

THE MILITANT

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

Kremlin treachery blow to Vietnam liberation struggle

— pages 3, 6



Workers upsurge shakes Quebec

— page 12

Massive antiwar demonstrations in Mexico, Peru

— page 24



Special features:

Nkrumah/10; Malagasy/4;

African liberation & Vietnam/11

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Kremlin courts Nixon as U.S. bombs Vietnam
- 4 Mass upsurge hits French control of Malagasy
- 5 15,000 march in D.C. against the war
- 8 Open letter from Linda Jenness to McGovern supporters
- 9 Mich. primary: union bureaucrats have no answer to Wallace
- 10 Nkrumah: a Marxist assessment
- 11 How to fight U.S. involvement in Africa
- May 27 committee statement on Vietnam
- 12 Workers upsurge shakes Québec
- 15 Unprecedented response in drive to put socialist candidates on ballot
- 16 Problems beset 'radicals' in Berkeley City Council
- 17 SWP Nat'l Committee discusses war, economy, building socialist movement
- 18 Defeat for abortion rights in Conn.
- 19 Black Assembly finalizes Agenda
- 21 Argentine editor sentenced to exile on ship
- 24 Mass antiwar actions in Mexico, Peru
- Defense rests case in Angela Davis trial

- 2 In Brief
- 4 The Militant Gets Around
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 The Great Society Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 9 The National Picket Line
- 14 '72 Socialist Campaign
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 21
JUNE 2, 1972
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAY 24, 1972

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: DOUG JENNESS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

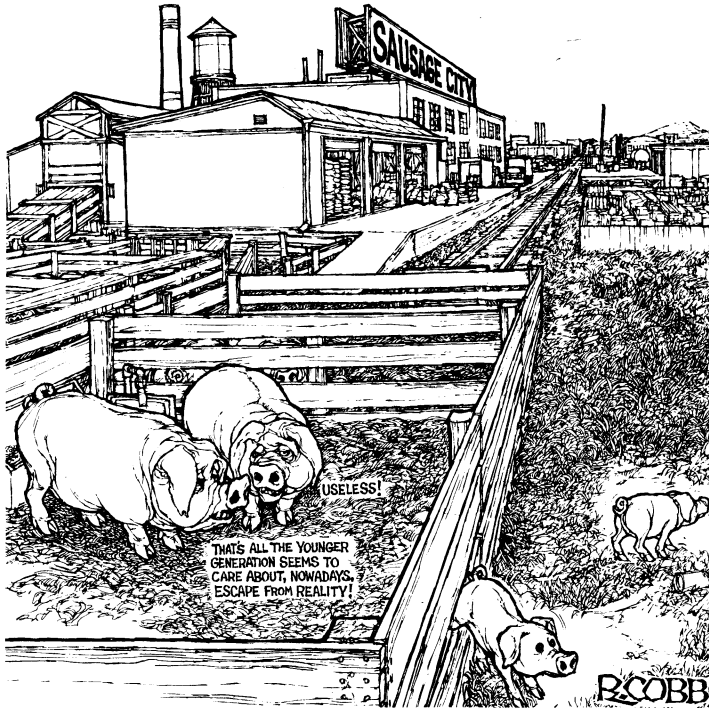
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

STUDENTS FAVOR GAY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A poll of 943 students at the University of Minnesota showed that 81 percent opposed the university's refusal to hire James McConnell as a librarian. The board of regents based its decision not to hire McConnell on the fact that he is gay and had applied for a license to marry Jack Baker.

Eighty-two percent of the students polled felt that the university should provide expanded health services for women, including abortion counseling, care, and referral. Eighty-one percent favored the university's providing birth-control services.

The results of the poll were published in the May 5 **Minnesota Daily**.



YOU HIT THE NAIL ON THE HEAD GEORGE: The **Washington Post** interviewed George Meany some weeks ago. Characteristically, the union bureaucrat complained, "We seem to be living in an age when the young people, for some reason or another, seem to reject everything. It's not just a question of work patterns or anything, but they seem to reject everything that the older people held important."

BIG BUSINESS BLUES I: Lamenting the "lack of interest and motivation on the part of employees," a labor expert quoted in the May 14 **New York Times** asserted that:

"One of the best kept secrets in industry today is the cost of absenteeism, low productivity, boredom on the job and frequent turnovers among employees."

"Many young people," he said, "are disenchanted with the thought of working for a corporation."

BIG BUSINESS BLUES II: Returning once again to the morale problem, the May 15 **Times** notes some ways in which corporations have tried to make jobs more enjoyable. One executive from McDonald's hamburger chain explained that "It's all part of the better milk from contented cows philosophy."

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE? The April 28 issue of **New America**, the newspaper of the Socialist Party, notes that "The Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation has not endorsed any candidate for the Democratic Presidential Nomination. Its members, as individuals, have been backing candidates ranging from McGovern and Muskie to Humphrey and Jackson in the framework of pressing for the building of a strong coalition of labor, liberals and minority groups to defeat Nixon."

CHICAGO SEVEN CONTEMPT CONVICTIONS UPSET: A federal court on May 11 reversed the contempt convictions of the seven defendants and two of their lawyers in the Chicago conspiracy trial. The court also invalidated the four-year contempt sentence of Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.

Although appeals on the conviction of five of the Chicago defendants on charges of crossing state lines to incite a riot and delivering "inflammatory" speeches to that end are still pending, the contempt reversals are an important civil liberties victory. The sentences, which were handed out in the Kangaroo courtroom of Judge Julius Hoffman, ranged from two months and 18 days for Lee Weiner to 48 months and 13 days for defense lawyer William Kunstler.

BRITISH STUDENTS ORGANIZE: Two thousand high school students demanding an end to school uniforms, to caning, and to detention after school marched in London on May 17, according to the May 18 **New York**

Times. The **Times** reported that the Schools Action Union has spurred rallies and demonstrations in at least 12 London secondary schools in the last few weeks.

TOMBS REBELLION AN ACT OF SELF-DEFENSE: Lawyers for three prisoners charged with 72 counts of kidnapping and other crimes as a result of the rebellion at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs) in October 1970 have argued that the rebellion was justified.

The lawyers, according to the May 19 **New York Times**, said that the prisoners at the Tombs had no other means of protecting themselves from "official murder, beatings, fear, pain and general degradation."

However, Supreme Court Justice Harold Birns ruled that the defense will not be allowed to show the jury the conditions that led to the uprising. He also ruled that the argument that the rebellion was justified cannot be used as a legal defense.

As one assistant district attorney quoted in the **Times** said, "During the Depression people had to steal food to eat and to live, but that didn't make them any less guilty of the crime of stealing."

IRISH PRISONERS REBEL: More than 200 soldiers were called in to help police put down an uprising in Dublin's Mountjoy Prison on May 19, according to the **New York Times**. Prisoners were protesting the conditions inside the jail and the holding of political prisoners for up to four months without trial.

Mountjoy Prison, used originally by the British Empire to hold Irish patriots, is being used by the Dublin government for the same purpose today. Among the prisoners are some charged with membership in or activities related to the Irish Republican Army, which is illegal in Ireland.

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: Two articles from **Intercontinental Press** that appeared in the Oct. 22, 1971, issue of **The Militant** were reprinted in volume one, number one, of the Irish newspaper **The Plough**, which comes out in Dublin. The articles were reviews of a translation of publications of the Russian underground and of a new French magazine.

The **Columbus (Ohio) Free Press** reprinted in its April 5-18 issue an article on the acquittal of the Soledad Brothers by Norton Sandler from the March 27 **Militant**.

Finally, the April 7 **Geneseo Lamron** reprinted Caroline Lund's article on "How the capitalists control the Democratic and Republican parties" from the March 10 issue of **The Militant**, with credit.

CUSTER HAD IT COMING: A \$15,000 exhibit and memorial to "one of southeastern Ohio's forgotten heroes" was dedicated on May 21 at New Rumley, Ohio, the birthplace of General George Armstrong Custer. According to the **New York Times**, the exhibit was financed by state capital-improvement bonds.

FBI STORY I: "L. Patrick Gray 3d got off to an unconvincing start as the new boss of the FBI," says Jack Anderson in his syndicated column on May 11. Gray told reporters: "None of you guys are going to believe this—and I don't know how to make you believe it—but there are no dossiers or secret files."

Anderson proceeded to give the file numbers and some examples of the contents of secret files. Among those being watched by the FBI, Anderson said, are antiwar actress Jane Fonda; Coretta King, Ralph Abernathy, and Floyd McKissick, all moderate Black leaders; and entertainers such as Harry Belafonte, Marlon Brando, Paul Newman, Rock Hudson, Zero Mostel, and Tony Randall.



J. Edgar Hoover

FBI STORY II: "L. Patrick Gray III, in his first speech as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, rejected calls for a full-scale investigation of the FBI, which was headed for 48 years by the late J. Edgar Hoover." (**Christian Science Monitor**, May 19.)

—DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. Communist Party defends Kremlin

Nixon courted as U.S. bombs Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 23—How can summit talks in Moscow do anything but harm to the Vietnamese revolution? As President Nixon is greeted in Moscow while U.S. bombers conduct the heaviest air attacks in the history of the war, this question is uppermost on the mind of every supporter of the Vietnamese liberation struggle. A rash of articles in the *Daily World*, voice of the American Communist Party, testifies to the immense pressure loyal supporters of the Moscow regime are feeling.

For example, three articles are devoted to Nixon's trip in the May 23 issue of the *World*. "A cool, formally-correct welcome by Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny and Premier Alexei Kosygin was extended to President Nixon when he arrived at Moscow's Vnukovo airport today," *World* correspondent Mike Davidow wrote from Moscow May 22.



Photo by Flax Hermes

In his speech to the May 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., CP presidential candidate Gus Hall tried to convince the crowd that Nixon's visit to Moscow does not threaten the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

"Soviet citizens only a few days ago were expressing their indignation at Nixon's latest escalation of the war in Vietnam," Davidow admits. But they have nothing to worry about, says Davidow, because "An important CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] plenum on May 19 addressed itself to the Nixon visit. . . . The plenum declared that in the Leninist spirit of proletarian internationalism, the USSR would continue to provide aid to the heroic peoples of Indochina."

In its editorial column the same May 23 issue of the *World* declared, "The resoluteness of the Soviet Union provides the basis for negotiated settlement on several fronts. Its resoluteness and self-sacrifice assure the Vietnamese people of the utmost support in their courageous struggle for independence. That has been, is, and will be the position of the Soviet Union which is, it should be remembered, the predominant source for foreign aid to Indochina."

And in case the reader of the *World* is still unconvinced, the same issue carries the text of a speech by Gus Hall, CP general secretary and presidential candidate, delivered at the Washington antiwar march May 21. Hall declared: "Having just returned from Moscow and Warsaw—I can tell you on the highest authority—that the continued all-out support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the just struggle of the people of Indochina—will not be up for discussion or negotiations when Tricky Dick visits those cities. Whatever the Vietnamese want they will get. Their all-out support to all struggles for national liberation has not been and will not be negotiable. Their support has been and is an unalterable fact of life. Anyone who says different is an unmitigated liar."

Moscow's record

One trouble with this is that it is a matter of historical record that in 1954, at a previous critical turning point of the Vietnamese revolution, Moscow (along with Peking) did intervene, through the summit meetings at Geneva, to negotiate away the victory of the Vietnamese people. The military forces of French imperialism had been defeated on the battlefield by the Vietminh, but Moscow and Peking pressured the Vietminh to give up "South" Vietnam to the imperialist puppets in Saigon. Eighteen years of warfare—as Washington used the Saigon regime as a launching pad for counterrevolution—followed this example of Moscow's "all-out support to . . . struggles for national liberation."

The Pentagon papers show that following Geneva, both Moscow and Peking exerted pressure

on Hanoi not to come to the support of the independence struggle in South Vietnam, as Saigon, under Washington's pressure, refused to carry out the Geneva mandate. A "National Intelligence Estimate" dated July 17, 1956, stated:

"We believe that the DRV is firmly committed to the policies of the Sino-Soviet Bloc, even to the extent of subordinating or postponing the pursuit of its local or regional objectives in the overall Bloc tactics and strategy. . . . Over the past year, Bloc economic and diplomatic support may not have met DRV expectations. . . . The USSR also failed to press DRV demands either for the 'strict implementation' of the Geneva Agreements with respect to north-south consultations and elections, or for reconvening the Geneva conference." (*United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967* [Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971], Book 10, p. 1074.)

As the Vietnamese rose in rebellion against the illegal regime imposed on them by Washington, and U.S. imperialism responded with ever-escalated levels of bombs and troops, Moscow gave only the most minimal military and economic aid to Hanoi. The war strategists in Washington discounted this aid as insufficient to deter their attack.

Typical of the top-secret intelligence documents recording Moscow's response to the escalation was the estimate following the first U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in February 1965. In fact, Soviet Premier Kosygin, who just welcomed Nixon to Moscow, was in Hanoi when the first bombs came down in 1965.

"Kosygin's reaction in Hanoi was restrained," states the Pentagon document. "He pointed out that the situation was 'fraught with serious complications' and seemed to be favoring a negotiated termination. In any event, in keeping with the view held in several influential Administration quarters that the USSR might be a valuable moderating influence upon Hanoi, Washington took pains to assure Moscow that Kosygin's presence in Hanoi during the US reprisal strikes of February 7-8 was an unfortunate coincidence and no affront to the Soviet Union was intended. . . ."

"Moscow's response was even more restrained [than Peking's]. While indicating that 'DRV' defenses would be strengthened, some Moscow broadcasts took note of growing interest in the United States and elsewhere for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam." (Book 4, Part IV. C. 3., pp. 24 and 30, emphasis in original.)

From the start, and step by step as Washington escalated its murderous bombing, Moscow failed to call for a united front with other workers states and for a massive international protest movement. Mass Communist parties in France and Italy did virtually nothing to mobilize their tremendous potential power. Moscow continued to provide only the most minimal support to Hanoi and through diplomatic channels, always expressed its willingness to pressure Hanoi into a new compromise.

And this actual historic record has been duplicated on every point in the last two weeks, since



Just three days after Nixon announced the mining of Hanoi and Haiphong, Soviet trade minister Nikolai S. Patolichev met with the President to dispel any doubts that the trip to Moscow was still on. This meeting was never reported in the *Daily World*.

Nixon increased the bombing of North Vietnam to higher levels than ever before, in addition to mining the port of Haiphong.

Moscow responded with mild diplomatic protest. It hinted that military aid to Hanoi would be increased, but whatever this involved, it was obviously insufficient to hold back Nixon's new escalation. To top matters off, Moscow not only showed willingness to negotiate with Washington, it welcomed President Nixon on May 22.

The *Daily World* pretends that the war is not up for negotiation in Moscow. This ignores the fact that the war is Washington's number-one prob-

lem in international and domestic policy. This has been true for the last seven years, but it is above all the case when six weeks of mighty revolutionary upsurge in Vietnam has threatened to topple the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon.

It is inconceivable that Nixon would go to Moscow for any other reason than to attempt to get Moscow's aid in pressing Hanoi for a new settlement of the war. Furthermore, Nixon would not go to Moscow unless he had reasons in advance for believing that such aid from the Kremlin bureaucrats is forthcoming. And the historical record is filled with such reasons.

The 'World' on Peking

Possibly even more hypocritical than the *World's* apology for Moscow's welcome to Nixon was its scathing criticism of Peking's welcome to Nixon. One has to go back several months.

"The rapprochement between the 'most populous nation and the most powerful nation' which Nixon tendered to the Chinese Maoist leadership will not be considered anywhere a contribution to the world's peace," a *World* editorial declared Feb. 11.

On Feb. 22, the *World* reported on a speech at a New York rally: "One should have no illusions' about President Nixon's trip to China, Gus Hall . . . told a rally of 1,000 persons at Town Hall Saturday [Feb. 19]."

"It is not for peace, for the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples," he said. "And it is accompanied by the most inhuman, savage bombing of Indochina. The noise of the bombs is so loud they may not be able to hear each other in Peking."

An interesting turn of thought appeared in a March 2 article on Nixon's trip to Peking, by *World* reporter Conrad Komorowski. It was entitled "No secret deal?" "In announcing the return of President Nixon to the United States from his visit to China," wrote Komorowski, "the *New York Daily News* found it necessary to assure its readers in boxcar type on page 1 (Feb. 29): 'Nixon: We Made No Secret Deal.'"

Komorowski comments, "It is the man who has made a secret deal who has to overprotest so much, you might say."

In its blind factionalism against the Peking regime coupled with unquestioning servility to Moscow, the American Communist Party doubly misleads its followers. It depicts Peking as being in the same camp with imperialism and it depicts Moscow as being a reliable defender of the world revolution. Neither is true.

The bureaucrats in both Moscow and Peking are forced to give some aid to the Vietnamese revolution to avoid embarrassment in the face of the world revolution. But both subordinate this aid to their own policies of seeking to assuage world imperialism.

Both Moscow and Peking participated in the 1954 Geneva Accords, forcing a settlement against the interests of the Vietnamese revolution. Both Moscow and Peking bear responsibility for allowing the U.S. attack on Indochina to be carried out and to be escalated into the longest war in

American history. Both Moscow and Peking have failed to build a united front to defend the Vietnamese.

One of the clearest proofs of this betrayal has been Washington's ability to escalate the bombing of Hanoi and to mine the port of Haiphong in retaliation for the magnificent revolutionary upsurge that began in March.

Little wonder that the *Daily World* is devoting so much space to lying about the Kremlin's past record and present policies. These are being exposed to the whole world in the press of events in Indochina—and in Moscow.

Strikes, student upsurge hit French control of Malagasy



Thousands of students and workers in streets of Tananarive, Malagasy. Banner reads "Why is there no democracy in education?"

Photos from Afrique-Asie

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 23—Over the past month, a deep social crisis has developed in the African republic of Malagasy. Student strikes, massive demonstrations, fights with the police, a general strike by the workers in the capital of Tananarive and in other cities, have taken place. The main demands have been for a change in the neocolonial outlook of the government led by President Philibert Tsiranana and for better conditions for the Malagasy workers.

Malagasy, most of which is on the island of Madagascar on the east coast of Africa, has a population of more than six million. It has a tradition of struggle against French colonialism, including a rebellion after World War II in which the French killed tens of thousands of Africans to maintain their rule.

Malagasy gained formal independence in 1960. However, this independence was limited by a series of "cooperative accords" with France, which left much of the power in the hands of former colonialists. More than 4,000 French troops are stationed in Malagasy. In addition, 2,000 French "technical advisers" and a large number of French businessmen remain in Malagasy. French air transport played a major role in putting down a rebellion of peasants in southern Madagascar last year.

In addition to the hold of the French military and economic forces over their economy, the cultural hold of France is also strong. Laurent Botokeky, the minister of cultural affairs who was

forced out of office by the recent events, once declared:

"We have resolutely opted for French culture, and I can assure you of our youth's great attachment to this culture."

Knowledge of French in Malagasy, as in most of the other former French colonies, is the key to education, good paying jobs and "respectability." This policy not only created economic and educational hardships for the Malagasy people; it also served to deny the self-consciousness and identity of the Malagasy people and to separate the French-speaking elite from the worker and peasant masses.

The actions began after the student association at the Befelatanana school of medicine was dissolved on April 19, following months of struggle on the campus. On April 24, high school and college students in Tananarive went on strike to support the medical students. On May 12, the government arrested the members of the student strike committee.

On May 13, police attacked a massive mobilization in defense of the arrested students. More than 30 marchers were killed; at least 300 were wounded; and more than 400 were arrested. The government declared a state of emergency and banned further demonstrations.

Despite this, masses of Malagasy workers and students have filled the streets every day since. On the morning of May 13, the 30,000-member Firaizan'ny Sendika eran'i Madagaskara (FISEMA—Madagascar Labor Union Federa-

tion) passed a motion supporting the student demands. A general strike involving the bulk of the working class began May 15.

The principal demands of the actions centered on ending the "cooperative accords," better working conditions and a higher minimum wage for the Malagasy workers, and a change in the government. Since independence, the government has been controlled by the Parti Sociale Démocrate (PSD—Social Democratic Party) under President Philibert Tsiranana. Tsiranana has made concessions in the formation of his government, firing Botokeky and calling in General Gabriel Ramanantsoa to serve as premier and to form a new government.

Ramanantsoa's appointment was favored by many of the demonstrators, who saw it as a break with Tsiranana's rule. According to the May 20 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Ramanantsoa told the demonstrators May 19 that he would withdraw from power if he did not win their confidence. The crowd's answer, *Le Monde* reports, was "Stay, stay!"

Despite the support for Ramanantsoa, *Le Monde* reports that the demonstrators, especially the students, are determined to continue their demonstrations and strikes until all their demands are won.

Le Monde also reported that on the same day the crowd cheered Ramanantsoa, tens of thousands of workers and students occupied the principal streets of the cities. In addition, students told a *Le Monde* reporter that student strikes were taking place throughout the Malagasy Republic in support of their demands.

While Ramanantsoa has temporarily gained popularity as an "honest general," his social and political background indicates that he will not be capable of granting the demonstrators' demands. A short biography of Ramanantsoa, entitled "A Francophile Aristocrat," in the May 21-22 *Le Monde* made this clear.

More than 60 years old, Ramanantsoa was educated in the French military academy and served as a colonel in the French colonial army. Described as a profound conservative, he has the confidence of the French residents of Madagascar. As *Le Monde* commented, "he wouldn't pass for a man of the people." *Le Monde* also noted that Ramanantsoa, who has been chief of staff of the Malagasy army since 1960, "seems never to have had a shadow of a difference in views" with Tsiranana.

Despite the illusions about Ramanantsoa, the situation in Malagasy remains explosive. Tsiranana's announcement that he will not resign has only added fuel to the crisis. The workers and students remain mobilized for their demands.

The demands to end the grip of French imperialism over the Malagasy Republic pose the question of a profound social revolution in Madagascar's entire social system and a fuller confrontation with French imperialism.

The Militant gets around...

IN RESPONSE TO OUR 'SELL THE MILITANT' ad in the May 19 issue, a number of people have ordered weekly bundles. In the last few weeks we have received the following orders from individuals for regular bundles of *The Militant*: a bundle of 30 and one of 10 from Washington, D.C.; 25 from Santa Monica, Calif.; 20 from Baltimore; 15 and 10 from Gainesville, Fla.; 10 from Cincinnati; 10 from Mt. Pleasant, Mich.; 10 from Chestnut Hill, Mass.; 10 from Eugene, Ore.; five from New York City; and five from Duluth, Minn.

BRUINS' SUPPORTERS BUY MILITANTS: Carla Hoag from Boston reports that 18 *Militants* were sold at the Stanley Cup victory rally for the Bruins on May 12. "The Bruins were on one balcony," Hoag writes, "while on an adjacent balcony several city employees were displaying a large banner saying 'End the War; Keep the Cup.'"

SPREADING THE WORD: With her request for a weekly bundle of 10 *Militants*, a subscriber in Ft. Worth, Texas, writes, "I've taken the introductory subscription of 10 weeks and plan to renew my subscription for a year. I read thoroughly each issue and I try to present to others the information I get from it. I have already sold two subscriptions, and I want to try to sell *The Militant* weekly."

TEN DOLLARS WISELY SPENT: From Memphis, Tenn., the *International Socialist Review* received this note: "The *ISR* bound volume ('70-'71) I received is simply fantastic. The analysis,

artwork, and scope is incredibly good. Never have I spent 10 dollars more wisely. Please send me a price list of back issues."

The volume for May 1970-December 1971 can be ordered from the *ISR* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$10 each.

700 Militants and 265 International Socialist Reviews were sold at the May 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. Sellers from Atlanta, Boston, and Cleveland did the best.

THE BEST PAPER I HAVE EVER READ: We received the following letter from Samuel Bell, a prisoner in Marion, Ohio: "I want to thank you for the support you give to all of the convicts in the prisons across the country. And for the support you give to all oppressed people all over the world. I've only read three copies of *The Militant*, but I feel that *The Militant* is the best paper I have ever read, because it is interested in the people."

THE BIG THREE: Dave Oden from Philadelphia sent in a quote from the May issue of *Civil Liberties*, the newspaper of the American Civil Liberties Union. In an article entitled "Censorship in the Military: Managing the News," the following paragraph appears: "There is one civil liberty a soldier does retain; and no officer can take it from him: that is, how much credibility to give his source—and just which sources to tap. He can subscribe to *The New York Times*, *The Militant*,

The National Review, or anything else that offers what he thinks is a balanced view of the world." To this Oden adds, "Some people might think that's pretty fast company, but it seems to me to be a pretty accurate listing of 'The Big Three.'"

A JENNESS SUPPORTER AFTER 10 WEEKS: To give a specific example of what we mean when we say that *The Militant* is the Socialist Workers Party election campaign newspaper and that campaign supporters should sell it, a subscriber in Columbia, S.C., writes, "I just want to tell you how much I enjoy and appreciate *The Militant*. When I took out my introductory subscription, I knew very little about the Young Socialist Alliance and nothing about Linda Jenness. Now at the end of the 10 weeks, I am a solid supporter of the YSA platform, and I want to endorse Linda Jenness's candidacy for president."

If you want to spread the word about the campaign in your area, you can fill out the coupon below. Bundles cost 17 cents per copy, payable at the end of each month.

—NANCY COLE

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):

5 10 25 other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

15,000 march in D.C. against the war

By LEE SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 21— Demonstrating the antiwar movement's determination to continue opposing U.S. aggression in Indochina, some 15,000 people took part in a peaceful march and rally here today. Organized on an emergency basis as a response to Nixon's latest escalation, the action was sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and others, including trade unionists.

The demonstration was called around the demands: "End Support to Thieu—No U.S.-imposed Regimes in Southeast Asia!" "Stop the Bombing Now!" and "End the Blockade Now!" in addition to "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

Chanting "Out Now!" and other antiwar slogans, marchers began moving down Constitution Avenue from the Washington Monument shortly before noon. By one o'clock they had assembled before the speaker's platform on the Capitol steps, where most of them remained until the rally ended around 4:30 p.m. Overcast skies threatened rain all day, but the gray weather did not visibly affect the serious, militant spirit of the crowd.

Even a series of police-inspired provocations that brought barrages of tear gas to the very edge of the rally three times failed to disrupt the demonstration. Each time, the crowd responded with remarkable discipline.

The size and spirit of the demonstration made it a notable success for the antiwar movement. The turnout of 15,000, although much smaller than the largest actions organized by the movement, was a good size in light of the particular circumstances affecting this demonstration. One obvious factor cutting across a truly massive mobilization was the short time organizers had to build it. Called only 11 days earlier, the action was built in barely more than one week.

Another important consideration is the impact of Nixon's visit to Moscow. Many Americans believe that an end to the war may result from Nixon's trip.

A number of the rally speakers addressed themselves to the Nixon trip. Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, said Nixon goes to the USSR "as he went to Peking in hopes of achieving what he couldn't win on the battlefield." But, Gordon said, "Nothing short of total U.S. withdrawal will bring peace. More than ever, we must

speak out with a single voice, demanding OUT NOW!"

Andrew Pulley, the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, noted that while Nixon and the Moscow leaders "are embracing each other, the bombs will still be falling on Indochina."

Representative Bella Abzug mentioned the Nixon visit, but emphasized negotiations and setting a date instead

and the other socialist countries to the just struggle of the people of Indochina will not be up for negotiation—or even for discussion—when Tricky Dick visits those cities. . . . Anyone who says different is an unmitigated liar and does no service to the peace movement."

The significant trade-union endorsement of the action was reflected both in the crowd and on the speaker's

Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, where several windows were broken.

This group, pursued by cops, then returned to the main rally site. A little later on, they split away again and ran by the Health, Education and Welfare building on Third Street and Independence Avenue, where more windows were broken. Again they returned to the rally site with cops in pursuit.

Dwindling in size with each foray, the group continued to leave the Capitol lawn, engage the cops, and return to the lawn until near the end of the rally. Finding fewer and fewer followers, those who led the forays finally piled refuse in several places on the Capitol lawn and set it on fire. Demonstrators and marshals quickly extinguished the fires.

Signs carried by those in the first breakaway "trashing" forays identified them as the "Attica Brigade," the "Anti-Imperialist Contingent," "SDS," and the "Progressive Labor Party."

It is virtually certain that the pattern of ultraleft actions, making forays away from the crowd and returning with cops chasing them, was influenced by provocateurs. It tended to give the cops an excuse for the gassing. This kind of mindless activity provides a fertile climate in which police agents flourish.

But it is a testimony to the seriousness of the overwhelming majority at the demonstration that they refused to let these provocations derail the protest.

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 23—At a well-attended news conference here today, Jerry Gordon, NPAC coordinator, scored the "dragnet arrest procedures" of police in arresting more than 100 persons as they returned to their buses from Sunday's peaceful protest. Among those arrested were members of the United Furniture Workers and AFSCME District Council 37. All have been released on bail, and their respective unions are seeking to have the phony charges of "parading without a permit" dismissed.

LOS ANGELES—About 300 people demonstrated here May 20 protesting Nixon's escalation of the Indochina war and demanding that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia now. More than 3,500 protesters gathered in San Jose the same day in a demonstration against the war and in support of Angela Davis. In San Francisco on May 21, about 700 persons marched against the war.



Photo by Flax Hermes

District Council 37 of AFSCME brought five busloads of its members from New York City to the demonstration.

of withdrawal. The same was true of Sidney Peck, a coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Peck scored Nixon's latest escalation as "a desperate risk to escalate the conflict into an international crisis, and then attempt to effect a political settlement in Moscow and Peking favorable to U.S. interests." But Nixon's gamble won't work because of the Vietnamese's determination, Peck said. He claimed the road to peace "leads to the negotiating table" and said Nixon must "end support for the Thieu regime and set a date for the immediate and total withdrawal" of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Among the others who mentioned the Nixon visit to Moscow was Gus Hall, the presidential candidate of the Communist Party. Hall said: "Having also just returned from Moscow and Warsaw, I can tell you on the highest of authority that the continued all-out support of the Soviet Union

platform. Banners and hats in the crowd announced the presence of several hundred unionists from the following unions: District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Local 259 of the United Auto Workers (UAW); Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers; District 65 of the Distributive Workers; Local 305 of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers; the United Furniture Workers, and others.

One of the persons cochairing the rally was Victor Reuther, former international affairs director of the UAW. Among the speakers were Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME, and Cleveland Robinson, national president of the Distributive Workers of America.

Early in the day, before the head of the march had reached the rally site, several hundred persons split away from the march and went to the Justice Department building at Ninth

Guardian writer backs Maoism at debate

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY—Dick Roberts, a staff writer for *The Militant*, and Carl Davidson, a staff writer for the *Guardian*, clashed here May 19 in a debate over the meaning of Nixon's trip to China earlier this year. The meeting, held at Columbia University, was jointly sponsored by the *Guardian* and the Upper West Side Militant Forum. It was chaired by Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein. Jack Smith, managing editor of the *Guardian*, had been scheduled to debate Roberts but was unable to attend.

Roberts stated the unconditional support of revolutionary socialists for the gains of the Chinese revolution and the defense of those gains against imperialism. But he differentiated the revolution from the Maoist regime, explaining that revolutionary socialists are "unalterably opposed to the dictatorial clique that rules in Peking."

Mao's regime, Roberts told the audience of more than 100 persons, has

consistently carried out a policy of "peaceful coexistence." In practice this has meant making deals with imperialism at the expense of revolutions outside China, Roberts said. He cited the role played by Chou En-lai in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina as reported in the Pentagon papers as one example. He pointed to Peking's support for Pakistan against the Bangladesh freedom fighters, its support of the Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon against the youth rebellion there, and its support of the Nimeiry regime against the Sudanese Communist Party as examples of Maoist betrayals in the last year.

This record, combined with the lack of a meaningful response from Peking to Nixon's latest desperate moves in Indochina, shows that the secret talks between Nixon and Chinese leaders involved bargaining at the expense of the Indochinese, Roberts said.

Davidson argued that Roberts had no evidence for his "speculation" that

there was a secret agreement between the U.S. and China. While he claimed to disagree with the policy of "peaceful coexistence," in a contradictory fashion he declared his support for the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence. He defended Mao's support to Pakistan, arguing that this alliance provided China necessary protection from Indian aggression.

Davidson ignored the question of Ceylon. In reference to the Sudan, he pleaded ignorance but said that he believed China's support to Nimeiry would be justified if the Sudanese Communist Party had a "revisionist program," which he said he supposed it did.

Roberts countered that the question was not one of agreement or disagreement with a program in a confrontation such as the Sudanese events, but the question was one of class allegiance. He asked Davidson if he shared Mao's estimation that the Soviet Union is a capitalist country. Davidson said he thought the Soviet

Union was moving rapidly in the direction of restoring capitalism. This is so, Davidson maintained, because "Khrushchev abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat" and this marks the division "between revolutionaries and bourgeois reformists."

In his final summary, Davidson repeated time-worn Stalinist slanders that had previously shown up in *Guardian* editorials. "Who is it in this country that wants to overthrow the government of China and to smash its Communist Party?" Davidson asked. "There are two forces within this country that want to do that. One is the most reactionary quarter of the U.S. imperialists and the second is the Socialist Workers Party."

Roberts, in his final summary, pointed out that Marx and Engels worked to build the First International, that Lenin had founded the Third International, but that Mao and the Peking bureaucrats have done "nothing concretely to unite the workers of the world."

Kremlin's treachery

Moscow's welcome to President Nixon as U.S. bombers carry out the most savage attacks against Vietnam in the history of the war is a monstrous betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution.

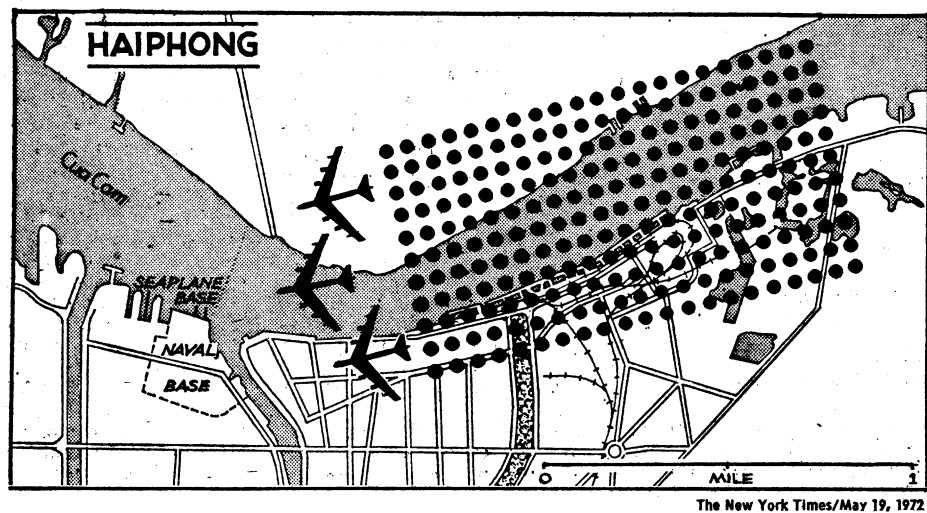
No targets in North Vietnam are off limits to U.S. bombs. As the diagram below shows, bombing of major population centers in North Vietnam is a routine occurrence. To ensure greater accuracy, U.S. planes are now using "smart bombs"—bombs guided by laser beams or television, which have "great intensity and apparently unusual effectiveness" according to the May 24 New York Times.

In the three days before Nixon's arrival in Moscow, U.S. bombers flew 1,000 strikes against North Vietnam.

In South Vietnam, only massive U.S. bombing support is staving off the collapse of the Saigon armies. This has been admitted by virtually every leading capitalist newspaper and magazine that has correspondents on the scene.

But in Moscow the chief agent of U.S. imperialism received the red-carpet treatment. Nixon was wined and dined by the Soviet bureaucrats. To top it off, hundreds of American flags were mounted along Lenin Prospekt to greet the U.S. president on his trip from the airport!

According to the press, the flags were put up shortly before and taken down shortly after Nixon's arrival. Such empty gestures can do nothing to allay the justified suspicion of all supporters of the Vietnamese revolution: Anyone who can greet the man who ordered the genocidal attack on the Vietnamese people is an enemy of that people.



Right to bear arms

The capitalist class is trying to use the attempted assassination of George Wallace as a pretext to clamp down a little more on the freedoms of working people and Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities.

Liberal Democratic and Republican party politicians, as well as the capitalist-controlled news media, drew one common conclusion from the Wallace shooting: the need for stricter gun-control legislation.

Proponents of greater federal gun control favor banning the sale of most pistols and requiring federal registration and licensing of guns used by police, the armed forces and hunters. The overall effect of such restrictions, however, would be to limit the access to arms of most American citizens. Such measures would not keep guns from those who are mentally disturbed or from those determined to use them for antisocial purposes.

The Bill of Rights states that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The makers of the first American revolution insisted that this provision be added to the U.S. Constitution. They knew from experience that unless the masses of people have the right to carry arms, they cannot defend themselves against a tyrannical government.

The right to bear arms is just as important to the American people today. If Black people are armed and organized, they can defend their communities against racist terrorism. It can be predicted that working people will in the future need arms to defend their organizations against attacks by fascist goon squads.

The May 18 New York Times, in an editorial calling for stronger gun controls, speaks of "the spreading terror of political assassination" and says that the availability of guns "triggers criminal instincts." The hypocrites who own the Times thus try to divert attention from the real criminals in this society—the capitalist class and its police, military command, courts, and prisons. These are the big-time criminals.

The capitalist system is the supreme source of violence, both in this country and around the world. The U.S. capitalist government is responsible for the wounding and killing of well over two million Vietnamese in the past decade of war. It is responsible for the deaths of more than 100,000 Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Under the capitalist system, the Mylairs, the Atticas, the Kent State and Jackson State murders, the daily police brutality—all this is "legal" violence. Before the monstrous crimes of the capitalist system, the "crimes" of individuals—driven by poverty or by mental illness spawned by this system—are small indeed.

The American people must not be denied their constitutional right to bear arms. Instead, the U.S. government must be disarmed to make this world safe for humanity.

Indian movement

I now receive *The Militant* and am somewhat disappointed about you people not publishing anything concerning Indians. As you may know, before your white Columbus came to this land, we the Indians had a socialist government or understanding among us. As you also know, we have many different things going right now across the country that are political. Also we are trying to get something done about the genocide of the Indian in South America.

Can you not publish anything about the Indian, or are you against us? I am speaking for my race and as an editor of a small club and Indian newsletter here in the joint (prison) in Monroe, Washington, called *Indians of all Tribes*.
James L. Bird
Monroe, Wash.

In reply—We consider the struggle of Native Americans very important and we try to report major developments. So far this year *The Militant* has carried the following articles on the Indian movement: in the Jan. 14 issue, an article on harsh treatment of Navajo students at Intermountain Indian School in Utah; in the March 24 issue, an article on protests over the killing of Raymond Yellow Thunder in Gordon, Neb.; in the April 7 issue, an interview with Ago Sheridan of the American Indian Movement and an article on the protests of Chicano and Indian students at Arizona State University against racist prejudices; in the April 28 issue, an article on attempts to take away Indian fishing rights in the Puget Sound area of Washington; and in the May 26 issue, an article on a public meeting about Indian fishing rights in Washington.

Playing Nixon's tune

Nixon has gotten it into his deranged mass of gray tissue that he and Thieu have the right to go on killing Vietnamese and Americans for the sake of two corrupt regimes—one in Saigon, one in Washington.

And sadly but not surprisingly, the Peking and Moscow regimes will play Nixon's tune. Marxist-Leninists, my foot! Those degenerates aren't worthy to handle the tiniest scrap of the banner of socialist revolution, which, thanks to them, has been betrayed too many times to mention!

Your editorial on what the "socialist powers should do (but probably won't) is a good point.

K.J.
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Prices and Joe Blow

There is much talk of rising food prices but there has been little discussion on how it affects "Joe Blow down the street."

As "Joe Blow down the street," we would like to express how it affects us. We are 21 and 25 years old and have a daughter six months old. We began to compute our expenses very carefully last July in order to fight the living squeeze. At that time, we were taking home \$180 biweekly and buying an average of 59 grocery items biweekly, spending \$36.80. So food took, on the average, 20 percent of our income.

With the birth of our daughter in September, our biweekly take-home pay rose to \$200 and our grocery list grew longer. However, the immediate increase in grocery expenses was under five dollars.

As of April, we are buying on the average 73 items biweekly and

spending \$53.62 for them. It now takes 26 percent of our income to buy food. So since July of last year, Nixon has wiped out 6 percent of our income with groceries alone.

I feel that *The Militant* should run more articles on the small but growing consumer movement. Our reporting of them would give them a needed moral boost and offer direction for them.

R.B.
Burlington, Vt.

Dream world?

If you represented a right-wing faction of the Republican Party, you could not be more in tune with it in opposing Senator George McGovern. In short, you are helping the right wing in electing Nixon. With a righteousness and inflexibility that is practically inexcusable for people of your intelligence, you criticize McGovern for simply elucidating the issues and setting forth his positions in a manner which will be acceptable to a substantial portion of voters without violating his basic integrity on the underlying issues and his basic principles.

To expect more (I would say less) is to be naive and possibly simply stupid! You would better serve the objectives you purport to support by recognizing what is possible (or possibly possible) in the real world (not your dream world) and support a candidate who is viable and honest—McGovern. Think about it!
L.R. and M.E.S.
Columbia, Mo.

In reply—We believe that the American people have accepted far too long "what is possible in the real world"—which simply means accepting the lesser of two evils from the Democratic and Republican parties. We believe both of these parties are controlled by big business and that they therefore cannot represent the interests of the American people.

If masses of working people, Black people, and Chicanos stop supporting the Democrats and instead build their own independent movements and political parties, this will not have the effect of aiding the right wing. It will strengthen the entire movement of the oppressed and help the struggle to overturn the capitalist system. This is also the most effective way to win concessions from the Democrats and Republicans because it places the maximum pressure on them. We urge support to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, who are campaigning for this perspective.

Chicano prisoners

We are writing to appraise you as to our situation in San Quentin State Prison, and to obtain your support and the aid of your publication in focusing on our ever-present condition, so that our state of rage against the brutality, harassment, injustices, and oppression of modern penology will be voiced to receive the support of all concerned readers of your publication.

The Chicano prisoners' bilingual educational facilities of Proyecto EMPLEO school has been constantly the frontal target of oppressive attacks, which are escalating each day. It is understood why the prison administration unleashes attacks on the Chicano prisoners who desire to educate themselves concerning their true history and language, because upon becoming aware of our identity we cannot overlook the fact that we have been victimized by the opium of a sickening concept that

The Great Society

rules by force and hypocrisy and continues to exploit our Raza and brutalize our brothers in prisons.

The rhetoric used by Warden Nelson and his hired henchmen on allegedly having revolutionary elements in the EMPLEO school project is just another fabrication that projects ideologies of this capitalistic government that can only live through ignorance of oppression, exploitation, and its brutality.

1972 has stimulated a profound relationship between the different classes of our people. The explosion of intolerable oppression has unmasked the sleeping giant of the Brown Civilization. Diffusion or nationalism, socialism and democracy, whatever, we must do it as a single unit, not as an individual whim called greed. For this same entity, greed, is the basis for any and all dissent within our very own ranks. Individualism must be put aside in order to obtain a machine that cannot and will not be sidetracked by any foreign perversions.

In closing, we would like to take this opportunity to compliment you for your fine publication. We remain your brothers in struggle.

La Raza Unida Party
San Quentin Prison
Tamal, Calif.

Wants advice

I am now trying to get together a paper not unlike your publication, *The Militant*. We seem to be one and the same as far as our beliefs are concerned on major issues, such as an end to the Vietnam caper; women's rights, the right to an abortion; an end to the harassment of Black leaders such as Angela Davis; and a general dislike towards Mad Bomber Milhous.

This is why I am writing you, in the hope that you, as an established paper of national distribution, would help a brother who is trying to bring about a local paper and strike center. Anything that you could lay on us, like your ideas on starting a paper or any other related information would be a blessing. We really dig *The Militant*.

M.D.
Elyria, Ohio

In reply—There are four publications we could recommend to any radical publication as sources of news about movements here and abroad.

For news on the antiwar movement: The Student Mobilizer, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011.

On the abortion movement: WONAAC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition) Newsletter, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011.

For international news: Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014 (\$7.50 for 26 weeks).

For news on Latin American struggles and political prisoners: USLA Reporter (U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners), 137A West 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011 (\$2 for 10 issues).

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.

Media flexibility—The American Armed Forces Vietnam Network used to say, "This is AFVN, serving the American fighting men 24 hours a day from the Delta to the DMZ." They now delete geographical references.

Worldly crisis—A Vatican publication reports the crisis of American Catholicism is so deep observers fear that in 20 years the church could be "wiped out." The virus of secularism is spreading, they report, and such matters as afterlife are regarded as irrelevant. Many regard the church as significant only to the extent that it relates to such problems as war, poverty, and injustice. There is hope that a "silent majority" will emerge to save the institution.

Old West justice—A druggist who authorities claim swindled the state of California out of \$1-million pleaded guilty to filing \$500,000 in illegal medical-care claims. Noting that he refused to return \$370,000 still missing and that he showed no remorse, the judge really laid it on. He gave the druggist a sentence of one to 10 years, which means that he can't get out for at least nine or 10 months.

A real josh—We don't know if Ernest Conine is a professional humorist, but he wrote an essay in the *Los Angeles Times* on why businessmen like the wage-price program. "Many businessmen like having government leverage on their side in the effort to hold down wages in the face of pressure from powerful labor unions," he reports. "And somehow they persuaded themselves that wages would be controlled more strictly than prices. Such innocence, among supposedly intelligent and sophisticated men, is surprising."

The silver lining—In a well-ordered free-enterprise system, problems are profitable. For instance, the growing popularity of bicycling has produced a corresponding growth of bicycle rip-offs. But this in turn has produced a gratifying increase in the sale of bicycle locks. They go for as much as \$25, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, and some weigh as much as some of the bikes.

His true messenger—How did Herbert W. Armstrong get to be founder of the \$30-million-a-year Worldwide Church of God? The answer is re-

vealed in the WCG book, *A True History of the True Church*: "In these last days when the truth must go around the world, Jesus chose a man who is amply trained in the advertising and business fields to shoulder the mission—Herbert W. Armstrong."

— HARRY RING



"This pamphlet replaces your raise. It tells you how prices are being controlled."

Women: The Insurgent Majority

CHICANA FEMINIST ON 'REVOLUTION WITHIN A REVOLUTION'—The April issue of *Mademoiselle* contains an article by Jennie Chavez called "Women of the Mexican-American Movement." Chavez helped found Las Chicanas, a group of Raza women formed in December 1971 at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. In her article she takes up the special oppression facing Chicanas and the relevance of the feminist movement for both Chicanas and Chicanos.

"Chicanas, traditionally, have been the tortilla-makers, baby-producers, to be touched but not heard. As the social revolution for all people's freedoms has progressed, so Chicanas have caught the essence of freedom in the air," she writes. "Mexican-American women have been reluctant to speak up, afraid they might show up the men in front of the white man. . . .

"Now, however," she continues, "the Chicana is becoming as well-educated and as aware of oppression, if not more so, as the Mexican-American male. The women are now ready to activate themselves. They can no longer remain quiet and a new revolution within a revolution has begun."

Chavez rejects the idea that Chicanas organizing as Chicanas cuts across the struggle for national liberation.

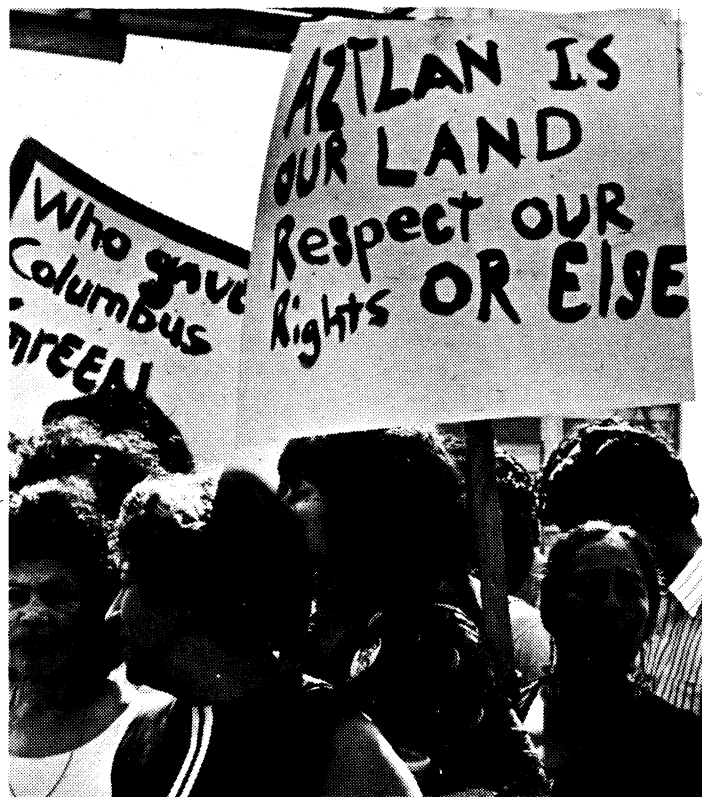


Photo by Harry Ring

Chicano antideportation demonstration in Los Angeles.

She points to the May 1971 Houston Chicana conference of nearly 600 women as "a gigantic step forward in the entire Chicano movement." "... this new breed of bronze womanhood, as all women today, will be a vanguard for world change," she says.

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION—New York has passed a state law barring sex discrimination in the public schools. The law deals mainly with the courses and athletic activities from which women students have traditionally been excluded. Under the new statute, women will be allowed to take shop courses; men will be able to elect courses in home economics. Some school sports will be opened to women, but the law stipulates that the Commissioner of Education has the final say in determining which all-male teams will become coeducational.

A related development is a new position paper from the New York State Board of Regents stating that New York's public schools and universities are "clearly responsible for perpetuating discriminatory attitudes toward women."

The Regents cite textbooks, curriculum, and counseling programs for their role in establishing "sexual stereotyping."

The position paper also contains recommendations for increased hiring of women as school principals, college presidents, professors, and deans. The Regents point out that although 58.7 percent of the employees in public schools are women, only 3 percent of senior high school principals are female. Other recommendations from the Regents are for equal pay for women in the schools and for an end to discrimination against female applicants to universities.

'SPORT' MAGAZINE DISCOVERS WOMEN ATHLETES—*SPORT* magazine's editors finally admit in their May issue that "For years this magazine has treated women athletes in a rather condescending way." The editors say that the performance of female athletes at the Winter Olympics and an influx of angry letters from readers have forced them to recognize women's participation in sports as legitimate. "... from now on we will look at women in sports first and foremost as athletes. . . . We believe that there are better ways to portray women in our magazine than as mere sex objects," they report. In line with their new policy the editors announce—albeit reluctantly—that they are discontinuing the annual *SPORT* Campus Queen beauty contest.

ANTI-ABORTION BOUNTY HUNTERS—An item titled "The Abortion Vigilantes" in the May 6 *New York Post* reports that the South Dakota Knights of Columbus has posted a \$5,000 reward for the first arrest and conviction for an illegal abortion performed in the state.

— CINDY JAQUITH

OPEN LETTER FROM LINDA JENNESS TO SUPPORTERS OF GEORGE MCGOVERN

The following is an open letter from Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, to the supporters of George McGovern's presidential campaign.

In the past months supporters of my campaign and supporters of Senator George McGovern have often worked closely together in the antiwar movement. We worked together in building the Emergency National Student Antiwar Conference held in New York Feb. 25. We worked together, along with many other groups, to organize the massive April 22 demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. We have both participated in the many student strikes and protests that swept the country in response to President Nixon's blockade and stepped-up bombing of North Vietnam.

In addition, we have cooperated in many cities in the struggle for the right of women to abortion.

But while we have worked side by side on these issues, we have also discussed and debated the fundamental differences between the campaign of Senator McGovern and my campaign. My supporters have maintained that despite his statements early in the campaign in support of antiwar actions, in favor of repeal of anti-abortion laws, and against racism, McGovern cannot represent these causes because he is committed to the Democratic Party: a party controlled by big business and dedicated to the preservation of the capitalist system here and around the world. We have maintained that the Democratic Party is a graveyard for movements of social change: It sucks protesters into supporting, and trusting in, liberal Democrats, thus attempting to demobilize these movements.

I believe that the course of the McGovern campaign so far is already confirming this view and I appeal to all McGovern supporters to seriously consider this new evidence.

First came the April 22 antiwar demonstrations. McGovern refused to endorse them or to speak at the New York action, although he was invited. Asked at Ohio State University whether he supported the April 22 demonstrations, he replied, "I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know. But I've decided the best thing I can do now is run for the Presidency so I can speak out every day, not just on April 22." (As reported in the *Ohio State Lantern* on April 20.)

The Boston headquarters for the McGovern campaign refused to allow leaflets for the April 22 demonstrations to be displayed there.

Then an interview with McGovern by David Broder of the *L.A. Times*/Washington Post Service appeared in newspapers across the country on April 28. Published in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* under the heading "McGovern Seeks Peace With the Establishment," the interview relates McGovern's decision to go after support from more conservative Democratic Party bosses and labor officials to better his chances for winning the nomination.

Then came the Nebraska primary. With it were attacks on McGovern by the anti-abortion groups and the local Catholic diocese for his supposed support to the right of women to abortion, amnesty for draft resisters, and the legalization of marijuana.

McGovern went on a campaign to deny these charges, saying that abortion laws were matters for the states to handle. "I don't propose to enter this area," he replied. That means he will not challenge the right of states

to deny women the right to abortion.

Then on May 5 the *Los Angeles Times* reported that, "fearful of being caught in the whiplash of the hot school busing issue in the May 16 Michigan primary," McGovern "appears to be shying away from an all-out run there."

When one of McGovern's political aides was asked whether it would hurt McGovern if he didn't confront Wallace more directly, he answered that it did not matter. The *Los Angeles Times* reporter commented: "The observation reflected the growing confidence in the McGovern organization that their man is on his way to a first-ballot nomination—provided he picks his spots carefully, avoiding hazardous detours."

To McGovern, winning now comes first. And any "hazardous" positions—such as supporting antiwar demonstrations, supporting the right of women to abortion, or taking a strong stand against Wallace's racist stand on busing—must be sacrificed to that first priority.

No demonstrations

But McGovern's move to the right was perhaps most clear in his response to President Nixon's May 8 TV announcement of his decision to mine the ports of North Vietnam and bomb all supply lines into North Vietnam. McGovern stated: "Let us not react in blind fury and dangerous demonstrations, but let us work quietly and firmly to put forward in 1972 a new agenda of peace—and end at long last the futile and destructive war in Southeast Asia." (As quoted in the May 9 *Los Angeles Times*.)

Asked specifically whether he was advocating demonstrations against the escalation, McGovern replied, "I'm not advising any course except changing the political leadership of this country. We've tried everything else. I'm now convinced the only way to end this war is to take Richard Nixon out of office."

In other words McGovern advised his supporters to stay quiet and work for him, trusting that he would end the war—if he is elected.

However, many McGovern supporters—along with thousands of other Americans—were among those who poured into the streets to protest in the days immediately following Nixon's escalation. Despite McGovern's advice, thousands of antiwar Americans felt this was no time to keep quiet. The lives of thousands more Vietnamese hang in the balance, as well as the threat of a nuclear war and unimaginable destruction.

At this critical time, a massive protest movement by the American people was called for—a massive revolt such as occurred in May of 1970 when Nixon invaded Cambodia. The May 1970 antiwar upsurge had a tremendous impact, helping to stay Nixon's hand and to force him to withdraw from Cambodia.

When Nixon announced his latest escalation, he ended with a plea for unity and support. He stated that the whole world will be watching the American people's response. So what does George McGovern tell us? Don't demonstrate. Don't show your anger. Work "quietly." Isn't that exactly what Nixon and the other warmakers would like?

Why does McGovern discourage antiwar demonstrations? Why is he afraid of the prospect of masses of Americans demonstrating, acting on what they believe, building their own power? Why does he want us to let Nixon go unchallenged, to let Nixon escalate the war with impunity until

the November elections, when McGovern might get elected?

Move to right

McGovern's retreat from supporting antiwar actions is part of a general move to deemphasize his liberal image and to step up his concessions to the right. As his chances of winning the nomination increase, he is attempting to become acceptable to sections of the capitalist class, and to those who run or influence the Democratic Party—party officials, Southern Dixiecrats, and labor bureaucrats.

What we see happening in the McGovern campaign is simply a repeat of what the Democratic Party has been doing for years. Liberal Democrats have appealed with promises and demagoguery to those who want change. Then, with the support of left critics safely wrapped up, the liberal Democrats are free to move to the right and—if elected—do what is necessary to maintain the status quo of the cap-

head off any threat to their system of capitalism. They want to channel all protest into support for themselves. They want to keep the American people dependent upon politicians like themselves.

They want to discourage the American people from acting in their own interests, discourage them from thinking that they have the power to change things, discourage them from forming their own organizations for struggle.

In light of these developments in George McGovern's campaign, I would like to appeal to you to seriously consider switching over to support the Socialist Workers Party ticket of myself and Andrew Pulley.

When thousands of tons of bombs are raining down on Vietnam, how can you support a candidate who places his own personal advancement over the need to end this genocidal war? How can you support a candidate whose loyalty to the Democratic Party and this capitalist system leads him to oppose the independent actions



Photo by Harry Ring

Many McGovern supporters participated in the massive April 22 antiwar actions like the one in Los Angeles above. McGovern refused to endorse these actions. Linda Jenness of the SWP gives full support to the antiwar movement.

italist system. McGovern's campaign manager Gary Hart summarized it when he told Patrick Anderson of the *New York Times Magazine* that, "Our strategy all along was to coopt the left." (*New York Times*, May 14.)

An article on the McGovern campaign in the May 5 *New York Times* by R. W. Apple explained this process surprisingly well. Apple wrote: "The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process, thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution. The goal of the [Democratic and Republican] parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest. . . ."

This is why McGovern discourages antiwar protests against Nixon's escalation of the war. He and the Democratic and Republican parties want to

of the American people against this war?

Unlike the Democrats, the Socialist Workers Party campaign has no stake whatsoever in defending the wars and inequalities of this system. Unlike the Democrats, we are not out to "contain protest and rage" or to keep it from "bursting into the streets." We are out to encourage people to protest injustice, to encourage them to exercise their mass power to force this government to get out of Indochina.

But whether you decide to endorse my campaign or not, I urge you to continue working against the war as my supporters and many other antiwar activists will be doing, and to help build the massive independent protests that are needed to express the view of the American people—U. S. Out Now!

Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Truth Kit

This 16-page pamphlet gives the facts about McGovern's voting record and shows why he does not represent the interests of the American people. 25 cents each; 15 cents each for 25 or more.

SWP '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 22—In the recent Democratic presidential primaries, Alabama Governor George Wallace has scored some significant victories with his demagogic campaign.

In the May 2 Indiana primary, Wallace lost a close race with Senator Hubert Humphrey, winning 41 percent of the vote to Humphrey's 47 percent. In Tennessee on May 4, Wallace won with 68 percent. On May 6 Wallace won with more than 50 percent of the vote in North Carolina. And on May 16 in Michigan and Maryland, he won with 51 percent and 39 percent.

These primaries—and especially his Michigan victory—have shown that Wallace is receiving support from a significant number of working people and trade unionists—those who should be most opposed to Wallace's right-wing, racist, antilabor politics.

R. W. Apple reported May 18 in the *New York Times* that according to a *Times* survey, Wallace won the votes of one half of the United Auto Workers Union members and their families who voted in Michigan. The same survey estimated that two-thirds of all "blue collar" voters cast their votes for Wallace.

Although the *Times* did not report on the returns from Michigan's Black communities or on surveys of Black trade unionists' voting patterns, it can be assumed that few Black people voted for Wallace.

What are the reasons for this support to Wallace among white trade unionists?

According to the *Times* survey of Michigan primary voters, the two issues of greatest concern were crime and busing. The prominence of both of these issues is due to the racism of whites, who want more police and "law and order" measures aimed at the Black community and who want to preserve the relatively privileged educational opportunities of their children at the expense of Black children.

Wallace appealed to these racist sentiments. In addition, he appealed to workers' frustration with high taxes, rising prices, unemployment, and the unresponsiveness of elected officials of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The leadership of the UAW and the

Mich. primary: union bureaucrats have no answer to Wallace

AFL-CIO have provided no alternative to Wallace and other racist Democrats. They have failed to formulate policies of militant struggle to unite white and Black workers against their common enemy—the capitalist class. The UAW has failed to lead a consistent struggle against racist oppression, just as it hasn't led a struggle against wage controls or the war in Vietnam, which is the prime cause of inflation.

Michigan AFL-CIO officials claimed they mounted a campaign against Wallace before the primary. But their anti-Wallace effort was a sham.

First of all, the state AFL-CIO did not release its anti-Wallace literature until late in the primary campaign, ostensibly to see whether Wallace was gaining significant support among trade unionists. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported March 24 that Michigan AFL-CIO President John W. Schmitt "ruled out any distribution of the anti-Wallace pamphlet in advance on grounds it could dangerously build up Wallace."

On May 11 UAW Vice-president Douglas Fraser said that the union would not point to support for Wallace by the Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society because this might increase votes for Wallace!

Instead of projecting a program that could inspire and rally workers to fight against the serious problems they face, the union bureaucrats engaged in this fancy but totally ineffective footwork in the primary elections. This is no way to fight the threat that Wallace poses.

The AFL-CIO anti-Wallace literature did not challenge Wallace's national political stands but only his record in Alabama. For example, here is how the May 10 Michigan AFL-CIO

News dealt with Wallace in an article entitled "Humphrey is choice of state AFL-CIO":

"Despite his claims, Governor Wallace is not a working man's candidate. His record in Alabama is ample proof of that. Unemployment in Alabama is among the highest in the nation. Wages are low. Per capita income is low. The number of families living in poverty is second only to Mississippi.

"Crime is high. Education and health care are poor. In Alabama, where he has had the power for many years to better the lives of the people, Wallace has done nothing."

This is all true. But when the AFL-CIO General Board made these same charges against Wallace during his 1968 campaign for the presidency, Wallace answered that the Alabama AFL-CIO had supported his cam-

paign for the governorship in 1962.

Conforming with the national AFL-CIO's longstanding policy of supporting the Democratic Party, the AFL-CIO affiliates in the South have consistently supported Dixiecrats like Wallace. And it is labor's support to the Democratic Party that has hamstrung workers from fighting against the low wages, unemployment, and antiunion policies throughout the South.

Similarly, it was the Democratic-controlled Congress that passed the Economic Stabilization Act that paved the way for Nixon's wage control schemes. And it is labor's support for the Democratic Party that has held workers back from fighting to end wage controls.

The only alternative to Wallace the AFL-CIO bureaucrats offer is to urge workers to vote for Hubert Humphrey. But what does Humphrey stand for? Would he rescind the wage controls? Does he have any solution to inflation or unemployment? His record as vice-president in the Johnson administration and his support of wage controls proves that he is no friend of labor.

The truth is that none of the Democrats—Wallace, Humphrey, or McGovern—have any solutions to the deep problems facing working people in this country. Despite their promises and demagoguery designed to snare

Continued on page 22



'Law-and-order' Wallace with Florida cops

The National Picket Line

IDAHO MINERS—On May 11, the last of the 91 miners killed in a fire in the Sunshine silver mine at Kellogg, Idaho, were brought to the surface—ending a vigil of families and friends who have huddled at the mine head since the fire broke out on May 2.

Two young miners were rescued alive after they had spent more than a week in a clean-air shaft they had found. Another 108 men in the mine when the fire broke out were near enough to exits to escape immediately.

Frank McKee, western district United Steel Workers union director, accused the Sunshine Mining Company of "callous disregard" for the safety of its



A survivor of Sunshine Mine fire climbs from rescue cage.

workers. McKee also charged the Bureau of Mines with failing to investigate the disaster adequately.

One of the rescued miners testified before a House Labor subcommittee that he had never been trained in the use of the respirators each miner was supposedly supplied with. He also reported that there had never been a fire drill in the two years he worked in the mine.

The company disclaims, as yet, any knowledge of what started the fire, which is still raging. They suggest it may have been "spontaneous combustion" in one of the crudely closed-off shafts where the silver ore had been exhausted.

Theoretically, this mine was supposed to have been reexamined on March 31 for violations found in a previous Bureau of Mines inspection. There are conflicting reports as to whether this reinspection was ever made. The company claims it was and that all violations had been cleared up.

This disaster is another tragic example of how industry and its government flaunt the law. During the last two years there have been two federal safety laws passed, one covering the nation's mine workers, the other covering workers in industry and transportation. Yet neither law has reduced the number of injuries (two million) and deaths (5,000) suffered annually by working men and women.

Politicians, who represent the boss's government, use social legislation to placate their voters. What most voters don't know, however, is that these safety acts merely lay down the ground rules. They are useless unless followed by another bill providing funds to enforce those rules. Although such money bills were passed in the case of both safety laws, they were so small that actual inspection of mines and mills is impossible.

The Bureau of Mines, for instance, had far too

few inspectors before the Coal Mine Safety Act was passed. With the new money allowed, they were able to hire and train only 200 more. Mines are supposed to be inspected several times each year—and on a sudden, drop-in basis. Some mines never see an inspector. And factories! One factory owner said that in the six years he had been in business he had never once been visited by a safety inspector.

It is significant that the Sunshine disaster has had one effect on other hard-rock mines in the Kellogg area. The nearby Bunker Hill mine, the largest in the area, has asked the Bureau of Mines to make its annual inspection immediately. The Bureau has also announced that it would inspect all 24 of the lead, copper, and silver mines in the area by May 19.

Meanwhile, there have been 41 more funerals. A spokesman for the town of Kellogg said that although the town is "stunned," "business as usual" goes on.

The funeral business is booming. Its profits for 1972 will be way above average.

A SIX-WEEK STRIKE of the Sheet Metal Workers union against the Bowling Green, Ky., plant of the Koehring Co., manufacturers of portable industrial heaters, was settled early this month. It was typical of many small strikes in small towns.

The agreement called for a modest 20 cents an hour increase for each of the next three years. Only 140 workers are covered, so no Pay Board review is required.

Low wages and small gains without cost-of-living clauses make such settlements suitable to the employers. Even such small gains, however, usually come only after strike action. Without union organization, employers are encouraged by government wage controls to refuse any and all pay raises.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

By TONY THOMAS

On April 27, Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana, died of cancer in Bucharest, Rumania. He had gone there from his exile in Conakry, Guinea, to seek medical treatment.

For the past 20 years, Nkrumah was considered one of the most important leaders of the African revolution. Many supporters of the African revolution, including Pan-Africanists, saw his ideas as guides to revolutionary action. For this reason it is useful to draw a balance sheet of his actions as a leader of Ghana. But first let's examine the major problems that Ghana faced both before and after independence was won in 1957.

Before independence the problems were similar to those faced in other African countries. The economy revolved around the dominant crop of cocoa, which made up between 50 and 70 percent of the country's exports. Though most of the cocoa lands were owned by African farmers, most of the profits went to British cocoa buyers because of a world slump in cocoa prices. In addition, most workers on cocoa lands owned no land but were employed by a tiny handful of rich cocoa farmers.

Only by seizing the large profits of the cocoa farmers, as well of those of less important imperialist-dominated industries such as bauxite, gold, and diamond mines, could Ghana acquire the necessary capital to industrialize and end economic domination by British and American imperialism.

This could only be done by a major social revolution. It would entail a life and death struggle with British and American imperialism, as well as the capitalist cocoa farmers, who included the chiefs and other leaders of traditional African society. Still another social force set against such a transformation was the large retinue of lawyers, doctors, professors, civil servants, and army officials in Ghana who had been spawned by both the cocoa farming and British colonialism.

The Ghanaian social forces that would have benefited from such a transformation and that had the social power to carry out such a social revolution were the urban workers, the agricultural laborers, and the poor farmers—the people who produce Ghana's wealth. Only a socialist revolution as carried out in Cuba and China could have accomplished these tasks.

While most of the neocolonial leaders of Africa simply accepted the economic status quo and attempted to become cogs in the wheel of imperialism and local capitalism, Nkrumah did attempt to reverse these conditions. Unfortunately, he rejected the course of social revolution and was finally forced to give up power to forces within Ghanaian society devoted to world imperialism.

Two-stage theory

During Ghana's struggle for national independence, Nkrumah attempted to separate the struggle against economic exploitation from the struggle of the Ghanaian people for national independence. This is an impossible task if real economic and political independence is the aim.

"Thus, every movement for independence in a colonial situation contains two elements," he declared in the early 1960s, "the demand for political freedom and the revolt against poverty and exploitation. *Resolute leadership is required to subordinate the understandable desire of the people for better living conditions to the achievement of the primary aim of the abolition of colonial rule.*" (p. 51, *Africa Must Unite*. International Publishers. 1972. Emphasis added.)

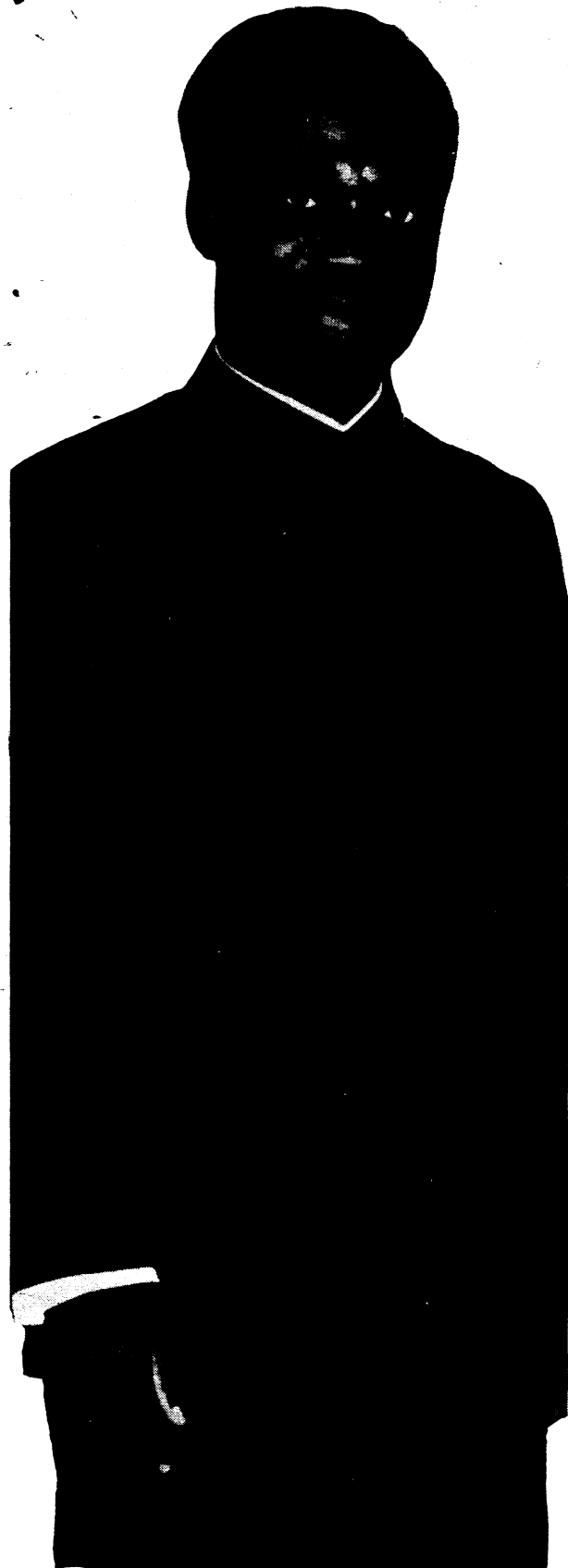
While Nkrumah's "resolute leadership" helped win independence for Ghana, it did not challenge the socioeconomic bases of the capitalists' stranglehold on the cocoa and mining industries. Nkrumah's party, the Convention People's Party (CPP), did not define itself as a socialist party in its initial program in 1949. In fact, it did not define itself as a party based on the urban workers and poor farm workers. They are not even mentioned in the program. This approach prevailed until the early 1960s. The CPP's real social base and leadership came from teachers, students, clerks, small officials, and small businessmen.

While some British officials were replaced by Ghanaians, the civil service, the police, and the armed forces were dominated by conservative Ghanaians tied to the cocoa capitalists and British imperialism. Nkrumah made no effort to restructure Ghanaian society by establishing organs of democratic control by the workers and agricultural laborers.

Ghana's economic strategy during the first four years of independence was completely centered on increasing capital investment from imperialist countries.

After this policy led to economic disaster, Nkrumah declared in 1961 that "socialism" would be

Nkrumah: a Marxist assessment



Kwame Nkrumah

Ghana's goal. Some nationalizations took place, but almost exclusively in the trade, transport, utilities, and mining sectors. Full compensation was given to the capitalists whose industries were taken. However, no serious attacks were launched on the cocoa capitalists' massive holdings.

Nkrumah's "socialism" did not include defense of the Ghanaian workers against native and foreign capitalism. An example of this policy came in September 1961 when a general strike broke out in Ghana's three major cities, Kumasi, Accra, and Sekondi-Takoradi. The strikers were protesting exorbitant sales taxes on basic staples, government control of the unions, and a government-imposed 5 percent "compulsory savings."

Nkrumah intended to squeeze capital out of the Ghanaian workers rather than from the imperialists and native capitalists. He denounced the strikers—most of whom were workers in private firms—as "counterrevolutionary." Supporters and leaders of the strike were imprisoned after the strike failed.

By opposing the independent struggles of Ghanaian workers, Nkrumah's regime actually strengthened the power of the Ghanaian and imperialist employers—the main opponents of his attempted "socialism."

But Nkrumah did pose a danger to imperialism through his international and certain of his domestic policies. He was the foremost advocate of Pan-African unity, giving active aid to anti-colonial fighters throughout Africa. He raised the

idea of an all-African army to liberate the colonies and the Blacks of Rhodesia and South Africa. He also maintained growing economic, political, and military relations with the USSR, Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba.

Nkrumah's limited nationalizations raised the specter of more fundamental attacks on imperialist and neocolonialist power if a mass mobilization were sparked.

These factors, plus Nkrumah's decision to make more stringent moves, especially in agriculture, made him the target for a rightist coup by imperialist and local procapitalist forces. He faced assassination attempts several times before the 1966 coup that overthrew him. U.S., British, and other imperialists mounted an international anti-Nkrumah campaign that painted him as a "Communist dictator."

Despite this serious threat, the instruments Nkrumah chose to use in the "socialist transformation" of Ghana were inadequate to the task. Neither his party nor the bulk of the governmental apparatus could be relied upon for a life and death struggle against capitalism.

Multiclass party

The Convention People's Party was not a revolutionary-socialist party based on the most exploited sectors of Ghanaian society, who were largely excluded from political life. Although it adopted Nkrumah's "socialism," in the early 1960s it contained large numbers of people economically and politically committed to maintaining capitalism. It included many of the original lower-middle-class leaders who had prospered and gained new positions of entrenched capitalist power under Nkrumah's regime. In addition, larger, more conservative capitalist elements were forced to function through the CPP after other parties were banned in the late 1950s. Both of these elements occupied positions of political and economic power in the party and state. They grew even more attached to the status quo through bribery and favoritism from native and foreign capitalists.

The army, the police, and the civil service were all—according to Nkrumah's own description in *Dark Days in Ghana*—drawn from conservative British-trained sectors of society.

Nkrumah made no effort to mobilize or organize an armed militia based on workers and farmhands. Assessing the 1966 coup in his book *Dark Days in Ghana*, Nkrumah stated that he envisaged the formation of a militia in the distant future after the unification of Africa.

In his book *Consciencism*, Nkrumah not only denied the existence of real class struggles in Africa but stated that in states such as Ghana, "the passage to socialism lies in reform." His "mixed economy" followed this path by attempting to reconcile the contradictory forces of state-owned and private industry, strengthening the hold of imperialist and neocolonialist elements of the economy.

The Volta River project—Ghana's major "socialist" scheme—was a good example of this policy. It was to be financially controlled by the Kaiser and Reynolds aluminum trusts of the U.S. and largely planned by U.S. government specialists. Under Nkrumah's terms, Reynolds and Kaiser would have received Volta electricity for 30 years at cost. Such cheap rates for electricity made it profitable for Reynolds and Kaiser to import aluminum from other countries instead of developing Ghanaian bauxite resources.

On Feb. 24, 1966, the leaders of the Ghanaian army and police seized power under the direction of the CIA and its British counterpart. Nkrumah's myth of a "Ghanaian road to socialism," which included neither class struggle nor a revolutionary confrontation with the capitalists, was shattered. Most of the gains won by Nkrumah were lost, including free education, health care, and housing programs. Most nationalized industries were sold back to the capitalists.

Nkrumah, who was in Peking at the time of the coup, was forced to live in exile in the Republic of Guinea, where Sékou Touré named him co-president.

Nkrumah's experience in power proved that without mobilizing the masses of workers and rural poor against the capitalist landholders and their imperialist masters, it is impossible to take even initial steps toward winning the elementary demands of full political independence and land reform—let alone industrializing and modernizing the country.

Only by relying on the armed and organized might of the masses of people, not on neocolonialist armies, can a nation like Ghana expect to maintain its independence.

The chief instrument of the full national and social liberation of Africa cannot be parties like the CPP that attempt to hold together irreconcilable social forces. What is needed is the construction of revolutionary-socialist parties based on the strategy of national liberation through socialist revolution.

More mass action needed

How to fight U.S. involvement in Africa

By JOHN HAWKINS

The African Liberation Day demonstrations taking place this weekend mark the opening of another front against U. S. foreign policy. They join the movement against the Vietnam war in opposing Washington's drive for global domination.

Like the Thieu regime in Saigon, the white-settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and Portuguese rule over Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau could not long survive without massive military, financial, and political backing from the United States. American businessmen are acutely aware of this fact. For decades they have invested heavily in Southern Africa in order to take ad-

Blacks in Atlanta march against war

According to the May 22 *Great Speckled Bird*, about 50 Black antiwar demonstrators marched from the Atlanta University campus to the Georgia state capitol on May 11. Speakers at a rally held there included representatives from the Black Panther Party and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as a Vietnam veteran and a man whose son had been killed in Vietnam.

vantage of the near slave labor conditions there. In order to protect their investments, American businesses finance apartheid in South Africa and the colonial wars of Portugal. They do this both through their own resources and through their control of both parties in Congress.

To effectively challenge American support to these regimes, it is necessary not only to expose the role of the corporations but also to demand that the U. S. government cease all aid to Portugal and the white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

The first step to be taken in this process is the education of the Black community in the United States and the population of the country as a whole on the real role played by American business and government in Africa.

The demonstrations that have taken place during the past two months—the protest against the importation of

Rhodesian chrome; the demonstration at the Azalea Festival in Norfolk, Va., against NATO and the Portuguese wars in Africa; and the sit-in by Black Harvard University students protesting Harvard's investments in Gulf Oil, a major financier of Portuguese military operations in Angola—have begun to place the issue of American involvement in Africa squarely before the American people.

In addition, these actions have further educated those participating in them on the need for continued action in defense of the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Africa.

The success of these actions points up the possibility for continued actions of this sort. Moreover, the responsive chord they struck among Afro-Americans shows that mobilizations like the May 27 actions have the potential to involve increasing numbers of the Black community.

Although demonstrations such as the May 27 actions do not have the power in and of themselves to end U. S. support to repressive regimes in Southern Africa, they are the starting point for building a movement that can help to bring this involvement to an end.

U. S. big business and its representatives in Congress and the White House are acutely aware of the sensitive position they occupy as supporters of racism, apartheid, and exploitation on the African continent. At the same time, they don't want to forego the advantage of cheap labor and the superprofits they can reap as a result.

Instead, American corporations are trying to cover up the actual conditions of the African workers they exploit. They have undertaken a massive campaign to defend and justify their involvement in Southern Africa. Demonstrations can help expose these lies and make it more difficult for the government and big business to carry out their current policies.

A campaign of mass action demanding that the U. S. government end its support to Portugal and the racist regimes in Southern Africa would enhance all other efforts to aid the African liberation struggle. Legislation such as that introduced into Congress by the Congressional Black Caucus calling for the liquidation of U. S. investments in Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies in Africa would



Photo by Robert Van Lierop

Mozambique villager sits beside Frelimo guerrilla fighter. Like Saigon regime, Portuguese colonialism could not stand against liberation movements without U. S. aid.

be aided by such actions against the government's policy there. Projects for raising funds, medical supplies, and other needs of the liberation fighters would also be boosted.

In mapping out such an action campaign, important lessons can be drawn from the experience of other movements, especially the antiwar movement in this country. U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia is the central issue in world politics today and the movement against it is crucially important.

Starting out as a relatively small number of students, this movement has grown from one reflecting the opinion of a tiny minority to one that has the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. Through consistent educational activities, such as teach-ins, speaking tours, and rallies, and through continuous mass actions in the streets protesting U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia, the antiwar movement has become a factor that the White House must reckon with before making any move in Southeast Asia.

The partial victory represented by the withdrawal of American forces

from Cambodia in 1970, the widespread antiwar sentiment among American GIs, and the inability of the Nixon administration to use American ground troops in their current escalation of the war, all attest to the power of the mass movement that has been built in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The statement on Nixon's new escalation of the war in Vietnam recently released by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee clearly points out the connection between Washington's war there and the wars it finances in Africa. In fact, as part of ending U. S. involvement in Africa, activity against U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia should be encouraged.

To the extent that Washington can get away with aggression in Southeast Asia, it will be emboldened in its efforts to stem the tide of revolution in Africa. The reverse also holds true. Stopping U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia will make it more difficult for the U. S. to launch another counterrevolutionary effort in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or anywhere else on the globe.

May 27 Committee statement on Vietnam

The following statement was issued May 12 by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, the coalition that called and is organizing the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations.

Richard Nixon has once again been forced to a new low in international relations with his recent act of open aggression against the people of Vietnam by mining the harbor of Haiphong and threatening to bomb North Vietnamese airfields. The African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, though primarily concerned with acts of European and U. S. imperialism in Southern Africa, cannot let this latest outrage occur without strongly protesting Nixon's gangster tactics. The list of United States crimes against the oppressed peoples of the world is long; from South Africa to the Dominican Republic, from Korea to Guinea-Bissau, from Mozambique to Cuba, the actions of this government speak for themselves.

Although Vietnam is the scene of the most notorious crime, the Portuguese-run, U. S.-supplied wars in Africa are no less brutal. The same napalm that is dropped on Vietnam is dropped on Angola; the same bombs can be found raining in Mozambique; and the U. S. policy of "South Africanization" of the African Continent is even more effective than the "Vietnamization" of Indochina; the same principle is present: bribe a small clique of power-hungry politicians to defend America's interests, supply them with as many guns, planes, bombs, and dollars as they want, and then order them to persecute or murder anyone who dares to stand up and struggle for his right to be free.

The issue of imperialism in Africa is inseparable from the issue of imperialism in Asia and the Americas, for they are all part of the same long-standing masterplan for domination of the resources and labor of the entire world by those who rule the United States. So although the Af-

rican Liberation Day Coordinating Committee has been formed to bring together Africans in America to support our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa, we realize, as the freedom fighters do, that to fight imperialism in Vietnam is to fight it in Southern Africa, and we stand firmly with the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese people to rid their land of first French, and now American domination.

Nixon must realize that the peoples of the world can no longer be intimidated into submission or bullied into slavery. The path towards freedom for the people of Southern Africa, as in Vietnam, is clear: our people cannot be turned around. We can be slowed, but we can never be stopped again. And as Nixon's latest, most desperate gamble indicates, the United States has discovered that it can no longer play with the lives and destinies of oppressed people anywhere on this planet. On May 27th, ten thousand Black people intend to show Mr. Nixon,

among others, that we are hip to the hypocritical pre-Vietnam game being played by this country in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

It has been said that Africa will be the next Vietnam. There are only two things to say about such a speculation: First, it is reconfirmed every day that America cannot handle the Vietnam it has now—much less another one. Second, it is becoming increasingly clear that the Black masses of this country will not sit idly by and see this happen. It is with a deep sense of outrage that we denounce the naked aggression of Mr. Nixon and the U. S. government. But even this act, like everything, has two sides to it. For while we are outraged, we are also heartened, because we know that this was the desperate act of a desperate man in a hopeless situation. And Mr. Nixon's plunge tells us again what we already knew: that the people of Vietnam, like the people of Southern Africa, will surely win without a doubt.

Workers upsurge shall

The following article is from **Labor Challenge**, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto. It is reprinted from **Intercontinental Press**, where it appeared in slightly abridged form for reasons of space.

By **DICK FIDLER**

MONTREAL, MAY 15—The massive strike wave, now almost a week old, continues across Québec in the wake of the jailing of the three presidents of the major labor bodies.

More than 100,000 workers at last count—in private and public sectors, industrial, professional, white-collar, and service workers—have spontaneously walked off the job. Their immediate demands are: the freeing of the

the president of the jail guards' union urged his members not to accept the three labor leaders into the prisons. "It is the deputies [of the National Assembly] who should be in their place," he said—those who are responsible for the back-to-work Bill 19.

With the jailing of the labor leaders, commented the trade-union weekly *Québec-Presse*, "it was as if with one blow the 600,000 Québec union members they represent had been jailed." For Québec workers, it catalyzed their frustration and resentment at low wages, hopeless working conditions, and national oppression.

"No precise watchword was given, but the spontaneous strike movements,

The movement quickly took on the character of a general challenge to the *status quo*. When a group of strikers from Saint-Jérôme, about forty miles north of Montréal, set up a picket line at the big General Motors plant at nearby Ste-Thérèse, the auto workers went on a wildcat strike. A manager trying to enter the plant was stopped by a picket: "No one goes in; there's no work today."

"By whose authority?" the manager asked.

"By the authority of the workers of Québec," he was told.

Another boss started complaining to a picket, who turned, smiling, toward his fellow strikers: "It's all right. He doesn't speak French—but he's learning."

A high point of the strike wave so far is on the North Coast of the St. Lawrence, especially Sept-Iles, where for the first time in Québec history, "the unions completely control the city. We can close or open the bars, the stores, the shops, and the schools as we wish," in the words of Clément Godbout, a steelworkers' representative.

"The takeover in Sept-Iles began on Tuesday night," writes Louis Paquette in the revolutionary-socialist paper *Libération*. "Thousands of workers demonstrated at the courthouse against the imprisonment of the three labor leaders. The cops charged the crowd, wounding several and arresting others. The next morning the workers responded: a general strike paralyzed the city of 22,000 inhabitants. The forty-five-man police force was overwhelmed and unable to do anything. The strikers quickly erected barricades on the highway into town and blocked the airport runways; the telephone lines were cut. . . . The radio station was occupied and operated under the control of the unions."

Similar developments occurred in other areas of the province. Thousands of workers roamed through the streets. Occupied radio stations—and in at least one instance a television station—broadcast revolutionary songs and news releases from local unions.

In Montréal, the workers at *La Presse*, the biggest daily newspaper, voted to strike for twenty-four hours in solidarity. They sent out flying squads to persuade the five other dailies not to publish on May 12. Even the English newspapers had to close—for the 103-year-old *Montreal Star*, for the first time in its history.

While most workers have joined the protest by walking out, at the Albert-Prévost Institute, a hospital in Montréal, the 300 unionized workers expelled the management on the night of May 12 and have begun to operate the institution under workers' self-management. Following a tour of the hospital, Fernand Daoust, FTQ secretary-treasurer, hailed the workers' initiative, saying it was a "forerunner of the union attitudes to come."

'A third political force'

The Québec workers' strike upsurge is being closely watched across Canada. The capitalist press oscillates between trying to dismiss it as little more than a conspiracy by a small minority who are alleged to be manipulating the union members, and statements expressing deep unease at the implications of this mass movement. Typical is the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, which managed to combine both interpretations in one editorial May 13:

"The only thing clear now is that a violently inclined minority in the trade union movement, roused by militant leaders, is prepared to defy the

government and the law to the utmost and rip the fabric of orderly society in total disregard to the interests of the people. . . . We must assume that what has been happening these past few days in Quebec is not representative of public feeling generally, for if it were, a major part of Canada would be on the verge of revolution."

And further on:

"While the past statements of the common front leaders about their objectives have been alarming enough, the most disturbing feature of the present situation is the evidence it presents of how far their ideas and ideology have permeated the lower leadership and general membership of the unions in Quebec. The strikes and violence have been widespread and the numbers participating considerable. We are witnessing a new surge of a third political force in Quebec, one outside the normal political structure of government and opposition; one in fact dedicated to their destruction. The potential is extremely dangerous, and it will have to be contained and disarmed by legitimate authority."

Trudeau has so far feigned an attitude of comparative unconcern, apparently in the belief that at this stage the worst blow to Bourassa would be to encourage the belief that Ottawa is about to step in and "resolve" the crisis—as it did with the army and the War Measures Act in October 1970—over the heads of the Québec government.

English Canada

As for the English-Canadian labor movement: Delegates to the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) convention in Ottawa today voted unanimously for a resolution demanding amnesty for all Québec unionists imprisoned following the public workers' strike, and supporting the aims of the Front Commun of public workers' unions.



Striking public employees in the city of Quebec in April.

CLC President Donald MacDonald had earlier issued a statement calling on Canadian workers to "rally to the support" of Québec workers, but expressed unease at the direction the popular uprising was taking. "General strikes are a revolution, not a strike," MacDonald told a steelworkers' policy conference in Ottawa last week. He went on to warn of "demagogues" who would seek to benefit from the Québec unrest.

So far, the CLC leadership has failed to project any actions in English Can-

NEWS BULLETIN

Strike ends; union leaders are released from jail

By **DICK FIDLER**

TORONTO, May 24—The presidents of Québec's three labor federations were freed from jail last night, pledging a "fight to the finish" against the Liberal government.

Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), Louis Laberge of the Québec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and Yvon Charbonneau of the Québec Teachers Corporation (CEQ), have appealed contempt-of-court convictions they received for urging their memberships to defy strikebreaking injunctions during the strike in April of 210,000 public workers.

Earlier yesterday, the government had rejected their application for day parole. The union leaders went to jail May 9 instead of launching an immediate appeal of their sentences in order to show there is "no justice" in Québec.

The big labor upsurge that erupted when they were jailed was called off last Thursday by leaders of the labor bodies' Common Front. They did this after the government promised it would release the labor leaders and negotiate a new labor contract with the public employees rather than impose settlement terms through compulsory arbitration under Bill 19.

Also released yesterday were 31 local union officials who had already appealed. They had chosen last week to begin serving their prison sentences in a show of support for the three central leaders.

Fines totaling half a million dollars have thus far been levied by the courts against the public employees unions. More than 49 union leaders have received jail sentences. Many cases remain to be tried.

The labor leaders said a "major factor" in their decision to appeal and apply for bail was a movement now underway to split the 235,000-member CSN. Three members of the CSN's five-man executive have announced they will launch a rival "nonpolitical" federation. They claim the support of one-third of the CSN membership.

CSN Vice-president Paul Emile Dalpé, one of the splitters, charges the CSN has been taken over by "ideologists whose ideas can only lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat."

At a midnight news conference, the FTQ's Louis Laberge accused Premier Robert Bourassa's government of "encouraging, if not organizing, the division within the CSN" in order to weaken the Québec labor movement. He noted that Dalpé was formerly a Liberal candidate for public office.

jailed union leadership; repeal of Bill 19, which broke the strike of the 210,000 public service workers; and a general amnesty for all unionists fined or jailed for ignoring injunctions that violated their right to strike.

Sparked by a general revulsion against the Bourassa government's assault on the labor movement, the upsurge has tended to merge with other issues—to become a general revolt by the Québécois against their national oppression.

The strike began Tuesday, May 9. In Québec City, the three leaders of the Front Commun [Common Front]—Marcel Pepin of the CSN [Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions], Yvon Charbonneau of the CEQ [Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Québec Teachers Corporation], and Louis Laberge of the FTQ [Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Federation of Labor]—led several thousand demonstrators in a march to the gates of the Orsainville prison. There, following speeches to the crowd, they surrendered to the authorities to serve the sentences of one year that had been imposed on them the day before for urging their members to ignore injunctions served during the public workers' strike.

Reflecting the sentiment of the crowd,

the occupations and demonstrations began to spread throughout most of Québec. . . .

It began that day, May 9, with the walkout of 3,500 longshoremen in ports along the St. Lawrence. Then it spread to thousands of teachers across the province, joined by support staff. Then the hospital workers and the nurses in several big hospitals. At Montréal's Notre-Dame hospital, 2,000 members of the CSN, meeting in the cafeteria, were ejected by the police riot squad.

A month earlier, the general strike of public and parapublic workers had not directly touched the private sector. This time, the private-sector workers, many of them in heavy industry and "international" unions, played a leading role. As the wildcat walkouts gained momentum, construction workers, auto workers, steelworkers, shipyard workers, and miners walked off the job.

By Friday, May 12, a dozen cities and towns were totally strikebound. Roving squads of strikers patrolled the streets and visited neighboring towns to spread the strike.

In Montréal, the blue-collar workers hit the bricks May 12. For them, it was also a protest against the smashing of their own strike three months earlier by a court injunction that had expired only hours earlier.

kes Quebec



Montreal cops protect scabs on sanitation trucks during strike

ada to concretize the intent of the convention resolution.

In the face of Québec labor's unprecedented show of strength, the Bourassa Liberal government has been unable to intervene. Having attempted to crush the workers with the "bludgeon-law" Bill 19, it now presents an image of great weakness—imploping the jailed labor leaders to appeal their sentences so that the government may release them! Bourassa has refused all calls for amnesty and has shown no inclination to appeal the sentences through his own Justice Department.

As throughout the civil-service strike, a major obstacle facing the labor movement has been the lack of political support from any party. The independentist Parti Québécois (PQ) has denounced the strikers, urging them to return to work. PQ leader René Lévesque, in a special statement, accused the unions of "leading us to the brink of anarchy."

He and other PQ leaders have refused to support the calls for amnesty and repeal of Bill 19, urging the labor leaders to "take advantage of their right of appeal and to exhaust all judicial recourses at their disposal."

The PQ's antilabor position has provoked some sharp criticisms of the party leadership. Speaking to several thousand workers and their families who rallied at a "picnic" outside the walls of Orsainville jail May 13, CSN Montréal council President Michel Chartrand attacked Lévesque as a "traitor" who "wants an institutionalized labor movement, integrated into

the capitalist system."

The upsurge has revealed anew the tremendous power of the Québec working class, its explosive capacity to shake the whole nation in a direct challenge to the government, judiciary, and all established institutions.

Only a week ago, in the wake of the defeat of the public workers' strike by Bill 19, it seemed to many that the labor movement was in headlong retreat. Attempts by the leadership to inspire another general strike, this time in the private sector and of limited duration, had met with considerable resistance. On May 3, the 30,000-member provincial civil servants union of the CSN had bolted the ranks of the Front Commun and returned to the negotiations table under the pressure of Bill 19.

CEQ leader Charbonneau, addressing a mass meeting of Montréal teachers the day before he was sentenced, was booed when he defended the general strike action of the Front Commun.

It took only a spark, however, to relaunch the strike movement, this time in new sectors and on a much more generalized, more political plane.

Whatever the outcome of this immediate upsurge, it is certain that the lessons of this historic experience will dominate the debates of the CSN and CEQ conventions, which are scheduled in the next two months. The recent polarization of Québec society gives new content to the radical anticapitalist manifestoes that are being presented to the delegates for adoption.

Workers ran a town

Here is how Quebec-Press (May 14) reported the workers' seizure of Thetford Mines, a mining town in the Eastern Townships, southeast of Montreal.

Thetford Mines, a city of 23,000, is in the hands of the asbestos workers and workers of the public and parapublic (hospitals and schools) sector. The municipal police tried to intervene yesterday morning during the occupation of the radio station. They had the support of about 30 provincial police officers. A trade union spokesperson remarked to the police, who were largely outnumbered by the strikers, that "the dynamiters are on our side, not yours." The police, we're told, understood. The police were also told it was best they not call for reinforcements.

Everything is under control in the city where the unions involved, CSN [Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions], FTQ [Fédération

des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Federation of Labor] and CEQ [Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Québec Teachers Corporation], are ensuring that there is no violence. The city is controlled by radio (eight sending and receiving stations) and at the least skirmish or incident the unions can rapidly intervene to put things in their place.

All alcohol outlets are closed. Only small grocery stores are open, the big ones having been warned not to open their doors. They were only allowed to do so yesterday afternoon when the small establishments began to run short of essential items.

In the downtown area, there was a street dance all afternoon and evening, yesterday, with various bands. The union announces moreover that the city council is collaborating completely with the workers: a telegram has been sent to Bourassa demanding the withdrawal of Bill 19 and amnesty for all those sentenced.

Quebec trade unions need their own party

The following statement was issued by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the organization of revolutionary socialists in Quebec. It is reprinted from Labor Challenge.

By imposing the infamous Bill 19 on the trade unionists of the public and parapublic sectors, taking away their fundamental democratic right to strike, and by handing down a maximum sentence of one year to the three labor leaders—Yvon Charbonneau, Louis Laberge and Marcel Pepin—for trade union activity, the Bourassa government shows its real face, that of an antilabor government which has sold out to the foreign bosses and the federal government in Ottawa.

That is why the Bourassa government refuses to concede the just minimal demands of its employees, like the \$100 minimum per week and job security, while at the same time granting subsidies of several tens of millions of dollars to the exploiters of Québec like the American ITT and International Business Machines.

Bourassa, the faithful servant of Trudeau, is not alone in his assault on the rights of the labor movement and his attempt to deprive the union movement of its leaders. He is aided by the judicial system, this mechanism of the bosses indispensable to keeping them in power on the backs of the working class and the majority of the Québec nation.

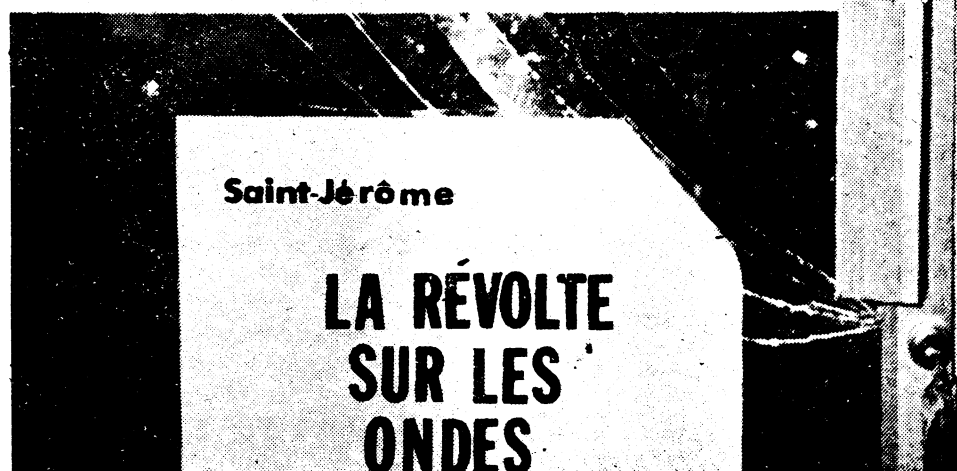
All the political parties now in the National Assembly have lined up on the side of the government against the labor movement—including the Parti Québécois. While posing as the "people's party" and an independentist party, the PQ has aligned itself with

the "forces of order" and those who maintain Québec in the linguistic and national oppression of Canadian federalism. The PQ refuses to ask the government to grant a postponement of the sentences against the three labor leaders, and it refuses to demand the withdrawal of Bill 19. Instead, the PQ attacks the victims of the government, blaming them because they have not taken advantage of "the right of appeal," while accepting the charges and the barbarous sentence imposed by Bourassa.

In contrast to all these bourgeois parties which are devoted to the maintenance of capitalism and the double oppression of the Québécois workers, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, an independentist organization, fully supports all actions carried out across Québec by the workers who are seeking the liberation of their leaders and the withdrawal of Bill 19.

The main lesson to draw from this struggle is the necessity for the Québec working class to break with bourgeois politics and with all bourgeois parties, including the Parti Québécois, to create its own mass political party. Let's rely only on ourselves! The trade union centrals in Québec must launch a labor party, the indispensable arm in the Québec workers' liberation struggle capable of carrying all struggles—electoral or extra-parliamentary like strikes, demonstrations and occupations—to the political level.

Only the mass labor party, initiated by the union centrals, is capable of replacing the antilabor Bourassa government by a government of the workers and farmers at the head of a Québec that is free, independent and French.



'Revolt on the airwaves,' reads sign. Police break down door of radio station in town of Saint-Jerome to evict unionists who had occupied the station. Striking workers were broadcasting news of massive strike wave against Quebec antilabor Bill 19 and jailing of union leaders.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Jenness-Pulley campaign supporters are petitioning to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Senator George McGovern's home state of South Dakota. More than 3,000 signatures were obtained in the first week of the petitioning campaign. Approximately 3,500 signatures are required, but the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are attempting to collect 7,000 to assure a ballot spot for the SWP.

"We ran into people supporting McGovern who were convinced that Jenness would cut significantly into the McGovern vote in South Dakota," commented one petitioner. "A few of them actually refused to sign the petition." But many young people seemed to recognize the difference between a socialist and a liberal Democrat and welcomed the opportunity to give the South Dakota voters a real choice, petitioners reported.

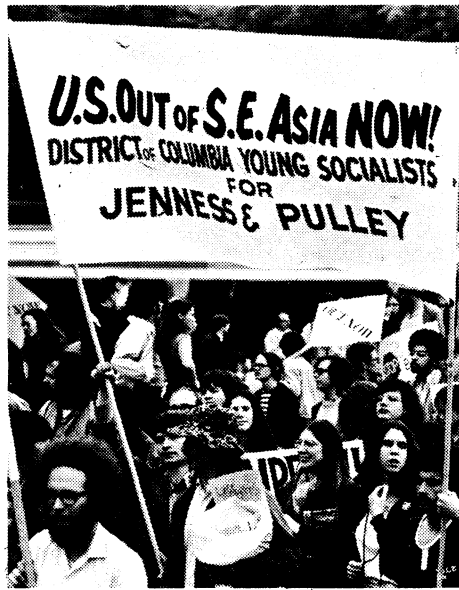


Photo by Flax Hermes

May 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The April 14 issue of the underground newspaper Lancaster (Pa.) Independent Press carries an article by Ron Sirak on the Socialist Workers presidential campaign.

"Of the political parties challenging the Democrats and Republicans in this year's election," Sirak writes, "the Socialist Workers Party seems to have one of the broadest platforms. That is to say, SWP has a program that exists for more than just this election. Rather, as their campaign literature states, SWP is interested in 'organizing the American people to change this society and the oppression it has caused.'"

Sirak goes on to outline the Socialist Workers platform and concludes by commending the SWP for "openly stating where they see the root of America's problems to be... their attitude toward the campaign seems to be in terms of presenting a revolutionary and workable program to the people. Unlike the campaigns of some other candidates, the campaign of Jenness and Pulley is aimed at politically educating the people so they can control their own lives rather than being just concerned with numbers of votes."

Writing in the May 9 Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Phillip Abbott Luce, right-wing publisher of "The Pink Sheet on The New Left," attempts to red-bait Senator Edmund Muskie and the Youth Coalition for Muskie

because three Muskie youth leaders, Luce says, attended the February Student Mobilization Committee antiwar conference. He claims they did so with Muskie's "blessings" and "approval."

Luce notes "a sharp contrast" in the McGovern campaign. "In fact," he writes, "a Youth for McGovern spokesman was highly critical of the Student Mobilization Committee, because of its close affiliation (sic) with the Socialist Workers Party. Chris Hansen acknowledged that some members of the McGovern youth organization had attended the Feb. SMC convention. However, Hansen insisted that the young people were not from the McGovern National Campaign staff and that the South Dakota Senator had not sanctioned their participation in the Trotskyite event."

The April 28 Asbury Park (N.J.) Evening Press reports that 65 students at Rumson-Fair Haven Regional High (Fairhaven, N.J.), staged a sit-in April 27 at the school's Social Studies Resource Center protesting the failure of the school administration to list in the school bulletin a meeting for William Warrick of the New Jersey Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley.

The students drew up a list of demands and held a rally on April 28. On May 12, Warrick was finally allowed to address a group of students.

Below are excerpts from letters recently received by the SWP campaign office:

"Recently, I had the opportunity to see Ms. Linda Jenness. I was very impressed by her. I have been trying to follow as closely as possible Ms. Jenness and Mr. Pulley's campaign, but it gets pretty hard. What I wanted were some campaign materials, such as posters, bumper stickers, buttons, and literature. There are about 20 friends of mine who wanted some stuff, too, so could you send enough to go around?" G.C., St. Louis, Mo.

"Send as many McGovern Truth Kits as my \$1 check pays for. This exposure of a capitalist politician—no matter how 'radical' a candidate may sound—truly tells the story about this country's political system."

"McGovern's campaigners also have his voting record printed up—to show how 'good' a politician he is. You highlight what the McGovern staff would rather have kept quiet, so please send the Truth Kits as soon as possible." B.K., Seattle.

The following posters are available from the Socialist Workers Party national campaign office for 10 cents each (or four cents per poster on bulk orders): "Linda Jenness for President," "Andrew Pulley for Vice-President," "Black Control of the Black Community," "Repeal all anti-abortion laws," "Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano," "Bring the troops home now, Stop the bombing," "Vote Socialist Workers," and a poster of Eugene V. Debs.

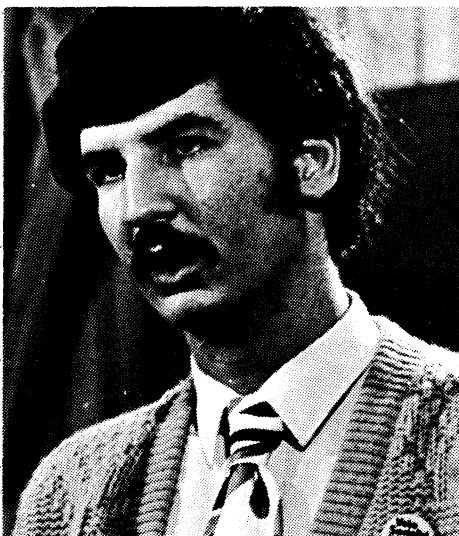
Send all contributions, literature requests, and inquiries about petitioning to get the SWP on the ballot in your state to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

—STEVE BEREN

Suit filed to contest Florida election law

MIAMI—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit May 9 in U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida challenging part of the Florida election code. The suit, filed on behalf of Socialist Workers Party candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, challenges the requirement that candidates seeking ballot status outside the Democratic or Republican parties must pay 10 cents for each name submitted on nominating petitions.

Bill DuFresne and Tobias Simon are the attorneys for the suit.



Jack Lieberman

Supporters of the SWP presidential ticket have collected 51,600 signatures—nearly double the requirement of 27,960 valid signatures. The 10-cent fee, according to the law, is to defray the cost of checking the signatures.

The attorneys for the suit contend that such a requirement violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment since it discriminates against those who cannot afford such a fee. They have requested the convening of a three-judge federal panel to hear the case.

A press conference, held outside the Miami courthouse where the suit was filed, was attended by radio and TV reporters, as well as by reporters from two Miami newspapers. Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Florida's 2nd C.D., spoke on behalf of Jenness and Pulley.

Lieberman said he was confident that the filing fee would be found unconstitutional. He noted that in February the U.S. Supreme Court had invalidated Texas filing fees and said the lawyers expected that the decision in that case would be considered an important precedent.

The attorneys have requested an immediate injunction barring state election officials from requiring payment of the fee.

Washington socialists challenge filing fees

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), has announced that it is preparing a case against Washington's candidate filing-fee requirement. Those seeking public office in Washington must pay a fee equal to 1 percent of the annual salary for the office sought in order to appear on the primary or general election ballot. The fees range from \$36 to \$425.

Candidates must also pay between \$100 and \$200 to appear in the candidate-description book mailed to each voter in the state. In addition, candidates not running on the Democratic or Republican party ticket must hold a convention of their supporters on state primary day. Financing this convention costs up to \$1,000.

In cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union, CoDEL will seek a ruling from the Washington attorney general invalidating the fees. If the attorney general fails to rule on the constitutionality of the fees, ACLU attorneys Barry Barnes and Eugene Moen will file suit in federal district court. Plaintiffs in the suit are three Socialist Workers Party candidates: Doug Swanson, for governor; Anne Montague, for secretary of state; and Judy Moschetto, for U.S. Congress from the 7th C.D.

Several Washington voters, including Bernadine Garrett of the Seattle Welfare Rights Organization, have indicated an interest in joining the suit as coplaintiffs. The voter plaintiffs will argue that their constitutional rights are abridged by the high fees, since these fees deny poor and independent candidates access to the ballot.

The proposed suit will be the third in three years brought by independent candidates against Washington's filing-fee requirement. Courtroom maneuvers by the state have prevented a decision before election day in the past.

The attorneys point to a recent U.S.

Supreme Court decision invalidating Texas filing fees as an extremely important precedent for the case this year. In addition, a CoDEL-sponsored suit was successful in invalidating the fees required for a candidate to place information in a California voter booklet. This precedent will also be cited.



Doug Swanson

Support for CoDEL's efforts is growing. Among the organizations that have endorsed CoDEL are the University of Washington student organizations for Jenness and Pulley, Eugene McCarthy, and George McGovern; the executive committee for the state board of the Washington Democratic Council (New Democratic Coalition); the state board of the Young Democrats of Washington; the International Socialists; the Freedom Socialist Party; the Socialist Workers Party; Radical Women; and the Young Socialist Alliance. Supporters of CoDEL will be introducing resolutions for endorsement of CoDEL into the King County and statewide platform conventions of the Democratic Party.

To send contributions or to obtain more information, write to CoDEL, Box 70316, Seattle, Wash. 98107.

Unprecedented response received in drive to put socialist candidates on state ballots

Texas

By EVELYN SELL

HOUSTON, May 21 — More than 40,000 signatures have been collected in just two weeks to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Texas ballot. Although the law requires 23,000 signatures, campaign supporters are aiming for 45,000 to guarantee a ballot spot.

The impressive response to the Texas SWP's statewide petition drive is clear proof of the deep antiwar sentiment in this state. When told of the socialist candidates' stand for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina, a frequent response is "Let me sign that!"

Young people waiting to buy tickets to a Rolling Stones concert in Houston were so enthusiastic about putting the socialist candidates on the ballot that petitioners collected more than 100 signatures per hour.

The results of the drive are even more significant in light of the fact that many campaign supporters also worked hard to build antiwar activities in the last two weeks.

In the course of collecting signatures, petitioners have been able to add many names to the list of campaign supporters. One petitioner signed up 43 endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket. Two young people signed petitions and then asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. A number of signers have called the SWP headquarters asking for more information.

One petitioner, a veteran of many previous socialist ballot drives in several other states, declared, "I've never seen anything like it!"

Mass.

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, May 21 — Plans for the intensive Massachusetts SWP petition drive were boosted last week by a Socialist Workers Party campaign supporter's pledge of \$500 to help finance the drive. The contribution was made on the condition that the money be matched by contributions from other supporters. More than \$200 in matching funds has already been raised.

To gain ballot status in Massachusetts, 56,038 signatures of registered voters must be obtained on nominating petitions. Campaign supporters of

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley plan to launch the drive for signatures in earnest on May 27. In preparation, they have begun scouting the Boston area, sampling the response of the Massachusetts voters to their petitions.

"We've already collected 3,000 signatures," reported Jeannie Reynolds, one of the organizers of the petition drive. Reynolds said that 636 signatures were gathered at the May 13 antiwar demonstration in Boston. Approximately one-third of those at the rally signed.

At the University of Massachusetts, 582 signatures were obtained in less than five hours. At Massachusetts Bay Community College, a campaign table was set up and 200 people signed petitions in three hours.

Massachusetts law requires that the signers of a single petition sheet must all be residents of the same town. So far, petitioners have gathered signatures from more than 150 towns.

To facilitate petitioning, tables will be set up daily at the Burlington Mall, the largest shopping center in the state; Harvard Square; Boston Common; and Roxbury, Boston's Black community.

Next week, mobilizations of 100 petitioners each are scheduled for Thursday and Friday night and all day Saturday. On Saturday night, May 29, a kick-off rally will officially launch the petition drive. Peter Camejo, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 Campaign Committee and former candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, will speak.

In addition, the campaign committee is sponsoring a series of six classes to be held on Monday and Wednesday nights during the petition drive. Included in the class series will be talks on the history of socialist election campaigns, how socialists view the Democratic and Republican conventions, Black political action, and a history of New England politics.

For information on how to help with the petition drive, contact the state campaign headquarters at 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station) in Boston, or telephone (617) 482-8050.

Illinois

By BARRY DAVID

CHICAGO, May 21 — Dozens of supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign throughout Illinois returned home tonight, exhausted but still

enthusiastic, after a weekend petition drive. They collected more than 5,500 signatures to help place Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, and a full slate of Illinois statewide SWP candidates on the November ballot. This weekend's drive climaxed the first week of petitioning, in which almost 9,000 signatures were collected.

Twenty-five thousand valid signatures are required but the SWP plans to collect 40,000 to assure a place on the ballot.



Photo by Brian Shannon

SWP campaign supporter petitioning in 1968, when a total of 117,400 signatures were obtained to place socialist candidates on the ballot in 19 states. This figure has already been surpassed during the 1972 SWP ballot drive, which has a goal of nearly 500,000 signatures. The SWP expects to be on the ballot in more than 30 states in November.

This is the first time that the SWP presidential ticket will appear on the Illinois ballot.

When the Illinois statewide drive was launched a week ago, campaign organizers considered postponing petitioning since most campaign workers were deeply involved in helping to organize protests against Nixon's latest escalation in Indochina.

"Instead," said petitioning organizer Peter Archer, "we decided to organize our ballot drive in coordination with antiwar activity. We launched our drive at the May 13 emergency demonstration in Chicago, where we collected more than 700 names. Since then, we've had petitioners at almost every mass meeting and demonstration, on campus and off, including the 'Armed Forces Day' demonstration at Great Lakes Naval Base this past Saturday."

In every part of the state, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have spearheaded the ballot drive. A team of four YSJers is spending a full week collecting signatures on Illinois campuses. Team captain Bill Rayson reports an enthusiastic response. The YSJP at the University of Illinois in Champaign pitched in

to help the team collect nearly 3,000 signatures in four days.

The team had originally taken a quota of 3,000 signatures for the week, but after they collected 1,500 in the first two days, they decided to raise their quota to 4,500.

"Now," says Rayson, "I'm sure we'll go over 5,000. Almost no one on campus refuses to sign. And new campaign supporters keep volunteering to help us petition every day."

Almost half of the signatures col-

lected so far come from the Chicago area, where petitioners report an unprecedented response, especially in the Black community.

One petitioner in the Black community reported that 90 percent of the people she asked signed the petition after she explained that Pulley was a Black activist and a former antiwar GI and that the SWP stood for Black control of the Black community.

Anyone who can help petition in Illinois should contact the campaign headquarters in Chicago at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, or call (312) 263-5838.

Idaho

By BARBARA DEUR

BOISE, Idaho, May 22 — Today Idaho supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign filed twice the required 1,500 signatures to qualify Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for the 1972 Idaho ballot. The 3,000 signatures were obtained in 10 days.

This marks the SWP's first attempt to gain ballot status here, and it is the first time in several decades that socialist candidates have actively campaigned in Idaho.

At the three largest campuses in the state, in Boise, Pocatello, and Moscow, campaign supporters collected signatures and distributed SWP literature. They encountered a widespread interest in socialism and a good deal of support for the platform of Jenness and Pulley.

In several parts of the state, campaign supporters met Wobblies (members of the Industrial Workers of the World), supporters of Eugene V. Debs, and other long-time radicals who welcomed the return of socialist ideas to Idaho. The petitioning went quickly in spite of hostility from local reactionaries, including Mormons who believe that women don't have the right to run for public office.

The Idaho SWP will hold its founding convention in Boise on June 29. The convention, which fulfills the remaining state requirement for ballot status, is open to all supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Andrew Pulley will address the gathering.

Further information is available from the Idaho SWP, P.O. Box 676, Boise, Idaho 83701.

SWP ballot-drive scoreboard

STATE	SIGNATURES REQUIRED	SIGNATURES COLLECTED
Connecticut	12,600	2,000
Florida	27,960	51,600 (completed)
Idaho	1,500	3,000 (completed)
Illinois	25,000	9,000
Iowa	1,000	begins in June
Indiana	8,466	16,500 (completed)
Kentucky	1,000	2,007 (completed)
Louisiana	1,000	3,000 (completed)
Massachusetts	56,038	3,000
Michigan	14,256	28,732 (completed)
Mississippi	1,000	begins in June
New Jersey	800	2,350 (completed)
North Dakota	300	begins in June
Ohio	5,000	9,767 (completed)
South Dakota	4,799	4,500
Tennessee	225	begins in June
Texas	22,253	40,000
Utah	500	942 (completed)
Vermont	1,535	3,000
Washington, D. C.	13,010	begins this week

Plans for petitioning in additional states will be announced in the future.

Volunteers and money are needed to help complete the petitioning in these states. If you would like to help, clip the coupon below and send it to: SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

☐ I would like to help petition to put the SWP on the ballot. Send me information.

☐ Enclosed is \$ ___ to help pay petitioning costs.

☐ I endorse the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

Name _____
Address _____ Phone _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
School/organization _____

The following is the first of four articles on the April Coalition in Berkeley by Harry Ring, head of the Militant's Southwest Bureau. He spent several weeks in Berkeley gathering material for these articles.

By HARRY RING

The "Allende strategy" has supplanted the "Guevara strategy."

At least that's the estimate of some of Berkeley's graduate street-fighters who have moved from trashing to "working within the system."

It was a year ago April that the headlines proclaimed a "radical takeover" of the Berkeley City Council. While the announcement was at best premature, there had been a significant victory at the polls.

support of the April Coalition in his bid for mayor. But formal endorsement was withheld when he refused to endorse the police control referendum.

By election night it was clear that Coalition supporters and leaders identified with Widener. Returns were televised at the Berkeley Community Theatre. As it became clear that Widener was winning, the Red Family, a Berkeley ultra-left group, chanted, "Ho Ho Chi Minh, the Coalition's Gonna Win!" and waved NLF flags. Widener appeared at the Coalition victory party and was greeted with an enthusiasm that made it clear the Coalition leaders regarded Widener's victory as their own.

A tabulation of the votes revealed that while he lacked the formal endorsement of the April Coalition, Wid-

were quite incensed over Mayor Widener's "betrayal" and dismayed by the breach between Bailey-Simmons and Hancock. They now explain that it will be necessary to wait for the 1973 elections in order to win a majority on the council capable of building a better Berkeley and inspiring movement activists around the country.

Meanwhile, it's worth reviewing what has happened so far and seeing what light the Berkeley experience sheds on the whole concept of radicals trying to advance their cause by working to build a "power base" within the existing political structure.

While the April Coalition was ostensibly nonpartisan—as are the City Council elections—the decisive component of the coalition was the organized adherents of the Democratic Party. These included the Berkeley Co-

and in the Democratic Party.

His bid for the congressional nomination was not successful. But his campaign did succeed in siphoning enough activists away from the pioneering antiwar Vietnam Day Committee to render it inoperative.

In 1967, the Community for New Politics ran Robert Avakian, an associate of Scheer, for the Berkeley City Council. The CNP also endorsed Dellums, who was making an initial bid for a council seat as a Democrat. Avakian didn't make it, but Dellums did.

In 1970, forces in the CNP persuaded Dellums to seek the Democratic congressional nomination. He won the nomination and subsequent election. Now a prominent figure in the Democratic Congressional Black Caucus, Dellums is an understandably enthusiastic spokesman for the Berkeley version of "new politics."

In practicing the "new politics," Dellums has demonstrated a very flexible tactical approach. In the Berkeley elections, he not only supported the April Coalition slate but also gave his blessings to mayoral aspirant Widener.

Modest accomplishments

What have the April Coalition and Black Caucus nominees been able to accomplish during their year in office?

They and their supporters readily admit the gains have been modest. They attribute this to the fact that they are a minority on the council and to the disagreements that have emerged between them.

Loni Hancock put it this way in an interview in the Sept. 15, 1971, *San Francisco Chronicle*:

"Until we get more radical councilmen, I don't think anything really creative or important will happen in the next two years. But we must move away from violence and confrontation, official or otherwise."

These are some of the things that have been accomplished:

- They ended the City Council practice of beginning meetings with the pledge of allegiance.

- They established that long hair should not be a barrier to city employment, and even cops can now let their hair hang out in Berkeley.

- They put the spotlight on police political surveillance practices—including the taping of council members' conferences by cops posing as reporters.

- They won a commitment to impose certain restrictions on police dossiers.

- They won council agreement to impose a freeze on municipal hiring until a fair practices employment program was worked out.

- They tried to reduce the 1971-1972 police budget by \$700,000 and did get a compromise \$369,000 cut.

- The new budget (on which Widener "betrayed" the radicals by lining up with the other council members) did shave the homeowner city tax rate from \$3.28 to \$3.275.

The presence of the April Coalition-Black Caucus representatives on the Berkeley City Council has also served to register, even if in a distorted way, the reality that large numbers of American voters are seeking basic changes and are particularly concerned about the Vietnam war.

When crew members of the *USS Coral Sea*, then berthed in Oakland, announced they would seek sanctuary rather than go to Vietnam, the City Council voted to provide them sanctuary if they wanted it.

The council also voted to make a study of what city regulations, such as zoning, could be used to reduce the presence of war-related industries in the area.

The city attorney was instructed to determine which Berkeley industries were engaged in war-related industries (including U.C. Berkeley research) and to regularly make such findings public.

To be continued.

Problems beset 'radicals' in Berkeley City Council

Students at the University of California at Berkeley joined with a broad spectrum of community activists in a loose alliance for the elections, the April Coalition. In a bloc with the Berkeley Black Caucus of the Democratic Party, the April Coalition contested for four vacancies on the nine-member City Council. They elected three of the four and also provided the votes to elect a Black mayor presumed to be generally sympathetic to their aims.

The basis for the united effort by the April Coalition and Black Caucus was common support to a referendum which, if passed, would have decentralized the Berkeley police department and laid the basis for community control of the police.

The referendum had been initiated by the Black Panthers and was supported by virtually all segments of Berkeley's radical community. The community control of the police proposal would have divided the Berkeley police department into three districts (one predominantly student, one predominantly Black, and one for the remainder of the Berkeley community). These districts would be run by elected 15-member councils with full authority over the police. Police would be required to live in the community where they worked. This proposal, if passed, would have introduced important levers of democratic control over the police and would have been a big step toward Black control of the Black community. As such, it faced an oppositional crusade from the business establishment, as well as from Black Democratic politicians.

The referendum was also supported by forces outside of the Coalition, most notably the Socialist Workers Party, which ran its own slate of candidates headed by Antonio Camejo for mayor.

The amendment was defeated approximately 33,000 to 16,000. It won less votes than the Coalition candidates that were pledged to support it.

The April Coalition had nominated Ilona (Loni) Hancock and Rick Brown. Hancock, a feminist and liberal Democrat, was elected. Rick Brown, a well-known campus activist lost by a narrow margin.

The successful Black Caucus nominees were D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, young Black attorneys who had moved to Berkeley the previous year.

The winner in the mayoralty race was Warren Widener, a liberal Democrat who had been elected to the council the previous term as a candidate of the Black Caucus. It was originally assumed that he would have the

ener owed his election to the votes of the supporters of the Coalition. The bulk of his votes—like those for Hancock, Bailey, and Simmons—came from the student-populated precincts.

Widener's 'betrayal'

Immediately after the elections, there were high hopes that the "radicals" could establish a majority on the council. With Widener elected mayor, his council seat was vacant. Despite his refusal to support the community control proposition, it was presumed that Widener would line up on major



Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener (left) and city council members D'Army Bailey (center) and Loni Hancock. April Coalition and Black Caucus candidates gave backhanded support to Widener in 1971 elections, despite his opposition to community control of police. Once in office, Widener surprised 'radicals' on the council by siding with conservative council members.

questions with Bailey, Simmons, and Hancock. Their united vote, it was theorized, would prove decisive since the four opposing members of the council were not politically homogeneous.

The other four were Wilmont Sweeney, a middle-of-the-road Black Democrat elected the previous term as the nominee of the Black Caucus; a white moderate Democrat, Ed Kallgren; and two Republicans, one moderate (Borden Price) and one conservative (Thomas McLaren).

With this lineup, it was felt that if Widener, Hancock, Bailey, and Simmons could agree on a nominee to fill the vacant ninth spot on the council, they would have a good chance of getting their choice.

This hope proved illusory since Widener soon made it painfully clear that he intended to line up with the right wing of the council and not the left. Soon after, fissures developed between Hancock and Bailey and Simmons, and after several months of maneuvers, Widener and his council friends selected Susan Hone, a Democrat, to fill the vacant ninth seat.

Supporters of the April Coalition

dum. The April 6 Movement leaders are now organizing University of California students to support McGovern.

Support for the April Coalition also came from a broad spectrum of community groups, ranging from the Food Conspiracy to the Red Family commune, then led by Tom Hayden. A variety of Berkeley's more vocal purveyors of anti-imperialist rhetoric, such as Stew Albert, were enthusiastic recruiters for the project.

A platform was adopted which—in addition to the community control of police plank—simply included everyone's worthy cause, from ecology to free clinics.

The April Coalition also enjoyed the support of Ron Dellums, the Black Democratic congressman from the Berkeley-Oakland area.

Several of the key forces in the April Coalition had their origins in the Community for New Politics, which was organized in 1966 as the campaign vehicle for Robert Scheer in his bid for the Democratic congressional nomination. A prominent Bay Area activist and sometime Maoist, Scheer offered a happily blended philosophy that power lies in the barrel of a gun

SWP National Committee discusses war, economy, and building socialist movement

By JOEL BRITTON

NEW YORK — The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party met here May 11-14 to set the party's orientation for the coming months. Attending the meeting were some 50 members of the leadership body elected by the twenty-fourth national convention of the SWP held in August 1971. SWP branch organizers not on the national committee attended as observers.

Discussion of the international situation was a central feature of the meeting. Special attention was given to Nixon's latest escalation of the Indochina war, the new period the world capitalist system has entered, and the problems and prospects of building a worldwide revolutionary-socialist movement.

The SWP campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president was assessed. This is already the largest and most effective election campaign the party has ever run. National campaign director Larry Seigle projected activities for the summer leading to a major mobilization of the party for the last two months of the campaign in the fall.

Plans were finalized for this summer's socialist activist and educational conference, open to members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance and supporters of the SWP campaign. This conference will feature lectures on the key questions facing the world revolutionary movement today and will culminate several months of intensive education in socialist summer schools in about 20 cities. Workshops and panel discussion will focus on how to build the revolutionary-socialist movement. More than 1,000 people are expected to attend.

The National Committee meeting ended with the selection of national officers. James P. Cannon, founding leader of the party and its national chairman since 1953, was elected national chairman emeritus. Jack Barnes was elected national secretary, having been nominated by Farrell Dobbs to replace him in that post. Barry Sheppard was elected national organization secretary, replacing Barnes.

The Indochina War

The political report, given for the Political Committee by Sheppard, began with an analysis of Nixon's new escalation of the war. Sheppard pointed out that the mining of North Vietnam's harbors and the greatly increased bombing of North and South Vietnam "dramatically emphasizes and underlines a point we have made since the beginning of the Indochina war. This war is central to world politics, the central focal point of the international class struggle and of politics in the United States. The outcome of this struggle will affect the relationship of class forces on a world scale for the next period."

Nixon's qualitative escalation of the war constitutes a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and China; their response will determine how much further he will go in his genocidal adventure.

A special danger in the current situation is the pressure that Moscow and Peking will bring to bear on the Vietnamese liberation fighters. The Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats will try to get the Vietnamese to accept a settlement more favorable to U.S. imperialism than the actual relation of forces in Vietnam would warrant. Moscow's treachery in welcoming Nixon in the face of Washington's massive escalation of the war highlights the reality of this danger.

This situation "reemphasizes the importance of building a big movement

for 'Out Now,'" Sheppard said, a movement that can reach out to and mobilize the massive antiwar sentiment that exists in this country. The continued active participation of revolutionary socialists in the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia will be vital to this effort.

Sheppard also discussed the new situation facing world capitalism, drawing on the analysis in the political resolution adopted by the last party convention. (The political resolution has been published under the title "Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization" in the October 1971 *International Socialist Review*.) This resolution had predicted further efforts by the U.S. ruling class to drive down the wages of American workers. A few days after the convention, Nixon announced the wage freeze.

The collaboration of the union bureaucracy in imposing Nixon's New Economic Policy points up the crisis of leadership in the labor movement and underlines the necessity of constructing a new, fighting leadership in the unions based on a class-struggle program.

World movement

The first day of the National Committee meeting was devoted to reports and discussion on building the revolutionary-socialist movement internationally. The SWP maintains fraternal relations with the Fourth International. Undemocratic legislation in the U.S. prevents the party from formally affiliating with it.

Peter Camejo gave an extensive and highly informative report on the political situation in several countries in Latin America. He reported on the condition of the Bolivian left in the aftermath of the Banzer coup. The preparations for the coming elections in Argentina were outlined, and new facts were presented on the activities of left groups there. He also summarized the current stage of the construction of revolutionary parties in Peru, Brazil, and Chile.

Mary-Alice Waters and Jack Barnes gave reports for the Political Committee on the building of the world revolutionary movement. They told of encouraging developments in many countries in Europe and elsewhere, including the growth of the Trotskyist movement and new groups seeking affiliation to the Fourth International, the rise of large-scale struggles of workers, growing national liberation movements, the rebirth of the antiwar movement, and the surfacing of feminist sentiment.

The discussion that has taken place in preparation for the fourth World Congress since the reunification of the International in 1963 was described. This congress, with representation from sections and sympathizing groups from all over the globe, will take place next year. The new facts presented in the international reports will prove helpful in clarifying the major questions in dispute within the International.

Extensive debate is taking place around the correct strategy and tactics in Latin America—the questions of guerrilla warfare, popular frontism, methods of party building, and the application of the transitional program and method. The translation into several languages and the worldwide distribution of the contributions to the discussion are being stepped up to facilitate the most thorough discussion possible.

The National Committee decided to deepen and extend the collaboration of the SWP in this process of building a world revolutionary movement.

In the political report, and in the youth report given by YSA National Chairman Andy Rose, a major concern was to assess the current stage of the radicalization in this country. The result was a richer understanding of the ebb and flow of the radicalization and the interrelations between the different components of this process—the antiwar movement, the Black and Chicano movements, the women's liberation movement, and other movements—each of which has its own tempo and independent dynamic.

The lull in mass actions in the student movement since May 1970 was broken, at least temporarily, by the massive student response to Nixon's escalation at many campuses and high schools.

The May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations and other actions in the Black community point toward a possible resurgence of mass action in this arena. The National Black Political Convention showed that many Black people are open to the idea of an independent Black political party as an alternative to further reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties.

The struggles of the Chicano people were discussed. Special attention was given to the efforts to organize independent Chicano parties and the emergence of the movement against the deportation of Raza workers who don't have citizenship papers or work permits.

Issues facing the women's liberation movement were discussed and continued support was projected to the campaign to repeal all anti-abortion laws.

In a special session held one evening, Frank Lovell, national trade-union director of the SWP, reported on a recent tour he made of party branches to facilitate the party's work in the trade-union movement.

Betsey Stone and Lew Jones gave the organizational reports. It was reported that the SWP has doubled in size in the last three years. Further expansion of party activity, influence, and size were projected. Efforts to continue to increase the circulation of *The Militant* were discussed, with special priority placed on regular, expanded sales of the paper.

Leadership transition

The political homogeneity and continuity of leadership in the SWP were readily apparent from the reports and discussion.

The election of officers reflected further progress in leadership transition, a process that has been taking place over the last decade. This process involves younger leaders taking central responsibilities, while, at the same time, the party maintains a continuity of leadership.

For some years this process was furthered by granting advisory status to some of the oldest members of the committee, making room for younger party members who were playing a leading role in the work of the party.

At this meeting, several additional steps were taken. The election of Cannon as national chairman emeritus symbolizes the continuity of party leadership. Now 82, and no longer able to be active, Cannon was the central figure in the founding of the American Trotskyist movement in 1928 and played a prominent role in the founding of the Fourth International 10 years later.

Farrell Dobbs and George Novack asked for and were accorded advisory status on the National Committee. They, along with Tom Kerry, who is also an advisory member, were elected as consultative members of the

Political Committee elected by the plenum. In that capacity they will remain an integral part of the central leadership of the party.

This National Committee meeting shows that the SWP has made considerable progress in tooling up to make maximum gains during the current radicalization. The prospect is for further expansion and progress toward becoming the largest and most influential organization on the left in the United States.

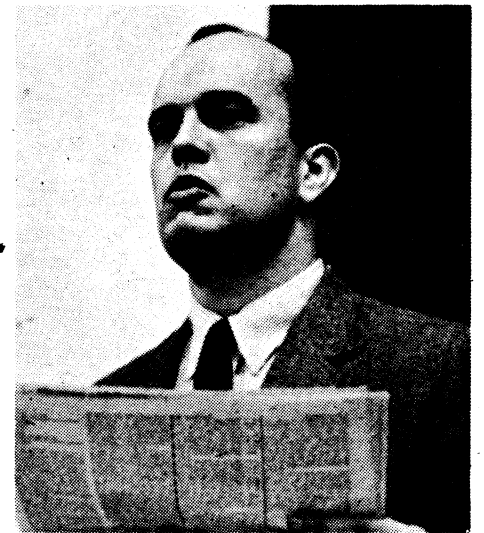


Photo by Dave Wulp



Photo by Walter Lippmann

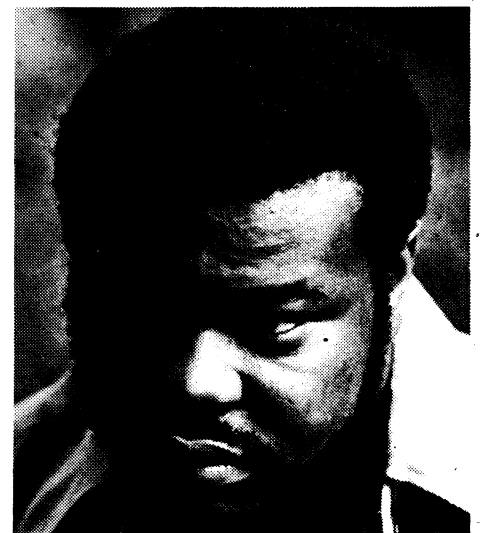


Photo by Brian Shannon



Photo by Walter Lippmann

Top to bottom: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary; Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary; Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Betsey Stone, Political Committee reporter on organization.

Feminism discussed by left in Argentina

From Intercontinental Press

The special oppression of women under capitalist society is a topic that is being discussed by the left in Argentina, reports the April 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*.

A few weeks earlier, it noted, several political organizations cooperating in the military government's plan to hold elections next year (the plan is referred to as the GAN, Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement) held a meeting that took up the question of the situation of women in society. Among the groups that participated were the Peronist movement, the MID (Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo—Movement of Integration and Development), the UCRI (Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente—Uncompromising Radical Civic Union), and the Communist and Popular Conservative parties.

The meeting, however, revealed no intention on the part of the participating groups to take up seriously the fight against women's oppression, observed *Avanzada Socialista*. One of the spokeswomen at the meeting was Nelly Casas of the MID, whose reactionary position on the question was made clear in a television interview a few days prior to the meeting. Also participating in the interview was a staff member of *Muchacha*, described as a "magazine that represents the most combative layer of youth and that is endeavoring to organize a militant feminist movement." The following exchange between the two occurred:

"*Muchacha*. There can be no doubt that women suffer a special oppression.

"*Nelly Casas*. Those of us women who have led rich and very active lives and have worked like men feel far removed from a situation that would be qualified as one of oppression. I have been a worker, I have been a rural teacher, I paint my house, I take care of my kids—in other words, things a man does. Besides, I am a man's equal economically speaking: I pay taxes, I work,

I am active. . . . The term oppression is too strong.

"*Muchacha*. A woman who enjoys a privileged status in relation to women as a whole cannot take her own situation as a criterion for evaluating the situation of all the rest. . . . I would ask a telephone operator, for example, why all her superiors are men and if she in fact does not consider herself discriminated against."

At another point, the following dialogue took place:

"*Muchacha*. There are fewer possibilities for women on the job. In some strikes, for example, they are given smaller wage increases.

"*Nelly Casas*. Negotiating committees are elected at internal elections. As a political activist, I would like to ask, 'How many women go to the meetings where the members of these committees are elected?'

"*Muchacha*. The other day I was talking with a working woman about this and I asked her: 'Why is it that most of those who take part in union activities are men?' She replied: 'Do you think that a married woman who works eight hours, spends another two coming and going, has to go and pick up a child she has left with a neighbor or her mother when she gets back, and then has to clean, wash, iron, and cook—do you really think she has the same opportunity as her husband to take part in union activity?'

The spokeswoman for the GAN not only "denies the existence of female oppression," observed *Avanzada Socialista*, but she "ignores the injustices that prevent women from developing their trade-union and political consciousness."

The Argentine Socialist party, it concluded, "calls on women, as one of the social layers that suffer unjust exploitation, to organize themselves independently in order to push for their demands, and at the same time to struggle for socialism, which will do away with all social injustices."

Abortion bill debated in West Germany

From Intercontinental Press

A special committee of the West German Bundestag held three days of public hearings in mid-April on a proposed reform of Paragraph 218 of the penal code, which prohibits abortion. Two basic proposals were under consideration. One, submitted by the government, would allow an abortion only under certain specified conditions. The other, submitted by fifty-one members of parliament belonging to the SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany) and the FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei—Free Democratic party), would permit a woman to have an abortion legally until the third month of pregnancy.

Twenty-eight psychologists, psychotherapists, and sociologists testified before the committee. Seven of them were women.

Writing in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* from Bonn on April 11, Jutta Roitsch reported that the witnesses were all agreed that "instead of focusing the question of abortion on coming up with a clever criminal law,

the state would do better to show concern for lowering the number of legal and illegal abortions by providing social assistance in the form of child care centers, a new adoption law, an effective counseling system, or a genuine program of housing construction."

The hearings, according to Roitsch (April 13 *Frankfurter Rundschau*), were a "bitter pill" for the SPD-FDP reformers. For while there was agreement that something decisive has to be done in the area of abortion law reform, "people are still not ready to give a woman the right to decide whether or not she wants to become a mother, whether or not she wants to have responsibility for a child whose upbringing will be largely her own burden."

If any abortion reform is adopted during the current legislative session, she concludes, it will most likely be the government's proposal.

In March, East Germany legalized abortion-on-demand during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy.

Abortion rights suffer defeat in Connecticut

By BERNIE KRAWCZYK

HARTFORD, Conn., May 23—Governor Thomas Meskill signed into law tonight a reactionary bill that makes all abortions in Connecticut illegal except those performed to save the life of a pregnant woman. This defeat for Connecticut women climaxed a frantic campaign by the governor and anti-abortion forces to reinstitute severe restrictions against abortion after a federal court ruled the state's old abortion statute unconstitutional in April.

The anti-abortion campaign here was clearly modeled after the recent attempts by the Catholic Church hierarchy and other opponents of abortion to roll back New York's liberalized law. Meskill's determination to deny women abortions went to the extreme of promising to veto a bill passed yesterday by the Connecticut Senate. This bill would have allowed abortions in cases of rape and incest. Today, the Senate dropped the rape-incest amendment.

Connecticut's 112-year-old abortion law was declared unconstitutional by a three-judge court on April 18. In that decision, Judge Edward F. Lumbard stated, "The state's interests are insufficient to take from a woman the decision after conception whether she will bear a child . . . she, as the appropriate decision-maker, must be free to choose."

The new law completely violates this decision. From the time of conception, under this law, the fetus is considered a human being. No person may have, perform, or administer an abortion, and no person may sell abortion instruments or advertise abortion information. Those abor-

tions permitted to save a woman's life must be performed in a licensed hospital. The law calls for five years' imprisonment or a \$5,000 fine for illegal abortions.

A further reactionary aspect of the bill is that it outlaws the use of the interuterine device (IUD) and the morning-after pill, because both methods of birth control prevent the fertilized egg from maturing.

Five hundred people attended hearings before the Connecticut House of Representatives Public Health and Safety Committee on May 19. More than 80 speakers testified, including representatives of anti-abortion groups and supporters of women's right to abortion. A broad spectrum of groups opposed to the reactionary new bills attended the hearing, including Zero Population Growth, Planned Parenthood, Clergy Counseling, Catholic Women for the Right to Choose, Eastern Connecticut Abortion Action Coalition, and plaintiffs from the *Women v. Connecticut* class action suit. This suit, which resulted in the federal court decision against the state's old abortion law, has more than 1,700 plaintiffs.

In response to this latest attack on the right to abortion, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), in a news release dated May 20, declared, "The recent struggles by the women of Connecticut were those of the women in New York state only a few weeks ago. . . . This struggle is only part of the ongoing effort by women in every state to ensure that all women have access to safe and legal abortion."

Women v. Connecticut has announced that it will challenge the reactionary new law in the courts.

Cluchette parole date slated for November

SAN FRANCISCO—Soledad Brother John Cluchette was given a parole date on May 9, six weeks after an all-white jury acquitted him and Fleeta Drumgo of the murder of a prison guard. His new release date is Nov. 13 if he remains on "good behavior." Cluchette's release rests on the "standard condition" that he does not "become active in any group that advocates the overthrow of the government by violence." Cluchette, who had originally been sentenced for burglary, was scheduled for parole in April of 1970.

He refused to testify against Drumgo and George Jackson, who were ac-

cused of murdering prison guard John Mills in January 1970. He soon found himself indicted for the same crime and lost his parole. Attorneys for Cluchette and Drumgo charged that their clients were beaten soon after their acquittal.

Cluchette will be transferred soon from the maximum-security adjustment center in San Quentin. Drumgo, however, must remain there. He is one of the San Quentin Six, a group of inmates charged with conspiring to escape and commit murder in the August 1971 incident in which George Jackson was killed.



Six hundred people in Phoenix, Ariz., joined a Mother's Day demonstration against the war in Southeast Asia on May 16. Women led the five-mile-long march, which ended in a candlelight rally.

Black Agenda set; NAACP denounces it

By DERRICK MORRISON

The National Black Political Agenda, which was finalized May 19 on the birthday of Brother Malcolm X, brings to the fore some of the political differences existing within the Black liberation movement.

The forces arrayed behind the document ranged from Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), chairman of the 13-member Congressional Black Caucus, to Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le-Roi Jones), chairman of the political liberation council of the Congress of African People.

These forces, which in the main were responsible for the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., in March, are attempting to form a National Black Political Assembly to implement the 'convention Agenda. Both the Agenda and assembly were endorsed by the more than 3,000 delegates that attended the Gary Convention.

Many members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were among the delegates at Gary. However, when the draft of the Agenda was submitted to the gathering, the national leadership of the NAACP denounced the Black nationalist thrust of the document. Nonetheless, the NAACP did not break away from the convention at that time.

Apparently the NAACP thought the post-convention steering committee would take steps to drastically alter the Agenda. But when it became clear that the proposed changes would be slight, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, sent out a news release May 16 announcing the split.

Wilkins zeroed in on two points in the revised Agenda—the statements on Israel and on busing students to desegregate the schools. Formally agreed to at the May 19 meeting, the Agenda point on Israel calls for supporting the position of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Security Council. This position simply condemns the expansion of the Zionist settler-state since 1967. By implication it supports the Zionist usurpation of Palestinian land to create Israel in 1948.

This position also happens to coincide with that of the U.S. government. For the steering committee, it represents a retreat from the resolution passed by the Gary convention. The convention called for dismantling the state of Israel so that the Palestinian Arabs could exercise their right to self-determination.

Wilkins won't buy either position. He favors uncritical support to the Zionist state.

On the issue of busing, the Agenda calls for Black control of Black education with adequate financing as the main route by which Black students will obtain a quality education. It views busing Black students out of the Black community as a limited step toward acquiring an equal education. The Agenda states, however, that any decision about busing must be made by the Black community and not by white racist school boards.

Wilkins, on the other hand, is so blinded by the quest for "integration" that he can't even begin to fathom the Black control position.

Wilkins's statement severing ties with the Black Assembly was criticized by the three co-chairmen of the Gary convention: Baraka, Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), and Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher. The three held a news conference in Washington, D.C., May 19. Later that day Baraka came to New York City to address about 100 people gathered in a Queens high school to set up the New York State Black Assembly.

Baraka attacked Wilkins not on the basis of his reactionary political positions but on his refusal to participate in the Assembly. Although Baraka said he stands firm on the two points in contention, he vowed to continue to seek the involvement of the national leadership of the NAACP in the Assembly.

This pursuit of the NAACP raises a number of questions. What type of unity is Baraka trying to achieve? Is he out to forge unity based on a definite and defined program? Or is he out to build a false unity based on concealing and obscuring differences? His actions and the nature of the Assembly strongly suggest the latter.

For example, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC)—which has members in the Assembly—is in political agreement with the NAACP! The CBC issued statements after the Gary convention dissociating itself from the resolutions on Israel and busing. And even after the resolution on Israel was modified, the CBC still disagreed. Many Black Democratic politicians outside Congress—including Hatcher—took similar stances.

These politicians didn't reject the two convention resolutions because the masses of Black people opposed them. They rejected them because they would be unacceptable to the Demo-



Photo by John Hawkins

At Gary Convention, Louisiana delegation proposed a Black party. Although the proposal was sidestepped, it is along this line that Black unity and power can be built.

cratic Party bosses. This is but another indication that these Black politicians are ultimately accountable and responsible to the banking and industrial interests that underwrite the Democratic Party—not to the interests of Black people.

Proof of this is the many Black politicians who have gone ahead and jumped aboard the bandwagons of one or another Democratic presidential hopeful, in total disregard for their stance on the Agenda demands. This has happened despite the fact that one-half of the 60-page document is supposed to serve as the basis for advancing support to candidates.

One may ask why these Black politicians go along with the Agenda, which outlines a program for Black control of the Black community and is assuredly not the position of the Democratic Party. Unlike the issues of busing and Israel, there is no ongoing struggle or upsurge demanding Black control of the Black community. As long as the sentiment for control remains dispersed and unorganized, the Black politicians can play along and appear to be in tune with it. They are not planning to organize and mobilize the community to implement the Agenda. Their verbal endorsement just adds to the illusion that Black political power can be built inside the Democratic Party.

This illusion is what motivates nationalists like Baraka and the Congress of African People to operate

within the party of the capitalist oppressor. But no Black unity of substance will be established inside the Democratic Party. The course for building genuine unity lies in the formation of an independent Black political party, of, by, and for the Black community.

There are no shortcuts to the task of unifying the Black community. Because the Democratic and Republican parties control our communities, they bear major responsibility for the disunity and fragmentation in them. Any strategy of struggle for Black control of the Black community must of necessity start outside and in opposition to the political rule of these two capitalist parties.

Despite the differences separating advocates of an independent Black party from those who are now working within the Democratic Party, there are possibilities for joint actions. Brothers and sisters with both perspectives have helped build the African Liberation Day actions, for example. And the "action agenda" of the National Black Political Agenda projects the formation of "Black action groups" to raise particular demands. The broadest possible endorsement of and participation by Black people in such action groups should be sought.

These action groups, armed with the perspective of mass action and welcoming the participation of all who agree with the purpose of the demonstration, could revitalize the Black liberation movement.

D.C. Black students hold antiwar actions

By JOHN HAWKINS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Students at a predominantly Black high school here mounted a series of antiwar protests during the two weeks preceding the May 21 march on Washington.

On May 10 and 12, students from Eastern High, which is more than 90 percent Black, marched from their school to the Capitol to protest Nixon's escalation of the Indochina war. Their demand was loud and clear: U.S. get out of Southeast Asia now.

The first march drew 500 students from Eastern High. After the demonstration the students decided to build upon this success and draw in other D.C. high school students.

The second demonstration accomplished that goal. It drew more than 1,500. Both demonstrations, well marshaled and earnest in their commitment to protest Nixon's escalation, re-

ceived extensive coverage from the news media in the area.

In the week preceding the May 21 demonstration, students from Eastern continued their antiwar activity, trying to involve students from other schools. As part of their effort, they demanded that the D.C. School Board endorse the May 21 demonstration and encourage students to attend. They also demanded that the board designate May 19 a moratorium in all D.C. high schools to commemorate the birthday of Malcolm X and to provide a forum for antiwar protest.

At the May 17 school board meeting, the students pointed to the board's endorsement of the March 25 Children's March for Survival as a precedent. They argued that the board, which is currently laying off teachers due to lack of funds, could not help but recognize the link between the money wasted in Indochina and the

lack of money in the District for education. They urged the board to endorse May 19 and May 21 actions.

The board, headed by former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) militant Marion Barry, refused to hear the students' demands or to consider their resolution during its regular session. After adjourning the meeting, board members offered to listen and "reason" with the students. Much to their dismay, the students did not wish to be "reasoned" with. They continued to voice their demand for antiwar assemblies, rallies, and teach-ins in all D.C. schools on May 19 and for the board to endorse May 21.

Faced with the intransigence of the students' demands, the board instructed the principal of Eastern, who was present at the meeting, to allow an assembly at the school. It refused, however, to call for similar activities

in other schools or to endorse May 21.

Due to the lateness of the hour and to the fact that the board refused to reconvene in order to come to any substantive decision, the students accepted the compromise and then set out to organize the rally.

The May 19 rally was a success, drawing nearly all of the 2,000 students to the school auditorium. Among those who addressed the students were Charles Cassel, school board member and Statehood Party candidate for D.C. Delegate; Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. Delegate; Timothy Thomas of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU); and Jeff Lee, an Eastern High School student.

All of the speakers urged the students to attend the May 21 demonstration. Many students took leaflets to hand out on the final day before the action.

In Review

Trotsky on Lunacharsky: A revolutionist's assessment



Leon Trotsky in 1920

The obituary of Anatole Lunacharsky by Leon Trotsky that appears below was first printed in the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Opposition* in February 1934. This translation into English for the first time was made by George C. Myland for the new book to be published in June by Pathfinder Press Inc., *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34)*. It is the sixth in an 11-volume series collecting Trotsky's writings during his third and final exile (1929-1940), excluding material permanently in print elsewhere and unpublished material in the Trotsky Archives at Harvard.

The obituary is noteworthy not only because of its subject, Lunacharsky, but more so because it is a model of the balanced way in which a revolutionist assesses the career of a political opponent. Anatole Vasilievich Lunacharsky did not play an honorable role in the factional struggle of the Left Opposition against the encroaching Stalinist bureaucracy that began in 1923. He stood aloof from the battle, at the same time accommodating himself to those he considered the likely victors, first Gregory Zinoviev and then Joseph Stalin. But neither this failure nor Lunacharsky's earlier philosophical "deviations" obscured for Trotsky his contribution to the ultimate victory of the world revolution.

Trotsky recounts with respect the part played by Lunacharsky in the political life of the Russian emigration in Europe before 1917, his "tireless agitational work" preparing for the insurrection in the months just prior to the October revolution, and the fulfillment of his "historic mission" as educational minister in the first Soviet government.

The late Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher, in an introduction to a translation of Lunacharsky's 1923 book *Silhouettes* (published in the U.S. by Hill and Wang in 1968), gave the following description of Lunacharsky's role during the pre-October days that Trotsky calls "the period of [Lunacharsky's] political culmination":

"He was the great orator of Red Petrograd, second only to Trotsky, addressing every day, or even several times a day, huge, hungry and angry crowds of workers, soldiers and sailors, and breaking down almost effortlessly, by his sheer sincerity and sensitivity, all barriers of social origin and education that might have separated him from them. The crowds were spellbound by him and loved him."

In Trotsky's view, it was unthinkable to deny respect to such a person. The degrading orgies of adulation and vilification that came into fashion with the rise of the parasitic Stalin bureaucracy were foreign to Trotsky, as they had been to the socialist movement before Stalinism and as they are to genuine revolutionaries today. Marxists are repelled by the devil-theories that bureaucrats use to try to discredit their opponents.

Readers of *The Militant* may not be familiar with all of the references Trotsky makes to persons, places, and events. Alexander Herzen, whose dilettantish journalism Trotsky mentions as an extreme example of weaknesses that afflicted Lunacharsky's work, was a founder of the Narodnik movement. This movement, referred to by Trotsky as the "People's Will" (*Narodnaya Volya*), was a populist movement made up of members of the Russian intelligentsia who went among the peasants with an ill-defined vision of revolution that relied on acts of terrorism. It was smashed by the Czarist police, who infiltrated it and recruited informers from among the peasants the Narodniks sought to organize.

The 1903 split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, the party of those who professed adherence to Marxism, occurred over questions of party organization and program. The Bolshevik (majority) faction favored centralized party organization and saw an independent role for the working class in the coming revolution. The Menshevik (minority) faction was for less centralized organization and argued that the working class must subordinate itself to the capitalist liberals in the fight to overthrow Czarism.

Lenin led the Bolshevik faction. His former collaborators—George Plekhanov, Paul Axelrod, Vera Zasulich, Julius Martov, and Alexander Potresov—all eventually became Mensheviks and opponents of the October 1917 revolution.

A. Bogdanov (Alexander Malinovsky), a close political companion of Lenin from 1903 to 1908, became after that the leader of the *otzovist* movement—the sectarian faction, described briefly by Trotsky, that contended that the party should work only underground. Expelled from the Bolshevik Party in 1909, Bogdanov expounded a philosophy opposed to dialectical materialism

against which Lenin polemicized in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Lunacharsky himself held philosophical views close to those of Bogdanov, but Lenin was less severe in his criticisms of "Father Anatole."

Maxim Gorky is the world-renowned Russian writer. He and Lunacharsky co-edited a paper, *New Life* (*Novaya Zhizn*), in St. Petersburg during the 1905 revolution. Afterward the two collaborated on many projects. Gorky opposed the October 1917 revolution at first, but later reconciled himself to it. Still later he reconciled himself to the rule of the bureaucratic caste that usurped power when the revolution ebbed.

Menton, where Lunacharsky died, is a city in southern France.

— LEE SMITH

For the last decade, political events have swept us apart and placed us in different camps, so that I have been able to keep up with the fortunes of Lunacharsky only through the newspapers. But there were years when we were bound by close political ties and when our personal relations, while not exceptionally intimate, were of a friendly character.

Lunacharsky was four or five years younger than Lenin and about as many years older than I. Though in itself not very great, this age difference nevertheless meant that we belonged to different revolutionary generations. When he entered political life as a high school student in Kiev, Lunacharsky could still be influenced by the last rumblings of the terrorist struggle of the "People's Will" [*Narodnaya Volya*] against czarism. For my closer contemporaries, the struggle of the "People's Will" was already a legend.

From his student years on, Lunacharsky astonished people with his many-sided talent. He wrote verses, of course; he easily grasped philosophical ideas, performed excellently at student cultural soirees, was an unusually good orator, and showed no lack of colors on his literary palette. As a twenty-year-old youth he was able to deliver lectures on Nietzsche, argue about the categorical imperative, defend Marx's theory of value, and compare Sophocles and Shakespeare. His exceptional gifts were organically combined with the wasteful dilettantism of the aristocratic intelligentsia, which at one time had found its highest journalistic expression in the person of Alexander Herzen.

Lunacharsky was connected with the revolution and socialism for a period of forty years, i.e., for his whole conscious life. He passed through prisons, exile and emigration, remaining all the while an unshakable Marxist. During these long years, thousands upon thousands of his former comrades-in-arms from the same circles of the aristocratic and bourgeois intelligentsia migrated into the camp of Ukrainian nationalism, bourgeois liberalism or monarchist reaction. For Lunacharsky, the ideas of the revolution were not a youthful enthusiasm: they entered into his nerves and blood vessels. This is the first thing that must be said over his fresh grave.

However, it would be incorrect to represent Lunacharsky as a man of firm will and stern temper, as a fighter who was never distracted. No. His steadfastness was very—it seemed to many of us, excessively—elastic. Dilettantism



Lunacharsky, next to Lenin, in 1920

Argentine editor sentenced to exile on ship

NEW YORK — Repression in Argentina has taken on a new dimension with the trial and sentencing of Casiana Ahumada, editor of the highly respected Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*. She has been sentenced to four years' exile on a prison ship. The Lanusse regime's official charge against her was "inciting to violence" in the pages of the magazine.

A petition being circulated in defense of Ahumada, however, indicates the real source of the charges. They stem from coverage given in *Cristianismo y Revolución* to "the systematic looting of the national wealth, the exploitation of the workers and the middle classes, and above all, the unmerciful repressive rage to which the country has been subjected to prevent the people from achieving their national and social liberation."

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has issued a call to all groups and individuals concerned with basic human rights to take action to protest this barbaric sentence.

As an immediate step it urges that telegrams demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Ahumada be sent to Mor Roig, Minister of the Interior, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Copies should be sent to Asociación Gremial de Abogados, Suipacha 612, 4 Piso, Dto. "B," Buenos Aires (the lawyers trade-union association), and to USLA.

USLA has called a meeting of all interested groups and individuals for May 30 at 8 p.m. at the Dolphin Center, 137A West 14th St., in New York. The meeting will make plans for a demonstration at the Argentine Mission to the United Nations for June 6, the day before Ahumada's case comes before Argentine federal courts for a final decision.

The steps taken against Ahumada are only one instance of the Lanusse regime's general crackdown against left-wing publications.

An editorial in the Buenos Aires biweekly *Nuevo Hombre* at the beginning of April pointed out that the government has been systematically attacking the radical press. The usual tactic is to close papers down for "violating" technicalities of the repressive censorship laws. *Nuevo Hombre* itself met this fate May 12.

The regime has silenced other journals by arresting their publishers on grounds similar to those it used against Ahumada.

Nuevo Hombre reported that other forms of harassment against the radical press include bombing their offices, intimidating printers and distributors, and setting fire to newsstands that sell these papers. In addition, the government frequently refuses to authorize the mailing of such journals.

For further information about actions planned around the trial of Ahumada, contact USLA, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001. Telephone: (212) 924-0894.

possessed not only his intellect but also his character. As an orator and writer, he readily strayed from the subject. A literary image not infrequently drew him far from the development of his basic thought. As a politician, too, his glance wandered right and left. Lunacharsky was too receptive to each and every philosophical and political novelty to fail to be attracted by it and play with it.

Undoubtedly, this dilettantish generosity of his nature weakened his inner critical sense. His speeches were most frequently improvisations and, as always in such circumstances, were free neither of prolixity nor banality. He wrote or dictated with extraordinary freedom and barely corrected his manuscripts. His intellectual concentration, his ability to censor himself, were not sufficient for him to create those works of more lasting and indisputable value for which his talent and knowledge were fully adequate.

But however Lunacharsky digressed, he returned every time to his basic thought, not only in particular articles and speeches but also in all of his political activity. His various and sometimes unexpected fluctuations had a limited scope; they never went outside the boundaries of the revolution and socialism.

As early as 1904, about a year after the split of the Russian Social Democracy into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, Lunacharsky, who had arrived in the emigre movement directly from penal exile within Russia, adhered to the Bolsheviks. Lenin, who just before that had broken with his teachers (Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasulich) and his closest cothinkers (Martov, Potresov) was very much alone in those days. He was painfully in need of a collaborator to do work in the field, something Lenin did not like to waste his powers on—nor was it in him to do so. Lunacharsky arrived as a true gift of fate. He had hardly stepped down from the railway carriage before he threw himself into the noisy life of the Russian emigration in Switzerland, France and all of Europe: he gave lectures, debated, polemicized in the press, led study circles, made jokes and witticisms, sang off-key, and captivated young and old with his many-sided education and his sweet reasonableness in personal relations.

A compliant softness was a not unimportant feature in this man's character. He was a stranger to petty vanity, but also to a matter of much greater concern: defending what he himself recognized as the truth, from friend as well as enemy. Throughout his life, Lunacharsky would fall under the influence of people who were not infrequently less knowledgeable and talented than he but of a firmer cast of mind. He came to Bolshevism through his older friend Bogdanov. The young scholar—scientist, doctor, philosopher, economist—Bogdanov (whose real name was Malinovsky) assured Lenin ahead of time that his younger friend Lunacharsky, on arriving abroad, would without fail follow his example and adhere to the Bolsheviks. The prediction was fully confirmed. But that same Bogdanov, after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, drew Lunacharsky away from the Bolsheviks to a small group of superintransigents that combined a sectarian "refusal to acknowledge" the victorious counterrevolution with abstract preaching of a "proletarian culture" cooked up by laboratory methods.

In the dark years of reaction (1908-12), when there was an epidemic collapse into mysticism on the part of wide circles of the intelligentsia, Lunacharsky, together with Gorky, to whom he was bound by a close friendship, paid tribute to the mystical searchings. While not breaking with Marxism, he began to represent the socialist ideal as a new form of religion and seriously occupied himself with the search for a new ritual. The sarcastic Plekhanov called him "the blessed Anatole." The nickname stuck for a long time. Lenin no less unmercifully flogged his former and future collaborator. Although it gradually softened, the enmity lasted until 1917, when Lunacharsky, not without resistance, and not without strong external pressure, this time from me, again adhered to the Bolsheviks. He entered a period of tireless agitational work, which became the period of his political culmination. At this time, too, there was no lack of impressionistic leaps. Thus, he almost broke with the party in the most critical moment, in November 1917, when a rumor arrived from Moscow that the Bolshevik artillery had destroyed St. Basil's Church. A connoisseur and admirer of art could not forgive such vandalism! Fortunately, Lunacharsky, as we know, was amiable and agreeable; and besides St. Basil's Church did not suffer at all in the days of the Moscow insurrection.



A crowd of soldiers and sailors in Petrograd, March 1917. Lunacharsky spoke to such crowds every day, often several times a day.

In his position of people's commissar of education, Lunacharsky was irreplaceable in relations with the old university circles, and pedagogical circles in general, who were convinced that they could expect the complete liquidation of science and art from the "ignorant usurpers." Lunacharsky, effortlessly and enthusiastically, showed this shut-in milieu that the Bolsheviks not only respected culture but were not unacquainted with it. More than one academic druid had to stare open-mouthed at this vandal, who could read half a dozen modern languages and two ancient ones and, in passing, unexpectedly displayed such a many-sided erudition as to suffice without difficulty for ten professors. To Lunacharsky belongs much of the credit for reconciling the patented, diploma-bearing intelligentsia to Soviet power. But in the actual effort of organizing the educational system, he proved to be hopelessly incapable. After the first ill-fated attempts, in which dilettantish fantasy was woven together with administrative helplessness, Lunacharsky himself ceased to pretend to practical leadership. The Central Committee provided him with assistants, who, screened by the personal authority of the people's commissar, firmly held the reins in their hands.

This gave Lunacharsky all the more leisure time to devote to art. The minister of the revolution not only appreciated and understood the theater but also was a prolific playwright. His plays disclose the variety of his knowledge and interests, the surprising ease of his insight into the history and culture of various countries and epochs and, finally, an unusual ability to combine invention and borrowing. But no more than that. They do not bear the stamp of authentic artistic genius.

In 1923, Lunacharsky published a small volume entitled *Silhouettes* dedicated to the characterization of the leaders of the revolution. The book appeared at a very inappropriate time: suffice it to say that Stalin's name was not even mentioned in it. By the following year *Silhouettes* had been withdrawn from circulation, and Lunacharsky himself felt he was half in disgrace. But here, too, he was not abandoned by his fortunate trait: complacency. He quickly reconciled himself to the transformation in the personal composition of the leadership or, in any event, fully subordinated himself to the new masters of the situation. Nevertheless he remained to the end an alien figure in their ranks. Lunacharsky knew the past of the revolution and the party too well, pursued too many different interests, was, in the final analysis, too educated, not to be out of place in the bureaucratic ranks. Removed from the post of people's commissar, in which, by the way, he succeeded in fully accomplishing his historic mission, Lunacharsky remained almost without duties, right up to his assignment as ambassador to Spain. But he did not succeed in occupying his new post: death overtook him in Menton. Neither friend nor honest opponent will deny respect to his shade.

—Jan. 1, 1934

Calendar

ATLANTA

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Speaker: Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 5th C.D. Fri., June 2, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

SOCIALISTS IN THE '72 ELECTIONS. A series of classes. 7:30 p.m. at 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station). Admission: \$1 per class. Aup. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

Mon., May 29: The History of Socialist Campaigns in the U.S. Speaker: George Basley.

Wed., May 31: A Marxist Looks at Miami—Politics in the '72 Elections. Speaker: Laura Miller.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Sunday night at 7 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station).

VOICES OF DISSENT. Anais Nin speaks on women's liberation. Wed., May 31, at 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., June 3, at 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

LOS ANGELES

JUNE PICNIC. June 18. Elysian Park (Scott at Stadium Way) Aup. Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party. For reservations and more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

IN DEFENSE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLE. A panel of speakers including Judy White of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE FUTURE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY. Panel discussion with: Natalie Shainess, psychiatrist; Bette Denitch, anthropology professor at Barnard College; Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

SEATTLE

THE CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker Helen Meyers, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. The 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, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AFTER AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY: HEAR THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for D.C. Delegate; and John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress from New York's 12th C.D. Sat., May 27, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor (9th and H sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

...Wallace

Continued from page 9

votes, none of them favor basic changes, and they are all more alike than they are different. This is because they—and the Democratic Party as a whole—are dedicated to the goal of preserving the capitalist system: private ownership of the big industries and production for profit, not for people's needs.

All of the Democrats—when it comes down to action—will take the side of the capitalist employers, not the working people. Wars, racism, unemployment, poverty, and poor education are all part of capitalism. No one committed to the Democratic or Republican party—the parties of big business—is going to be able to solve these problems.

Labor party needed

Wallace's victories demonstrate the urgent need for the labor movement to break from the Democratic Party, and form its own party based on the trade unions. A political party based on and controlled by the labor movement—in alliance with the Black and Chicano movements—could provide an effective vehicle for fighting such evils as rising prices, high taxes, poor education, the wage controls, and the Vietnam war.

Wallace's successes also demonstrate the need for the trade unions to stop giving in to the employers' policies of pitting white workers against Black workers. The unions must refuse to

allow the companies to maintain racist hiring practices. They should be in the front lines of the struggles for quality education and quality housing for Black people, wherever they choose to go to school or live.

An educational campaign is needed in the unions to help convince white workers that racist oppression is not in their interests; that unions will only be strong if they support preferential hiring and advancement of their most oppressed members; and that the common exploitation of Black and white workers is the basis for a united struggle against the capitalist employers and their parties.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party are the only candidates in the 1972 presidential elections who stand for this program, who call for mobilizing the power of the entire labor movement in independent struggle for the needs of the majority of people in this country. By bringing the campaign of Jenness and Pulley to working people around the country, SWP campaign supporters are projecting the only real answer to Wallace in 1972.

...Davis

Continued from page 24

Ushindi said that on the afternoon of Aug. 8, 1970, Alexander and Davis came to her apartment. "They asked if the weapons were still in the gun rack in the closet and looked. The two carbines and the Browning pistol were gone." Ushindi recalled that Alexander and Davis then showed her a newspaper photograph of Jonathan Jackson holding a carbine that looked similar to the one the Che-Lumumba Club had owned. "They asked if Jonathan had been there," the witness stated, "and I said he had come by on Saturday. Then they left, and the next time I saw Angela was in the Marin County Jail."

Since he was unable to discredit Ushindi's testimony, prosecutor Albert Harris began to pry into her membership in the Communist Party, her current activity in defense of Davis, and her earlier refusal to testify before the

state attorney general's office on the grounds of Fifth Amendment protection from self-incrimination.

Judge Richard Arnason was forced to point out to the jury that it is illegal for attorneys to comment on witnesses' prior refusals to testify.

On May 22 Susan Castro stated that she conferred with Davis at noon on Aug. 5, 1970, in San Francisco about methods to broaden mass support for the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. After their meeting, Castro testified, she drove Davis to Soledad House, the San Francisco headquarters of the defense committee, which had been opened to the public three days earlier.

Castro's statement that she had been with Davis until 2:45 p.m. directly contradicted the testimony of the San Quentin prison guards. They had maintained that Davis was waiting in the prison visitors' section from 11:30 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. while Jonathan Jackson spoke with his brother George.

Harris tried to discredit the testimony of Castro by emphasizing the fact that she spoke last year at a rally to free Davis.

The embarrassed prosecutor shouted "Not true!" when the next witness, Carl Bloice, testified that he drove Davis to the airport Aug. 7, 1970, and that he saw her buy a ticket at 1:45 p.m. for the 2 p.m. flight to Los Angeles.

Bloice maintains that Davis spent the morning of Aug. 7 working in the office of the *People's World*, the West Coast weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party. Bloice is the editor of the paper. His testimony could destroy the state's contention that Davis was at the airport the morning of Aug. 7, waiting for Jonathan Jackson to arrive with hostages to be exchanged for the Soledad Brothers.

In a frantic search for a way to discredit Bloice's testimony, Harris asked, "Didn't you receive a phone call from Angela Davis on Aug. 15, 1970?" Harris maintained that Davis had used the pseudonym of Jamala in an alleged phone call from the Los Angeles airport. Much to the prosecutor's humiliation, the defense asked the actual Jamala to rise from her seat among the spectators.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Claremont: YSA, c/o Andrea Weissberg, 247 Oberlin Ave., Claremont, Calif. 91711. Tel: (714) 624-2294.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Jim Sarsgard, 1020 Kent St., #114, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 443-9923.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor, SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Lloyd, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Andy Farrand, Box 456, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '72, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 401 W. Maple, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o LPO 12149, Livingston College, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

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

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 3807 Thaxton S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. Tel: (505) 268-1541.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 260-0976.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32804, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2942.

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

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o John Sajewski, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Stan Max, Kingston Inn, Room 210, 1320 Kingston Road, Kingston, R.I. 02881. Tel: (401) 783-7855.

Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901.

Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Keith Harris, P.O. Box 8402, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Elizabeth Lariscy, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 478-8602. Bookstore: 611 West 29th.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, Box 5090, Tech. Sta., Lubbock, Texas 79409. Tel: (806) 747-6842.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 306 Chittenden Hall, U of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 05401.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 406 E. McKenzie, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o Mary Jo Vogel, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-1693.

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

Johnson first. Then Nixon. Each week since the beginning, *Intercontinental Press* has been exposing the real aims of the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department, and the CIA in Indochina.

Our forecasts have been borne out with remarkable consistency.

U.S. troops out of Indochina NOW! To make your efforts more effective, arm yourself with the facts. Read *Intercontinental Press* every week.

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

- ☐ Enclosed is \$7.50 for 26 issues.
☐ Enclosed is \$15 for one year.
☐ Enclosed is 50c for a single copy.

REBELS & BUREAU- CRATS

by George Saunders

Soviet conflicts as depicted in Solzhenitsyn's 'The Cancer Ward.'

60-page pamphlet. **50c**
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The *Militant* is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

from Pathfinder



By Malcolm X Cloth Paper
Autobiography of
Malcolm X 1.50

By Any Means
Necessary 5.95 1.95
Malcolm X Speaks 6.95 1.50
Malcolm X On Afro-
American History 1.00
Malcolm X Talks
to Young People .35
Two Speeches by
Malcolm X .50

By George Breitman
The Assassination
of Malcolm X .50
The Last Year of
Malcolm X 4.95 1.95
Malcolm X: The
Man and His
Ideas .50

By Albert Cleage and
George Breitman
Myths About
Malcolm X:
Two Views .50

John Henrik Clarke,
Editor
Malcolm X: The Man
and His Times 1.95

Pathfinder Press, 410 West
Street, New York, New York
10014 (212) 741-0690

MAY 1970: Birth of the Antiwar University

A collection of articles documenting the May 1970 student strike against the war in Southeast Asia. Includes leaflets and eyewitness accounts written by the strikers. \$1.05.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



HELP CHANGE THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD!

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The Young Socialist Alliance is a revolutionary organization of activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, student, and the Black and Chicano nationalist movements. A total transformation of society and the construction of socialism are what the YSA is fighting for. If you want to work for revolutionary change, join the YSA.

☐ I would like more information about the YSA.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ Enclosed is \$1.25 for a copy of Young Socialist strategy for '72 (a pamphlet containing the reports and resolutions from the eleventh national YSA convention).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Send to YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

in the June
International Socialist Review

THE SOVIET BLOC

includes: THE SOVIET ECONOMY TODAY: TOWARD CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM? by Ernest Mandel; THE TWILIGHT OF BUREAUCRATIC REFORMISM IN EASTERN EUROPE by Cliff Conner; ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, A NEW HISTORIC IMPULSE by Dora Taylor; DOCUMENTS OF THE NEW SOVIET OPPOSITION.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

☐ Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

Now that you've read THE MILITANT... Why not subscribe? 10 ISSUES FOR \$1

☐ \$1 for a 10-week introductory subscription.

☐ \$3 for a six-month subscription.

☐ \$1.50 for GIs for six months.

☐ \$6 for a one-year subscription.

☐ New ☐ Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

THE MILITANT

Massive antiwar actions in Peru, Mexico; Jenness on whirlwind Latin America tour

By BEN ATWOOD

BUENOS AIRES, May 22—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness has received an extremely warm reception so far on her speaking and fact-finding tour in Latin America.

After two days in Mexico, we stopped in Lima, Peru. When we arrived in Lima May 7 we were met at the airport by a photographer and a reporter from the daily newspaper *Expresso*, which has a circulation of about 250,000. The reporter was a

On May 18 Jenness spoke to about 400 students at the Engineering School of the university in Lima. She was interrupted throughout her speech with applause from the audience. The response was especially enthusiastic when Jenness called for support for Angela Davis, saying that her only crime was being Black, a woman, and a member of the Communist Party.

The students also responded to her statement that victory for the Vietnamese revolution is a victory for the

society, how the Angela Davis defense is going, and what Jenness's policy would be on Latin America if she were elected.

Jenness received great applause when she stated that China and the Soviet Union should unite to defend Vietnam and that the people of the world should demand this: "It would be a crime against humanity," Jenness said, "if they let the Vietnamese revolution go down in defeat."

Jenness was interviewed by another newspaper, *El Correo*, and spoke on television for about two minutes, stressing the importance of the international antiwar movement.

On May 19 Jenness spoke again at the university, this time to about 300 students at the School of Agriculture. She was officially invited to speak by the Student Federation of the School of Agriculture. The students were in the midst of preparing for an antiwar demonstration scheduled to take place that night.

On the evening of May 19 Jenness participated in the first antiwar demonstration ever held in Lima. About 25,000 to 30,000 marched 30 blocks through the city shouting slogans against the Vietnam war.

The demonstration was organized by a broad united front of more than 35 organizations—unions, church groups, student groups, a group of wives of miners who were on strike, and many others. The united-front group sponsoring the march officially invited Jenness to participate in it.

The square where the march began was jammed with thousands of people carrying signs and banners. Thousands more lined the streets for the length of the march, cheering as the placards went by.

The official demand of the march was "Yankees out of Vietnam!" Other slogans were "Peru and Vietnam unit-

ed will win," "Vietnam, surely you will give it hard to the Yankees," "Yankees out of Peru," and "Nixon, assassin."

Invited by the reporter who first met us at the airport, Linda Jenness marched with newspaper reporters, who had a special contingent in the demonstration.

We arrived in Buenos Aires, Argentina, yesterday to see about 200 people on the airport observation platform holding up a large banner saying "Welcome, Linda." When Jenness got off the plane and waved, she was met with loud cheers.

The customs officials gave Jenness some trouble because she was carrying a lot of campaign literature, but we got through and were immediately brought to a news conference with about 25 reporters present.

When she finished talking to reporters, her welcomers—mostly young people—were all waiting. They were clapping and shouting a rhymed slogan that could be roughly translated as, "Linda, Linda, Linda. What a beautiful thing, that our compañera Linda supports the Vietnamese people."

This morning the four daily newspapers carried stories on Jenness based on the interviews at the airport. This afternoon's papers came out with much more information, and at noon today Jenness appeared on live TV for about 10 minutes, speaking as a feminist.

One of the main attractions is that Jenness is a feminist. Women's liberation groups are just beginning to form here, and these groups are interested in talking with Jenness.

Jenness will go on a national tour of Argentina for the rest of this week, speaking at universities in Tucumán, Rosario, Mar del Plata, and Bahía Blanca. She will also be speaking at meetings sponsored by the Argentine Socialist Party.

20,000 demonstrate in Mexico City against U.S. escalation in Vietnam

MEXICO CITY, May 24—Between 20,000 and 25,000 people marched here on May 17 in a peaceful protest against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This was the first major antiwar action held in Mexico in more than four years.

The daily newspapers gave a great deal of coverage to the demonstration. *El Dia*, a major paper, estimated the crowd size as 20,000.

The marchers surged down the main streets as crowds, clearly in support of the demonstration, lined the sidewalks. The march culminated in a rally at the Juarez Monument attended by 30,000 people despite a heavy rainstorm.

There were three speakers at the rally, two of them students. The speak-

ers denounced the Vietnam war as an imperialist war and also spoke out in protest of the brutal treatment faced by political prisoners in Lecumberri prison in Mexico City. Although many previous demonstrations here, including one last June, have been attacked by police or right wingers, there were no such attacks against this action.

The march and rally were organized by a newly formed group, Comité de Mobilización pro-Vietnam (Mobilization Committee for Vietnam). This is a broad coalition of some 30 organizations including the Mexican Communist Party and the Mexican Trotskyist organization, Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist Group).

Latin American people because it would weaken imperialism.

The question and answer period was very long and every response by Jenness received applause. The students had questions about China, Bangladesh, and Ceylon. They asked why the Socialist Workers Party participates in elections, why revolution is necessary to change

feminist and was very interested in the development of the women's liberation movement in the United States.

The interview resulted in a front-page photo of Jenness and a good article in *Expresso* the following day. Another article appeared in the Sunday magazine section of the same paper.

Defense rests case in Angela Davis trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, May 24—The defense in the Angela Davis murder-kidnapping-conspiracy frame-up rested its case today with testimony by Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo.

Drumgo, who entered the courtroom bound in chains, testified that he had no knowledge of the Aug. 7, 1970, escape attempt at the Marin County courthouse until hearing about the incident on the San Quentin prison radio. Drumgo stated that he did not know that freedom for him and his codefendants John Cluchette and

George Jackson was the alleged purpose of the "conspiracy" until reading the newspapers the following day.

The prosecution's rebuttal is scheduled to begin on May 26, and the case should go to the jury early next week.

This past week the prosecution has been forced to expose the fabricated nature of its case in the face of a startling rebuttal by the defense. Unable to effectively refute the defense witnesses, the prosecution has tried to slander them with red-baiting.

On May 23, defense witness Ellen Broms testified that Angela Davis and Franklin Alexander (the national coordinator of the Davis defense committee) had a quiet dinner at her house in Los Angeles on the evening of Aug. 7, 1970. About 10:30 p.m. Alexander received a phone call from his wife, Kendra, announcing that Jonathan Jackson had been killed that morning at the Marin County Civic Center.

According to Broms, Davis then exclaimed, through tears, "I can't believe it. He's so young!" Broms recalled that Davis and Alexander read the details of the Marin County events in the morning newspaper after staying overnight at her home. "My God!" Davis cried out, according to Broms.

"There's something about a shotgun here. I just bought one a few days ago for the defense of Soledad House and gave it to Jonathan. I wonder if it could be that one!"

An earlier witness, Tamu Ushindi (Valerie Mitchell), testified that her apartment in Los Angeles had served as the headquarters of both the Sole-

dad Brothers Defense Committee and the Che-Lumumba Club, an organization affiliated to the Communist Party. She explained that several carbines, an automatic pistol, and ammunition were kept in a closet in the apartment and that they were used for target practice by Che-Lumumba members.

Continued on page 22



Angela Davis

Photo by Michael Schreiber

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

MAY 17-21—Court in recess.

MAY 20—Close to 3,500 people participate in a rally in San Jose against war, racism, and repression. Franklin Alexander, national coordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, called for mass demonstrations "in front of every U.S. embassy in the world" as the case draws to a close and goes to the jury. Other speakers at the rally included Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Raul Ruiz of the Raza Unida Party in Los Angeles; and Al Hubbard of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

MAY 22—The defense presents its first witnesses.

Ruchell Magee is granted a change of trial site from Marin County to San Francisco. Magee's case was severed from Davis's last July. Magee announces that he is planning a \$200,000 civil action against officials of the San Quentin prison and against the **San Francisco Chronicle** for holding him up to public ridicule while denying him an opportunity for rebuttal.

California law presently forbids a person serving a life sentence, like Magee, from filing a civil suit.