTON—On Friday, March 3, William Loeb, publisher of the ultra-conservative *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, continued his barrage against Senator Edmund Muskie with a vicious red-baiting attack focused on Muskie's support to the massive April 24, 1971, "Out Now" demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Featured in the editorial was a copy of a letter Muskie had sent to Don Gurewitz on March 10, 1971.

Gurewitz, who was then national secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, is now the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts. The letter from Muskie solicited comments and suggestions from antiwar leaders on a speech outlining his position on the war.

Loeb states, "He [Muskie] endorsed last spring's antiwar demonstration in Washington apparently without even considering its domination by Trotskyite Communists—it is probable that many citizens remain unaware of the EXTENT of the senator's naivete." Loeb implied that Muskie collaborates with communists by raising the questions, "Is he [Gurewitz] in any way involved in the Muskie presidential campaign? Is he one of these campaign contributors concerning whose identity Mr. Muskie has been so secretive? . . . the voters of New Hamp-

shire have a right to know more about Mr. Donald Gurewitz and the senator's relationship with him."

Loeb quotes at length from an Evans and Novak smear article on the antiwar movement that appeared shortly before the April 24, 1971, demonstrations. "What makes all this significant," the columnists observed, "is that the Trotskyites are not the few bedraggled malcontents of a generation ago but the most dynamic, most effective organization on the American far left."

In response to these attacks, several members of the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Campaign Committee went to Manchester to discuss with the Muskie campaign what action should be taken. A joint press conference or press release was suggested to Barry Wanger, press secretary for the Muskie campaign. He refused to take any action in response to the *Union Leader* editorial attack.

The following statement was issued March 7 by Don Gurewitz:

"The attempt to link the SWP to Muskie's campaign is ridiculous to the core. As Loeb well knows, the SWP is running Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice-president. The SWP stands opposed to all Democrats, including Muskie. We never have contributed and never will contribute money to Muskie or any other Democrat or Republican.

"Loeb attacks NPAC, the chief or-

ganizer of the massive April 24 demonstrations against the war, as 'dominated by Trotskyists,' implying that antiwar activists and the American public are dupes of the 'communists.'

"The antiwar movement represents the desire of the vast majority of Americans for an immediate end to the war. Senator Muskie, along with many other politicians, endorsed April 24 because he felt growing pressure from this massive antiwar sentiment.

"It is a vicious lie to accuse the SWP of 'dominating' the antiwar movement. This red-baiting smear is a standard ploy of pro-war forces, who attempt to intimidate the American people from demonstrating against the war. The antiwar movement has been successful in uniting groups and individuals of many points of view because it has adhered firmly to the policy of non-exclusion, and has welcomed socialists, communists, Democrats, Republicans, and others to its ranks.

"The Socialist Workers Party is proud of its role in building this movement. Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley and I have endorsed the demonstrations called by NPAC for April 22 in New York and Los Angeles. I urge the antiwar movement to organize a massive turnout of the American people for these demonstrations. That would be the most effective answer to Loeb. And I urge Senator Muskie to join us now in supporting these important demonstrations."

## SWP wins partial victory in suit against Mass. election laws

By EVELYN CLARK

BOSTON—A special three-judge federal court ruling Feb. 18 struck down the distribution requirement for signatures collected to place independent candidates on the Massachusetts ballot. Previously, no more than a third of the signatures could be from any one county.

This court action was the result of a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party in 1970. Affirming the principle of one-person, one-vote, the court quoted an earlier decision: "The right of suffrage can be denied by a debasement or dilution of the weight of a citizen's vote just as effectively as by wholly prohibiting the free exercise of the franchise."

The SWP also sought to invalidate the requirement that independent candidates obtain signatures equal to

three percent of the previous vote for governor—at present, this would require 56,038 signatures. The three-judge panel upheld this requirement. Judge Murray, speaking for the court, cited a decision made last year against a suit brought by Linda Jenness against the state of Georgia. He stated that: "There is surely an important state interest in requiring . . . a significant modicum of support before printing the name of a political organization . . . on the ballot."

Don Gurewitz, Massachusetts SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, attacked this part of the court's decision: "The current signature requirement is discriminatory against third parties. One can see how undemocratic the law is if we compare this requirement with the number of signatures needed for a Democrat or a Republican to run

in his or her primary. A major-party politician needs only 10,000 signatures to appear on the ballot, or one-fifth of the number required for an independent."

Another effect of the court's ruling was the elimination of the "grandfather clause." This law, enacted in 1939, enabled parties to remain on the ballot if they had polled one tenth of one percent of the votes for governor in the last three state elections preceding enactment of the law.

The court, commenting that "the age of political association is no cause for special consideration in the electoral process; age can as readily connote senescence as current political wisdom," ruled the clause unconstitutional. The Socialist Labor Party, which has previously been assured a place on the ballot by virtue of this law, plans to contest the ruling.



# '72 Socialist Campaign

From Feb. 8 to Feb. 17, *The Diamondback*, student newspaper at the University of Maryland in College Park, conducted a presidential preference poll among students, faculty, and staff at the university. The ballot did not include Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party, Gus Hall of the Communist Party, or Benjamin Spock of the People's Party.

Nevertheless, Linda Jenness received 25 write-in votes, which is more than Senator Edward Kennedy, who received nine write-ins, Senator Vance Hartke, 12, or Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, 5. Hartke and Yorty both appeared on the ballot. Benjamin Spock received two write-in votes, while no votes were recorded for Communist Gus Hall.

In a letter to the editor published in the Feb. 15 *Diamondback*, Mike Priddy, of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, protested the exclusion of Jenness from the poll:

"There was a choice between candidates, but hardly any choice between programs. All of the listed candidates were either Democrats or Republicans. Anyone who feels that the Democrats and Republicans represent different or opposing interests is mistaken. The *Diamondback* is wrong if it feels that students are not seriously considering voting for a socialist candidate. . . . So where is the choice?"

The Feb. 21 *Diamondback* carried a response by Don Jenkins, chairman of the Students for McGovern. Jenkins defended the exclusion of Jenness, defended McGovern's support of "defense" appropriations and his support of the imposition of wage controls on higher-paid unionized workers, and criticized the role of the Socialist Workers Party in the recent movements for social change.

McGovern placed first in the poll, with 666 votes (24 percent of the total).



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

**Andrew Pulley speaking at a March 4 anti-internment demonstration in New York City.**

For the fifth consecutive week, a new record for people signing cards endorsing the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign has been set. During the week ending March 2, a total of 704 people endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket, bringing the number of signed endorsers of the campaign to 5,635. South Dakota remains the only state where no endorsers have been obtained.

One hundred eight Mississippi endorsements, predominately from Afro-Americans, were obtained by the Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley team campaigning in the South. The total number of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley so far is 771. This exceeds the 692 Afro-Americans who endorsed the 1968 SWP campaign.

The following letter, with nine signed endorser cards enclosed, was sent to the SWP national campaign office:

"We want to form a group of Indians for Jenness and Pulley. Our group is a political-religious organization. We believe in the Ghost Dance religion, and we wish to end the prejudice and racism against our people. Sincerely," Quannah Yatonka, War Chief, Indian Liberation Army, Canon City, Colo.

**Ballot notes:** On Feb. 28 in Kentucky, Jenness-Pulley supporters kicked off a drive to obtain 2,500 signatures of voters by March 29 to place the SWP on the Kentucky ballot. Anyone interested in helping in this effort should contact YSP, Box 7005, Lexington, Ky. 40502. . . . 4,500 signatures have been obtained for Pennsylvania congressional candidate Nancy Strebe, more than enough to meet the state ballot requirements. . . . Indiana Jenness-Pulley supporters began petitioning on March 4. They are shooting for 16,000 signatures. Reactionary laws prevent Jenness and Pulley from appearing on the Indiana ballot because they are under 35. Evelyn Reed, noted feminist, and Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP presidential candidate, will be listed on the ballot, with their slate of presidential electors pledged to Jenness and Pulley.

Here are some excerpts from mail recently received by the SWP national campaign office:

"Even among those that have had little or no contact with SWP in the past there is an urgent need for alternatives. I believe your present campaign will be at the very least educational to all," Denise Trigalet, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Please send me two copies of the McGovern truth kit. Before I read your article in *The Militant*, Feb. 4, 1972 (exchange of letters between McGovern and Jenness—S. B.), I favored McGovern. Now I am wondering about him." David Plotz, St. Mary's College, Moraga, Calif.

"Linda Jenness: I heard you for the first time the other night on the radio. I have heard no other person who seemed so inspired or spoke with as much energy and knowledge as you. I concur with everything you said, from complete sexual equality to the elimination of the bureaucratic system that chokes all but the elite. I am going to re-register as a socialist. I truly hope that in some way this will help to bring a true democracy for all." Victor Johnson, Sacramento, Calif.

"The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives."—Eugene V. Debs.

A poster with Debs' picture and the above quotation is available for 50 cents, or 20 cents on bulk orders. Address all requests for literature to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

—STEVE BEREN

## Pulley tour launches New York campaigns

By KARL BERMAN

NEW YORK—Campaign banquets sponsored by the three New York branches of the Socialist Workers Party capped the first week of Andrew Pulley's tour of New York City and the surrounding region. More than \$3,300 was collected in contributions from the 350 people attending the dinners. Pulley addressed all three events, which also served to launch the New York congressional campaigns of the SWP. The success of the banquets and rallies is indicative of the growth in size and strength of the SWP in New York since it established three new branches here last June.

On March 3, Pulley shared the platform with B. R. Washington, SWP candidate in the 18th C. D., at the Upper West Side SWP banquet. Seventy-five campaign supporters attended.

The Lower Manhattan SWP banquet on March 4 featured, in addition to Pulley, Joanna Misnik, Liz Jayko, and Hedda Garza, who had previously announced their campaigns for Congress from Manhattan, Queens, and Nassau County, respectively. Among the 175 guests present was a group of activists from the Anti-Internment Coalition, which had held a march earlier that day to protest British policies in Northern Ireland and demand the withdrawal of British troops.

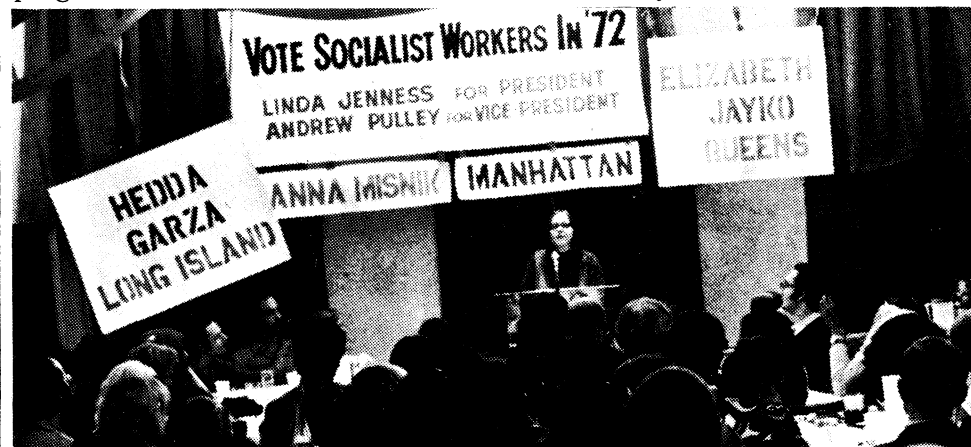
Following his speech at the Lower Manhattan banquet, Pulley arrived at the Brooklyn SWP rally as it was in progress and received an ovation

from the nearly 100 campaign supporters there. Earlier in the evening Susan Winsten had announced that she will run in the 10th C. D. on the SWP ticket. She denounced the sexist record of her incumbent opponent, 81-year-old Emanuel Celler, pointing out that he has blocked passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by holding it in committee for 23 years.

Maxine Williams, chairwoman of the Brooklyn rally, introduced James Mendieta, a Cuban-American and former prisoner. Mendieta, who is a New York City transit worker, will be the SWP's candidate in the 14th C. D. Williams announced that John Hawkins, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, will run on the SWP ticket in the 12th C. D., the seat currently held by Shirley Chisholm.

In addition to the weekend banquets, Pulley spoke to 90 people at Brooklyn College, where 12 signed cards endorsing the campaign. Eighty people came to hear the vice-presidential candidate at New York University. Meetings for Pulley were also held at Queens College, Nassau Community College, and Stuyvesant High School.

On March 5 Pulley spoke to members of the Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union, which is challenging the Transport Workers Union for representation of New York transit workers. Thus far in his New York tour, nearly 2,000 people have heard Pulley.



Joanna Misnik addressing 175 campaign supporters at Lower Manhattan SWP banquet March 4. Photo by Mark Satinoff

## Jenness tours N.H., Vermont, Georgia

By CARLA HOAG

BOSTON—While nearly a dozen Democratic and Republican candidates in the New Hampshire primary were stumping through the state hustling votes, Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, toured New Hampshire and Vermont from Feb. 29 to March 2, calling for a break with the two-party system. Jenness arrived in New England after speaking to two meetings of Canadian socialists in Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, over the weekend.

At St. Anselms College in Manchester, N.H., 125 people heard Jenness speak. She called the primaries a farce designed to fool the American people into thinking they have a say in deciding party policies. Twenty of those in attendance signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

The SWP campaign received extensive media coverage in Vermont in the *Burlington Free Press* (the largest paper in the state), the *Rutland Herald*, and on WCAX-TV. When Jenness appeared at the University of Vermont, she drew an enthusiastic crowd of more than 200 students and residents of Burlington.

The tour also included two meetings with high school students in Exeter

and Keene, N.H. In Hanover, N.H., the last stop on the three-day tour, Jenness spoke at Dartmouth College, after interviews with the local press and radio. More than 50 people endorsed the campaign during Jenness' short stay in New England, and several asked to work on the SWP campaign, especially to help with petitioning efforts to ensure that the SWP is on the ballot in New England states.

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, March 4—Linda Jenness flew to Atlanta today, where she was greeted at the airport by 35 enthusiastic young supporters wearing "Jenness for President" T-shirts and waving Socialist Workers campaign posters.

At a socialist campaign banquet this evening, 70 people gathered to hear Jenness; Jack Lieberman, SWP candidate for Congress from Florida's 2nd C. D.; and Keith Jones. Jones announced at the banquet that he will run for U. S. Congress from Georgia's 5th district on the SWP ticket. He will be challenging incumbent Republican Fletcher Thompson and Black Democrat Andrew Young, a former leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Six hundred and seventeen dollars was raised in the collection at the banquet.

# Malcolm X & the struggle for a mass independent Black political organization

The following is the major part of the speech given by Militant staff writer Derrick Morrison at Malcolm X Memorial meetings in Chicago and Detroit on Feb. 18 and 19.

I think we all recognize that a mass Black political organization does not exist in the United States today. The Black liberation movement right now is in a stage of crisis and retreat. Activists have been bought off, co-opted, demoralized, jailed, or just plain murdered by the repressive apparatus of the state. There is great disorientation and confusion.

It is for these reasons that I think a renewed study of Malcolm X can help throw some light on what has to be done and how to do it. The purpose of this talk is to discuss the meaning of Malcolm's ideas, particularly in relation to hammering out a strategy for building a mass independent Black political organization.

During the earlier phase of the movement when the civil rights struggle predominated, the Nation of Islam, more popularly known as the Black Muslims, was the largest nationalist

organization around. The Muslims criticized the civil rights movement for its nonviolent and moralistic approach to the problem. Although many of these criticisms were correct, the Muslims advanced them more as an excuse for not joining with civil rights organizations in action against specific problems.

This all-talk-but-no-action approach to the problems of Black people was the major factor that finally led Malcolm and a group of other Muslims to break with Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad in March 1964.

He did so with the intention of building a movement based on self-defense against racist violence and on the concepts of all-Black organization and all-Black leadership of the struggle.

We have to understand that these concepts were abhorred by the civil rights leadership. SNCC, CORE, SCLC, NAACP, and the Urban League were all based on cooperation with white capitalist liberalism. They taught that self-defense was suicide when Black people were only 20 million in a nation of 180 million whites.

However, despite this ideological backwardness, the civil rights organizations were engaged in direct mass action for "Freedom Now." This direct action mobilized and galvanized Black people. The masses achieved a certain amount of self-confidence and won some partial victories. This in turn led to greater demands and

sharper confrontations with the capitalist government.

The effect of this activity was to propel the masses beyond the ideological restraints of the civil rights movement. For as the masses became aware that racism was not merely a problem of morality but went much deeper, they took bolder action and reached for bolder ideas.

To build a leadership based on these ideas and to lead these actions was the task that Malcolm cut out for himself. Malcolm recognized that the struggle would pass over from a predominantly civil rights stage to an explicitly nationalist stage. He and others created the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) in July 1964 to participate in the civil rights struggle while at the same time preparing for the consciously nationalist stage of the movement.

The platform of the OAAU was the precursor of the nationalist ideas that became popular one, two, three, and four years after it was written. Black power, Black community control of the schools, Black community control of its social, economic, and political life, independent Black political action in the electoral arena, Black control of its cultural life—all of these ideas received expression in the OAAU program.

Pan-Africanism, that is, identification with the African continent, also found expression in the OAAU program.

However, before the OAAU could sink roots and develop a cadre and organizational apparatus, its life was cut short by the assassination of Malcolm X on Feb. 21, 1965.

The U.S. imperialists understood too well what Malcolm was about. The imperialists were trying unsuccessfully to deal with national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and could ill afford the launching of a national liberation struggle among Black people here.

Malcolm's assassination was a staggering blow to the movement for Black liberation. This loss figures significantly in the severe crisis of Black leadership today. For example, the beheading of Malcolm's movement meant there was no organized leadership that could give expression and a program to the sentiments unleashed by the ghetto upheavals.

The rebellions gave vent to the long-suppressed rage, anger, and fury of Black people in the United States. The civil rights organizations could not relate programmatically to this sentiment. In fact, there was an inverse relationship between the reformism of the civil rights organizations on the one hand and the spontaneity and uncoordinated nature of the rebellions on the other. The political bankruptcy of these organizations conditioned that spontaneity and lack of coordination.

Had Malcolm been able to build an effective leadership and organization, it is likely that the nationalist awakening would then have assumed more organized forms, forms that would have held mass street actions for Black control of the Black community. This would have hastened the process of building a mass nationalist organization.

Just a sketch of this variant gives us a measure of the loss of Malcolm. When the masses exploded in Watts, Cleveland, Detroit, and Newark, his name was constantly upon their lips. But all that they could find of him were his ideas printed in books and recorded on tapes and records. There was no organized formation led by him under whose banner the awakened masses could group.

As it turned out, the initiation of nationalist organization had to take place under the direct impact and direct influence of the ghetto rebellions.

Malcolm's ideas were read, but piecing together his strategy and organizing a leadership around it proved much more difficult. Malcolm's strat-

egy as outlined in the OAAU program and expressed in speeches during the last year of his life was a revolutionary-nationalist one. The organization arising out of the period of ghetto rebellions that came closest to this strategy was the Black Panther Party.

## Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party and the Black student organizations formed at that time were the most radical expressions of Black nationalism and represented the highest level of independent Black political organization reached during the period of the ghetto rebellions. They sought to work out a concrete program of nationalist demands and attempted to move Black people into struggle around them. These nationalist demands included the call for Black control of the Black community in the Panther 10-point program and the call for Black studies and the Black university in the programs of the Black student organizations.

However, the Panther Party and Black student movement were never able to work out a successful revolutionary-nationalist strategy because they were not able to rid themselves of the virus of ultraleftism.

The Panthers put a disproportionate emphasis on the gun, and their rhetorical promises went well beyond their political and organizational capacities. The Panthers saw the ghetto rebellions not as the first outbursts of nationalist consciousness, conditioned by the lack of an organized leadership, but as the final phase of the struggle to overturn capitalism in the United States.

Rather than fashion a revolutionary strategy suited to the reality of African-Americans in the United States, the Panthers romanticized and mechanically tried to apply models of revolutionary struggle taken from Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, and Bolivia. Because their romantic notions of armed struggle were at odds with reality, they became isolated and divorced from the masses.

The ultraleft politics of the Panthers burned out and disoriented a whole layer of revolutionary-nationalist youth. And when the Panthers began to understand that the politics of "offing the pig" and "revolutionary suicide" would not work, they retreated into reformism. This is reflected in their current attempts to establish community social-work programs and in their support to Black Democrats.

Since the Black Panther Party was the most influential independent Black political organization in the eyes of campus activists, its decline had grave consequences for the Black student movement. Black student militants retreated from the struggle for Black studies and the Black university. They became disillusioned with the whole idea of revolution and equated any notion of revolutionary struggle with ultraleftism or adventurism. Many were bought off with scholarships or jobs in various government-financed projects in the Black community.

The decline of the Black Panther Party and the Black student movement signalled a heyday for reformist illusions of all stripes.

One of the wings of reformism is represented by those nationalists who have adopted a reformist perspective. Another wing is represented by the traditional Black reformists who are now trying to give the appearance of being in step with the nationalist sentiments of the Black community in order to channel them more effectively into reformist, particularly Democratic Party, activity.

For the purpose of this talk I want to deal with the Congress of African People (CAP) as one expression of reformist nationalism. Then I want to discuss the Congressional Black Caucus as an example of one of the reformist currents taking a nationalist posture.



## Congress of African People

At its inception in Atlanta on the Labor Day weekend of 1970, the Congress of African People called for a World African Party, an international Pan-African political party. It coupled this idea, however, with an effort to achieve a political bloc with the Black reformists. At the same time that Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), a leader of the CAP, talked of building a world African vehicle, he was embracing Whitney Young of the Urban League.

Young was, and the Urban League is, the epitome of gradualism, tokenism, and unvarnished dependence on the funds and support of white capitalist corporations.



Photo from The Detroit News

**Two hundred thousand marched through downtown Detroit June 23, 1963, in solidarity with Southern civil rights struggle and demanding civil rights in the North.**

It is impossible for the Urban League to serve as a foundation for building a world African party. Yet Baraka thinks he can overcome this contradiction with talk of "operational unity."

There is nothing wrong with nationalists trying to achieve unity in action with the traditional Black reformists. That is, if nationalists mobilize the Black community against a specific act of police brutality or on a concrete case of housing or job discrimination, then all segments of the Black community should be represented in this united effort, whether they are Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, or a member of the Urban League or the NAACP.

If nationalists call a Black demonstration in defense of Zimbabwe or the struggle in Namibia (South-West Africa), then the broadest possible Black coalition should be assembled.

But it is one thing to bloc with the traditional reformists in concrete actions and quite another to bloc with them in supporting capitalist politics.

A political party involves a broader range of questions than just a specific action or demonstration. Its function

is to strive for political power. A nationalist party can only be built in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans and in opposition to white capitalist liberalism.

The people who are going to build a Black party are not the Whitney Youngs or Vernon Jordans (the present executive director of the Urban League); they are the masses of Black workers, students, GIs, prisoners, and women.

Malcolm was for unity in action with the civil rights leaders and organizations, but he didn't try to twist and turn the OAAU so that it might embrace Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. If he had, the OAAU would have amounted to little more than just another civil rights organization, surely not a fighting nationalist organization.

To hold together a political bloc with the traditional reformists would mean, in effect, pushing aside the task of building a Black political party in order to carry out operations in the Democratic Party. This is just what has happened to the Congress of African People.

An eastern regional meeting of CAP in Newark last September sent out a call for a nationwide nationalist convention in March of this year to build an independent Black political party. But as it turned out, the CAP leadership never had any real intention of holding such a convention.

They used it instead to prod the Black Democrats into calling a national political convention to be held in Gary, Ind., this March. Imamu is now saying that the formation of a national Black political caucus operating in the two capitalist parties will serve to sow the seeds for the eventual formation of an independent Black political vehicle.

This is totally absurd. The Democratic Party is not going to serve as an organizing vehicle for a Black political party. The road is filled with the bones and skeletons of previous radical and progressive movements that tried to route themselves through the Democratic Party. The same fate awaits the Congress of African People if it continues along this path.

If there is one thing to remember about Malcolm, it is that he had no soft spot in his heart for the Democratic and Republican parties. He persistently castigated these parties of capitalist rule despite widespread illusions about their nature.

During Malcolm's day the slogan raised by the liberals and reformists was not "Evict Nixon." It was "Defeat Goldwater at all costs." And defeating Goldwater meant that you had to support Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1964.

Malcolm called the two-party system a giant con game, a game in which either way you move, you lose.

### Black Democrats

The truth of that analogy hasn't diminished a bit. The Black Democrats, however, have not called for a halt to the game. Instead they are saying the Black people should learn how to play the game, that Black people should try to get in on this con game.

Since the formation of the Congressional Black Caucus in early 1971, Black Democrats have been busily forming caucuses on the statewide, regional, and local level.

All of these caucuses serve one purpose—to facilitate the functioning of the machinery of oppression in the Black community. That is their purpose, despite all claims and rhetoric to the contrary.

Given all that I have said about the traditional reformists and the reformist nationalists, how will the Black liberation movement get out of the rut it is in and move toward the vision and strategy outlined by Malcolm?

This is not an easy question to answer. There will be all types of twists

and turns and successes and failures, before the Black community is organized into a mass independent political organization. But what we can say at this point is that there will be another upsurge, there will be another resurgence of mass struggle simply because the reformists do not hold the solution to the problems of Black people.

When the masses saw that civil rights reformism did not end the oppression in the ghettos, a new upsurge occurred in the form of uncoordinated and spontaneous eruptions. As the il-

lustrations about the present crop of Black reformists and reformist nationalists wear thin, the basis will be laid for another renewal of tremendous mass activity.

struggle, and today their militants are engaged in Black antiwar activity and in organizing Black women in the campaign for the repeal of abortion and contraception laws and for an end to forced sterilization.

So along with the independent movements for social change, the growth and strength of the SWP and YSA will be a factor in shaping the course of the next Black upsurge.

Moreover, part of the leadership of the next upsurge of Black mass activity will come from Black revolutionary socialists in the SWP and

## 'We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out....'

—Malcolm X at founding rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, June 28, 1964.

lusions about the present crop of Black reformists and reformist nationalists wear thin, the basis will be laid for another renewal of tremendous mass activity.

### Next upsurge

This next upsurge will be conditioned by a number of factors, not least among them the independent antiwar movement, the independent Chicano movement, and the independent women's movement.

If we agree that Malcolm remains the example not yet equalled by any nationalist current in his advocacy of independent political action and organization, and that his ideas captured the spirit and the rage of this new Black awakening that began in the Watts explosion back in 1965, then we can say that Malcolm had a heavy hand in helping to prepare the ground for the rise of the antiwar, women's liberation, and Chicano liberation movements.

The various independent movements fighting oppression and working for social change are not somehow compartmentalized. They interconnect and penetrate one another because all of them face the might of a single capitalist class and its state.

But the growth of these independent movements will not be the only factor conditioning a resurgence. Another factor that must be taken into account is the existence of a revolutionary-socialist party.

This factor is of no small importance. In fact, since the demands of none of these movements can be fully satisfied within the framework of American capitalist society, the existence of a mass revolutionary-socialist party whose perspective is that of socialist revolution will be key to the growth and victory of these independent movements.

The coming American revolution will be a combined one, a revolution combining the demands of the workers for an end to capitalist exploitation with the demands of the Blacks, the Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities for national liberation.

We don't have a mass revolutionary-socialist party today, but we do have an organization armed with that perspective. And that is the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party, along with the revolutionary-socialist youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, has been instrumental in building the independent movements of today. The SWP and YSA have played key roles in building the antiwar and women's liberation movements. And they have supported and helped build the Chicano struggle for self-determination.

When Malcolm was alive, and since his assassination, the SWP and YSA have been instrumental in getting his ideas to the public.

The SWP and YSA have been active in all phases of the Black liberation

YSA, and Black activists in the antiwar and women's movement. This is important to grasp, because it gives us a dynamic conception of that next leadership rather than a static and stagnant one.

But revolutionary socialists are not just waiting for the next upsurge; they are preparing for it now. And one of the chief vehicles today for that preparation is the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is running Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. Unlike the two capitalist parties and the candidates of those parties, the SWP and Jenness and Pulley are campaigning to build independent movements for social change and to keep them in the streets. The campaign supporters of Jenness and Pulley are actively helping to build the Chicano liberation, women's liberation, antiwar, and Black liberation struggles. They are attempting to foil the plans of the Democrats and Republicans to derail these independent movements into the swamp of two-party capitalist politics.

At the same time, the SWP campaign provides these movements with an example of independent political action in the electoral arena.

So I think that the best way to remember Malcolm and what he was trying to do is to build these movements and support Jenness and Pulley in 1972.



Photo by Carl Hampton

**Black youth lead march in Cairo, Ill., June 19, 1970. The city became the scene of one of the sharpest struggles for Black control of the Black community.**



## ...for a Black political party

Continued from page 1

will that one, that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, Pathfinder Press, N.Y., p. 159.)

The Black Democrats are just the front men and women for the Democratic Party, which is a party controlled and directed by U.S. imperialism. And their only purpose is to pacify and placate, not satisfy and liberate, the Black community.

We have been running between the Democrats and Republicans for the last 100-plus years. And yet our problems continue to mount. The only time that the government has even lent us an ear is when we have taken things into our own hands, when we have acted for and by ourselves. We have never won any concessions by relying on capitalist politicians, white or Black.

Over the past few years, Black students, Black GIs, Black workers, and now Black prisoners have organized themselves independently and taken action to redress their grievances.

It is time to generalize from these struggles and establish an independent Black political organization for the total Black community, that is, a Black party.

The large preconvention delegate-selection meetings in New York and other cities, as well as the number of people here, show that Black people are interested in getting together to discuss political power. These big meetings have demonstrated the potential of Blacks joining together in common political action to advance our aims. The delegates and participants at this conference, for example, could declare themselves unequivocally opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties responsible for the wretched condition of Blacks in the U.S.

They could then develop a strategy for organizing the masses of our people into struggles for Black control of the Black community.

If this conference were to do this, it would be a big step toward organizing an independent Black party, a party that will achieve liberation by any means necessary.

Even from the viewpoint of simply winning concessions, as the Congressional Black Caucus says it is trying to do, it would be more effective to organize outside the Democratic Party. The specter of Black people organizing a Black party would exert greater pressure than any amount of organizing within the Democratic Party.

These are the ideas that my supporters and I are campaigning for. Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and myself are speaking to millions of people on the need for independent action and independent organization to further the struggles of the oppressed. We don't think these struggles stand to gain anything from either the Democratic or the Republican party national conventions.

The presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will be the only campaign advancing these ideas. And we are asking all of those who agree with us to join the campaign.

## Thousands in N.Y. pick delegates to Black convention

By B.R. WASHINGTON

NEW YORK—Close to 5,000 Black people came to meetings across the metropolitan area Feb. 28 to elect 167 delegates to the national Black political convention in Gary, Ind., March 10-12.

The *Amsterdam News*, an influential weekly published in Harlem, reported that more than 3,000 people turned up at the Brooklyn meeting, about 1,000 at the Manhattan meeting in Harlem, and the rest at meetings in the Bronx, Queens, Staten Island, and in the counties of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester.

Similar meetings are reported to have taken place upstate. A total of 339 delegates from New York State will be at the Gary conference. Black elected officials are automatic delegates. The number of elected delegates from each area is based on the percentage of the state's Black population residing there. There are 2.4 million Black people in New York State.

The organizers of these meetings included Black Democrats in and out of office, and an assortment of Black community activists from antipoverty programs and Black organizations. From observations at the Brooklyn and Harlem meetings, they didn't expect so large a turnout.

Although the major activity was nominating and electing people to delegate positions, brief speeches were given on the significance of Gary.

At the Brooklyn meeting, State Senator Waldaba Stewart, the New York State convener for Gary, talked about the historical importance of the convention. But Sonny Carson, chairman of the Brooklyn Congress of African People and city coordinator for the national convention, hinted about a possible sellout by the Black politicians (elected officials) to the Democratic Party. He encouraged the "grass roots" to attend the convention to make sure that wouldn't happen.

At the Harlem meeting, Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Black Women's Political Caucus talked of equal representation for women. Youth representation was stressed by Hannibal Ahmed of the Harlem Youth Federation. Other youth participating came from the Malcolm X Democratic Club and the Student Organization for Black Unity.

Because of nationalist suspicion of the politicians, it was agreed beforehand by the New York organizers to elect declared nationalists as half the delegates and declared non-nationalists as the other half.

The platforms approved at the meetings carry the general theme of Black self-determination.

However, what was neither explained by the Black Democratic politicians nor coherently expressed by the nationalists was the conference organizers' real purpose for calling the Gary conference. In the organizers' view, the conference is merely a steppingstone for Black politicians to the Democratic Party national convention next July.

## By Any Means Necessary

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.** Although a supposed settlement was reached in late January after a strike by close to 15,000 Black workers in mineral-rich South-West Africa—Namibia—tensions continue to mount on the eve of a visit to the territory by Kurt Waldheim, the secretary-general of the United Nations.

The strike began in mid-December of last year and centered chiefly among the Ovambos, an African ethnic group comprising 342,000 of a territorial population of 650,000. The workers shut down most of the mining, fishing, and industrial enterprises situated in the south. Among the enterprises hit was the largest copper mine in the territory, which employs 4,000 Ovambos. The mine is operated by the Tsumeb corporation, which is owned by two U.S. firms—Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax. Each holds 29 percent of the shares in Tsumeb, with Newmont directly managing the operation.

The authorities granted the striking workers' requests for transportation back to Ovamboland, a bantustan (ethnic group homeland, more like Native American reserves in this country) bordering Portuguese-held Angola in the north.

The immediate object of the workers' protest was the contract labor system. Under this system, workers spend 12 to 18 months away from home, working an assigned job in the south for little more than a few cents a day. The South African government, which manages the territory, met with the Ovambo Legislative Council in mid-January. An agreement was reached whereby the workers would hire out through the council rather than the recruitment organization operated by the employers. It also provided, according to the Feb. 1 *New York Times*, "improved pay, shorter contract periods, paid leave and the possibility of accommodation for families, and it allows the workers to change jobs, which was illegal before."

But the strike involved more than just economic issues. It sharpened the struggle for political self-determination inside Namibia and renewed the international debate over the status of the territory.

South-West Africa was a German colony before World War I. After the war, the newly formed League of Nations entrusted its administration to the South African government. In 1966, the United Nations revoked this mandate, renamed the area Namibia, and asked the South African government to relinquish possession. The government refused, causing inflammation of international opinion and fanning the flames of internal discontent.

Waldheim's visit this month—in keeping with the role of the UN as a broker for the interests of imperialism—is not to satisfy African desires but to help refashion South Africa's grip on the territory, making it more palatable in the eyes of the world.

Nevertheless, the Africans are organizing to petition Waldheim in opposition to South African rule. For example, the two major South-West African Lutheran church groups, embracing up to 300,000 Blacks, are uniting and drawing up a set of demands. And opposition to South African rule is mounting in Ovamboland.

The Feb. 1 *New York Times* reports that a group of 100 Ovambos attacked a South African police unit Jan. 30. Four Blacks were killed and regulations amounting to a state of emergency were introduced, although the government denies that there is an emergency. Underground organization against the South African-created Ovambo Legislative Council has been reported. Moreover, only a little more than 6,000 workers—not even half the number of strikers—are said to be at work in positions struck in the south. This means that the strike is continuing.

Despite the fact that South Africa claims things are under control, the press is barred from Ovamboland.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Team of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley discusses campaign with students at Fisk University in Nashville. Other campuses visited by the team were Mississippi Valley State College, Tougaloo College, Jackson State, and Southern University in Baton Rouge. In two weeks the Afro-American team obtained 175 new endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

Last week The Militant reported on the recent wave of arrests in the Republic of Ireland directed against the Irish republican movement. A large section of the top leadership of the Official Irish Republican Army has been arrested and charged with membership in an "illegal" organization (the IRA) and with maintaining or attempting to maintain an armed body without constitutional authority.

The following is part of an interview granted to Gerry Foley in Dublin on Feb. 24 by Sean Kenney and Tomas Mac Giolla. Kenney is one of the joint general secretaries of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the republican movement. Mac Giolla is president of Sinn Féin. The full text of the interview is printed in the March 13 issue of Intercontinental Press.

The day after this interview was conducted, Kenney was arrested as he was being driven to the airport. He had planned to fly to the United States to help organize international opposition to the repression of the republican movement.

sons. Most of them are involved in the campaign against entry into the Common Market. Certainly, they would throw their full forces into protesting these arrests, because they would see that the leadership of the anti-internment movement is being jailed. They may not necessarily agree with Sinn Féin or the Official IRA, but they would certainly see that these measures are political harassment of political activists in the South and they would object to that.

I think that the government is in a shaky position.

*Foley. What is the relationship between the IRA and Sinn Féin?*

*Kenny.* Sinn Féin is a completely autonomous political organization. Our branches and our organization as such hold annual general conferences publicly to which the press is invited.

We are an open political organization. And in the Twenty-Six County area we are a registered political party, recognized by the Dublin parliament. We contest elections at local and national level. We will be putting for-

interned the executive of Sinn Féin and leading Sinn Féin and IRA personnel throughout the country. At one time there were about 300 or 400 republicans in an internment camp in the South of Ireland, from 1957 to 1959.

Now we believe that the pressure is again being put on the leadership of the Dublin government. This shows the close collaboration between the Dublin and London governments. It shows that economically and financially we are controlled by Westminster. The government here is a puppet of Westminster.

*Foley. How do you think the nationalists in the North would feel about these actions? Would they regard them as a blow against their struggle for civil rights?*

*Kenny.* Our members would understand that the crowd down here in government are the same type as they have up in the North. The ordinary people in the North, who may not be politically conscious, would think that it was a complete stab in the back. Of course, it is.

weakened. A lot of people down here have come out on the streets against internment in the North. I can't see these people standing idly by if internment comes in here in the South.

It is up to Sinn Féin now and other democratic organizations to form some kind of united grouping to fight against the repressive legislation down here in the South, to organize pickets, mass marches, and so on.

*Foley. Mr. Mac Giolla, were you surprised when the political police tried to arrest you? Had you been expecting anything of the sort?*

*Mac Giolla.* I wasn't really surprised. It came rather fast, of course. But during the Fianna Fáil annual conference of the previous weekend, it was apparent that the government were prepared to take fairly severe action against republicans, when the suitable occasion arose.

All they wanted was a suitable climate of opinion in order to put this decision into effect. And obviously they felt that the aftermath of the explosion in Aldershot gave them the opportunity. They moved that night, the night of the 22nd. In their arrests that night, they took in, amongst others, one of our vice presidents and one of our general secretaries.

These arrests clearly showed that the government wanted to link Sinn Féin in the people's minds with the explosion in Aldershot. On this basis, they wanted to pick off the leadership of Sinn Féin and force the members to go underground, to go on the run, or to act in a clandestine manner as if they were an illegal organization. This has been done in the past and it was obviously their intention to repeat it.

They were following the pattern established by Brian Faulkner on August 9 when he introduced internment in the Six County area. The first people to be taken in were the political activists, members of the republican clubs and some socialist groups in the North. It immediately meant that the general membership of these organizations were afraid to go out on pickets, to hand out leaflets, put up posters, or even to hold meetings. They were looking over their shoulders.

This is why we felt that it was vitally important to bring maximum publicity to bear to show what precisely they were doing.

*Foley. How did you decide to respond to the attempt to arrest you?*

*Mac Giolla.* Well, I suppose you could say that I was in hiding for twelve or fourteen hours. During the course of that time I could see that the president of Sinn Féin remaining in hiding was a victory for the government, insofar as they were putting me in the position of having to operate from underground. I felt that it was vital that the organization remain openly active and not be driven underground.

For that reason we arranged a press conference on the evening of February 23 in order to bring full publicity to bear on the activities of the government and explain what the purpose of our organization was, what our political policies were, what our objectives were. And we wanted to make it clear that we intended to continue operating openly in opposition to establishment policy and that we would not be driven underground.

The Republican Clubs in the North have adopted the same position, although they were banned a couple of years back. In spite of internment, they have continued to operate openly, and we have continually emphasized to them the need for doing this. I felt therefore that it was vital that we do the same thing from the very beginning of the repressive era down here.

*Continued on page 22*

# The Irish republican movement under attack

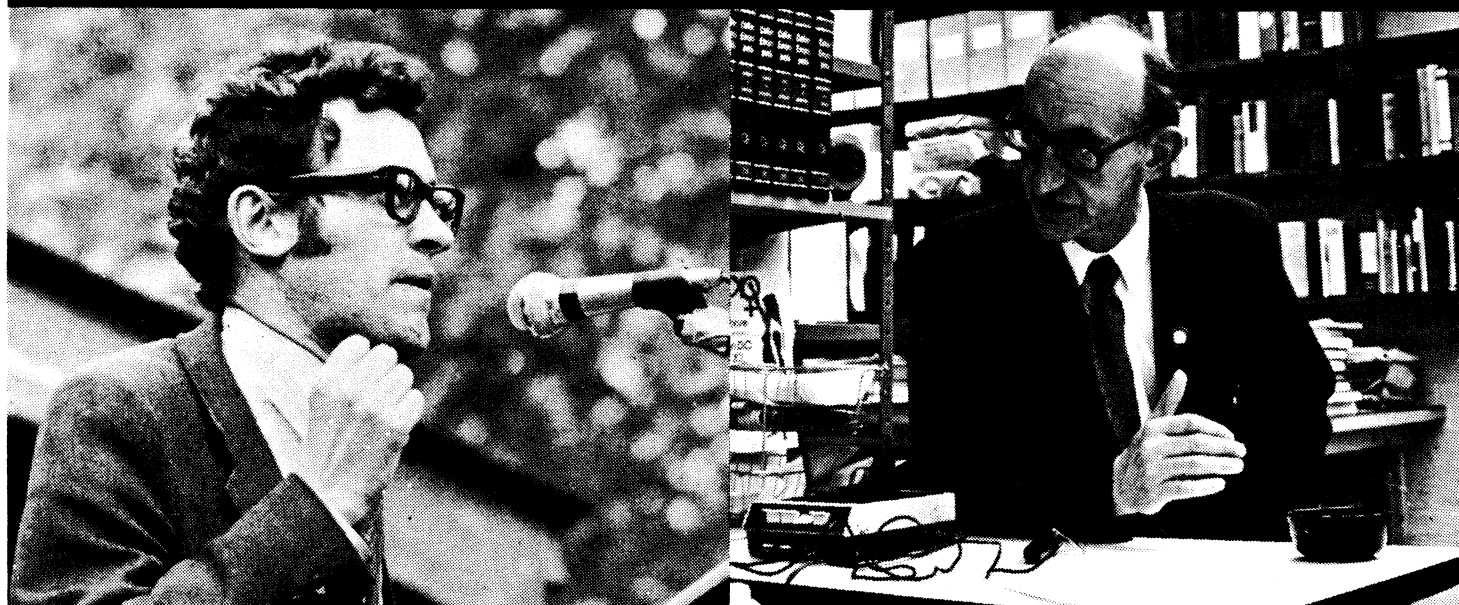


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Photo by Flax Hermes

Sean Kenney, joint general secretary of Sinn Féin (left), speaking at the Nov. 6, 1971, antiwar demonstration in N.Y.; and Tomas Mac Giolla, president of Sinn Féin.

*Foley. Do you have any indication yet of the response of public opinion to these arrests?*

*Kenny.* The working press have had very good relations with the republican movement over the last number of years. The reporters attached to the government paper, the *Irish Press*, were more than helpful throughout the night at Tomás Mac Giolla's house in informing me who had been arrested and what the police were saying over their radio. Most of the newspapers here in Dublin are tuned in to the police radio and can pick up information. The *Irish Press* reporters stayed on duty for two hours extra that night, just to keep us informed. We are very grateful to the reporters, who are ordinary Irish working-class people.

The public reaction was forestalled by the government's statement that it would hold the men arrested for only seventy-two hours. But if the government attempted to introduce selective internment and open internment camps in the South, it's possible that there could be fiercer political opposition in the South to such repression than there has in fact been in the North.

There are large groupings of people in the South which object strongly to the government for various rea-

ward candidates for the next general election.

We work closely with other groupings of republicans, such as the Official IRA. But we are an autonomous political organization. We work politically at all stages. We are organized in local branches throughout the North and South. In the North, Sinn Féin is banned. And what we have there are Irish Republican Clubs that send delegates to the annual general meetings of Sinn Féin.

The political policies of Sinn Féin and of the Official IRA are identical. Both are organizing politically for the reconquest of Ireland, for giving the people ownership and control of the natural resources of the country, for the establishment of a democratic socialist republic in all of Ireland, the abolition of both existing governments, and the destruction of British imperialism in all forms throughout Ireland. Politically both organizations are identical and work together on political lines.

*Foley. Do you think that these arrests have come as the result of British pressure on the Dublin government?*

*Kenny.* In 1957 pressure was kept on De Valera through the British embassy in Dublin, and as a result he

For about six months now, Jack Lynch has been roaring against internment in the North, saying how bad it was and all that. They have the same repressive laws down here. It just takes a signature by the minister for justice to bring in internment without charge or trial.

What's happening now is exactly what happened in June and July under the Faulkner government in the North of Ireland, when something like forty-eight homes were visited, mainly homes of members of the Official republican movement, by the political police. At that time people were detained for a short period and some were eventually charged for having political documents, mainly dealing with the case against joining the Common Market.

It is possible that these arrests are meant as a test. Certainly the people in the North would see it as abject collaboration with the British government that is repressing them up there.

*Foley. Do you think that internment will be weakened in the North if this move toward repression is defeated in the Twenty-Six counties?*

*Kenny.* If we can defeat the repression in the Twenty-Six Counties, internment certainly would be much



# Women teamsters support abortion, child care

By CINDY JAQUITH

"Legalized abortions, an adequate child care center system and an end to stereotyped thinking about women . . . are not only the demands of radical feminists. They are also the demands of rank-and-file female members of Local 688." This was the lead item of a front-page article in the Feb. 18 *Missouri Teamster*, the newspaper of Teamsters Joint Council 13 in St. Louis.

The article reported on a conference held Feb. 13 in St. Louis where 75 women members of Teamsters Local 688 gathered to discuss the problems faced by women workers. The conference took the form of a panel and discussion from the floor. Invited speakers included Teamsters Secretary-Treasurer Harold Gibbons, Sally Barker Spitzer of the Women's Political Caucus, a rank-and-file woman trade unionist, an obstetrician-gynecologist, and two Missouri state legislators.

According to the *Teamster*, legalizing abortions was a major topic of discussion at the conference. "Members present agreed that the question of whether to have or not to have an abortion was a medical question between the woman and her doctor—not a matter for state law or church doctrine," the article reports. The other

panelists and women in the audience rejected the position of State Senator John Schneider, who claimed that repealing the abortion laws amounted to condoning the murder of "separate, distinct, living beings."

Gibbons proposed that the union organize women members to testify at hearings coming up in the Missouri state legislature on a proposed abortion reform law.

The need for child-care facilities available to working parents was also



Photo from Missouri Teamster

## Members of Local 688 at Feb. 13 conference on working women's rights.

raised at the conference. Gibbons promised that the union would fight for child-care centers as part of future contracts. He also announced that the union might develop a pilot child-care demonstration project.

The women also discussed fighting for equal pay and for an end to all forms of sex discrimination in employment.

This was the first conference ever held by Local 688 on the subject of working women's rights, the *Teamster* points out. The fact that the participants felt that more such gatherings should take place indicates the powerful impact that the women's lib-

eration movement is having on women workers. As these women begin demanding that their unions take action to win such rights as abortion and child-care centers, the conservative, mostly male, trade-union bureaucracy will be shaken up and the feminist movement will gain significant new forces.

# YPSL gathering supports liberal Dems

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Jan. 30 issue of *New America*, the newspaper of the Socialist Party, reports that the SP's youth group, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), held its 1972 convention on Dec. 17 near San Francisco. *New America* reports that the convention, with 150 delegates and observers present, was the largest one to be held by YPSL in the last six years. It heard greetings sent from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Senator Henry Jackson, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, and others.

There was a debate on YPSL's policy regarding the war in Indochina. Three resolutions were presented, one calling for the setting of a date for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. A second resolution "firmly opposed precipitous unilateral withdrawal, calling it a step which would undermine the possibility of a political settlement and lead to a Communist victory," accord-

ing to *New America*. It also "sharply criticized the Vietnam protest movement for a bias toward the Communist side and for dividing the labor-liberal-minorities coalition thereby reinforcing conservatism in this country."

The convention approved the third, a "compromise resolution." According to *New America*, it "stated support for the unilateral withdrawal of American forces, called upon the North Vietnamese to withdraw their troops from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and urged the U.S. to continue to make aid available to the governments of Laos and Cambodia to help them preserve their independence."

This position, which places severe conditions on U.S. withdrawal is one more worthy of the capitalist politicians who sent greetings to the convention than of an organization that purports to be socialist.

On the Middle East, YPSL accused the U.S. of "appeasing the Soviet Union and its allies" while "twisting Israel's arm." Instead of supporting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, YPSL supports the racist and militarist Zionist state of Israel.

YPSL's refusal to champion the rights of the oppressed in the Middle East is matched by a similar refusal to support the right of self-determination for Black Americans in the U.S. In a workshop on "civil rights," YPSL members were urged to "fight against Jim Crow in its various forms including Black separatism on the campus."

YPSL understands that it has no substantive differences with liberal Democrats. Its resolution on "political action" explains that "The first priority of the progressive coalition in 1972 must be the defeat of Richard Nixon and his replacement by a liberal Democrat." YPSL believes that it will be able to "turn this country around in 1972 by defeating Richard Nixon."

# The National Picket Line

**THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S WAGE CONTROL POLICY**, inaugurated last Aug. 15, has effectively held wages in check. This policy has been palmed off by the government as a means of controlling inflation. It is supported on that basis by the five top-ranking union officials Nixon appointed to the Pay Board.

In addition to limiting wage increases, the government policy serves to encourage private employers and public administrators to disregard union contracts and discharge workers in massive layoffs.

This has provoked many quickie strikes and converted others that appeared initially to be the "easy settlement" kind into long struggles of attrition.

In this process, which is only beginning to unfold, some local union bureaucrats have already been shaken out of their lethargy. Some have even lost their posts.

**FROM CHICAGO:** A teacher mailed us the following note Feb. 26: "John E. Desmond, incumbent president of the Chicago Teachers Union, has been dumped by his own United Progressive Caucus. The leadership shake-up in the second largest teachers local in the country stems directly from Desmond's poor performance in recent negotiations with the Chicago Board of Education."

"Just one year ago, in a determined four-day strike the 24,000 union members won a two-year contract with an immediate 8 percent raise and a second 8 percent booster to begin this year."

"Desmond first antagonized teachers by allowing the board to cut the second-year raise from 8 percent to 5.5 percent. The union membership approved this deal but with an unprecedented 40 percent 'no' vote."

"The real crunch came soon after the vote when the school board dismissed 600 teachers. Desmond had promised that no such thing would occur."

**FROM DETROIT:** A teacher sent us the Feb. 24 issue of the union paper, the *Detroit Teacher*, with the front-page headline "School AFL-CIO Unions Hold War Council." On Feb. 8 the board

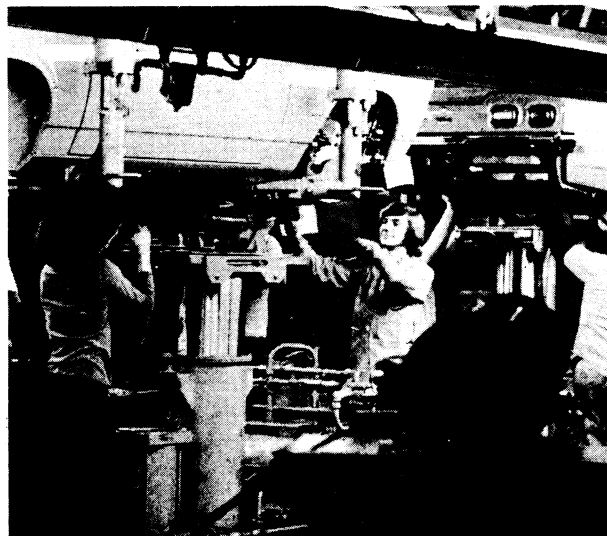
of education voted to withhold increments and retroactive pay due teachers and other school employees. Representatives of the 13 unions that have contracts with the board then met to decide what to do.

"At no time since employee groups organized and began bargaining with the Board of Education has there been such unanimity of purpose and total agreement as to course of action," said Detroit Federation of Teachers President Mary Ellen Riordan.

What meaningful course of action the war council unanimously agreed upon has not yet been revealed.

Riordan says in her "From The President" column, "Unless some way is found to raise needed revenue or further reduce the already severely crippled educational services, the Detroit schools will have to shut down for lack of money to operate."

**FROM DETROIT:** A toolmaker from a General Motors plant writes: "I don't think the young workers at Lordstown, Ohio, acting alone will be able to upset existing patterns. It is important



Average age of workers at Lordstown General Motors plant is 24.

to remember that when GM has been confronted in the past with exceptional militancy in one plant, they transferred work to other plants with a more docile work force.

"You may recall a local strike in Flint in January 1970 over the same issues as that at Lordstown now—speedup. GM transferred all work to other plants. The strikers couldn't draw state unemployment or SUB (Supplementary Union Benefits). When the local union, after several months on strike, offered to go back without much change in the old conditions, GM refused."

"In Lordstown this same pattern may be repeated unless the UAW moves solidly against GM and stops the transfer of work. Right now GM is preparing to transfer Lordstown work to one of its Canadian plants. The Vega will soon be produced there."

"This has been widely publicized, and it may be that one of the reasons for the GM publicity is to apply pressure on the Lordstown workers."

"The UAW notified GM on Feb. 21 that about 12,000 workers will strike at Lordstown, and Wilmington, Del., on March 3 unless local disputes at those plants are settled."

"If those plants are struck, we must prepare to stop the transfer of any and all work. Otherwise those strikes can drag on for months and demoralize the whole UAW. As it is, morale is not high these days. It looks to many here like bad times are coming."

**FROM AUSTIN, TEXAS:** Melissa Singler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, spoke at a strike rally in support of drivers against the University of Texas shuttle bus service. Most of the drivers are students or ex-students at the university. They say in a leaflet, "Student labor is exploited. Almost without exception students receive low-paying jobs with generally poor working conditions."

The strikers make a modest demand. "All we ask is for recognition of our union. The rest will come later." Their union is the Amalgamated Transit Union.

—FRANK LOVELL



# Calif. rightists fight to restore death penalty

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Right-wing forces are mounting a campaign to nullify a state supreme court decision that voided the death penalty. The court ruled Feb. 18 that executions were contrary to the state constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual punishment."

Governor Ronald Reagan announced March 1 that he would support adoption of a constitutional amendment to overrule the state court. He said he would back either a state referendum or action by the state legislature to achieve this.

Right-wingers generally, and racists particularly, were especially incensed that the state court decision opened the door for the freeing of Angela Davis on bail. Until the death penalty was voided, bail could be denied those charged with a capital offense.

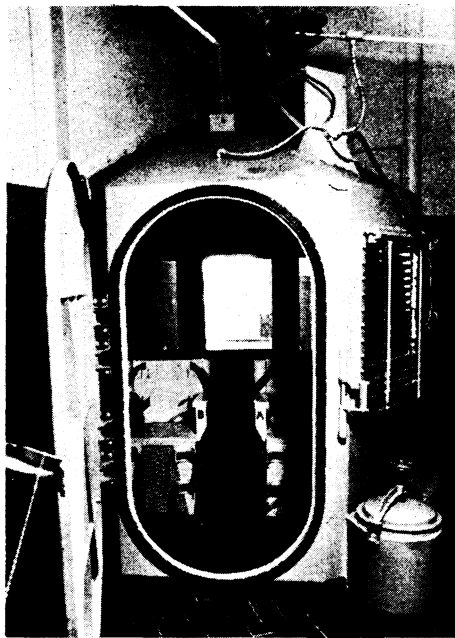
The death-penalty ruling and decision in the Davis case makes possible bail reapplications by others similarly situated. Among those now seeking bail is Gary Lawton, the Riverside Black activist being held on the flimsiest of evidence in the killing of two cops.

The California Civil Liberties Union, which initiated the case that brought the supreme court ruling, is now seeking the transfer of the 102 prisoners currently being held in San Quentin's death row.

Meanwhile, members of the state legislature have introduced bills intended to fill the death-penalty gap with provisos for life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Those presently sentenced to life are legally eligible for parole after seven years. Other bills would prohibit bail for those charged with what up until now would have been capital offenses.

In the nearly 80 years since California initiated the death penalty, 501 people have been executed. On the basis of available general statistics, it can be assumed that virtually all of them were poor and that most were members of national or racial minorities.

The most widely publicized of California's executions was that of Caryl Chessman in 1960. He died despite a campaign to save him that spanned several years and generated renewed national and international opposition



Gas chamber at San Quentin was put out of commission by California Supreme Court decision.

to the death penalty. The movement around the Chessman case was an important early manifestation of the youth radicalization.

The present right-wing movement to reinstate capital punishment is being sparked by the 3,000-member California Correctional Officers Association. Perhaps projecting their own estimate of their brutal and sadistic role in the prisons, the guards assert that elimination of the death-penalty "deterrent" will leave them prey to deadly attacks by prisoners.

They are initiating a drive to obtain 520,086 petition signatures to place a constitutional amendment on the November ballot to reinstate executions.

Their effort has the enthusiastic support of Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis, who says that without the gas chamber we can expect "the slaughter of many California citizens by an army of murderers."

Governor Reagan, in his call for reinstitution of capital punishment, conceded there is "a certain cruelty" involved. However, he added philosophically, "I think there is cruelty when you execute a chicken to have a Sunday dinner."

And it probably bothers him just about as much.

# Transit strike wins cost-of-living clause

LOS ANGELES, March 6—Bus mechanics ended their strike against the Southern California Rapid Transit District yesterday. By a 3-to-2 margin the members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO, voted to accept a 5.5 percent wage increase plus improved fringe benefits. They won a cost-of-living clause in the new contract. In return for the escalator clause they accepted a 33-month contract.

The RTD, which serves 400,000 passengers daily in Los Angeles and three adjacent counties, was struck Feb. 28 by its 650 garage mechanics.

The walkout was given advance assurance of total effectiveness when the system's 2,500 drivers, members of the United Transportation Union, AFL-CIO, agreed to respect the mechanics' picket lines.

The shutdown came after the workers rejected terms of a proposed new contract recommended by a three-member "fact-finding" committee appointed by Governor Ronald Reagan.

The alleged fact-finders suggested a wage increase of 5.5 percent, the limit favored by the national wage control board, plus a couple of dollars in

fringe benefits. Their proposal was almost identical to the offer originally made by management.

A key issue for the strikers was the demand that if the contract went beyond one year, it should contain a cost-of-living clause.

Management, which had originally sought to impose a two-year agreement without an escalator clause, finally agreed to it as long as it was tied to a 33-month contract. The owners pressed for a 33-month contract so that the drivers' and mechanics' pacts will expire uniformly, reducing the prospect of two walkouts.

Driver support for the strike was based on recognition that the terms of the mechanics' settlement will necessarily affect bargaining on renewal of their contract, which expires in May. Their present contract includes a cost-of-living clause, and they feared that failure of the mechanics to get a similar one would spur management efforts to get rid of theirs.

The mechanics' wages before the strike were \$5.15 an hour. Mechanics in San Diego get \$5.30 an hour, and in Oakland the rate is \$5.81 an hour.

# 4,000 Chicanos in protest march against deportation of 'aliens'

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Nearly 4,000 Chicanos demonstrated in downtown Los Angeles March 4 protesting the deportation of undocumented workers to Mexico.

Filing down both sides of Broadway, the spirited, chanting demonstrators drew an appreciative response from the many Chicanos who shop in the area.

The demonstration was originally organized to demand repeal of a new deportation law that had been slated to go into effect March 4. Introduced into the California legislature by Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, the law would have made it an offense for employers to "knowingly" hire so-called "illegal alien" workers.

However, on Feb. 24 the California Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. It acted at the behest of employers who reap added profits by paying starvation wages to undocumented workers.

Even with repeal of the Arnett law, the problem of deportation is a major one for the Chicano people throughout the Southwest and particularly in Los Angeles. It is estimated that in Los Angeles alone nearly half a million workers are without residency papers and live under the constant threat of deportation. Many have lived here for years and have raised families and established roots here.

When undocumented workers seek to resist the miserable wages and conditions imposed on them, employers will often simply notify the federal immigration officials of their presence. The government agency will obligingly round up the offending workers and summarily ship them to Mexico. And when the need for a big surplus of cheap labor declines, deportations increase accordingly.

In 1970 a total of 317,000 people were deported to Mexico—an increase of 240 percent over 1967. Of the 317,000 deported, 117,000 were from California.

While undocumented workers were originally permitted to slip across the border to provide cheap farm labor, an estimated 60 percent are now employed in cities.

The anti-deportation demonstration was organized by CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), an increasingly influential community organization that provides legal and other services to undocumented workers and frequently challenges the illegal procedures used by immigration officials. The principal CASA spokesman is Bert Corona, former state chairman of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) and a veteran activist in the Chicano community. The headquarters of CASA-Hermandad is located at 2671 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006.

Numerous other community groups helped build the demonstration, which was well-organized and well-monitored. A majority of the marchers were young people, but there were many older workers. There were good numbers of families with children in the line of march.

The marchers carried hand-lettered signs in Spanish and English, and joined in an impressively spirited chanting of slogans that could be heard by shoppers blocks ahead. Referring to the work document given "legal" migrants, one placard inquired: "Who gave Columbus a green card?" Another declared: "The CIA doesn't have green cards to roam around Latin America."

"Deport Dixon Arnett from Aztlán," demanded another. Numerous plac-

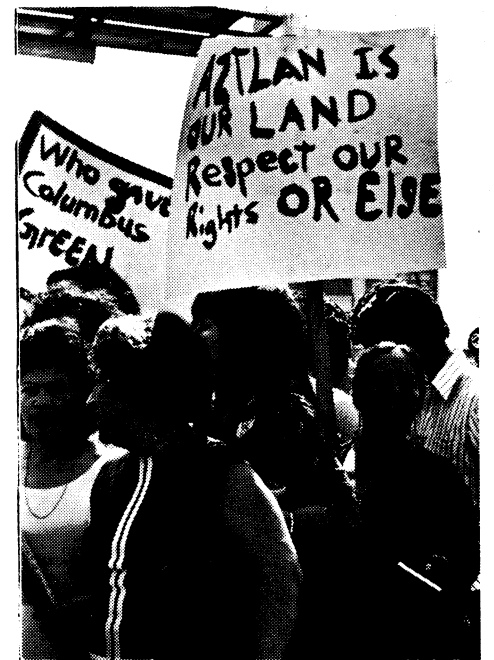


Photo by Harry Ring

## Anti-deportation march

ards referred to the bitter irony of Chicanos being deported from Aztlán, the Southwest area stolen from Mexico by the U. S.

The demonstration concluded with a rally on the steps of the State Building in the Los Angeles Civic Plaza. Speakers included Bert Corona; Rosalio Muñoz, the former chairman of the Chicano Moratorium Committee and presently associated with Casa Vencindad (Neighborhood House), a community group; and representatives of Casa Carnalismo (House of Brotherhood) and other Chicano organizations.

LOS ANGELES—Copies of a statement by Mariana Hernández demanding an end to deportations were distributed at the anti-deportation march here. Hernández is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from California's thirtieth district.

Her statement said that deportations are a form of "labor control"; that *mexicano* workers are permitted to cross the border when cheap labor is needed and deported when there is a surplus of such labor.

She charged that both the Republican and Democratic parties have collaborated from the outset in this exploitation and victimization of Mexican workers. Hernández said that deportations are particularly vicious because Aztlán was stolen from the Mexican people.

To fight the deportations effectively, Hernández said, it is necessary for the Chicano people to build their own political party in opposition to the racist Republicans and Democrats. She urged the further building of Raza Unida parties.

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The nation's coal miners, in the wake of their 45-day strike for a new contract last fall, are continuing their fight for decent black-lung compensation. The weakness of the black-lung section—Title IV—of the 1969 Federal Health and Safety Act has become obvious

dust levels and accident control in the mines.

Under the 1969 Act, a miner (or his widow) whom the Social Security Administration certifies as having black lung receives from \$161.50 per month with no dependents to a maximum of \$322.80 with four or more dependents. The Act specifies that the federal government will stop making black-lung payments on claims filed after June 1972.

Claims after that date are to be

mitted that reported out the 1969 Act. Testifying before that committee last December, Kerr also had kind words for the "concern for people manifested by the Social Security Administration" and its "efficient administration of the black-lung benefits program."

The *UMW Journal* recently began running a black-lung question and answer column in which the Social Security Administration answers black-lung inquiries from miners. The *Journal* began another regular column this

Representatives passed the amendments to Title IV proposed by Representative Carl Perkins (D-Ky.). The bill would extend federal control of the black-lung program for two years, extend benefits to orphans and surface miners, allow recipients to keep their social security disability payments (those receiving such payments often wind up with less money when they are awarded black-lung benefits), and make the X-ray only one of several tests for indicating black lung.

The bill is now in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, where additional amendments have been proposed. The bill put forth by Senator Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.) would add benefits for other respiratory and pulmonary diseases caused by mine dust. (The Public Health Service estimates that miners die from such diseases at five times the rate of the general population.) It also redefines total disability so that claimants would not have to prove that they are incapable of performing non-mining "light work."

#### Nixon opposes more reforms

The Nixon administration, however, opposes liberalization of the Act. HEW and Social Security officials cite the "tremendous cost involved" and fear that continued federal funding of the program will be an opening wedge for compensation to occupationally disabled workers in other industries.

Rank-and-file groups like the Black Lung Association say that the Perkins-Randolph amendments don't go far enough. They believe that a miner's testimony and that of his family and physician should be the most important piece of evidence to get compensation. They point out that the reforms, while eliminating the social security offset, do not permit a recipient to receive state disability and workmen's compensation. They believe that benefits should go to all workers with occupational dust diseases, such as the textile workers with "brown lung."

Enforcement of the 1969 Act's health and safety standards, like the control of dust in the mines, is still lax. West Virginia mine inspectors reported 16,999 such violations in 1970, but the state prosecuted only 29 cases! The injury rate for miners is almost five times and the death

# Miners continue fight for black-lung compensation

to almost everyone but the Nixon administration.

What is black lung?

Over the years a miner spends beneath the earth, dust builds up in his lungs, changing their color to carbon black. His lungs are able to deliver less and less oxygen to his body. He becomes short of breath, coughs, and spits up dust and blood. The victim tires easily and finds it difficult to work. He has to sleep sitting up.

There's no cure for black lung. It



From For the People's Health

gets worse, bringing premature death to about 4,000 each year. It also makes one more susceptible to other diseases such as lung cancer, emphysema, and chronic bronchitis.

Known by the name of miner's asthma as early as the 1860s and known to science as coal worker's pneumoconiosis, the disease afflicts more than 100,000 American miners, according to a study conducted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This figure, which is probably quite conservative, means that at least 28 percent of the nation's working miners suffer from black lung.

#### Rank-and-file pressure

The Federal Health and Safety Act, which Nixon reluctantly signed on Dec. 30, 1969, came as a result of a revolt in the coal fields. In early February of that year 3,000 West Virginia miners formed the Black Lung Association, and by the end of the month 95 percent of the state's miners had walked off the job to demand action. Within a few days, a black-lung compensation bill was rushed through the West Virginia legislature and signed into law. In early March, Nixon sent Congress a bill to regulate the dust levels in the mines. The miners ended their wildcat strike.

On July 4, 1969, busloads of Appalachian miners came to Washington demanding enactment of a comprehensive national health and safety law. The outcome of rank-and-file pressure was the Federal Health and Safety Act, which provided for black-lung compensation, and maximum

handled by the states, which are supposed to set up compensation programs on the federal "model." However, only one state, Montana, has so far been certified as meeting the standards of the federal law. Where states fail to act, a stricken miner or his widow will have to appeal to the Labor Department to assess the company for which the miner worked.

The Social Security Administration has rejected about 55 percent of the claims for black-lung compensation. In deciding who receives benefits, Social Security relies on X-rays. Medical experts, including the U.S. Surgeon General, say this is not a reliable test for black lung. Even if the disease does show on an X-ray, the miner must usually take a "cracker box" breathing test to indicate "total disability." This crude lung-capacity test cannot measure the lung's inability to transfer oxygen to the blood stream.

In addition, a miner must have worked for at least 10 years to be eligible. The rejection form-letter the claimant receives from Social Security doesn't even state the reason for denial. About 40 percent of the accepted claimants are widows whose husband's autopsies revealed advanced black lung. How many of these men had been denied benefits when still alive is not known.

The Black Lung Association, with 25,000 members in seven Appalachian states, puts out a monthly *Black Lung Bulletin*, which is full of complaints from claimants unjustly denied their meager compensation. The association's director, Arnold Miller of Charlestown, W. Va. a black-lung victim himself, says that a Social Security official admitted to him that the agency, at the direction of the Nixon administration, has been as tight-fisted as possible in approving claims. "The Social Security people have made a shambles of the program," Miller said.

Congress, which wrote Title IV, is also blamed for the program's failure. "It is plain to see that the Big Bosses in West Virginia run most of our representatives in Congress," a recent *Black Lung Bulletin* editorialized. Many miners believe that one reason the government has been so stingy with them is because the coal operators are soon slated to pay benefits through state compensation programs.

#### Bureaucrats praise inadequate laws

The leadership of the United Mine Workers of America has appeared far less concerned than its membership about the black-lung fiasco. Dr. Lorin E. Kerr, director of the UMW's Department of Occupational Health, recently praised the "acumen, perspicacity and unanimity" of the Senate com-

February on health and safety in the mines, with the information provided by, guess who, the U.S. Bureau of Mines. The reader is offered no critical comments to supplement the statements of these two government agencies, which have been notoriously insensitive to the miners' well-being.

The *Journal* often reads more like a board of directors' report to its stockholders than a fighting organ of the union membership. The lead article in the Feb. 1 issue, for example, is a report on future coal production by the president of the industry's National Coal Association. Following the signing of the new contract last November, UMW President Tony Boyle said that "hopefully" the agreement would "mean restoration of peace" and "high productivity in the mines." (American miners are the most productive in the world, as a result of the high degree of mechanization in the industry.) Many soft-coal miners, angered by the lack of rank-and-file ratification and the contract's inadequate fringe benefits, delayed their return to work for several days.

In the summer of 1970, the Disabled Miners and Widows of Southern West Virginia staged a five-week wildcat strike to protest the union's "unresponsiveness" to their demands for welfare, medical, and pension benefits.



From The Miner's Voice

#### A miner undergoes laboratory test for black lung in Beckley, W. Va.

Last March, reported the *Black Lung Bulletin*, "police carrying shotguns broke up a rally of disabled miners at Big Stone Gap, Va. Miners at the scene confirm reports that UMW District officials called in the thugs, who created such a disturbance that the meeting had to be called off."

Large delegations of miners came to Washington last June and November to protest the denials of black-lung claims and to urge remedial legislation. In November the House of

rate is almost 30 times greater than the average for American industry.

Other coal producing countries, such as England, Australia, and Czechoslovakia, have recognized the black-lung problem for decades and have gone much further than the U.S. in both eliminating its cause and compensating its victims. Reforms "didn't just happen," states the Black Lung Association. "In every case they were forced into existence by the political struggle of working people."



# Standard Oil has worries too: 'ecology spirit running amok'

By LEE SMITH

The growth of serious concern with protection of humanity's natural environment poses a particularly ticklish problem for the capitalist class and its apologists. Evidence that the polluters and their agents are well aware of the dangers implied for them by a movement to improve the environment appeared in a recent issue of *Ortho Tech News*. This is an internal newsletter circulated to the Research and Development Department branches of Chevron Chemical Company (a division of Standard Oil).

The lead article in the Feb. 15 *Ortho Tech News* is "Ecology Spirit Runs Amok" by Randall Adams, reprinted from the December 1971 issue of *Farm Chemicals*, a trade publication.

"The national crusade to improve environment is running amok," Adams warns. He blames "clever opportunists" for the problem, explaining that in "the forefront of this faction are power-obsessed politicians, greedy publishers, hungry writers, classroom-

bored college professors, limelight-adicted actors, radio-hucksters, and simpering TV talk-show hosts."

The destruction wrought by power plants, gasoline engines, and chemical fertilizers; the dangers of oral contraceptives, charcoal-broiled meat and poisonous food additives; and other hazards, according to Adams, "are being exaggerated and used as stepping stones by reckless men grabbing for a public acclaim far beyond that to which their real value entitles them."

Adams lays the blame for many pollution problems on "ecological extremists." For example, he notes that electrical power is necessary for the recycling of wastes and that "Charles Luce, chairman of the most beset power company in the land—Consolidated Edison—has identified environmentalists as the major cause of the electrical shortage."

The writer argues that very few wildlife species are endangered today. Ecologists falsify the danger, he says, to "generate the hysteria essential to

their banishment campaigns." Those species that are in danger have been in danger for a long time, Adams adds, citing a 1921 article on the disappearance of the bald eagle to back up his optimism.

"Despite ecologist claims that nature maintains a delicate balance with which mere man dare not tamper," Adams argues sarcastically, "Mother Nature in reality is a clumsy bungler employing a continuing series of catastrophes in a perpetual search for a stability which never comes."

After three pages of argument in this tone and on this level, Adams surprisingly concludes that "the environmental crusade is a noble one, and deserving of citizen support." Then comes the catch: "But we must insure that our support goes to responsible authorities who are willing to evaluate and seek solutions in a scientific and reasoned manner—rather than to help persuasive radicals stampede restrictions, bans, and laws whose long-term disadvantages will more than offset immediate gains."

His conclusion touches on the real worries of the wealthy U.S. rulers. In the short run, the popular demands for a decent environment threaten the corporate polluters with increased expenses from ameliorative but inadequate controls. In the long run, however, an antipollution movement threatens more. Any consistent effort to end pollution must ultimately confront the fundamental problem—the absence of social control and planning in the capitalist system of production. The kind of control necessary to reverse the environmentally destructive course of industry cannot be imposed without a complete social revolution.



New York City

Photo by Howard Petrick

## Blacks and Chicanos in Houston mobilize against racist education

HOUSTON, Texas—A Feb. 21 public hearing held by the city school board here was packed by about 1,000 Blacks and Chicanos dissatisfied with the school integration plan put into effect last fall. The board called the public hearing, the first held here on integration since 1956, in response to strong, sustained complaints about continued racism in the high school system. The complaints climaxed in January with the release of a "Manifesto on Behalf of Black Children."

The manifesto, issued by the Reverend William Lawson, coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, criticized the fact that the integration procedure placed the burden of change on Black and Brown students and parents, while disturbing the white community as little as possible. The manifesto demanded community involvement in "hiring, buying, and decision-making" and "a system of pairing which joins black and white schools or brown and white schools, and recognizes both blacks and browns as legitimate minorities who must be dealt with realistically in any integration program." Many of the 38 speakers at the public hearing expressed their support for the manifesto.

The 14 Black speakers represented a wide range of organizations, including the Houston Teachers Association; Welfare Rights Organization; NAACP Legal Defense Fund; and the Harris County Council of Organizations, which encompasses 70 groups. Pluria Marshall, Houston director of Operation Breadbasket, charged that

the school system's bidding process was manipulated to exclude Black businesses. Sawyer Bynam of the Houston Association of General Subcontractors asked that the proportion of contracts awarded Black and Brown businesses equal the percentage of tax dollars taken from the Black and Brown communities. Black mothers complained of difficulties in securing adequate transportation for their school children and the poor education given their children.

Many of the 19 Chicano speakers demanded tri-ethnic integration and a recognition of the special needs of Chicano students. Abel Alvarez, chairman of Barrios Unidos, and representatives from LULAC (the League of United Latin American Citizens) and the Hispanic International University called for a tri-ethnic desegregation plan. As one Chicano pointed out, "We're Mexican-Americans for purposes of federal funding and 'white' for the purposes of integration." Che Cisneros of the Mexican-American Education Council called for a moratorium on all school testing of Chicanos until tests could be devised that would take cultural differences into account. He called the present tests "a flagrant violation of our human and civil rights." He explained that Chicanos are often classified as mentally retarded because they do not respond in standardized fashion to tests designed for those reared in an Anglo culture. Cisneros protested the victimization of "those who have refused to be Anglicized, whitewashed, and Americanized."

Pete Mendez, a 15-year-old high school student, told of seeing an Anglo teacher force a Chicano youth to eat a piece of paper, erase a chalkboard by rubbing a Chicano's head against it, and threaten Chicano students with being "stomped" when they drew peace signs in pictures for art class.

The audience applauded several times during remarks made by Evelyn Sell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the state board of education. The response was particularly enthusiastic when she stated, "Better schools for Blacks and Chicanos can only come about when Blacks and Chicanos control the educational institutions that serve their youth. . . . What is needed is control of the schools by committees of parents, students, and faculty accountable to the Black and Chicano communities."

Sell pointed out the vital connection between the racist war in Vietnam and the financial needs of Black and Brown students in Houston. She explained, ". . . out of the \$664 spent on each pupil, \$30 comes from the federal government. That \$30 could be multiplied many times to provide buildings, free supplies and books, free breakfasts and lunches, more teachers, better services, special programs for young people here in Houston. . . . The Houston school board has both the fiscal obligation and the moral responsibility to call upon the government to stop the racist war in Vietnam and to convert the war budget into a budget to meet the educational and social needs here at home."

## Hearings held on Mass. abortion laws

By JANE ROLAND

BOSTON—A 24-year-old Cape Cod woman, Susan Daly, called Massachusetts state legislators "accessories to murder" at abortion hearings held here Feb. 24. Sponsored by the Social Welfare Committee of the state legislature, the hearings were held in response to a bill to repeal Massachusetts' restrictive abortion laws. The bill has been introduced by State Senator Jack Backman and two other legislators. More than 500 people heard women testify on their personal experiences in attempting to obtain abortions and on the need for immediate repeal of the abortion laws.

Daly began by describing to the all-male committee the gruesome events of her attempt four years ago to obtain an illegal abortion. After making hundreds of telephone calls, being refused help at the last minute by a backstreet abortionist, desperately trying a coat hanger and other methods of self-abortion, she suffered a nervous breakdown, was given an abortion in a hospital in Mexico, and almost died from hemorrhaging.

The hearings received particular attention because of the recent National Women's Abortion Action Conference, which took place here. The Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC) helped bring more than 500 women from New England to the conference. BOWAAC worked together with the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (MORAL) to publicize the Feb. 24 hearings and to urge women to testify.

Representatives from these organizations and many individuals stayed at the hearings until 2 a.m., listening to testimony from supporters of abortion law repeal and testimony from priests, legislators, and others, mostly male, on behalf of "fetal life."

Carol Henderson Evans, speaking for BOWAAC, made it clear that women will not stop fighting until the abortion laws are totally repealed. "We're demanding our right to choose, and if you cannot hear us now, then you can be sure you will hear us during Abortion Action Week [May 1-6] and again and again until all the laws are repealed. We will no longer be silent as our sisters are slaughtered by back-alley abortionists. We will no longer be silent as long as our sisters are forced to go through humiliation and even risk their lives for what is our basic human right."

Toba Singer, from the Socialist Workers Party, also spoke in favor of repealing the abortion laws.



Photo by Dave Wulp

Carol Henderson Evans, BOWAAC spokeswoman.



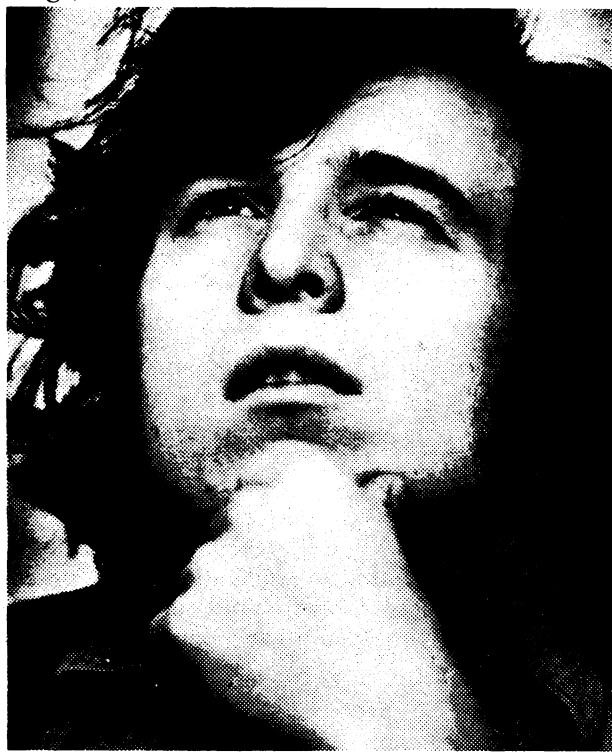
# In Review

## Records 'American Pie'

**American Pie** by Don McLean. *United Artists.* Throughout the twentieth century, various artists have produced material on the "American" dream, tragedy, experience, ethic, or whatever else they've chosen to call it. Small wonder that such a monstrous society should claim the attention of the artists, critics, and other mythmakers working in the great American culture factory. It takes a lot of explaining. And as one might expect, the treatment of this theme has often been full of excuses.

Don McLean's spectacularly successful hit record "American Pie" ostensibly takes up the theme of the American . . . ("Pie" is certainly as good a word as any other). But fortunately for us, McLean is an artist with no use for the customary excuses.

More than two million singles of "American Pie" have been sold in the approximately three months since its release. "American Pie" has been number one in every area in the United States, as well as in Canada. The album, which includes 10 other songs, has sold almost one million.



Don McLean

The most striking thing about "American Pie" is its cunning illusiveness. It's much easier to identify a mood or attitude than to extract a literal meaning from the song. Consequently, the guessing game as to what McLean "really means" by "American Pie" has already extended itself into outer space.

McLean admits to a heavy influence from Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger and the Weavers. This important current in American music is very much alive in the "American Pie" album.

Another obvious influence is the popular music and culture of the late 1950s and early 1960s. "American Pie" creates a sort of compendium of 10 years or so of youth consciousness. Every fantasy and delusion that the youth of this period labored under is at least hinted at in these evocative lyrics. But of course the music is central: "Do you believe in rock and roll?"

The stages of youth culture affectionately parodied in this song are 1) the teen-age hero of the fifties ("with a pink carnation and a pickup truck"); 2) the early sixties, characterized by Bob Dylan ("the Jester"); and 3) the period beginning with the Stones (Mick Jagger is "Jumping Jack Flash," of course) and the Beatles (it's Lennon, not Lenin, who "reads a book on Marx").

What comes through most clearly is McLean's devotion to music. His satirical reflections on the simpleminded aspects of what has sometimes been called the "automobile-culture" of the late 1950s are muted by his respect for the incorruptible spirit that emerged, amazingly, from this jungle of commercial values.

McLean has dedicated his album to Buddy Holly, creator of "Peggy Sue," "Rainin' in My Heart," and many other hits. Until Holly was killed in 1959 in a plane wreck, he was one of the most influential and respected popular musicians. Holly best captured the pure romantic sentiment that many other rock and roll stars of his period aimed at. His influence on McLean is certainly more spiritual than literal or technical.

Some have wondered if "American Pie" can be considered a form of social protest, dealing with the commercialism of American life, its plastic values, etc. Perhaps a better way to characterize this record is to call it simply a glimpse, affectionate as well as critical, into the life of a gen-

eration that is struggling to free itself from these values.

A number of other songs on this album are more explicit in their social criticism. "Grave" for example is a very direct and effective antiwar song. McLean creates the image of a GI sinking deeper and deeper into the shelter of his trench until he is, in effect, buried and dead. Listening to this cut gives you the feeling of watching a movie in which the camera slowly moves in and hovers over a deeply affecting detail: the death of one soldier on an immense battlefield.

The most hard-hitting song on the album is "Everybody Loves Me, Baby." The subject parodied by McLean is a ruling-class-type figure who has internalized the values of a rapacious system. Since conquest is what keeps the social system going, how can his personal system exist without it also?

Armies go at my command  
my gold lies in a foreign land  
buried deep beneath the sand . . .  
but all the victories I've led  
haven't brought you to my bed.  
Everybody loves me, baby,  
what's the matter with you?

The purest race I've bred for thee  
to live in my democracy  
and the highest human pedigree  
awaits your first born boy . . .  
Everybody loves me, baby,  
what's the matter with you?

The representative of this outlook goes on to excuse himself with the flippant remark, "if war is hell I'm not to blame."

Several other songs, like "Vincent," show how willing McLean is to experiment with themes not usually taken up in popular music. This song is addressed to Vincent Van Gogh and attempts to create a musical equivalent for the disturbing images of the great impressionist.

Other songs, like "Winterwood," are also worth discussion. If you aren't one of the million who already have, you should get this album so that you can listen to it for yourself. McLean is an extremely ambitious and talented musician. You won't be sorry.

—DAVID SALNER

## Books 'Law Against the People'

**Law Against the People: Essays to Demystify Law, Order and the Courts** edited by Robert Lefcourt. *Vintage Books, 1971. 400 pp. \$2.45.*

In capitalist society there are various orders of "crime." There is organized crime—a form of big business that overlaps with and blends into the legal establishment. There is the ordinary crime of the isolated personality engaged in an ineffectual struggle against the dominant conditions. And there is political "crime," which for the most part is the direct or indirect illegalization of various aspects of the collective struggle against oppressive conditions.

Law, then, is neither impartial nor just. It is the means whereby the state lays down its rules of permissible behavior. As the essays in *Law Against the People* show, capitalist law, in its

formulation and administration, is designed in such a way as to be acutely discriminatory against poor people, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, workers, women, and radicals.

Most of the contributors to this volume are movement lawyers. A lot of serious research has gone into these articles, and the book is a treasure house of information.

Although every author represented in *Law Against the People* writes from a radical point of view, the theoretical perspectives on political questions are far from uniform. In my opinion, this is one of the book's virtues. Reading it can give you insight into the nature of some of the controversies going on in the radical movement about how to conduct political defense cases, whether the courts can be utilized effectively to win social changes, how tenuous civil liberties are in the present period, and other law-related matters.

In an article of his own, the editor of this volume, Robert Lefcourt, writes: "One survey by the President's Crime Commission reports that ninety-one percent of all Americans have violated laws that could subject them to a term in prison." This demonstrates how selective and discriminatory the process of arrest and incarceration is.

Lefcourt points out that nationally, Blacks have a significantly higher rate of arrests than whites in almost every

offense category. He cites a study of Washington, D.C., which shows that in that city 90 percent of the people taken into custody by the police had incomes under \$5,000. He also points out that almost 45 percent of all arrests in this country are for crimes without victims, such as prostitution, gambling, vagrancy, and drunkenness.

Howard Moore Jr., co-counsel for Angela Davis, examines the Supreme Court's recent record on civil rights and demonstrates that its decisions have been a mixed bag of gains and losses for Black people and other minority groups. "When a ruling for integration will result in dispersal of the ghetto and weakening of nationalistic feelings among Blacks," he writes, "the Supreme Court, by a slim majority for the next few years, may continue to vote in favor. However, if the Court can rule in such a way as to undermine white racism by freeing Blacks from subtle forms of white domination, it will, over an occasional dissent, give unfavorable decisions."

The role that the legal apparatus of the state plays in the oppression of women is examined in "Women's Servitude Under Law" by Ann M. Garfinkle, Carol Lefcourt, and Diane B. Schulder. They point out that women are "required by law to live where their husbands live; refusal to move when the husband decides to relocate the household is grounds for divorce in almost all states.

"In some states, a husband can divorce his wife if she commits one act of adultery, but she cannot divorce him unless she shows that he is living with another woman. To prove that his wife has committed adultery, the husband must only show that the opportunity to commit adultery existed along with the inclination. If the woman is divorced on grounds of adultery she will almost always be denied custody of the children."

In "The Education of the Capitalist Lawyer: The Law School," David N. Rockwell shows how law schools concentrate their curriculum on the study of corporate law, preparing their students to enter well-paid careers as defenders of capitalist property rights.

Other articles include "The Economic Basis of Law and State" by Kenneth Cloke; "Law, the Breakdown of Order, and Revolution" by Stanley Aronowitz; "Open Resistance: In Defense of the Movement" by William M. Kunstler; and "The Role of the Radical Lawyer and Teacher of Law" by Arthur Kinoy.

The radical movement is forced to deal with law at virtually every point in its endeavors to alter social conditions in favor of the people. *Law Against the People*, by supplying facts and raising issues, is a significant contribution toward the needed efforts at education in this area.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

# Fourth International stand on Chile

By DAN ROSENSHINE

A deepening confrontation is developing between the radicalized workers and peasants of Chile on one hand, and the Chilean capitalists, backed by the power and influence of North American imperialism, on the other.

The eventual alternatives are either a successful socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers state, or a successful counteroffensive by reactionary forces that would turn back the current upsurge of the Chilean masses and drown it in blood.



Chilean peasants have been involved in land seizures going beyond the limits set by Allende's Popular Unity government. Banner reads "Arnoldo Rios Settlement" (named for revolutionary activist shot by members of the Chilean Communist Party when he tried to prevent them from removing posters from a wall).

This important political situation in Chile is analyzed in a comprehensive resolution passed unanimously in December 1971 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

Due to the U.S. government's reactionary legislation, the Socialist Workers Party is barred from membership in the Fourth International; however, the SWP is in political solidarity with it.

The resolution, entitled "Chile—The Coming Confrontation," is reprinted in full in the Feb. 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

The resolution points out that "The experiment in Chile is being watched throughout the world, particularly as a test of the efficacy of the electoral, parliamentary, and peaceful road that has been advocated by the reformists as a way of achieving socialism."

The Allende regime has been radical and anti-imperialist in its rhetoric. Its election was hailed by many radicals, including Communist parties throughout the world, as proof-positive that a period of transition to socialism was well underway in Chile. Moreover, the regime includes the two mass reformist workers parties of Chile—the Socialist Party and the Communist Party—as the largest components of the Popular Unity (Unidad Popular—UP) coalition.

The imperialists themselves have at times expressed fears that a "new Cuba" was being created under the leadership of Allende. Likewise, the domestic right-wing and reactionary opposition to Allende has equated his regime with "socialism" (or an attempt to establish it).

The reality is quite different. The opportunity for a socialist revolution does exist in Chile; but not one carried out by the present popular-front government, which is committed to the maintenance of capitalism.

The United Secretariat resolution reveals the reformist character of the Allende government through an analysis of its economic program. This program "projects carrying out the Christian Democratic [Chilean capitalist party in power, 1964-1970] agrarian reform, ending the direct imperialist grip on the exploitation of raw materials, the statization of a series of industrial sectors, and the nationalization of the banks."

But Allende's program, even if it were fully implemented, "would not involve a qualitative change—Chile

tive of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, separated from a socialist revolution, does not have the slightest objective justification. The only possible revolution in Chile is a revolution with a socialist dynamic without any break in continuity and at a relatively rapid rate. And emancipation from imperialism—in view of the close symbiotic relation between imperialism and the national bourgeoisie—can be achieved only by the complete expropriation of the indigenous ruling class."

This reaffirms, for Chile, the Marxist theory of the permanent revolution, first formulated by Trotsky in *Results and Prospects* in 1906 to describe the dynamics of the approaching Russian revolution.

The resolution goes on to say, "... it follows that any form of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie or with sectors of the bourgeoisie must be resolutely rejected. This implies that the masses in Chile must struggle to replace the coalition government of the Popular Unity with a workers and peasants government that excludes any participation by parties or groups that represent, if only indirectly, the interests of the bourgeoisie and other layers of the exploiters."

In outlining the tasks of Chilean revolutionists the resolution calls for "attacking without any ambiguities or concessions the reformist nature of the regime and the forces backing it. Complete independence must be maintained with regard to the popular front coalition. Revolutionists cannot participate in such a coalition even by offering it electoral support."

## Leninist party

The resolution states that "Chile will not prove to be a historic exception—the capitalist system in Chile will not be overturned without the decisive intervention of a revolutionary party, the conscious vanguard of the masses . . . it is necessary to reject any concept . . . [that] the proletariat can come to power even without a genuine revolutionary Leninist party."

The opportunities to build such a party are shown both by the sweep of mass struggles beyond the limits prescribed by the Popular Unity and by the growth of organizations to the left of the Socialist and Communist parties, such as the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—MIR).

The United Secretariat resolution outlines a series of key objectives that revolutionary Marxists can single out to lead a successful struggle for state power. It includes the following points:

(a) "The transformations in the agrarian structures must include the total expulsion of the landlords and the expropriation of the capitalist entrepreneurs. . . . If the agrarian reform refrains from touching the capitalist enterprises, complete domination over the most dynamic sector of agriculture will be left in private hands and the agricultural workers will turn away from the revolutionary process."

(b) "In the domain of industry, it is necessary to reject the concept of three 'areas' that reserves a sector for private capital. . . . Through general expropriation it is necessary to break the backbone of Chilean capitalism, thereby breaking at the same time the indigenous support on which imperialist penetration depends."

(c) "The nationalization of the banking system and the establishment of a state monopoly on foreign trade must be carried out to the end." This would mean that the crucial decisions on imports and exports of both consumer and capital goods would be made in the interests of the nationalized economy rather than by private corporations.

(d) The masses of Chile must struggle to replace the Popular Unity government with a workers and peasants government based on democratic councils of the workers, peasants, slum dwellers and students. These councils, involving the working class and peasantry as a whole, are an essential element in the conquest of power.

(e) "Workers control of production plays a key role in a revolutionary strategy for the conquest of state power." Workers control involves the masses of workers in making decisions on the organization of their workplace.

Additionally, workers control would bring every aspect of the economy—including attempts at economic sabotage by reactionaries—under the workers' direct surveillance.

The working class must also begin to organize its own armed self-defense units, including the formation of a genuine popular militia, and also disseminate revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers. Not to take such steps "would mean in practice depending on the 'democratic loyalty' of the army. . . . The necessary [armed] instruments must be put together now to prevent the class enemy from achieving a crushing superiority when the inevitable confrontation comes about."

The resolution discusses the forces from which a revolutionary party can be constructed. The one large organization that has acted as a pole of attraction to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties has been the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). The resolution analyzes the strengths of the MIR, above all its participation in land occupations and workers actions, and also its weaknesses and contradictions, including its political vacillations, and its concept of party-building, "which is far from Leninist democratic centralism."

The resolution points out that the Socialist Party's rank-and-file contains a "seedbed of militants and . . . politically conscious cadres who will have a lot to offer in the process" of building the revolutionary party. Further, "a decisive change in the relationship of forces in favor of the revolutionists also presupposes a deep differentiation among the working-class layers that still represent the main base of the Communist party."

In the course of this article I have been able to summarize only some of the major points of the recent Fourth International resolution on Chile. I urge readers of *The Militant* to obtain and read the full text of this important document.

## CHILE... The Coming Confrontation

Is the Allende government taking Chile toward socialism? When the chips are down where will the military caste stand? What should the workers and organizations of the left do?

Read the views of the Fourth International on the Chilean experiment. In the February 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Send 50¢ for a copy.

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New York, N. Y., 10014



# Calendar

## BOSTON

**'BLOODY SUNDAY,' MISTAKE OR CALCULATION?** An analysis of the conflict in Ireland. Panel discussion. Speakers include: Paul McNulty, native of Ireland and member of Friends of Irish Freedom; and Richo Ross, member of Friends of Irish Freedom. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m., 655 Atlantic Ave. Third Floor (opposite South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call 482-8050.

**VOICES OF DISSENT.** Women in Prison. Including interviews with inmates at Framingham prison. Wed. March 15, 8 p.m., on **WTBS-FM**, 88.1. Sat., March 18, 8 p.m., on **WBUR-FM**, 90.9.

## CHICAGO

**FILM SHOWING—PORTRAIT OF A REVOLUTIONARY (ANGELA DAVIS).** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; and Lorraine Brody, representative of Power of People. Fri., March 17, film showings at 7:30 and 9:30. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

## LOS ANGELES

**THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE SWINDLE—AN ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST SIX MONTHS.** Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*, long-time member of the UAW. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**POVERTY, RACE, AND INTELLIGENCE—The Truth Behind the Controversy.** Speaker: Professor Thomas Bever, Psychology Dept. Columbia University. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Gourmet dinner at 6:30 for \$1.50. A usp. West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**NIXON'S CHINA VISIT: WHO GOT WHAT?** Speaker: George Novack, Marxist author. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m., 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**CUBA, PROBLEMS OF WORKERS' DEMOCRACY.** Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest bureau of *The Militant*. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

## SEATTLE

**NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA—WHAT NIXON AND MAO WERE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH.** Speaker: Robin Da-

vid, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY.** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**A REPORT FROM GARY, IND., ON THE BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION.** Speakers: Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. Delegate; Mike Lewis, cochairman of the Statehood Party and delegate to the convention from Ward 3; and Kassim Maulumigi, representative of Pens and Swords, affiliate of the Revolutionary People's Communication Network. Fri., March 17, 8 p.m. 746 9 St. N.W. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Forum.

# ...auto

Continued from page 14

GM has refused compensation on the pretext that the layoffs are the result of "slowdowns" in the Assembly Division. Since the Assembly Division strike began on March 3, many night-shift workers in the Fabricating Division have been told not to report to work "until further notice." It is quite possible that these laid-off workers may also be denied unemployment compensation.

George Sparacino, secretary-treasurer of Local 1714, told this reporter that his local would help win the strike of assembly-line workers "in any way we can."

J. B. Smith, secretary-treasurer of the striking union, has accepted an invitation to speak at the Cleveland Debs Hall forum on March 10. His topic will be: "Lordstown: Young Workers versus a Big Corporation."

# ...Ireland

Continued from page 15

And so we called a press conference which was very successful. I held the press conference in my own home. Immediately on the arrival of the television cameras, all the Special Branch men disappeared, and I put clearly before the press and the Irish people what I felt the purpose of the repression was, what the government hoped would be the effect of it.

And I stated clearly that I intended,

and our organization intended, to operate openly, that we were in such a vital stage in the development of the situation here in Ireland, both North and South, that there were such vital issues before the Irish people—first of all, the imminence of the talks between Heath and Lynch and secondly the issue of the EEC referendum—that we must remain open and active amongst the people and linked closely with the people's organizations in this struggle.

So we regard the press conference as a victory for us and a defeat for the government, in that I am now in a position to operate openly and the issues at stake have been explained to the people, who will therefore be prepared to back us in demanding our rights of political association, freedom of expression. Although arrests may continue throughout the country, certainly at the moment it appears that the government has had to waver in its attempt to bring about all-out repression.

*Foley. Do you think that sympathizers of the Irish struggle overseas can help defeat these moves toward repression?*

*Mac Giolla.* Yes, they certainly can. There is gradually more understanding of the type of repression that is taking place in the North.

I think the general impression among the Irish abroad was that in the South you had a democratically elected Irish government which was using democratic methods. I think that these actions now are a clear indication of what we have been trying to explain to people, that the government here in Dublin is one of the prongs of the two-pronged effort of British imperialism here in Ireland. There is a repressive regime in the North and a repressive regime in the South, both of which collaborate with the British government in the solutions it offers to its problems.

I think international protest now against the denial of civil rights in the South would have a tremendous effect, even a greater effect than it would have on the regime in the North of Ireland. I think international protests can force the government here

to repeal the Offenses Against the State Act. Repeal of the Special Powers Act is one of the demands of the civil rights movement in the North and the Offenses Against the State Act in the South is in some ways even more repressive. Therefore, protests against the repression here would be part of defending the struggle in the North as well.

We certainly hope for solidarity from abroad with the revolutionary movement here. The campaign against repressive legislation here can follow on to action against the sectarian [religious] system here and the institutions and constitutional provisions that give a special position to the Catholic church in the South. It is vitally necessary to remove this system if we are to create the conditions for unity, in other words, if we are to create the kind of secular society down here which the civil rights movement is working for in the North.

# Chicago Socialist Campaign Rally

ANDREW PULLEY, SWP vice-presidential candidate/PATRICIA GROGAN, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois/Sat., March 18, 8 p.m./YMCA Hotel, 826 S. Wabash.

Tickets: \$1.50 rally only/\$2.50 conference plus rally/At door or from Socialist Workers Illinois Campaign, 180 N. Wacker, Suite 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Telephone: (312) 263-5838

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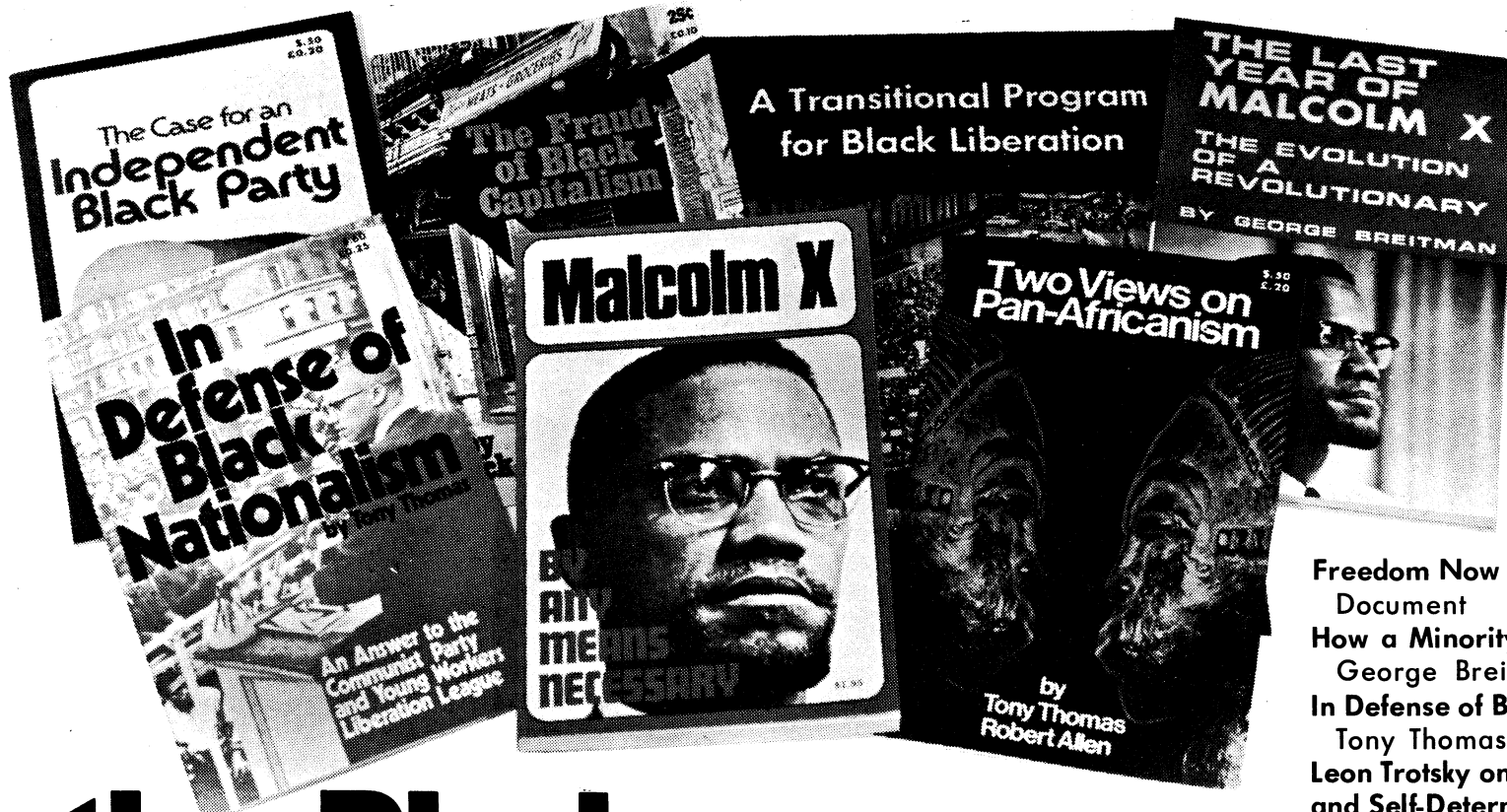
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# THE MILITANT

## Davis jurors reveal anticommunist bias

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND and MICHAEL SCHREIBER  
SAN JOSE, Calif. March 6—Defense attorneys for Angela Davis have begun to question potential jurors about their attitudes toward Black people and Communists.

Most of the prospective jurors questioned during the first week of the trial have exhibited some prejudice toward Davis because she is a member of the Communist Party. For example, James S. Messer stated today that although he has never read any material published by the CP, he believes they might have plotted the Marin County Aug. 7, 1970, shoot-out that Davis is charged with because Communists "advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government."

When the defense challenged Messer for prejudice, the prosecuting attorney, Albert Harris, raised his frequently stated objection that "Communism is not on trial here," and the challenge was accordingly overruled.

Last week, prosecutor Harris unsuccessfully attempted to delete from the indictment against Davis the charge that she participated in a rally on behalf of the Soledad Brothers on June 19, 1970.

Until recently, the state was attempting to bolster its hypothetical case against Davis by emphasizing her political association with George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, who are accused of murdering a prison guard. However, as the Soledad Brothers' trial draws to an end, it appears likely that they will be judged innocent. If they are, Davis can no longer be portrayed as the compatriot of bloodthirsty "murderers," but rather as a defender of innocent men. This fact and the increasing pressure of support for Davis have hastened Harris' attempts to disentangle himself from some of the overtly political aspects of the charges.

## Soledad trial near end; state's case battered

By NORTON SANDLER  
SAN FRANCISCO, March 6—The 26-month frame-up ordeal of Soledad Brothers John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo may be drawing to a close. The weak underpinnings of the state's case against the Brothers, who are accused of murdering a prison guard on Jan. 16, 1970, have been all but obliterated by the defense attorneys.

The recent testimony of three key defense witnesses has exposed the attempts of the Monterey County district attorney's office to fabricate evidence against Cluchette and Drumgo. David Fechheimer, a private investigator, outlined a conversation that he had last year with one of the state's witnesses, William Worzella. According to Fechheimer, "Mr. Worzella believed that Captain [Charles] Moody was capable of anything if he [Worzella] didn't testify. He believed that Captain Moody was capable of having him killed." Captain Moody, a former Soledad guard, is currently employed as the chief investigator for Ed Barnes and William Curtiss, the prosecutors in this case.

The Tulare County public defender Jay W. Powell testified that his client, parolee Manuel Green, was promised by Curtiss that all charges pending against him would be forgotten as a reward for testimony against the

The flimsiness of the state's circumstantial evidence against Davis is shown by the degree to which the case has perplexed the potential jurors. When Harris asked if any general matters bothered the panelists, one responded, "Why is there a murder charge against Miss Davis?" And another, "Why is there a conspiracy charge?" Harris explained that the state does not contend that Davis actually participated in the murder of Judge Harold Haley during an escape attempt of three prisoners from the Marin County courthouse on Aug. 7, but only that she was part of a conspiracy and abetted the act. California law holds that a person abetting a crime is as guilty as one who commits a crime. "The law," said Harris, "takes precedence over facts."

Prospective jurors are being questioned in random order from a list of 150 voters in Santa Clara County. The list includes only one Black person. Chief defense counsel Howard Moore Jr. protested to the court on March 2 that most workers on the jurors' list are being forced to disqualify themselves because of the insufficient \$5-a-day wage that the county pays to jurors.

The defense maintains that the *de facto* exclusion from the jury of people from the working class and oppressed nationalities, the unusual restrictions on travel and speech that have been placed on Davis as conditions for bail, the harassing search and security procedures for spectators, and the banning of demonstrations in the vicinity of the San Jose courthouse demonstrate the impossibility of Davis' obtaining a fair trial.

The National United Committee to Free Angela Davis has announced that it is launching a new petition campaign around the demand that "the only fair trial for Davis is no trial at all—drop the charges."

defendants. Cluchette's lawyer, Floyd Silliman, explained to the jury that such behavior on the part of the prosecutor was "grossly contemptuous."

The statements offered by Donald Poole, a former Soledad inmate, were especially enlightening. Poole testified that Cluchette had been in the television room at the time prescribed for the guard's death. Barnes, attempting to destroy Poole's credibility, asked the witness why it was important for him to remember what had happened on Jan. 16, 1970. Poole coldly replied, "When you and Captain Moody tried to accuse me of the crime, it became important for me to remember." Poole concluded, "If I was being accused, I knew me or any other Black person in that wing [section of the prison] could be accused."

Angela Davis spent her second day out of the Santa Clara County jail by visiting the Feb. 25 trial session. As Davis entered the courtroom, Judge Spiro Lee Vavuris issued one of his now-patented warnings, "There will be no power salutes and no disruptions." Moments later Cluchette and Drumgo entered the courtroom smiling broadly. As Drumgo tightened his fist at his side, the entire courtroom grinned in response.

## 1,000 in N.Y. attend anti-internment rally

By CLAIRE MORIARTY  
NEW YORK, March 4—Well over 1,000 demonstrators gathered here today to protest the internment without trial of more than 700 Irish men and the British occupation of Ireland. The most spirited demonstration Manhattan has witnessed in some time, the action drew a wide cross-section of the population. Several young nuns and many of the older demonstrators indicated that it was the first demonstration they had ever attended.

Speakers at the rally reflected the breadth of the Anti-Internment Coalition, which called the action. Among those addressing the crowd were: Mary Cotter of the Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S. and Canada; Larry McElroy from the Barmen's and Waitresses' Association for Irish Aid; Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Ned Murphy of the Harrisburg Defense Committee; Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; Carlos Feliciano; Katherine Sojourner of the National Peace Action Coalition; Joan McKiernan of the International Socialists;

Congressman James Scheuer (D-N.Y.); and John Rowan of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Kevin McCrory, a former internee and a representative of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, also spoke.

Several speakers related the movement in Ireland to other movements for national liberation around the world. Andrew Pulley drew cheers from the crowd when he noted that the struggle in Ireland was the longest continuous struggle against oppression in history and expressed the solidarity of the SWP with the Irish liberation struggle.

Congressman Scheuer's speech, however, was interrupted at one point when he called upon the British to "set the date" for the withdrawal of their troops. Virtually the entire crowd erupted with cries of "Out Now!"

Maire Bradshaw, a veteran of the Irish movement and chairwoman of the new coalition, called the demonstration a real victory and said that the coalition plans further actions against internment and the British occupation.



New York anti-internment demonstration

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

## Lordstown GM plant struck by UAW local

By HERMAN KIRSCH  
CLEVELAND, March 7—One of the fastest and most strategic assembly lines in the country was shut down on Friday evening, March 3, when 7,800 members of UAW Local 1112 walked off their jobs in Lordstown, Ohio. The workers did not wait for the Saturday strike deadline, thereby forcing General Motors to close the plant prematurely.

More than 5,000 grievances involving speedup, violation of health and safety rules, and disciplinary layoffs remain to be settled before the workers will return to their jobs. This could lead to a long strike, with repercussions involving layoffs of workers in other General Motors plants in Lordstown and Parma, Ohio; and Buffalo and Tonawanda, New York.

The strike has already affected hundreds of truck drivers and railroad workers who service the struck plant.

The General Motors Lordstown plant opened in 1966 to produce Chevrolet sedans. The corporation converted it to the production of Vegas in 1969 and stepped up the assembly line speed from 60 cars per hour to more than 100 cars per hour.

A.J. Anderson, General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant manager, is a prime target of the local union for his role as a unionbuster and for his responsibility for the many grievances that have accumulated since last October when GMAD took over from the Fisher Body Division of GM. Anderson has been issuing optimistic reports to the press concerning the progress of negotiations.

On the other hand, union members are determined not to return to work without adequate guarantees against the backbreaking speedup and company harassment, even if it means great sacrifice.

The GM Fabricating Division next door to the assembly plant laid off 159 workers last December. Recently, representatives of UAW Local 1714, representing workers in the Fabricating Division, called a press conference in front of the plant, with most of the laid-off workers present. They demanded that the company either allow the laid-off workers to get unemployment compensation and supplementary unemployment benefits, or call them back to work.

Continued on page 22