

THE MILITANT

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

Worldwide protests free Angela Davis

Angela Davis is free! A massive protest movement that reached into every corner of the globe freed her.

Millions saw her fate as their own. To Blacks, women, prisoners, and radicals she was a victim of the same racist oppression, sexist discrimination, and illegal harassment they face daily. To many she was the symbol of the struggle against capitalist injustice.

They knew she was being framed before the jury delivered its verdict. They also recognized that what was involved was not simply a political frame-up against one person but an attack on all those fighting against oppression.

The capitalist government from President Nixon to Governor Reagan tried to make an example of Angela Davis. They framed her because of her affiliation to the Communist Party and her political activities. They red-baited her, they accused her of terrorism, and they tried to put her away for a long time. In effect, they told all those struggling for social change that this is what would happen to them if they got out of line, especially if they were Black.

See page 11 for articles on Angela Davis victory.

If the capitalist rulers had succeeded in this effort, they would have dealt a demoralizing blow to all movements for social change. The hand of reaction would have been strengthened and further government attacks encouraged. But they were defeated, and the victory is ours.

This victory shows the inspiring power of mass protest. It will renew our confidence to continue

the fight for a more humane America.

Capitalist newspapers, politicians, and judges are hailing this decision as proof that the American legal system is just. A New York Times editorial defending this view states that Davis, "tried as any other citizen would be, was acquitted simply because the Government failed to prove its case before a jury of her peers."

What nonsense! Nearly two years ago, following the Marin County shoot-out, Davis was put on the FBI's list of 10 most wanted criminals and hunted down like an animal. She was thrown into jail and kept in maximum security without bail. When she was finally granted bail a few months ago, it was set at the exorbitant amount of \$102,500. There were no Blacks on her jury. Thus, contrary to the Times, she did not have a jury of her peers.

And they call this justice! If the legal system is so fair and all we have to do is depend on the courts, why did thousands of people feel the need to raise tens of thousands of dollars, publish thousands of leaflets and hold hundreds of meetings to fight for Davis's freedom? As Davis herself stated, "... a fair trial would have been no trial at all."

The fact is that there is no justice for the oppressed in America except what they win by fighting for it.

To recognize this is not to deny that the jury was obviously affected by the extent of support for Angela Davis as well as by the radicalization in the country. The jurors unanimously agreed that Davis was innocent. They embraced her following the trial and most of them attended her victory celebration. This sensitivity of ju-



rors to the political movements of the day is worrying the government. This concern is behind the U.S. Supreme Court's recent ruling to permit conviction in state courts by a majority of jurors rather than unanimous agreement. Thus, while the governing officials brag about the "justice" of American democracy, they are trying to curtail the rights of Americans even more.

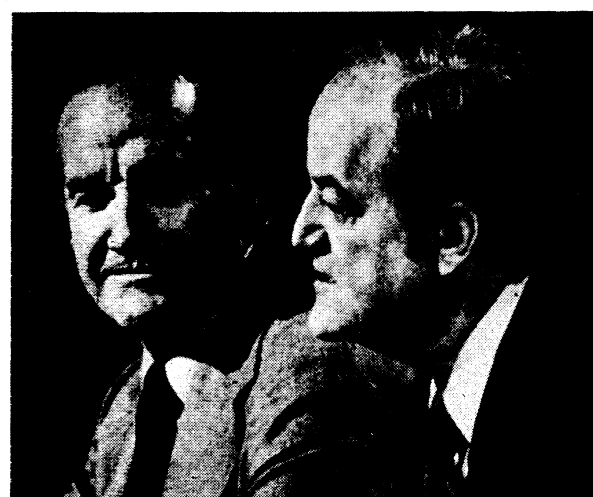
The Davis victory comes on top of the those won by Black Panther leaders Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven and 13 Panther leaders in New York last year; the Soledad Brothers, Fleeta

Drumgo, and John Cluchette, a couple of months ago; and the Harrisburg Seven defendants.

Cluchette and Drumgo, however, are still in jail on previous charges. Ruchell Magee and the San Quentin Six still face trial, and many other prisoners are being unjustly held.

The victories that have been scored should encourage us to redouble our efforts to free these men and women. A broad defense that unites people of diverse views is necessary to carry out this independent struggle. The Davis case has ended in a historic victory, but the struggle must continue.

Humphrey-McGovern debates in California: No basic differences



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HERE'S TO YOUR HEALTH! Clarence Christian Hayes, a retired house painter, was recently charged with bank robbery in what Washington, D.C., police said was an attempt to get money needed for the treatment of a blood disease.

According to the police, the 70-year-old man had been refused admission to George Washington University hospital for lack of money. He was arrested 45 minutes later during a holdup of a nearby bank.

THE SPREAD OF CULTURE: We apologize for not reporting this event in time for our readers to attend, but a collection of 29 paintings by George Meany was on exhibition in New York until June 2. The May 20 *New York Times* reports that the president of the AFL-CIO took up painting in 1957 when his daughter bought him a paint-by-the-numbers kit.



Meany says that painting "is a wonderful way to forget—even about the economy."

DEMONSTRATION AT GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE: One hundred antiwar demonstrators picketed the Democratic Governors' Conference on June 6 in Houston. The action was organized by the Houston Peace Action Coalition when it learned that Nixon had been invited to speak at the conference. Nixon decided not to show up.

TRADE UNIONISTS OPPOSE THE WAR: A meeting of about 400 northern California trade unionists on May 23 heard David Livingston, president of the Distributive Workers of America, District 65, and Clifton Caldwell, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, report on their trip to North Vietnam. Designed to build the Labor for Peace conference to be held in St. Louis on June 23-24, the meeting attracted a large section of the official leadership of the trade-union movement in the San Francisco area.

In a related development, the June 1 *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that "Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons was met with a strong chorus of boos and only scattered applause . . . when he supported President Nixon's war policies before a gathering here of 1,200 members of the Service Employees Union."

MORALE ON THE BATTLEFRONT: Visits by Saigon businessmen and South Vietnamese officials have been successful recently in striking a new chord of responsiveness in South Vietnamese troops, reports Sydney H. Schanberg in the May 24 *New York Times*.

Explaining the success of his new program, Saigon's economics minister, a former banker, says, "The South Vietnamese are a practical people. When you come to visit them, you must come with a gift, not just with nice words."

In view of this, the Saigon business community, "which has made great sums out of the war," has donated more than \$300,000 so far, and the economics minister "has been busy giving it away in army camps as a morale builder."

MORALE ON THE HOMEFRONT: Reiterating the message of a front-page editorial run the week before, the May 19 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the Christian Science Board of Directors had called upon its followers to do something about the war.

"It is our conviction," the board explained, "that prayer is deeply needed and of vital importance at this time."

PUERTO RICAN DAY PARADE: Several hundred thousand people turned out for the June 4 Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York. Several thousand marched in a contingent that combined supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Komite, the Young Lords Organization, the Socialist Workers Party, and other groups. SWP supporters carried a banner saying "Fuera Yanqui de Puerto Rico y Vietnam, Vote Partido Obrero Socialista" (Yankees get out of Puerto Rico and Vietnam, Vote Socialist Workers Party). Three thousand Spanish-language leaflets were distributed on the campaign of James Mendietta, who is running for Congress on the SWP ticket in the 14th C.D. in Brooklyn.

RAZA WOMEN TO HOLD MIDWEST CONFERENCE: A Raza women's conference entitled, "Adelante Mujer" (Forward Women) is scheduled for June 17 at the United

Auto Workers Local 5 headquarters at 1426 S. Main St., South Bend, Ind. The conference, originally projected by women at the Mi Raza Primero Conference held in Muskegon, Mich., Jan. 19, will deal with feminism and the struggles of La Raza. A conference call states, "Although . . . geared for 'Mujeres de la Raza,' other interested women are welcome to attend." For further information, contact Olga Villa, 404 S. Walnut St., South Bend, Ind. 46619. Telephone: (219) 287-5929.

HUMBERTO PAGAN FACES DEPORTATION: Humberto Pagan, a 21-year-old activist in the Puerto Rican independence movement, faces deportation from Canada to the U.S. He is charged with killing the head of the San Juan riot police during a police attack on a demonstration at the University of Puerto Rico in March 1971.

The Canadian government, which claims that it is deporting him because he entered Canada under an assumed name, insists that Pagan must be returned to his "country of origin"—the United States—despite the fact that he has been offered asylum in several countries.

Pagan's lawyers have produced witnesses to prove that he would face unusual punishment in Puerto Rico and would not receive a fair trial due to his association with the independence movement. Canadian courts have not yet ruled on Pagan's extradition, although the Immigration Appeal Board has ordered him deported.

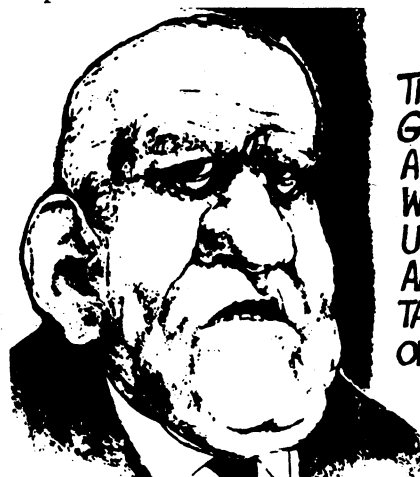
IRANIAN STUDENTS PROTEST: About 100 people participated in a demonstration organized by the Iranian Students Association in San Francisco on May 30. They were protesting Nixon's visit to Iran and the wave of terror being carried out there against opponents of the Shah's regime.

In the last three months, 23 political prisoners have been executed in Iran, five of them less than a week before Nixon's arrival. Twelve others have been sentenced to death and await execution. The April 24 *Newsweek* reported that "At least a dozen suspects have committed suicide rather than submit to interrogation by the police," who regularly torture political prisoners.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS ATTACK ON CIVIL LIBERTIES: Two decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court May 22 make it easier for public prosecutors to disregard the rights supposedly guaranteed to the American people.

The court upheld by a 5-to-2 vote the practice of compelling witnesses to testify before grand juries and other government panels, even though they may later be prosecuted on the events they are forced to talk about.

In recent years it has become common for grand juries "investigating" one or another demonstration or incident to be used by the government as vehicles for fishing expeditions into the lives and affairs of political dissenters in the hope of turning up something that could be used against them. Witnesses subpoenaed in such cases are faced with the choice of testifying or going to jail for contempt.



THERE'S GOT TO BE A MORE EFFECTIVE WAY TO PREVENT UNGRATEFUL AMERICANS FROM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FREE SPEECH!!

The Court also ruled, in a 5-to-4 decision, that unanimous jury verdicts are not required for criminal convictions in state courts. This ruling will make it much easier for prosecutors to obtain convictions. In effect, it removes the necessity to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

FORMER SDS LEADER "CONFUSED": Carl Oglesby, a former national president of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), addressed an antiwar rally of about 500 on May 19 in Boulder, Colo. Militant reporter Jon Hillson tells us that at the end of his speech, Oglesby explained that he was opposed to revolution. At a later teach-in Oglesby told of his support for George McGovern, whom he had worked for in Ohio. When asked about the need to develop a program and organization independent of the capitalist parties, Oglesby replied that the concept is "too linear."

A former local SDS leader and friend of Oglesby's commented, "Carl is confused like all of us."

—DAVE FRANKEL

Debates reveal candidates' hypocrisy

By CAROLINE LUND

JUNE 7 — Yesterday California Democrats presented Senator George McGovern with 271 delegate votes to the Democratic Party convention in this winner-take-all presidential primary. McGovern won with 45 percent of the vote, and Humphrey followed with 39 percent.

After the California primary, it can be predicted that the McGovern camp will be in a state of euphoria, since the victory in that state greatly increases their candidate's chance to win the Democratic presidential nomination. However, the rightward course of the McGovern campaign, expressed in the McGovern-Humphrey debates preceding the primary, should give pause to McGovern supporters who think he will bring radical changes.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the three debates May 28, May 30, and June 4 was that McGovern and Humphrey are much more alike than they are different. Humphrey attempted to convince people that he was just as radical as McGovern on the question of the Vietnam war. McGovern, on the other hand, attempted to convince people that he was just as conservative as Humphrey on such issues as U.S. support to Israeli aggression and on the need for the U.S. to maintain enough arms to be a "first-rate power."

Both of these Democrats scored telling points against each other, exposing their hypocrisy and their lack of fundamental solutions to the deep problems facing this country. Here is a brief summary.

- *On the war.* Under pressure from the mass antiwar sentiment in this country, both McGovern and Humphrey claim they would end the war three months after their election. Each pointed out the hypocrisy of the other for previously supporting the Vietnam war.

Humphrey insisted that "We were both wrong"—pointing out that he and McGovern voted the same way on war-related measures throughout their Senate careers. He also pointed to McGovern's vote as late as 1969 for Vietnam war appropriations.

McGovern, on the other hand, noted that there was no appreciable difference between the Johnson-Humphrey policy on Vietnam and the Nixon war policy. He quoted Humphrey's callous statement in 1967 that Vietnam is "our greatest adventure, and a wonderful one it is."

- *On the "defense" budget.* Humphrey attacked McGovern's proposal for

cutting the "defense" budget to \$55-billion, asserting that such a cut would "make America into a second-class power." McGovern replied that this figure "would provide for defense of our country" and would not reduce it to second-rate status. "We have all the military power we need," McGovern said, "to destroy every city in the Soviet Union 20 times over. That is just about enough."

McGovern noted that Humphrey himself had in 1971 proposed cutting the "defense" budget to only (!) \$50-

Both candidates hid the truth that the U.S. "defense" budget is not a defense budget at all but a war budget. The U.S. has no need for a defense budget because no country is out to attack it; instead, it is the U.S. that is the main force of brutal aggression in the world today. Neither candidate believes this. If they had they would have proposed the only safe step for all the peoples of the world: total, unilateral U.S. disarmament.

- *On welfare.* Both presented pro-

for those presently unemployed. The small number of people still unable to work should be automatically granted regular income at the average level of union wages.

In addition, quality, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers are needed to free women who wish to work or go to school. But neither candidate mentioned this crucial need for child care as central to the problems of welfare recipients.

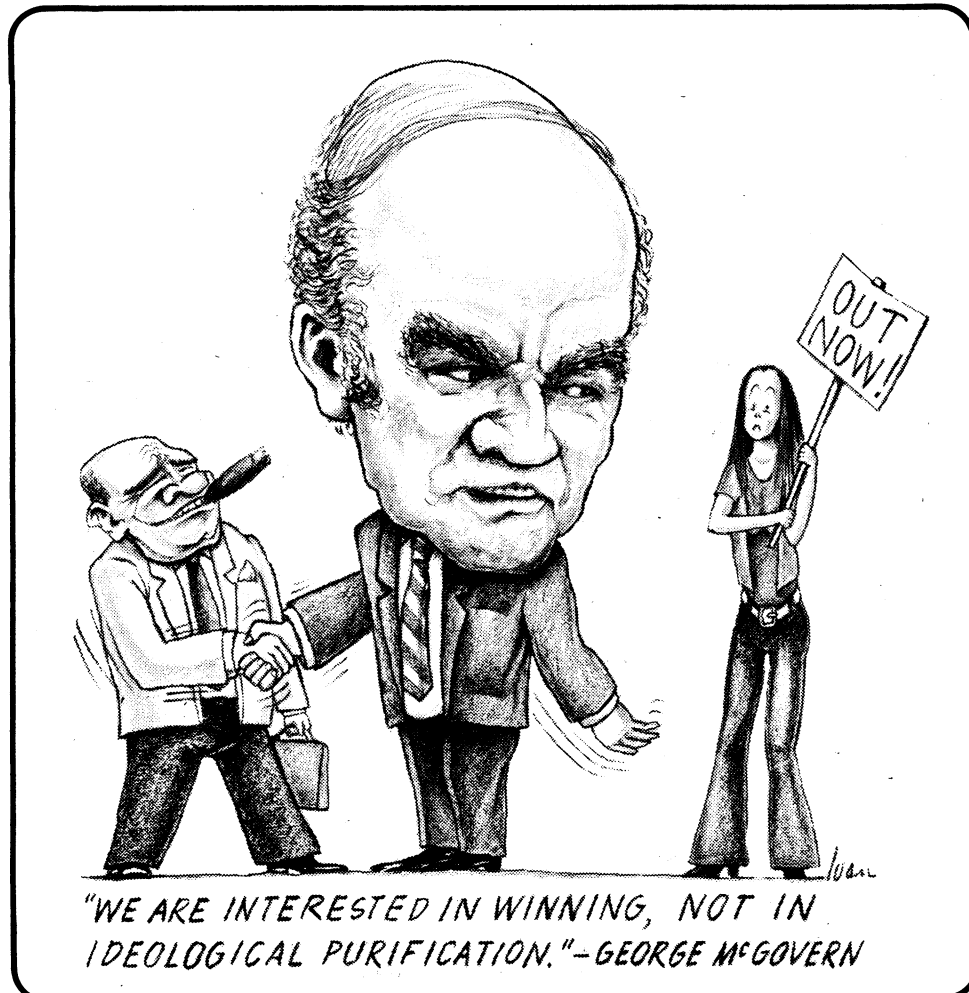
- *On taxes.* Both have proposals for supposedly cutting out tax loopholes used by the rich. McGovern's proposals seem to be the most radical and far-reaching. As Humphrey pointed out during the debates, however, McGovern is talking out of both sides of his mouth. He has been giving his campaign audiences the idea that he wants such things as an income ceiling of \$50,000, a 100 percent tax on inheritances over \$500,000, and elimination or tightening of investment tax credits and depletion allowances.

But then he published an ad in the May 22 *Wall Street Journal* explaining to big capitalists what he *really* stands for. In this ad, McGovern denies he has proposed each of the above steps, and softens up each of them to the advantage of the rich. He reminds them that "only the Congress initiates tax measures" anyway—with the implication that capitalists needn't worry too much about his tax-reform proposals—they are only to fool the voters.

The most revealing section of McGovern's letter to Wall Street says: "In traveling about the country, I have found the vast majority of Americans in a rage against the injustices of our present tax system. I believe that their anger is justified and, if not soon rectified, represents a threat to the free-enterprise system in which you and I so strongly believe."

Thus, he appeals to capitalists to support him because he will be best able to preserve the capitalist system and the prerogatives of the capitalist exploiters by coopting the growing popular dissatisfaction with the evils of capitalism.

The California primary campaign brought out even more clearly that the choice between McGovern and Humphrey is really no choice at all. It illustrated how the two main declared Democratic contenders agree completely on the fundamental goal of preserving the capitalist system of war, exploitation, racism, and sexism, and will subordinate all issues to that goal.



billion. So they squabbled over a few billion more or less, while agreeing on the same goal of remaining a "first-rate power."

Translated into ordinary language, this means Humphrey and McGovern both want the U.S. to have enough military might to function as a world cop—able to invade other countries or otherwise lend aid to reactionary forces seeking to crush popular rebellions, such as in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic. It also means maintaining the U.S. arms buildup against the Soviet Union and China in hopes of some day overturning their nationalized economies and re-opening these vast areas to capitalist exploitation.

posals for "welfare reform"—McGovern for an automatic allotment of \$1,000 per person, or \$4,000 for a family of four. Humphrey proposed a minimum income of \$3,000 for a family of four. These are pitiful, poverty-level amounts that would not basically change the conditions of desperation and degradation faced by most welfare recipients.

Neither candidate supported or even raised the type of fundamental changes needed to solve the problems of welfare recipients. These would include a national shortening of the workweek at no reduction in weekly pay, together with job-training programs in each enterprise. This would open up thousands of well-paying jobs

Calif. shows how the 'little men' get elected

By NORTON SANDLER and MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN FRANCISCO, June 6 — Television viewers in the state of California have recently been treated to the spectacle of the Democratic presidential aspirants masquerading as "populists" and "little men" bucking the great party machine.

Radical young people were never fooled by Hubert Humphrey's claims, but in recent weeks many have seen George McGovern's populist cover shrink substantially.

Not that McGovern didn't go to extraordinary lengths to give people the impression that he was a "grass roots" candidate. He even mass distributed campaign buttons that read "I am a grass root."

Such claims were also made during half-hour television commercials for the senator. The expensively produced shows depicted campaign workers opening envelopes containing one-dol-

lar bills as McGovern falsely claimed that this is how his campaign is financed.

Besides the commercials—which attempted to create a McGovern myth by substituting his Air Force fighter-bomber for John Kennedy's PT-109—McGovern totally swamped Humphrey in the billboard derby. At last count, the barnstorming South Dakotan had 15 campaign offices in San Francisco alone.

McGovern's fund-raising operation was graced by all the gifts of modern technology. Computerized cards were placed in automatic-dialing telephones to make calls. When someone answered the phone, the fund-raiser pulled a switch so that a tape of McGovern himself making a plea for funds could be aired. Following the pitch the volunteer would return to the phone and then electronically tally the results.

Precinct canvassing was similarly

programmed. If the volunteers brought back critical comments on the senator, the information was fed into the computer, and a letter outlining the senator's position on that issue was immediately mailed out.

In May a new California law went into effect requiring two months advance "security deposits" on all political campaign telephones. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that McGovern was required to cough up \$100,000 by the May 26 deadline.

Later, however, the newspaper reported that McGovern had made a "settlement" with Pacific Telephone for \$30,000. While the phone company hastily attempted to assure other political accounts that the reports were inaccurate and that McGovern had paid in full, it appeared that this "enemy of big business" had friends in high places after all.

Everywhere that McGovern spoke during the California campaign, sup-

porters of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, were present with their own campaign literature, which was well received by the youthful McGovern audiences. During the weeks preceding the primary, 350 of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kit, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about George McGovern," were sold by YSJP supporters.

At one outdoor rally in San Jose, 120 of the McGovern truth kits and 125 *Militants* were sold. Five thousand copies of Linda Jenness's "Open Letter to George McGovern Supporters" were also distributed at this and other rallies.

Young people at McGovern rallies repeatedly thanked Jenness and Pulley supporters for clarifying the senator's real record on the war in Vietnam and on the right of women to abortion.

WONAAC debates mass-action strategy

National abortion conference set for July

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK, June 7 — The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) held a national coordinating committee meeting here June 4, which projected a series of activities to carry on the fight for women's right to abortion. Nearly 80 women from local coalitions around the country attended.

Motions to call a national abortion conference on July 15-16 in New York, to hold an international tribunal in the fall, and to intensify WONAAC's support to the Abortion Rights Act now in Congress were passed after a lengthy and heated debate.

This debate reflected sharp disagreements within WONAAC over perspectives for continuing the struggle to repeal anti-abortion laws in the face of the growing mobilization of anti-abortion forces.

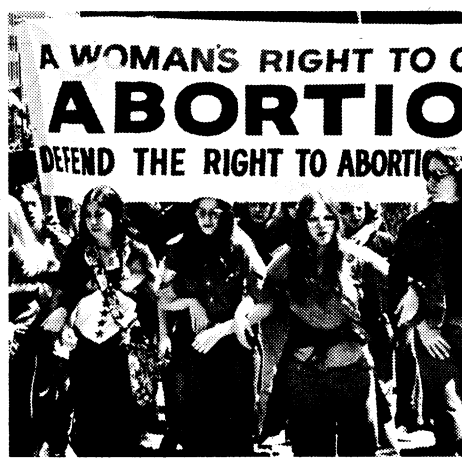
In just the past few months the women's movement has been confronted with the near adoption of a law overturning the liberalized abortion statute in New York. Also, a new, more restrictive abortion law was passed in Connecticut. This came after women had won a significant victory in the courts against Connecticut's old law.

These setbacks, plus President Nixon's intervention on the side of the Catholic archdiocese in the New York fight and the retreat on the part of politicians like George McGovern on the abortion issue in the presidential election campaigns, are indications that a major national debate has arisen on the abortion issue. The importance of the struggle for the right to abortion is more sharply posed now than at any previous time in WONAAC's brief history, or for that matter in the history of the women's liberation movement as a whole.

WONAAC has done more than any other group to rally women to defend their right to abortion. At the height of the crisis around the New York law, WONAAC sponsored and carried out a series of national demonstrations on May 6. Nevertheless, the anti-abortion forces were able to turn out 10,000 people for a march

in New York on April 16, while WONAAC's demonstration in New York three weeks later had 1,500 participants.

It was in this context that the following questions were raised at the June 4 meeting: Why have WONAAC's demonstrations not been larger? Why has WONAAC not been able to unite women in demonstrations as powerful as those of the right wing, particularly when the majority of women in this country are strongly in favor of repealing the anti-abortion laws?



Photos by Lora Eckert

WONAAC responded to attacks by anti-abortion forces with demonstrations in New York and around the country on May 6.

A group of women in WONAAC, including five national coordinators and several members of the coalition's national staff, presented a proposal to the June 4 meeting that reflected frustration over the recent right-wing victories and the relatively small size of WONAAC's actions. Their proposal concluded: "demonstrations the size of May 6 and November 20 [1971] can hurt our movement." In future months, they continued, WONAAC should concentrate on "education" and strengthening and "decentralizing" local WONAAC coalitions. "Any demonstrations on a national scale . . . would only hinder efforts to effect this absolutely necessary decentralization," they argued. Instead, they said, more attention should be paid to lobbying

in state legislatures, court actions, and relating to women "on a personal level."

One of the national coordinators who signed this proposal, Judy Syfers from San Francisco WONAAC, charged in a letter read to the meeting that WONAAC has "stirred up a hornet's nest by mass demonstrations"; that it has "created" the "monster" of the right wing's reaction; and that therefore, WONAAC's pro-abortion demonstrations have simply hurt women. The implication of her letter was that WONAAC should give up trying to mobilize women on the abortion issue.

After introducing their proposal for discussion, however, these women then withdrew it from the floor. They announced that the "real problem" was "domination" of WONAAC by the Socialist Workers Party. One signer of this proposal even put forth a red-baiting motion that all non-SWP members in the room stand up and identify themselves. The body rejected this motion.

A second proposal, submitted to the meeting by WONAAC national coordinator Matilde Zimmermann, stressed the continued importance of mass struggle, including demonstrations, and a nationally-coordinated campaign to win abortion. Carol Lipman, a former national project director of WONAAC and an SWP leader, spoke in support of this proposal. She pointed out that "the right wing has been able to out-mobilize and out-organize precisely because of the divisions and lack of perspective within the women's movement today."

Lipman noted that the two largest women's organizations in the country — the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Women's National Political Caucus (NWPC) — have made little real effort to organize women around the abortion issue. NOW and NWPC have concentrated their efforts on convincing women that electing Democrats and Republicans to office is the way to win their demands. In addition, she pointed out, other sections of the women's movement have

counterposed abortion counseling and referral work to mobilizing women in action to demand the right to abortion.

Those groups that disagree with the strategy of mass action have used red-baiting to try to discredit WONAAC and have zeroed in on the SWP as their prime target. This is because the SWP has been the single most important organization to defend WONAAC's perspective of mass struggle.

Rather than change the orientation of WONAAC — the one force in the women's movement that has stood up to the attacks by the right wing — what is needed now is to unite women in action, regardless of their differences on other questions.

Particularly now, when it is crystal clear to everyone in the women's movement that the abortion issue has reached crisis proportions, such united action is imperative.

In assessing the different strategies before the movement it is important to remember that the limited gains women have made have not been won by depending on the "good intentions" of state legislators. The liberalized abortion law in New York was passed two years ago when women began to demand their rights and to organize around their right to abortion.

For years before that, women had tried to lobby and pressure legislators to reform the laws. But only when women began to mobilize in a visible struggle and it became clear that large numbers of women favored the right to abortion did the legislature act. Only through the power of women united in a visible, mass struggle can an effective force be organized on a national scale to wipe all restrictions against abortion off the books.

The upcoming July conference offers WONAAC and the women's movement as a whole the opportunity to have a full, serious, and democratic discussion and to build the most effective and united force to combat the attacks on the right to abortion by the government and the Catholic Church hierarchy.

Jenness reports on Latin American visit

By BEN ATWOOD

NEW YORK, June 6 — Linda Jenness reported on her three-week tour of Latin America today at a news conference at the Overseas Press Club here. Immediately afterward she participated in a demonstration at the Argentine Consulate demanding the release of all Argentine political prisoners. The picket line was organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners to protest the repression and torture carried out by the Argentine regime.

At the news conference, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president summarized her tour to Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Chile: "I was greeted by thousands of young people deeply opposed to the role of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and in their own countries."

Jenness said she would continue to "expose and demand an end to U.S. intervention in Latin America — Washington's political maneuvers, Wall Street's economic exploitation, and the CIA's military intrigues."

Jenness also told the press, "I know that the news of the acquittal of Angela Davis will bring joy throughout Latin America because she is seen as a heroic figure throughout the continent, and her name is a household word."

Jenness also reported on a "new and dynamic feminist movement in Latin

America, particularly in Argentina."

Jenness returned here this week after a three-day stop in Santiago, Chile. While in Chile she spoke to a campus meeting at the University of Santiago attended by more than 100 people; visited the barrio of La Nueva Havana; and spoke to a meeting of exiled Brazilians. Her arrival in Chile was announced in the news media and a news conference on June 1 resulted in a long article in *3ra de La Hora*, one of the largest Santiago papers.

While in Latin America, Jenness received many telegrams and letters of solidarity from a variety of organizations and individuals. Alberto Bruzone, well-known Argentine painter, sent an inscribed picture with the message: "Through Linda Jenness I send my heartiest greetings to the American workers, the real people of the U.S.A., with whom we expect to celebrate our freedom, in peace and justice."

The Asociación Argentina de Actores (Actors Association) sent a telegram reading: "Our warmest welcome to Linda Jenness, first feminist candidate for the Presidency of the U.S. and vigorous fighter for the rights of women." The Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos (an antiwar organization) sent greetings to the antiwar forces in the United States. The Printers Union of Argentina sent copies of their

publications and best wishes. The Ateneo Popular de Cultura (a cultural organization) sent greetings to the antiwar movement, the feminist movement, and in particular to Angela Davis. These are only a sample of the greetings and expressions of solidarity that Jenness received.

Avanzada Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista Argentino, which was responsible for organizing Jenness's tour in Argentina, featured the tour in its May 24 issue. The front page carried a picture of Jenness, with the headlines

"Yankees Out of Vietnam Now" and "Linda Jenness has arrived." The centerfold of the weekly carried an explanation of the SWP platform, an interview with Jenness on her arrival, and lists of the persons and organizations in the official welcoming committee.

The news coverage of the tour is still coming in. The clippings to date show that most of the major TV and radio stations, newspapers, and magazines in Argentina covered the tour. Significant coverage was also received in Peru and Chile.



Photo by Ben Atwood

A crowd of 3,000 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, saluted Jenness's speech on May 26 with cheers and showers of confetti.

NPAC meeting maps summer projects

By ALEX HARTE

A June 3 meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition steering committee, held in Chicago, discussed the current stage of the Indochina war and the antiwar movement, and laid the basis for an extensive program of summer activity.

The meeting discussed plans for the upcoming National Antiwar Convention in Los Angeles, July 21-23. The convention, to be held at the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles, will be open to all groups and individuals opposed to the war.

In a report on prospects for the antiwar movement, NPAC co-coordinator Katherine Sojourner stressed the need to build the Los Angeles convention and the Aug. 5-9 summer actions against the war that had been called by the previous NPAC steering committee meeting.

Sojourner evaluated the May 21 Emergency March on Washington built by NPAC, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, as well as other antiwar organizations.

Immediately following Nixon's May 8 speech, Sojourner said, many forces in the antiwar movement believed the May 21 action could be of unprecedented size. However, she said, it became apparent before the action that Nixon's trip to Moscow had the effect of diverting attention from his new escalation of the war. She pointed out that a serious and steady escalation of the murderous air war over Vietnam has been taking place.

This point was reinforced in a report by Fred Branfman, director of Project Air War, who presented extensive documentation of the increased bombing over both South and North Vietnam.

Ruth Gage-Colby reported on preparations for the August 5-9 actions, which are timed to take place on the anniversary of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The actions will take place in cities across the U. S.

An extensive report of NPAC's work to build the worldwide antiwar movement was given by Dan Rosenshine, who recently returned from a six-week tour of Europe. Rosenshine reported that NPAC representatives addressed antiwar rallies and met with antiwar groups in 10 countries this spring. He noted that the antiwar movement is on an upswing throughout Europe.

NPAC co-coordinator Jerry Gordon gave a report outlining ways to build and reinforce local peace action coalitions throughout the country. A decision was made to intensify national contact with GI antiwar groups, and a committee was formed to work in this area.

The next meeting of the NPAC national steering committee will be held on July 1 in Philadelphia.

Laird vows more bombing raids

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 7—The Nixon administration's hope of indefinitely maintaining the bombing of Vietnam at the present escalated levels was revealed to Congress June 5. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird asked the Senate and House Appropriations Committees for an additional \$3-billion to \$5-billion to finance the stepped-up air warfare.

In day-long testimony, according to the June 6 *New York Times*, Laird

War secretary Laird also told Congress that the Pentagon's support of the Moscow summit "arms control" pact was contingent on proceeding with the buildup of U. S. armaments. In a news conference after closed-door sessions with the House Armed Services Committee, June 6, Laird stated that Congress would jeopardize national security as well as the chances for future arms-control agreements if it did not provide funds for develop-



disclosed that the air and naval bombardment of the last two-and-a-half months has increased the cost of the war by an estimated \$1.5-billion a quarter. If this figure is correct, an additional \$5-billion would cover enough munitions to carry out the heavy bombing for almost a year.

The *Times* also reported on June 6 that in Vietnam "American planes continued the heaviest bombing of the war. In South Vietnam . . . there were 22 bombing raids Sunday [June 4] by B-52's, which most often attack in flights of three planes, and 269 single-plane sorties by jet fighter-bombers.

"In North Vietnam, more than 260 fighter-bombers reportedly struck at bridges, roads, rail-lines, trucks, boats and supply dumps. One of the most noteworthy achievements of the American pilots over North Vietnam on Sunday, a United States military spokesman said, was the destruction of the 150-foot-long railroad bridge over the Nam Lam River, 85 miles northwest of Hanoi."

ment of missile-launching submarines and the new B-1 strategic bomber.

Thus the Moscow summit agreements failed to restrain Nixon's escalated bombing of Vietnam in any way, and the "arms control" pact gave Washington the green light to continue to pile up its arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The cowardly subservience of the Kremlin bureaucrats to Nixon's war demands is making a deep impression on the antiwar movement. I. F. Stone, longtime opponent of the war, wrote a blistering attack on both Moscow and Peking in the June 15 *New York Review of Books*. "To speak plainly," said Stone, "the chief running dogs of US imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai. This is how it must look from Hanoi. Ignominious as Hitler's appeasers were in the Thirties, he was never dined as an honored guest in Paris, London, or Washington while he bombed Guernica and destroyed the Spanish Republic.

"... without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese, what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, *what would they have to sell?* Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity—in such plentiful supply—has brought Nixon to Moscow."

George McArthur of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote from Saigon in the beginning of June that "A cozy photograph of President Nixon and Russia's Communist Party boss Leonid I. Brezhnev is being airdropped by the million over North Vietnam." Two months earlier U. S. planes dropped millions of photos of Nixon shaking hands with Mao Tsetung.

Swiss, British actions

Five thousand people demonstrated in London June 4 against the U. S. aggression in Indochina. Among the groups involved were the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the British Peace Committee, Group 68, the International Marxist Group, the International Socialists, the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League.

Two thousand people joined an antiwar demonstration in Bern, Switzerland, on June 3. NPAC co-coordinator Stephanie Coontz is now on a speaking tour of Switzerland.

"As might be expected," McArthur wrote, "American psychological warfare operatives are overjoyed. The experts admit that leaflets are frequently of questionable value but in this instance the message is so obvious that the leaflets cannot fail to considerably discomfort Hanoi's leadership."

The Washington, D. C., *Evening Star*, which generally supports the war, carried an account from Saigon, Continued on page 22

Stockholm Conference, others, assail Nixon trip to Moscow

By DAVE FRANKEL

Many in the peace movement have been troubled by, or openly hostile to, the warm welcome given Nixon by his Moscow hosts. It's hard for these people to imagine how the Nixon-Brezhnev toasts to "peace" will stop the slaughter in Southeast Asia.

The recent escalation by Nixon—the mining of North Vietnamese ports and rivers—seemed a particularly good opportunity for the Soviet officials to respond, to at least call off Nixon's trip. The fact that the "summit" took place—that champagne flowed while bombs fell on Vietnam—has led to criticism even from those who are usually uncritical of the Soviet Union's actions.

An example of such dissatisfaction with the Soviet invitation to Nixon was a May 12 letter of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam. This group initiated the World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of Indochinese Peoples that took place last February in Versailles.

The Stockholm Conference letter, signed by conference chairman Bertil Svahnström, said: "It must not be possible that one of the makers of the destiny of the world who tries to annihilate a whole people which does not want anything but to live peacefully on its own little part of the globe,

is treated as a honourable statesman and is received as a guest by other nations. Rumors that Nixon will come to Stockholm . . . are not true. The whole Swedish people would rise in revolt against such a visit. . . ."

Svahnström continued: "This morning I heard . . . that the circles round Nixon regard the reaction of the other world powers to his latest actions rather as an 'encouragement', as the governments restrict themselves to protests without indicating any counter measures, and as Nixon's visit to Moscow is not even cancelled."

Perhaps the clearest statement came from the May 20 issue of *Nhan Dan*, the leading Hanoi daily. Commenting on the escalation, the paper said: "To the acts of escalation the effective answer is to smash these adventurous steps."

"To the intrigues, the effective answer is to lay bare their objectives."

"To Nixon's threats, the best answer is to show a firm attitude and expose his weak and losing posture."

"A few signs of weakness will encourage the truculence of the pirates."

Sidney Peck, when he spoke for the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) at the May 21 emergency march on Washington, said: "The blockade of Haiphong and the bombing of Hanoi is part of 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 will not be able to settle the war in Moscow or Peking," Peck continued. "The Vietnamese will not allow any foreign power to dictate the terms of settlement. The American people should not be fooled by Nixon. He cannot end the war in Moscow, just as he was not able to end it in Peking."

Peck went on to say that "In reality these side trips are meant to detour Americans from the real road to peace. . . ." The detour Peck speaks of depended on the cooperation of the Soviet bureaucracy headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin.

At the same demonstration in Washington May 21 at which Peck made the above statements, Gus Hall, the presidential candidate of the Communist Party, called anyone who expressed doubts that Moscow's support for the Vietnamese struggle is less than "all out" an "unmitigated liar." As the sampling of opinion above illustrates, however, many peace activists, including some who have worked closely with the CP in the past, are not convinced by Hall's name-calling assertion.

In Our Opinion

Israeli threats

Following the killing of 25 persons in Israel's Lydda airport May 30 by three Japanese guerrillas acting for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Israeli government threatened to take reprisals against the Arab people. The day after the shooting, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir issued a strongly worded statement condemning Lebanon.

An official policy statement issued by the Israeli embassy in Washington on June 1 states: "Arab governments carry a grave responsibility for the foul record of murder and maiming of men, women and children. . . . Two governments share a particular blame—the Egyptian and the Lebanese."

The threat here is to hold Arabs collectively responsible for actions such as this shooting. In 1968, when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine attacked an airliner in Athens, helicopter-borne Israeli commandos immediately retaliated with a terrorist raid against the Beirut, Lebanon, airport. This concept of collective guilt was made infamous by the Nazis.

The present threats of violent reprisal against the Arab people, who are not responsible for this shooting, must be strongly condemned.

The Israeli rulers and the capitalist news media in this country are shedding hypocritical tears over the deaths of the 25. Israel is a reactionary settler-state that was established by violently driving the Palestinians from their homeland. The Zionists forced tens of thousands of Palestinians to live in refugee camps. They used terror and torture and massacred hundreds of civilians. In 1967 they took over parts of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria by force of arms. In this campaign they used napalm provided by the U.S. government. In the occupied areas they have employed the most savage methods to suppress the Palestinian people, who are struggling to return to their homeland and to determine their own affairs.

This struggle against the imperialist-backed rulers in Israel is the struggle of an oppressed people. To be successful it must mobilize the power of the Palestinian masses—the workers, peasants, and students. Individual acts of terrorism, such as kidnappings and assassinations, do not help this struggle. In fact, they are an obstacle to building a mass movement to win a democratic, secular Palestine for both the Arab and Jewish people.

The killing of 25 people, including 14 Puerto Ricans, in the Lydda airport—an action for which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine takes responsibility—did not aid the Palestinian struggle.

The goals of the action were not clear. By killing innocent people who have nothing to do with the oppression of Palestinians, the real enemies of Palestinian self-determination were not defined.

The assassination of any individuals, including Zionist officials, does not help teach the Palestinian masses to have confidence in their own independent power.

The task of revolutionists is to isolate the ruling class politically by helping the masses of people to understand and to fight more effectively the injustice and criminality of U. S. imperialism and Zionism.

New deal in Ireland?

The New York Times recently stepped up its campaign of slander and vilification against those fighting for social change in Northern Ireland. A May 28 Times editorial attempts to equate the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association's (NICRA) condemnation of the "advisory commission" set up by British Minister William Whitelaw with the opposition of the right-wing Ulster Vanguard. The Times neglects to mention the fact that NICRA is struggling to end the oppression of the Catholic masses, while the Ulster Vanguard is fighting to uphold this injustice.

In its June 1 editorial, the Times implies that the refusal of NICRA to give up its demands will help to bring on civil war in Northern Ireland.

As usual, the Times attempts to place the blame for violence upon these struggling for social justice rather than upon the reactionary defenders of the status quo.

The Times editors are upset because NICRA refuses to collaborate with the Whitelaw commission as long as men convicted of no crimes are still interned and British troops continue their occupation of the Catholic communities. They condemn the "negative stance" of NICRA, accusing it of passing up a "moment of rare opportunity to work for a new deal for Ulster's Catholic minority. . . ."

But Tory Minister Whitelaw is not interested in providing a "new deal" for the Catholic population of Northern Ireland. He is simply interested in restoring stability. The noises about reforms currently being made have been prompted solely by the massive struggle of the last few years. Each vague promise is balanced by the insistence that the government can't go too far—i.e., can't make any fundamental changes—lest the Protestant right wing get out of hand.

The continued pressure of the mass movement of the oppressed in Northern Ireland is the only force that can turn the talk of reforms into real concessions. Demobilization of that movement in return for a seat on Whitelaw's advisory commission will only make easier the victimization of the most militant fighters and the restoration of the status quo that led to the current problems in the first place. Such a policy would not bring Ireland one step closer to peace.

Letters

The CP runs for president

When the U. S. threw Eugene V. Debs in jail, the then-radical Socialist Party ran him for president. But when Communist Party member Angela Davis was framed, the CP instead chose Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner for its presidential slate.

Davis would have drawn too much publicity to the CP campaign. Her case made her possibly the best-known American CP'er ever, and millions of people might have voted for her.

This would have disrupted the CP's smoke-filled-room strategy of work within the Democratic Party by spurring so many people to break with capitalist politics. Conceivably, a sizable vote for the CP might even weaken the Democrats who might have gotten those votes and cause the defeat of the lesser-evil capitalist.

What campaigning the CP does do in its own name is only to give a left cover to its actual main activity. New England radicals know Joe Kugelmass as perhaps the top CP leader here. He will be a CP elector if the Hall-Tyner ticket gets on the ballot in Massachusetts. More interestingly though, in a recent primary here he served as a delegate on the Shirley Chisholm slate and as an alternate delegate on the George McGovern slate! Since McGovern swept this state, it's possible that Kugelmass will be a delegate at the Democratic convention in Miami.

Would he take the floor there and explain why he, as Communist, supports McGovern? Not much chance of that. It might cost McGovern some votes!

Bob Geb

Boston, Mass.

Danish antiwar action

I read your paper once a week in a library here in Copenhagen that has left-wing literature from all over the world. I think it's a very good paper. You write many interesting things about the USA that I cannot find in other papers. But when you write about Denmark I can estimate it, and you have wrong information in the May 5 *Militant*.

You wrote that there were more than 10,000 in the April 15 demonstration here that concluded Indochina Week. But there were not so many people (sorry to say). The newspapers in Copenhagen wrote that there were 3,000 to 4,000. I myself, who joined the demonstration, would say that there were about 4,000 people, but not more than that.

Jytte Jensen

Copenhagen, Denmark

In reply—The *Militant's* figure of 10,000 for the demonstration was based on a report in the April 17 issue of *Vietnam Solidaritet*, a newsletter published by the Danish Vietnam Committees, the organizers of the action. Subsequent reports from other observers indicate that 4,000 would be a more accurate estimate.

Calif. 'cures' gays

In a recent issue of your paper, reader David Thorstad described the California Penal Code and its medieval penalties for gay persons. The actual practice is even worse than formal law would indicate. Gay persons may be sent to mental hospitals for life if convicted of sodomy or oral copulation. In a number of mental hospitals, gay persons are now being "cured" of their sexuality by lobotomy and chemical castration.

Dr. George Bach y Rita was recently in San Francisco to speak at a conference at the University of California Medical Center. He is an advocate of the use of implanted electrodes in brain surgery to destroy with electrical shocks the portions of the brain controlling sexual drives. Another technique he favors is lobotomy, the severing of the frontal brain lobes. This not only "removes" sexual drives but leaves the victim (patient) closely resembling a walking vegetable. The drug antitestosterone, which causes chemical castration by irreversible atrophy of the testicles, is also used.

The state of California has paid thousands of dollars for several lobotomies performed by Dr. Bach y Rita and other doctors at Vacaville state prison. Federal funds from the Safe Street Act are being sought to defray expenses and expand the program.

These medical practices are being protested more and more by the gay liberation movement, the women's liberation movement, and prisoners' organizations. Protests from several gay organizations forced the cancellation of a conference session at which Dr. Bach y Rita was to have presented a paper on his latest lobotomy techniques. Publicity the gay movement has given to such practices has forced the state hospitals to forego some surgical experimentation and to improve the conditions of at least some hospital inmates.

But as long as gay people can be considered sick, criminal, and therefore subhuman, these and other barbaric practices will continue. It's up to an uncompromising, militant gay liberation movement to change the whole of society's attitude toward homosexuals and all society's institutions. Only then will it be safe for people to be gay and proud.

Michael Maggi

San Francisco, Calif.

Women's library

We need your help if the Women's History Library is to continue its work as the only international archive of the present women's movement. It contains the most complete collection of publications by and about women, including newsletters, journals, tapes, books, and other media.

For the past year now, the library has been closed to visitors due to a lack of funds for staff, supplies and equipment. We need financial support. If we can raise \$15,000 for 20 percent of 50 work-study student salaries, the government will provide the remaining 80 percent through various colleges and universities.

The demand on our resources increases continually as the activities of women expand and new women's programs begin. Please send a donation to:

Women's History Research Center, Inc.

2325 Oak St.

Berkeley, Calif. 94708

'Candid Camera'

I enjoy your column "The Great Society" and thought you might find interesting the ridiculous bit of dialogue I heard recently on the CBS "Face the Nation" program.

Two representatives who had been FBI agents before their political careers in Congress were being interviewed. They were asked about their feelings on the recent history of the FBI and the new directions it would take after the death of Hoover. One was Representative Don Edwards of California, and the other, and more reactionary, was Lawrence Hogan,

The Great Society

Republican from I don't know where.

A news reporter asked about the construction of the new FBI building, which when finished will be the second or third largest building in Washington.

"Well," said Hogan, "they need one building just to house the billions of fingerprints they have."

"Billions of files?" queried the astonished reporter. "There aren't that many Americans!"

"Many of them are from people who are dead," Hogan replied.

Other gems from the interview included a response to a question about the scrutiny of the personal lives of civil rights leaders, as was found in the case of Martin Luther King. "Just because a person is prominent," Hogan said, "is no reason why his personal life shouldn't be the subject of scrutiny just like all other Americans."

And so it goes. These "quotes" are really a paraphrase of the actual dialogue. Maybe you can get a printed copy of the interview.

C. F. L.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Prisoner subscribes

I am enclosing one dollar for a subscription to your newsweekly. I sincerely wish there was a way that I could enclose more since I am a confirmed believer in the media that expresses the realities of this regime in Amerika to the people. It is too bad that the massive organizations with more funds, like *Ebony*, do not become, as you have, one of the true voices of the people instead of the crier for the "10 best dressed men and women" or the richest Black bachelors in the country.

I am a Canadian Black by birth, and for years I have been, and always will be, a socialist. It is my belief that all of the riches of the nation belong to all of the population on an equal basis. There should be none of this vast rich few and massive poor.

I am going to share my issues with the rest of the brothers here. When I say "here," I am speaking of the Washington State Penitentiary. I have been here for the past 12 years, having spent eight of that on death row. So for good revolutionary material, this is the basic school ground that material such as yours should be most popular in. This is where we are going to have to reach the young Black warriors, since so many of them are doing time all over the nation. And I note that some of the Eastern "joints" are 80 and 90 percent Black, so I am justified in reasoning that most of the fertile young minds for the revolution are either in the penitentiary or are dying in Vietnam.

Since I am from one of the country's solutions to the minority problems, I ask if you have some other materials, such as posters with Black leaders on them or slogans of the revolution. I would see to it that the brothers who are seeking "freedom . . . uhuru . . . dignity, and both at any and all costs" are given these materials. We sincerely need all of the help we can get, and more. *Your brother in the struggle Washington State Penitentiary Walla Walla, Wash.*

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

It figures—Burglars backed a truck up to a supermarket in St. Joseph, Mo., and ignoring several safes, proceeded to haul out the meat.

Pollution priority—It was nice to get back to Fun City for a bit and enjoy that down home watering of the eyes, constriction of the throat, and reactivation of the sinuses. We were also pleased to learn that city council President Sanford Garelik has called on the citizenry to unite in a massive antigraffiti drive. "Graffiti," he explained, "pollutes the eyes and mind and may be one of the worst forms of pollution we have to combat."

He can't take a choke—The dean of Scottsdale Community College in Arizona was put off because students voted to select the artichoke as the school mascot. The student body president said students "resent seeing \$1.5-million lavished on a gymnasium equipped with a private sauna bath . . . while academic areas such as the library and psychology lab are starved for funds." The dean said the election was staged by "people who want to disparage, demean and ridicule athletics at the college." He declared the elections "null and void."

Plain-talk dep't—"We're in the entertainment business. We're not here to teach children that two and two make four."—George Heinemann, NBC director of children's programs.

Home, sgt.!—A survey by the San Francisco Bay Guardian showed that

many of the city officials who had a hand in cutting back funds for municipal bus service enjoy the use of chauffeured city cars. Some of them are now changing their drivers' titles to sergeant-at-arms. "It's a critical distinction," explained one semantic-minded official. "A chauffeur implies luxury."

Year of the flea—The Miller-Morton company cheerily reports that because of "an extraordinary balance of temperature to humidity" 1972 will see the greatest proliferation of fleas in a decade. M-M markets pet-care products.

Desocializing the post office—With the postal service being revamped

along corporate lines, plans are under way to convert local post offices into "postiques" selling a variety of products. Meanwhile a study disclosed that unzipped mail frequently arrives as fast as zipped, airmail often doesn't make it any quicker than regular, and, inexplicably, mail gets from D.C. to Los Angeles faster than vice versa.

Thought for the week—"Years ago, to be in debt showed you were a bad manager. Today it means you're a good citizen."—Sociologist David Caplovitz commenting on the rise of installment debts to an average of \$2,000 per American family, not counting mortgages or charge accounts.

—HARRY RING



... HOWEVER, WHILE REMAINING TRULY THANKFUL, I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE RIDICULOUS PRICE HEREOF!

Women: The Insurgent Majority

PUERTO RICANS PROTEST MISS USA CONTEST—Recently U.S. businessmen had the audacity to subject the people of Puerto Rico to the degrading spectacle of the annual Miss USA contest. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) responded to this insult by organizing a demonstration at the Cerromar Beach Hotel in Dorado, the site of the event.

According to the May 28 issue of *Claridad*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the PSP, hundreds of Puerto Rican militants joined the demonstration. This protest had a dual character. It expressed the demonstrators' disgust with the sexist exploitation of women's bodies



Photo by Camera/Claridad

Puerto Ricans march against Miss USA contest

and the outrage of pro-independence Puerto Ricans with a Miss USA contest taking place on their soil.

At a rally following the demonstration, Flavia Rivera, a member of the Central Committee of the PSP Political Bureau, told the crowd: "Women are used as a sexual and commercial object and the benefits go to the big corporations that sponsor the event. In the meantime, our people remain immersed in poverty. We can't allow them to continue to use our country for this type of carnival." Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the PSP, also spoke at the rally.

'PROPERLY DRESSED' SOVIET WOMEN—In the past few months items have appeared in the Soviet press that give a glimpse of Soviet women's rising consciousness of their inferior status. Contrasted to women in the United States, Soviet women enjoy more formal, legal equality,

greater access to job opportunities, better child care, and free abortions.

But at the same time, women in the Soviet Union are expected to perform the duties of housewife and mother in addition to the jobs that many hold outside the home. To justify this dual role, the Soviet bureaucracy exalts the role of "motherhood" and the family to absurd extremes. The bureaucrats' efforts to maintain outmoded norms of "feminine" behavior even go to the extent of forbidding women to wear pants on some jobs.

According to the May 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, three women who work at a Moscow computer center were recently sent home from work by a ministry official because they wore pants. "This isn't a cafe or a theater," the official informed them after taking away their identification cards. "One should come to work properly dressed. That is a ministry order."

The three women—an engineer, a laboratory assistant, and a technician—protested to the trade-union newspaper *Trud*. "Good taste cannot be inculcated with an administrative bludgeon," they argued. "In our opinion, if a pantsuit is becoming to a woman and is not wild or of too flashy a color, there is no crime in wearing it on the job, particularly since it is even more comfortable to work in such clothing."

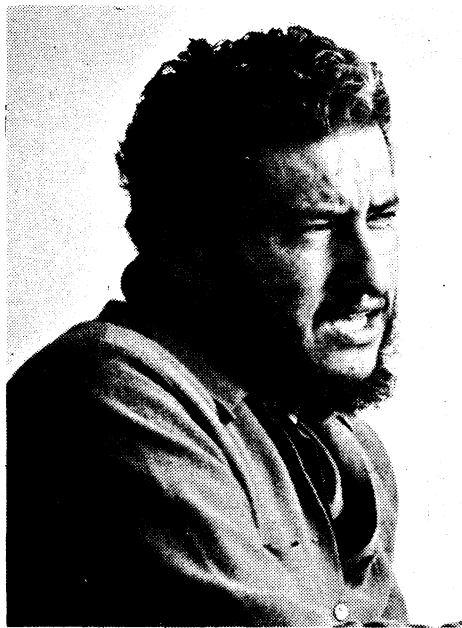
SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN PRESS FOR ACTION

INSIDE HEW—The Women's Action Program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) is not meeting the needs of Chicanas, Latinas, and Puerto Rican women, according to HEW employees who belong to the Spanish-Speaking Women's Concerns Group. The May 1 *Spokeswoman* reports that the group has asked HEW to hire Spanish-speaking women recruiters for all HEW agencies and to research the specific problems faced by Chicanas, Latinas, and Puerto Rican women in this society. While 7 percent of the nation's population is Spanish-speaking, the group points out, only 1.8 percent of female employees at HEW are Chicanas, Latinas, or Puerto Ricans.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT was passed by the Michigan state legislature last week. Eighteen states have now ratified the ERA. Twenty more must do so before the amendment becomes law.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Hugo Blanco on Vietnam & struggle in Latin America



Hugo Blanco

Photo by Ben Atwood

The following interview with Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco was obtained May 16 in Mexico City by Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Jenness was on a speaking and fact-finding tour of Latin America.

Hugo Blanco gained international fame in the early 1960s as a peasant-union organizer in the Valley of La Convencion in the Cuzco region of Peru. The peasants were peacefully occupying lands that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963, more than 300 such occupations took place.

The landowners used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions responded by creating self-defense units. In 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Blanco was captured and jailed. At his trial in 1966 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison. After serving seven and one-half years in jail, Hugo Blanco was released as part of a general amnesty for political prisoners in Peru on Dec. 22, 1970.

Blanco was exiled to Mexico on Sept. 14, 1971, by the Velasco regime, because of his political views and his mass support.

The Mexican antiwar demonstration that is mentioned took place May 17 and had more than 20,000 participants.

The kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro, discussed in the interview, took place March 21. Sallustro was head of the Argentine branch of the Fiat company.

Jenness: What do you think of Nixon's latest actions against the Vietnamese people? What effect do they have in Latin America?

Blanco: It seems to me that Nixon's latest actions are a sign of his desperation. The failure of his Vietnamization policy has been demonstrated—especially in the recent act of mining the ports of North Vietnam. Nixon has taken the gravest and most desperate measures that he could.

These recent actions also demonstrate the strength of the revolutionary will of the Vietnamese people. The mass desertions from the Saigon puppet army show that Saigon cannot count on any help from the people and that if it were not for the brutal U.S. war effort, they could not hope to resist the revolutionary forces even for a week.

It should be pointed out in connection with this that the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies are capitulating more than ever in face of the Yankee aggression. Even a bourgeois columnist here in Mexico commented that Moscow and Peking have done their

customary lamenting and issuing of serious warnings and now think they have fulfilled their obligations to the Vietnamese. The imperialist aggressors realize from this behavior of the USSR and China that they have a green light in Vietnam.

Fortunately the attitude of the people of many countries stands in contrast to this attitude of the Chinese and Russian governments. Already the masses have openly demonstrated against this aggression—in Spain, East Germany, in other European countries, and also in Latin America. In my country, Peru, there have been antiwar demonstrations against the North American blockade, and more are planned.

Even in countries experiencing heavy repression, like Spain, we have seen mass mobilizations against the North American aggression.

All of which demonstrates that we are living in an epoch of revolutionary ascendancy throughout the world during which the internationalist consciousness of the people is increasing.

The biggest proof of this repudiation of North American aggression has been seen, fortunately, in the very heart of the United States. It is unnecessary to recount all that has taken place there because you have lived through it. But it is necessary to note the importance of these events in Latin America—the importance of both fronts of struggle: the attitude of the Vietnamese, as well as the attitude of the people of North America against this war.

I think this helps inspire and build the struggles in Latin America for our liberation. Because all of us are watching and we clearly see that the North American people will not again permit the type of aggression that was carried out in Santo Domingo. I think the North American people have awakened enough to vigorously oppose this type of aggression, which imperialism has carried out with relative ease in the past.

Aggression in Mexico, Guatemala, etc., used to be considered a normal, everyday thing. But the imperialists can no longer do this with such ease because they see the domestic trouble it means for them.

For that reason I want to say that the Latin American peoples are watching very closely the actions of the North American masses, and watching with respect. Previously there was a tendency for the popular masses in the U.S. to identify with their government, but now the masses are noticing that they and their government are two opposed camps.

Jenness: Do you think there is a possibility of large protests in Latin America against Nixon's latest escalations?

Blanco: I think that is possible. There have already been some demonstrations in Venezuela, in Peru, and some small ones in Mexico. The various groups that are against this aggression, the various anti-imperialist groups, are capable of building huge demonstrations in Latin America if they do not behave in a sectarian fashion but form a united front instead.

Jenness: There is going to be one here in Mexico tomorrow. . . .

Blanco: Yes, there is one planned, and according to what I have read in several dispatches, more than 30 organizations have endorsed this demonstration. These organizations and individuals have many programmatic differences among themselves, but the

fact that they are united for this action is very positive, and I would even say it is a model for all of Latin America.

Jenness: For the past couple of years there has been a dispute in Latin America over the best road toward socialism. On one side are those who call for guerrilla struggle, and on the other side are those who are for mobilizing the masses. Recently the kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro in Argentina made headlines around the world. What is your opinion of this event, within the context of the dispute over "which road to socialism," and do you think the kidnapping helped the Argentine working class?

Blanco: Actually this discussion goes back much further than two or three years. It has been debated in a general way since the triumph of the Cuban revolution, which is wrongly interpreted by many on the left.

I have described the positive impact of the Cuban revolution on several occasions. It destroyed the monolithic strength of the reformist Communist parties, which in various ways denied the need for armed struggle by our people and denied the possibility of socialist revolution. In this sense the Cuban revolution had a very positive influence in Latin America.

That is precisely what motivated the struggle that we conducted in La Convencion. And that struggle shows that we are not against guerrilla warfare as a tactic that the masses can adopt in their struggle. We are not against the guerrilla actions used in Vietnam, for example. But when we used armed struggle, the beginnings of armed struggle, it was as the result of an elevation of the masses, the maturing of the masses.

I believe that what shows this best is the fact our guerrilla group was made up of union leaders, and all the actions taken were approved by an assembly. The group was an armed commission that was simply carrying out the orders of the peasant assembly—an assembly of many unions that unanimously ordered us to take that action. This is a sign that we did not act in isolation from the masses.

I am not saying that at every opportunity we waited for the mechanical approval of an assembly before taking certain actions. But rather that it was necessary and inescapable that the masses consciously see these acts as their own, as a part of themselves, as their deeds.

It seems to me that the kidnapping of Sallustro could be cited as a typi-



Photo by Ben Atwood

Linda Jenness addressing students at Engineering School in Lima, Peru. Banner reads: 'Hugo Blanco should return—We demand his repatriation,' and 'Freedom for the miners.' The FIR, Hugo Blanco's organization, stands for Front of the Revolutionary Left (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario).

But unfortunately it also fostered adventurist and ultraleft conceptions. Conceptions that tried to substitute the action of small groups of heroes—who were well intentioned, I don't deny that—for the action of the masses.

These groups cannot substitute themselves for the action of the masses. Marx's statement that the liberation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves continues to be valid. We understand this statement in all its magnitude, and we believe that the function of revolutionaries is precisely to build and lead this action of the masses of workers, peasants, students, and the other sectors of the population.

Beginning with the immediate needs and struggles of the masses, we must raise demands in such a way that, through their own practical experience the masses understand that they cannot fulfill their needs within the capitalist system. They must destroy this system to achieve what they want—that is, to carry out the solution to their basic needs.

cal example of an act isolated from the masses, in contrast to the struggles that have developed, for example, in Cordoba, recently in Mendoza, and earlier in Rosario and Tucuman. In these cases the masses saw through experience that they had to fight even with arms in hand. But it was the masses who came to that conclusion.

The case of Sallustro was exactly the opposite. It was the case of a group that decided to take that action and carry it out on their own, independently of the level of consciousness of the masses.

In some cases the masses may even praise such actions. But that is not what we are looking for—that the masses should find a savior, a defender of the poor, who fights the enemy for them. Because this is bad education for the masses. Even if the demands that Sallustro's kidnappers made—such as that the fired workers be rehired and that school supplies be given free to poor children—even if the demands had been accepted, I believe that the balance would have been negative. This is because

the masses were given the false notion that they do not need to struggle; that the ERP can do many things for the masses in this way; and that if the workers were mistreated, okay, all that was necessary was to wait for the ERP to kidnap some functionary and that would secure victory for the workers.

In La Convencion we always took pains to show the masses that if they

thering the deception that the Allende government is socialist and the lie that the masses will be able to achieve what they need through peaceful means.

The peasants are taking the land, de facto. In view of the fact that the Allende government refuses to give them the land, the expropriation of some properties does not mean, that the Allende government is fully meet-



Photo by Ben Atwood

25,000 to 30,000 Peruvians marched against Vietnam war May 19, while Jenness was in Peru.

didn't act, if they didn't take the solution to their problems into their own hands, then nobody could do it for them.

For example, people came and said: "Comrades of yours are depending on you to get them out of prison." And even we who were in the leadership of the union, we told the workers that we could not do anything—it was the masses, in their numbers, who could mobilize themselves to free the imprisoned comrades. We said they should appeal to the other peasant unions as well to get their full-scale aid and organize joint demonstrations of great masses of peasants.

We knew that only the action of our unions could suffice.

And not only did the peasants collect money—although they had so little—for the purposes of publicity to extend the movement en masse, but they convinced the other unions, extending the mobilization and their methodology.

Only thus did we succeed in producing large-scale mobilizations of the masses and in freeing the prisoners and doing other things as well. We did not prepare an assault on the prison to liberate the imprisoned comrades, for example. We did not even say to our union that they should take this action. But we showed that all the people had to be mobilized to spread this method to the other sectors.

Jenness: In Chile a government came to office via the electoral road and they now have a president, Allende, who says he is a Marxist and will lead the masses to a socialist society. The Chilean Communist Party says this can be done and that a gradual transformation to socialism and independence will take place through the gradual assumption of power by the workers and peasants. Is this road a better one than armed struggle?

Blanco: Naturally it would be a very nice way to take power, but unfortunately it is impossible. The masses never like violence for the sake of violence; they prefer peaceful measures and peaceful actions. It is necessary that the masses learn from their experience what Marx taught: that the bourgeois class is going to defend its power by any means necessary, and that the exploited classes must meet its violence not with the violence of a small group but with the action of the exploited masses.

In its current acts, the Chilean CP is defending the Agrarian Reform Law of the Christian Democrats and fur-

ing the needs of the masses.

The response of the Chilean authorities to the peasant land-takeovers demonstrates their bourgeois attitude. Peasants have been imprisoned for these actions. The leaders of the peasants are being arrested. This shows that the Chilean government does not exactly represent the peasants.

On the other hand, the Chilean right wing is adopting increasingly aggressive positions. If the masses do not take power in their hands and destroy the entire capitalist state apparatus, the right wing will destroy Allende.

The army cannot stop being what it is: a capitalist army. We cannot deceive ourselves by thinking that with the election of Allende this capitalist army, which is an instrument of capitalist repression, would be converted at one stroke into an instrument of the masses.

If the army has not yet undertaken a coup, it is precisely because the capitalist sectors live in fear of provoking an insurrection of the masses that would establish a workers government. It would be an illusion to think that the capitalist Chilean army could be an exception in the history of the class struggle throughout the world.

That the Chilean soldiers can be on the side of the people is another matter. We see U.S. soldiers in Vietnam refusing to go into combat. We saw that the soldiers in Russia were one of the main forces of the 1917 Russian revolution. But they were soldiers destroying the capitalist military apparatus, who united with the workers and peasants in an uprising against their exploiters.

Therefore in Chile it is possible that the masses of the army will actually be with the workers, since they come from the heart of the people, but that unity of action must be against the capitalist military apparatus.

As for the courts and judicial power, we see them jailing the student and peasant leaders in Chile. This demonstrates once again that judicial power is an instrument of the exploiting classes against the exploited. The fact that the courts and the army are being maintained intact and defended by the Allende government and the CP shows that the Chilean state is still a bourgeois state. To destroy the capitalist state and achieve socialism will require actions by the masses, similar to those the peasants are taking.

That will be the only way to stop the ultraright: the masses seizing power themselves.

Steinem, others, blast Argentine repression

By FRANK GRINNON

NEW YORK, June 1—The Argentine military regime was sharply criticized here today for its threatened sentencing of Casiana Ahumada, editor of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*. Ahumada faces four years on the prison ship Granadero on frame-up charges of conspiring to incite to violence. The charges stem from articles that appeared in her magazine.

The criticism came from feminist writer and editor Gloria Steinem; Thomas Quigley, assistant director of the Latin American Division of the U.S. Catholic Conference; the Reverend William L. Wipfler, executive director of the Latin American section of the National Council of Churches; and representatives of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Wipfler, who has recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Argentina, stated that the case of Ahumada was not an isolated incident. He asserted that the case, clearly a flagrant attack on civil liberties, is one of an increasing number of attacks against opponents of the Lanusse regime.

Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, expressed indignation at the frame-up of Ahumada and outlined USLA's plans for a protest picket line to be held at the Argentine consulate in New York on June 6. The Argentine Embassy in Washington will be the site of another demonstration on the same day. Ahumada is scheduled to be sentenced on June 7.

Gloria Steinem expressed solidarity with the Argentine editor as a journalist and as a woman. She stated that she had covered New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's trip to Argentina and had observed Argentine press censorship first-hand.

Steinem said she feared that Ahu-

mada would be subjected to special sexist treatment while a political prisoner.

These fears were shared by Quigley. He described the methods of torture used on Norma Morello, the Argentine Catholic Action organizer who was recently released after five months of detention without charges. Morello was subjected to threats of rape and the repeated use of electric shocks on her genitals.

Documentation of the torture of women prisoners in Argentina is beginning to be published. The case of Elena Codan, who was picked up for questioning in connection with the Salustro kidnapping, is one example. Codan has stated that she was beaten and given electric shocks all over her naked body.

"I began to lose a large quantity of fluid and they explained to me that 'I was about to burst,' that I had 'half my womb hanging out.' One of them panted at my side and stroked my chest gently.

"I lost consciousness; they revived me with the electric prod.

"I had lost all sensation in my arms and legs. I was raped by one of them. I felt like vomiting and I couldn't breathe. I hardly remember what happened after that. Only some voices, blows and threats, between which they promised to place an apparatus in my genitals through which they could reach up to my uterus with the electric prod.

"When I recovered consciousness I was on a couch and was shaking with chills and fever. I was delirious and I couldn't see out of my right eye."

Codan's testimony is reported in the May-June issue of the *USLA Reporter*, available for 25 cents from USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Press conference denounces persecution of Casiana Ahumada, Argentine editor.

Lee Otis Johnson is free on bail in Texas

By DEBBY LEONARD

HOUSTON, June 2—U.S. District Judge Carl O. Bue Jr. today ordered Black activist Lee Otis Johnson released from prison on \$10,000 bail. Johnson, a former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has already served four years of a 30-year sentence. He was framed up on the charge of giving one marijuana cigarette to an undercover police agent.

On Jan. 20 Judge Bue ruled that Johnson must be retried within 90 days or set free. The state has ap-

pealed that ruling. Previous motions for bail for Johnson were denied and he remained behind bars despite the order for a new trial.

However, State Prosecutor Joe Moss was forced to admit today that he could not present any evidence to substantiate the claim that Johnson is a danger to the community. Therefore, Judge Bue set bail, and Johnson, whose case has become a landmark in the long history of racist justice in Texas, is a free man—at least temporarily.

The state can appeal this ruling and is still planning to prosecute Johnson.

Cops arrest union heads in Berkeley sit-in

By RUSSELL BLOCK

BERKELEY, Calif., June 1 — The 45-day-old work stoppage of 2,000 campus workers at the University of California took a new turn last night with the arrest of 16 union leaders after an eight-hour sit-in at the office of UC President Charles Hitch.

Those arrested included Richard Groulx, executive secretary of the Alameda County Labor Council, and Lamar Childers, secretary of the Alameda County Building Trades Council.

Labor representatives broke off negotiations in the work stoppage two weeks ago when university lawyers obtained contempt of court citations against Groulx and Childers. The two were cited for allegedly violating an injunction issued by Alameda County Superior Court Judge John S. Cooper. The injunction outlawed picketing in support of a strike but permitted employees to withdraw their labor and express their views via picket signs.

On May 19 the UC regents refused to grant 15 minutes to hear the union's side in the dispute, declaring that the matter was properly in the hands of UC president Hitch. Two days before the sit-in, Groulx and Childers sent a telegram to Hitch stating in part:

"Since the regents have said that you have all the necessary power to settle all the outstanding disputes, we think it might be beneficial to meet

with you before your attorneys have us put in jail on June 1."

The union leaders arrived at Hitch's office at 11:30 a.m. and were informed that Hitch was in Sacramento, but would return by 3 p.m. They decided to wait. While 100 to 300 pickets ringed the building, university police locked all entrances and refused to allow reporters inside.

At 6:30 p.m., after the building was officially closed, police read the trespass act to the union representatives in Hitch's office. An hour later police returned and arrested the union officials on charges of trespass and failure to disperse. Eight were released on their own recognizance. Eight others, including Childers and Groulx, were taken to the city jail. Their arrests followed the arrest of four pickets by campus cops earlier in the week.

In a statement to the *East Bay Labor Journal*, Groulx and Childers emphasized that jailings will not end the dispute. The issues—denial of prevailing wages and signed contracts, wage cutting, and speedup—must be settled, they said.

Victor Reuther was in the area campaigning for George McGovern. He read a statement from McGovern supporting the right of public employees to bargain collectively and to strike. McGovern called for arbitration in "those areas where the state is concerned about the health and safety



Richard Groulx, executive secretary of the Alameda County Labor Council, is arrested after taking part in eight-hour sit-in.

[of the public]."

Socialist Workers Party candidates Ken Milner, running for U.S. representative in the 7th C.D., and Brenda Brdar, running for state assembly in the 16th district, "strongly condemned" the arrests and demanded that charges be dropped.

"This action by the UC administra-

tion," they said, "follows weeks of harassment of campus pickets by UC cops, the utilization of scabs, a consistent refusal to negotiate seriously, and weeks of inconvenience to the campus community resulting from the refusal to meet the just demands of the campus unions. We can only conclude that the wrong people were arrested."

15,000 hotel workers rally for better pay

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, June 1 — More than 15,000 hotel workers attended a rally at Madison Square Garden today demanding higher pay and better pensions. Delegations of maids, porters, waiters, and cocktail waitresses from 140 hotels streamed into the Garden, beginning a four-hour work stoppage. Management was left to do some honest work for once—carry baggage, wipe tables, and check guests in and out.

The rally was called by the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council, AFL-CIO, which is composed of ten unions in the hotel-service area. It was predominately Black and Puer-

to Rican, and at least half of the workers were women. Most seemed to be in their 30s or older.

The rally was very spirited and included an enthusiastic singing of "Solidarity Forever." Picket signs included "Fare is up! Taxes are up! Raise our pay!" and "We want to live on our wages, not welfare."

Many hotel workers are forced to get financial assistance from the Welfare Department since their pay is so low. Many have two or more jobs. The average hotel worker earns \$95 a week before taxes and takes home \$60 to \$70 a week. Men are paid substantially more than women, although their pay is still very low.

According to Jay Rubin, president of the Hotel and Motel Trades Council and the main speaker at the rally, the union is asking for \$125 a week minimum pay for all members, with raises for everyone earning more than that, and a \$100-a-month pension. Negotiations have been stalled on these points for months. The hotels claim "business is down" and say they can't pay more.

The bosses involved include some of the biggest corporations in the country—ITT Sheraton, Hilton, Holiday, Loews, and Howard Johnson. Also involved are big luxury hotels frequented by the rich, such as the Pierre, the Plaza, and the Waldorf-Astoria. As a union leaflet put it, "Our

average take-home pay contrasts sharply with the elegance of hotel appointments."

It has been years since these unions have won any kind of real raise for their members. The last general strike of New York hotel workers was in 1934. Now, with the skyrocketing inflation caused by the war in Southeast Asia, these poorly paid workers can no longer manage on their meager wages.

The rally set up a committee to organize a strike referendum. The informal strike vote taken at the rally was overwhelmingly for a strike if a satisfactory agreement is not reached soon. The meeting ended with chants of "Strike! Strike!"

The National Picket Line

'LESSER EVILISM' AND THE PATRONAGE SYSTEM: The next time a worker tells a campaigner for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley that a vote for a socialist candidate is wasted, that all capitalist politicians are crooked but nonetheless he or she is going to vote for the "lesser of two evils," here are a few facts for rebuttal. They come from no less a source than the *Wall Street Journal* and help to show that there is no such thing as a "lesser evil" when it comes to Democrats and Republicans.

Representative William L. Springer (R-Ill.), ranking member of the House Commerce Committee, has an invaluable receptionist whose salary is paid by the committee—all \$30,800 of it.

Helen Dubino's duties include screening people into three categories: "Those I must see, those who should be seen by someone else, and those she's got to keep off my back," says Springer. Besides these arduous tasks, Dubino "knows Washington backwards, forwards, and inside out."

Pages appointed by legislators, some of them as young as 14, run errands for the solons. They get \$7,660 a year for this service. This is more than is earned by one-third of all American factory workers. These pages are supervised by a Democratic supervisor of pages whose annual salary is \$24,900, and a Republican supervisor who gets \$21,000.

The House and the Senate each have their own post offices, headed by postmasters who draw

\$34,000. Neither postmaster is allowed to pick his own employees. That is a patronage plum for senior legislators and a five-member Democratic patronage committee.

Besides mail carriers and clerks, patronage dispensers select doormen, elevator operators, messengers, telephone pages, folding-room clerks, and sundry other payrollers who work for the clerk of the post office or the doorman—who gets \$40,000 a year. The doorkeeper's payroll includes the clerk's mother, who ekes by on \$18,000. The House post office payroll includes the sister of Representative Carl Perkins (D-Ky.).

House Democratic leader Hale Boggs "employs" his wife as his secretary. Chet Holifield, chairman of the Government Operations Committee, hired his wife as his clerk-receptionist. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, employs a pair of \$15,000-a-year mail clerks—one of whom doubles as his chauffeur.

The staff director of the Senate Labor Subcommittee also doubles as a chauffeur for his boss's wife and serves as a bartender at the senator's parties. He makes only \$33,000 for all this service.

There are now so many committees, subcommittees, and special bodies that the huge Rayburn office building is too small to hold all the staff committee offices.

None of these special employees are under civil service. They are a part of the whole rotten patron-

age system this government rests on. They get the plums and pay their sponsors back with special services. The postmasters in both the Senate and the House, for instance, make sure there is no count of free mail sent out by representatives or senators during election periods. Some of these patronage artists do nothing at all except collect their paychecks and keep their mouths shut about possible scandals.

The June 2 *Wall Street Journal* says about this situation:

"Capitol Hill is indeed a complicated place, a little world of its own operating under rules that sometimes seem to have little relationship to the larger world outside . . . and Rep. Springer notwithstanding (and his \$30,800 receptionist—M. S.), a case in point would seem to be the Capitol Hill salary system—inflated, shot through with patronage and special considerations, and getting more baffling by the day."

This short summary of facts about Washington's special people must make General Post Office employees and all other federal civil servants feel really good when they try to get a piddling raise or exercise their right to strike—which is denied to all government workers at any level.

It should also tear the scales from the eyes of voters who think they are exercising their right of franchise by choosing the "lesser evil." There is no such thing in capitalist politics.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Davis verdict Shouts of joy rang through the court

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., June 4—Several hundred persons who were denied a seat in the courtroom strained their faces against the chain-link security fence, awaiting the verdict. Inside the courtroom the jury filed to their seats in tense silence. Sallye and Frank Davis, Angela's parents, entwined their hands tightly as the court clerk read the verdict on the first count of murder: "We the jury . . . find the defendant Angela Y. Davis . . . not guilty!"

A sob shattered the courtroom, and Franklin Alexander, the national coordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, buried his face in his hands. Angela Davis and defense investigator Kendra Alexander tearfully embraced while the clerk intoned the verdict of acquittal on the final counts of kidnapping and conspiracy.

Then shouts of joy rang through the courtroom. Immediately afterward

Mary Timothy, spokeswoman for the jurors, remarked that their verdict was unanimous after less than 13 hours of deliberations. Timothy signed her notes to Judge Richard Arnason "Ms. Timothy, foreperson." She explained that the jury believed it would be appropriate for a woman to head the jury since the defendant also was a woman.

Davis warmly embraced each of the jurors in turn. Later, at the victory celebration sponsored by the defense committee, Juror Robert Seidel acknowledged that "from the start we more or less considered it a very doubtful case." The jurors, however, refused to disclose more details to avoid prejudicing the trial of Ruchell Magee, whose case was severed from Angela Davis's last July 19. Magee will go on trial this summer in San Francisco.

Branton, who did most of the cross-examination for the Davis defense,



Photo by Michael Schreiber

Angela Davis with supporters at news conference shortly after the jury announced its verdict.

defense attorneys Leo Branton and Howard Moore marched through the security gates surrounding the courthouse into the arms of a cheering crowd. Many of the persons who were present had kept a quiet vigil on the courthouse lawn during the jury's deliberations.

About 40 National Guardsmen took time off from their Sunday exercises across the street to join Davis's well-wishers. "It is your victory," Branton told the crowd.

Angela Davis was more shy as her supporters pressed forward to embrace her. "I am just like everybody else today," Davis said. "I am completely speechless. This is not only the happiest day of my life, but I am sure that all of the people around the world who have struggled to free me see this as an example of all the victories that are to come. Starting today we have got to work to free every political prisoner and every oppressed person in the world."

The crowd took up the cry of "Free Ruchell." One supporter shouted, "If Albert Harris comes through this crowd, we're going to make a citizen's arrest," but prosecutor Harris had already stolen away from the courtroom with a swift "no comment" to onlookers.

Several of the jury members joined Davis and her attorneys among the defense supporters outside the gate. Juror Ralph DeLange gave a clenched-fist salute to the crowd in order to, as he explained, "show unanimity of opinion of all oppressed people; to show I felt a sympathy for the people in the crowd."

stated that he had favored presenting no defense witnesses to rebut the state's case. He said that he was outvoted in consultation with Angela Davis, the other attorneys, and the defense committee.

During the trial Branton had surmised that defense activities forced the prosecution "to keep holding something back. . . there was too much left to speculation. The case had to fall." Attorney Howard Moore later agreed that he shared Branton's "exultation," but added ruefully, "Justice in America is expensive."

Moore pointed out that the average political defendant cannot afford to raise a mass defense movement like the one built for Davis. The drive that helped force the decision to free Davis from jail on bail, Moore said, not only enabled her to participate fully in her defense but removed psychological pressure on the jury to view Davis as a confined criminal.

Moore emphasized that it was necessary to "take the movement [for Angela Davis] and broaden its base and give it a precise course of direction so that it can free other political prisoners, such as Ruchell Magee. I am certain that Ruchell can be free. There is no doubt in my mind that Ruchell is innocent."

Davis later told reporters that she was tried solely because of her political beliefs and activities. She admitted that she has received death threats during the past week but emphasized that "Because of the corresponding growth of the movement, I am not going to allow that to shut me in."

History of Davis case: 'Chains of slavery'

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif. — Three days before the jury brought a verdict of acquittal for Angela Davis, they were addressed by the defense attorneys, Leo Branton and Howard Moore.

Branton called the jurors by name and told them, "You are going to be part of history." To understand the role of this jury, Branton remarked, "You have to understand what it is about the history of this country that has made an Angela Davis."

He recounted the assassinations of Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, and "three little girls in a church in Birmingham." He mentioned the police raids on homes of Black Panthers, the Scottsboro trial of the 1930s, the Dred Scott decision, and the Fugitive Slave Law.

"The chains of slavery are still there," said Branton. "But Angela Davis is not only Black and militant. She is a Communist. I don't have to remind you of the anti-Communism that is rampant in this country; that many Communists have been put on trial for advocating their first amendment rights."

Branton read the jurors excerpts from several volumes of hate letters that threatened Davis's life because she is a member of the Communist Party. The letters date from the fall of 1969 when the regents of the University of California at Los Angeles, headed by Governor Ronald Reagan, voted to terminate her assistant professorship in accord with a university rule barring the employment of Communists.

This red-baiting incident in 1969 was the beginning of the sham murder-kidnapping-conspiracy indictment of which Davis has just been acquitted. Although a California Superior Court ruled that the firing was unconstitutional and ordered Davis reinstated, the regents refused to rehire her. Instead they whipped up a new scare campaign in the summer of 1970 against Davis's activities on behalf of the Soledad Brothers and the Los Angeles Panther 18.

The state began to store up "evidence" to use against Davis at some future time.

During the last week of June 1970, San Quentin officials confiscated an "unauthorized" letter from Davis to Soledad Brother George Jackson. On July 30, 1970, at the Mexican border, U.S. customs agents seized several political books and newspapers from Davis's automobile. The agents observed that Davis was accompanied at the time by Jonathan Jackson (who was helping to serve as a bodyguard against numerous threats on Davis's life).

On Aug. 7, 1970, Jonathan Jackson attempted to aid the escape of three San Quentin prisoners at the Marin County courthouse. Prison guards opened fire on the escape vehicle. The shoot-out resulted in the death of Jackson, prisoners William Christmas and James McClain, and Judge Harold Haley.

Four days later a warrant was issued for the arrest of Angela Davis, stating that she had bought the weapons used by Jackson. After the FBI failed to locate Davis in an illegal search of her Los Angeles apartment, they placed her on their 10-most-wanted list.

She was arrested in New York Oct. 13, 1970. The California state attorney general's office claimed that Jonathan Jackson would not have risked his life for three relatively unknown San Quentin prisoners, but must have been attempting to negotiate something bigger—freedom for his brother George Jackson and the nationally known Soledad Brothers. The observations the state officials had made

on Davis's work in defense of the Soledad Brothers were used to designate the former UCLA professor as a mastermind behind a "simple but ingenious plot that almost worked."

However, when the Soledad Brothers went on trial in the fall of 1971 for allegedly murdering a prison guard, it began to appear likely that they would be judged innocent. That is what happened.

The prosecution then revised its case. Davis was no longer characterized as the political mastermind of the Aug. 7, 1970, events but simply as a knowing accomplice who had participated because of her "passion" for George Jackson.

The trial of Angela Davis opened on March 27 in San Jose. Prosecutor Albert Harris presented 95 witnesses and 201 pieces of evidence in seven weeks of testimony. The defense case lasted three days.

The issue attracting the most support was Davis's right to bail. This demand was supported by the Congressional Black Caucus, more than 150 trade-union locals, and several

Continued on page 22

Socialist candidates hail victory

The following telegram was sent to Angela Davis from Kenneth Milner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in California's 7th C.D.

Dear Sister Angela,

I speak on behalf of all the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Northern California in hailing your momentous victory. The attempt by the federal, local, and state governments to set an example to the rest of our brothers and sisters in the Black community through your arrest and trial has backfired miserably.

As you stated upon your acquittal, it was indeed the support of millions of people around the world that won your freedom and defeated the attempt to isolate you behind prison walls.

The winning of your freedom will spur on the fight of Black people in this country against the racist oppression we face. It will spur on the struggle to build a massive movement of African-Americans in solidarity with our brothers and sisters on the African continent, as begun on May 27. And it will spur on the struggle to end the genocidal war of aggression being waged in Vietnam by the same government that wished to confine you to prison.

We welcome you back to the struggle and look forward to working with you.

In solidarity,
Ken Milner





The battle was reported over the radio throughout Minnesota

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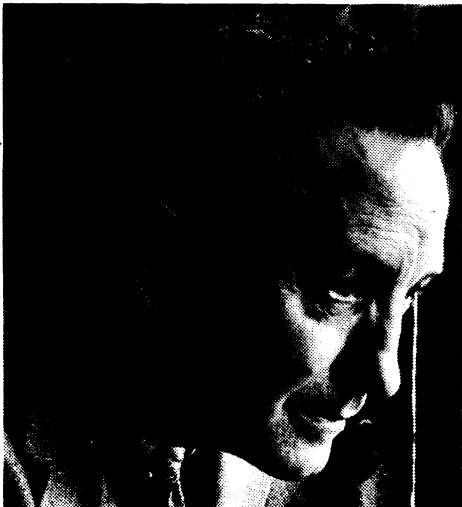
Teamster Rebellion by Farrell Dobbs. A Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press. New York. 1972. 192 pp. Paper \$2.25. Cloth \$6.95.

By DOUG JENNESS

On their speaking tours this spring Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, were repeatedly confronted with skepticism about the labor movement. "I agree with you that Nixon's wage-control schemes are a major attack on workers," some would state, "but I don't see the unions doing anything about it."

Others, including both students and young workers, pointed to most unions' lack of involvement in major social struggles of the day—the fight against the Vietnam war, racism, and the oppression of women. "How can you expect these conservative, undemocratic institutions of the establishment to ever support a social revolution in this country," one Black woman asked.

The socialist candidates agreed that with their present leadership, the unions will never be part of the struggle against capitalist rule. But the impact of the current radicalization and the government attack on the living conditions of workers, they pointed



Farrell Dobbs

out, can lead to the emergence of struggle-oriented left wings that will create new leaderships in the unions.

This sounded abstract to most of their audiences because they could not point to any examples of such a leadership in any union today. It's hard for sincere but skeptical radicals to conceive of how such a transformation can occur.

This fall, when the candidates make their final campaign tours, their answers will very likely be the same. However, now they will be able to include the suggestion to read Farrell Dobbs' new book, *Teamster Rebellion*.

This is the dramatic story of how a small job-trust in Minneapolis in 1934 was transformed into a revolutionary union in a matter of a few months. General Drivers Local 574 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was the prototype of what today's unions must become if they are to play a progressive role in the

coming American socialist revolution.

This account of the historic struggles led by Local 574 was not written by a sideline observer. As a central leader of the strikes, Dobbs was right in the thick of the battle. During the strikes he joined the revolutionary-socialist movement and has been part of it ever since. From this vantage point, he is particularly well qualified to relate accurately what happened, why it happened the way it did, and what can be learned from it.

Period of radicalization

The Minneapolis Teamsters strikes occurred before the rise of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) and during a period of radicalization that had begun with the 1929 economic crash.

The climate in the country was one of protests and demonstrations. Thousands of farmers engaged in militant actions to fight foreclosure of their farms and for better prices for their produce. Unemployed workers, led by radicals, held demonstrations. In 1932, veterans organized a bonus march on Washington. Students and intellectuals rejected old ideas for new, more radical ones. In the 1932 election, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party had a combined vote of about one million. Minnesota had a Farmer-Labor Party government.

The year 1934 marked the first large-scale participation of workers in this process. A longshore strike in San Francisco, which developed into a city-wide general strike, and the Toledo Autolite strike were both led by radicals. Along with these strikes, the Minneapolis Teamsters struggle inspired workers throughout the country and helped set the stage for the formation of the CIO.

In January 1934, the union movement in Minneapolis was small and weak, and the employers were well organized to break strikes. In fact, no union had won a strike in the city in more than 10 years. Unemployment was high, wages were miserably low, and working conditions were oppressive.

The Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, decided to do something about the situation. As early as the winter of 1930-31 the League had developed a plan of action centered around Teamsters Local 574.

Dobbs explains that the Communist League's strategy was based on projecting a program to fight the employers and recruiting workers to that program. Their program for Local 574 was quite simple—organize all workers in the trucking industry, including inside workers, and fight for union recognition. This was essential to an effective fight for higher wages, job security, and better working conditions.

This approach put the Local 574 officials on the spot. If they opposed the program, it compromised them in the eyes of the ranks and undermined their authority. The Communist League's strategy, therefore, was not based on launching a power struggle

against the union officials in order to put new people in their posts. Obviously a struggle would develop against those leaders who equivocated in the fight against the employers.

The League's plan was especially difficult to implement because the union's conservative, craft-oriented character made it hard to join. The League, however, was able to get one member into the local. This member played a central role in helping to win the support of several key union leaders who were sincerely interested in the organizing drive. Other League members, who worked together in the coal yards, organized nonunion work-

by leaders who had won rank-and-file support during the strike.

As Dobbs put it, all this was "accomplished with the same ease that a withered husk can be stripped from a ripened ear of corn."

Although the exact pattern isn't likely to be repeated, it clearly illustrates how the question of winning union posts was subordinated to building a leadership on the basis of a program and action.

The leadership was democratically selected by the rank and file, and the members were involved in each major decision during the strikes. Union negotiators could not agree to terms with the employers without the ap-



Front page of the Aug. 1, 1934, Minneapolis Tribune reporting the occupation of Local 574's headquarters. Photo shows V.R. Dunne being taken into custody by National Guardsmen.

ers in a volunteer organizing committee.

By late 1933, the organizing committee was strong enough to pressure the majority of Local 574's executive board to call a strike. Following the victory of this strike in February 1934, the organizing committee was elevated to formal status within the union. Although a subsidiary body, it became the real leadership of the union and of the May and July-August strikes.

During the strikes, authority for leading the union rested with the strike committee. In August this body dissolved and formal authority was restored to the executive board.

A narrow majority on that body was hostile to the class-struggle leaders. Elections were held and the militants put up an opposition slate. The incompetents on the old executive board were thus removed and replaced

proval of the membership. Local 574 was probably the most democratic union this country has ever seen, before or since.

More than a strike

It is clear from Dobbs' account that this struggle was far more than a series of three strikes led by a local Teamsters union. As the book's title indicates, it was a rebellion; and this rebellion drew many social forces into action.

A women's auxiliary was established, and it mobilized hundreds of women to participate in the strike. Many previous strikes had been weakened when strikers' wives became demoralized wondering where their next meal was going to come from. Local 574 organized a potentially hostile force into a source of strength for the union.

'Teamster Rebellion' by Farrell Dobbs

The story of a revolutionary union

Another group that had often been used to break strikes was the unemployed. In Minneapolis there were about 30,000 jobless workers in 1934, and between the first and second strikes, a demonstration of 10,000 unemployed workers was held at the state capitol.

Local 574 drew unemployed workers into the struggle by forming a special unemployed section of the union. Arrangements were made to fight for public relief for its members. Leaders of the unemployed movement were consulted about strike strategy.

An alliance was also established with farmers in the Minneapolis area. In the July-August strike an agreement was reached with the Farmers' Holiday Association, an organization fighting for farmers' rights; the National Farm Bureau; and the Market Gardeners Association.

The agreement, Dobbs writes, "provided that union pickets would not interfere with farm trucks during the strike if they carried permits from Local 574 and the farm organization to which each operator belonged. To prevent chiseling on this arrangement, farmers' committees undertook to picket roads leading into Minneapolis."

The union also undertook a successful drive to win broad support from other unions. "Virtually every member of Local 574 participated in the effort, pressing our case among other rank-and-file unionists and thereby helping to bring pressure on the AFL [American Federation of Labor] officialdom."

This pressure led to an official AFL call for a joint conference of all unions in town. The conference scheduled a united labor march and protest rally against the trucking employers. In addition, members of many unions volunteered to help picket and to use their skills in various other ways.

Students also participated, and doctors, nurses, and lawyers volunteered their skills.

These measures to inspire and involve other social forces (which stands in sharp contrast to the practices of most unions today) not only gave the Minneapolis strikes added strength but served to turn the struggle into a social crusade. What was involved was a direct confrontation between the capitalists in Minneapolis and all their organs of repression on one hand, and the labor movement and its allies on the other.

In this situation the strikers were able to use to their advantage the predicament of Governor Floyd B. Olson, a capitalist politician who depended on labor support. When Olson mobilized the National Guard, Local 574 was so resolute and had won such widespread support from the city's labor movement that it was able to force him to back down.

Dobbs indicates that "Due to a regional peculiarity within a nation under firm capitalist rule, a local condition approximating dual power had temporarily arisen. The authorities could exercise control over the class struggle then raging only insofar as

they proceeded in a manner acceptable to Local 574 and its allies.

"If a comparable situation had existed nationally," Dobbs explains, "what began as a simple trade-union action could have broadened into a sweeping social conflict leading to a revolutionary confrontation for state power."

Naturally there was no possibility of the workers taking over and holding power in one city in isolation from the rest of the country. Correctly recognizing this limitation, they were able to successfully win the modest but very significant goal of making Minneapolis a union town.

The Communist Party, which was then following an ultraleftist course laid down by Stalin, criticized the union leaders for not calling a general strike to defeat Olson. Although they were isolated from the struggle, the CP didn't hesitate to shout "betrayal."

By clearly projecting the issue of union recognition, however, Local 574 was able to win broad support and sympathy throughout the city. The military and police attacks and a red-baiting campaign against the union's revolutionary leadership could not dent this support.

Role of revolutionary party

What is underlined by this experience is the decisive role played by the revolutionary Marxist party. In fact, there was no other place that such qualified leaders could have come from.

Dobbs states that "the revolutionary party constitutes a bridge in historic consciousness for the workers. It absorbs the lessons of the class struggle, victories as well as defeats, preserving them as part of its revolutionary heritage." The lessons of many previous struggles, absorbed by the cadres of the Communist League, were consciously applied to the Teamsters strikes. Without this, there would have been no victory.

The fact that the party was a national organization also meant that it was able to draw on the experience and talents of party members throughout the country. National leaders of the party, including James Cannon, then national secretary of the party, came to Minneapolis to help out.

One of the key contributions in this regard was the aid given by party members in the publication of a newspaper. Beginning as a weekly, *The Organizer* became a daily during the July-August strike.

The first strike daily in American history, it played a crucial role in keeping union members and supporters posted on the latest developments. It alerted them to the dangers of trusting the Farmer-Labor Party governor and was used skillfully as a weapon against red-baiting.

The other side of the relationship between the strike and the party was that the strike helped to build the party. When the struggle began, the Communist League branch in Minneapolis had about 40 members and close sympathizers. By the fall of 1934 the

party branch had grown to 100 members and active sympathizers.

Nationally, the Communist League at that time was dismissed by many as too small and isolated to be of much value. Dobbs relates how the party's role in the strike was utilized to project the organization to workers throughout the country as a capable leader of mass struggles. The party held a national fund drive to help finance its stepped-up activity, and a campaign was launched to expand *The Militant*, the organ of the Communist League.

Conscious attempts were made to recruit new members during the strug-

gle. After the February strike, for example, the League held a huge public meeting for this purpose.

One of the key recruits during this struggle was Farrell Dobbs. He not only became a prominent organizer of the Teamsters union in the Midwest following the strikes but later became national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Some of the flavor of the strike is expressed in selections from the diary

kept by Marvel Scholl during the struggle. One of the main organizers of the women's auxiliary, Scholl was Dobbs' companion through these experiences and his foremost collaborator in preparing this book.

Material is also included from memorandums by other participants in the struggle, including Vincent Raymond Dunne and Carl Skoglund. Dunne and Skoglund were both founding leaders of the Communist League in Minneapolis and had long experience in the radical and union movements. They were the principal architects of the League's union strategy in Minneapolis.



Thousands jammed Minneapolis streets to attend funeral of Henry Ness, one of two strikers killed by police.

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Some of the flavor of the strike is expressed in selections from the diary

Dobbs explains that he learned many important things from these two worker revolutionists. It is these lessons, enriched with his own experience, that Dobbs transmits to the new generation of revolutionists. This book thus represents part of the accumulated lessons of decades of class-struggle experience embodied in the members of the revolutionary party. It is part of what Dobbs refers to as the "class memory."

Banquet...

Join the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign in celebrating the publication of *Teamster Rebellion*. Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness, and Marvel Scholl, organizer of Local 574 women's auxiliary in the 1934 Teamster strikes, will be featured guests.

6 p.m. Social Hour/7 p.m. Dinner/8 p.m. Program. Banquet and Program: \$5.

Cooperative Auditorium, 551 Grand St. (near Grand Street Station of Sixth Avenue IND D-train), Manhattan.

For further information and tickets, contact Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-0976.

'Teamster Rebellion'

The story of one of the most dramatic organizing drives in American labor history. In describing the tactics of the strikers, the author highlights many important principles of labor organization. by Farrell Dobbs/\$2.25 paper; \$6.95 cloth.

A Monad Press book. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Socialist candidate debates Julian Bond

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Democratic state legislator Julian Bond and socialist congressional candidate Keith Jones took opposite sides in a debate on the 1972 elections here May 25. The two confronted each other before a largely student audience at Georgia State University. The meeting was sponsored by the Georgia State Black Student Union and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Bond, who has endorsed Senator George McGovern as his choice for the Democratic presidential nomination, said he would vote Democratic in 1972 even if McGovern is not nominated. "I'm not a big Humphrey fan," Bond said, "but I want to see Nixon out of office."

Jones, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for congress from Georgia's 5th C.D., vehemently dissented from Bond's perspective of support to the Democratic Party. "It's time," Jones said, "to break with two-party politics . . . to point out that

masses of Chicano people."

In contrast, Jones said, Black Democrats, such as Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher cannot take actions of real benefit to Black people because their election depends on capitalist support. If Hatcher moved to better the situation of Blacks in Gary, Jones said, "he would endanger his privileged position with U. S. Steel, General Motors, and other corporations that made his election as a Democrat possible."

Bond, on the other hand, contended that "The race of the people in Gary has nothing to do with the fact that a big corporation like U. S. Steel can dominate Gary. It has to do with the tax laws. . . ."

"If the vast majority of Black people in this country moved out of the Democratic Party," Jones answered, "and refused to vote for people until they had shown themselves to be in our interest, then the Democratic Party could not win another election in this country."

There is only one political organi-

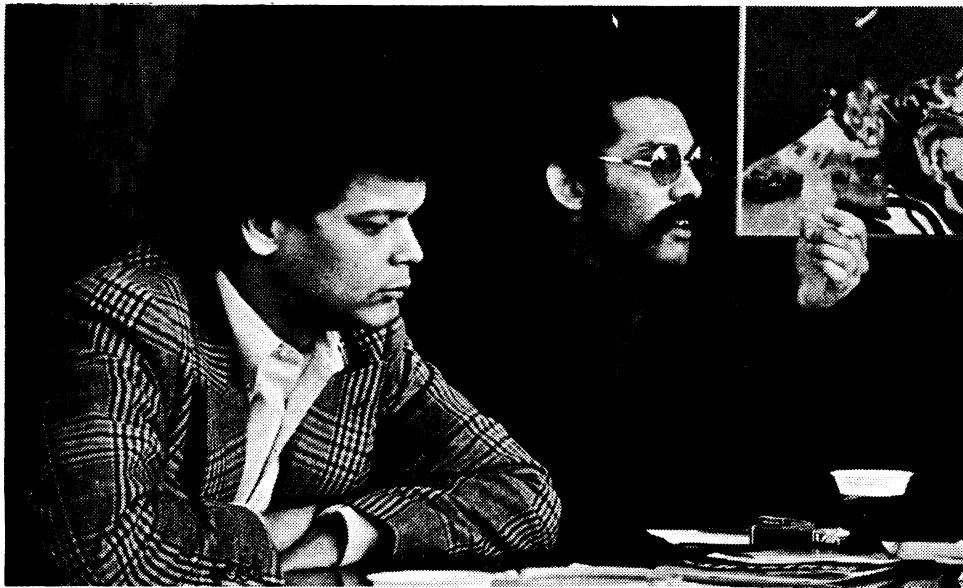


Photo by John Hawkins

Julian Bond (left) agreed to debate Keith Jones during Great Speckled Bird interview in March.

it's the Democrats who sent over 12,000 brothers to their death in Southeast Asia and who murdered over a million Vietnamese, that it's the Democrats and Republicans jointly who are responsible for Attica, Jackson State, and Kent State."

Bond said, "The choice in 1972 is going to be between two Anglo-Saxon men. One will be Richard Nixon and the other, I hope, will be George McGovern. . . . I don't think George McGovern is a saint, but I think he's the best of the bunch."

Jones put forth the alternative of independent electoral action. As an example, he pointed to La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas, where the Chicano community elected its own candidates. The independently elected Chicano officials in Crystal City, Jones said, are "using the tools of government to better the lives of the

zation in the country, Jones said, that "actively supports the concept of building an independent Black political party. . . . It is also one of the few organizations running an independent campaign in 1972—proving that it is possible to do so," Jones said. He said that organization is the Socialist Workers Party, whose campaign is "based on the concept of masses of people making social change—that independent mass movements make social change."

The debate received extensive coverage in the *Atlanta Journal*. It was also reported in the *Atlanta Voice*, Georgia's largest-circulation Black newspaper. The *Voice* has given prominent coverage to Jones's campaign, making it widely known that for the first time Atlanta is being presented with a socialist alternative in the race for Congress.

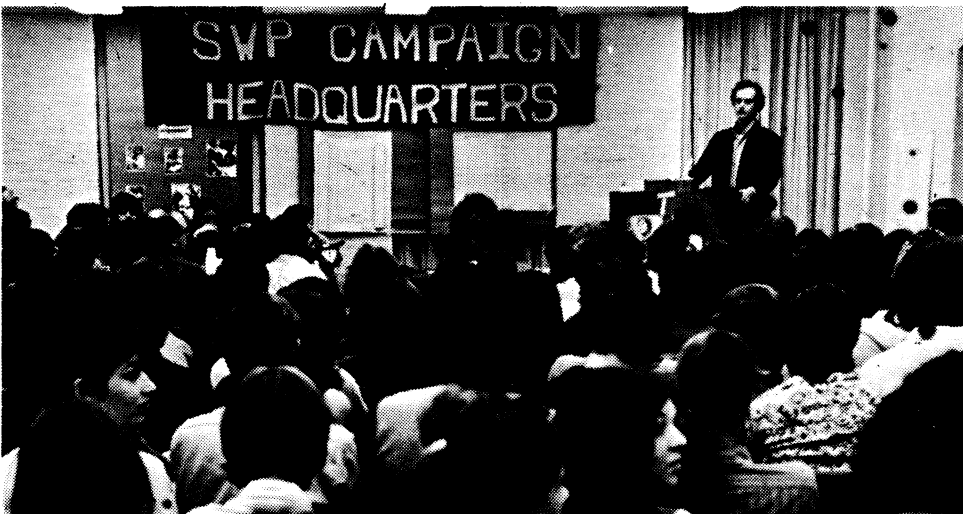


Photo by Jon Flanders

Peter Camejo, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee, speaks to May 27 rally to kick off massive petition campaign.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley will definitely be on the ballot in New Jersey and Idaho. According to New Jersey officials, the SWP petitions were not challenged and will be automatically certified in September.

In Idaho, Secretary of State Pete Cenarrusa told reporters that the SWP has qualified for the ballot by gathering almost twice the number of signatures required. Although the SWP must still hold a state convention (set for June 29 in Boise), Cenarrusa was quoted by UPI as saying, "It looks to me like they made it."

Last week the SWP campaign broke the 11,000 mark in its drive to sign up endorsements for the Jenness-Pulley ticket. One new endorser is Shirley Johnson (Wheeler), who was convicted of manslaughter last July for having an illegal abortion in Florida. Women around the country have rallied in support of her case, which is now on appeal.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley believe that abortion is a fundamental right of every woman. The SWP calls for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

Linda Jenness has edited an anthology of women's liberation writings entitled *Feminism and Socialism*. The articles are by socialist women active in the feminist movement. The book will be published by Pathfinder Press in August, and will sell for \$5.95 in cloth, \$1.95 in paper.

In case you are keeping a list of all the once-prominent "New Leftists" who are putting radicalism aside to work for McGovern, there's a new entry to make. Carl Oglesby, former national leader of SDS, has joined Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Rennie Davis, and many others in urging radicals to work for "one more chance" for the capitalist system. If McGovern is elected, "Life could turn around. We could actually make the fucking bus," writes Oglesby in the May 23 *Boston After Dark*. "He is important for all Movement people, who should regard his victory as desirable verging on necessary. . . ."

McGovern's campaign manager explained very well what's happened to people like Oglesby when he told *The New York Times Magazine*: "Our strategy all along was to coopt the left."

A good answer to Oglesby & Co. comes from a recent letter from a high school volunteer for Jenness and Pulley: "Although I realize the chances of our winning in November are practically nonexistent, being shut off from either of the major political parties, both of which seem to me to be totally irresponsible to the needs of the young, I feel that committing myself to a party that I believe in is far more moral than working for a party that might very well win but in which I could never feel wholly comfortable."

And an article by a former McGovern supporter in the May 10 *New Paper*, published in Carrolton, Ga., makes the same point:

"I now realize that supporting a bourgeois candidate that talks nice but whose actions don't support his words will not stop the war or change our society. Dr. Spock, the candidate of the People's Party, might be a good alternative if you aren't into socialism. Linda Jenness might be the best candidate to support if you would like to see a democratic socialist society."

"These candidates ARE serious about stopping the war and building a clean environment. Their chances of winning are slim but I would rather vote for somebody I really can trust to make the changes I would like to see made if they were elected. It's time for 'lesser-of-two-evils' politics to come to an end."

The editorial board of *Gemini*, a student newspaper at Columbia-Greene Community College in Athens, N. Y., voted to "heartily" endorse Linda Jenness, and said so in an editorial in the May 26 *Gemini*. Their decision was made after hearing Jenness speak.

"Ms. Jenness," they wrote, "explained what is wrong with this society and presented an honest, intelligent, and cohesive program for changing it. She said more in 40 minutes than the capitalist candidates say in two hours, and she reinforced our conviction, with her honesty, frankness and intelligence, that she is the only candidate running for President of the United States who is actually worthy of the office."

Young socialists around the country have been entering student government election campaigns on the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley ticket. Carole Newcomb, YSJP candidate for vice-president of the student body at Los Angeles City College, was endorsed by the Los Angeles Collegian.

In her campaign, along with David Marstaller, YSJP candidate for treasurer, Newcomb emphasized student-faculty control and the use of campus facilities "not to serve the monopolies but (the) students and the vast mass of people by attacking our social problems."

In its endorsement, the Collegian noted that her platform is "not one of idle, vague promises but of situations of real concern to all students." In addition, the paper noted, "her experience in the Young Socialist Alliance and its activities is evidence that Ms. Newcomb can not only carry out her own initiatives, but can supervise the activities of others."

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be in Miami during the Democratic Party convention, distributing thousands of pieces of campaign literature and talking to people about the socialist alternative. If you want to join them, or if you can help in any way to provide housing or transportation in the Miami area, get in touch with us right away.

Address all inquiries and requests for campaign materials to: Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

— LARRY SEIGLE

Mass. paces ballot drive with 38,000 signatures

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

The Socialist Workers Party national campaign committee has predicted that its presidential ticket will gain ballot status in more than 30 states in 1972. Over the June 3 weekend two more states—North Dakota and Texas—met the petitioning requirements for ballot status.



Jeannie Reynolds, one of the coordinators of the Massachusetts petitioning campaign.

Ten campaign supporters working in Fargo and Grand Forks, N.D., collected 689 signatures on June 3, more than twice the number required by North Dakota law. In Texas, campaign supporters reached their goal of 45,000 signatures.

Washington, D.C., and Illinois report progress toward completing their requirements. More than 7,500 signatures were obtained in D.C. on June 3, bringing the total collected to 19,000. Campaign supporters in D.C. plan to collect 26,000, nearly double the requirement of 5 percent of the registered voters.

In Illinois, canvassers concentrated their efforts on the areas outside Chicago's Cook County. Illinois law stipulates that no more than 12,000 of the required 25,000 signatures may be obtained in any one county in the state. Six Illinois teams of four petitioners each added another 1,600 signatures to their state's total.

Massachusetts

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, June 4—"After a full week of petitioning to put Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot in Massachusetts, we have collected 38,000 signatures and two petitioners have joined the Young Socialist Alliance," reports Jeannie Reynolds. Reynolds is a coordinator of the drive to put the Socialist Workers Party on the Massachusetts ballot for the first time.

Every campaign endorser in the state is being called to see if he or she will help in petitioning; so far 40 people have volunteered. "Phone calling and endorser work is continuing," said Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley coordinator Yipper Fitzgerald. "Thirty-four campaign endorsers have been obtained in the first week of petitioning without much effort."

Some of the petitioners are also gathering signatures for John Powers and Jeanne Lafferty, SWP candidates for U.S. Congress in Massachusetts' 8th and 9th Congressional Districts. Almost half of the required signatures

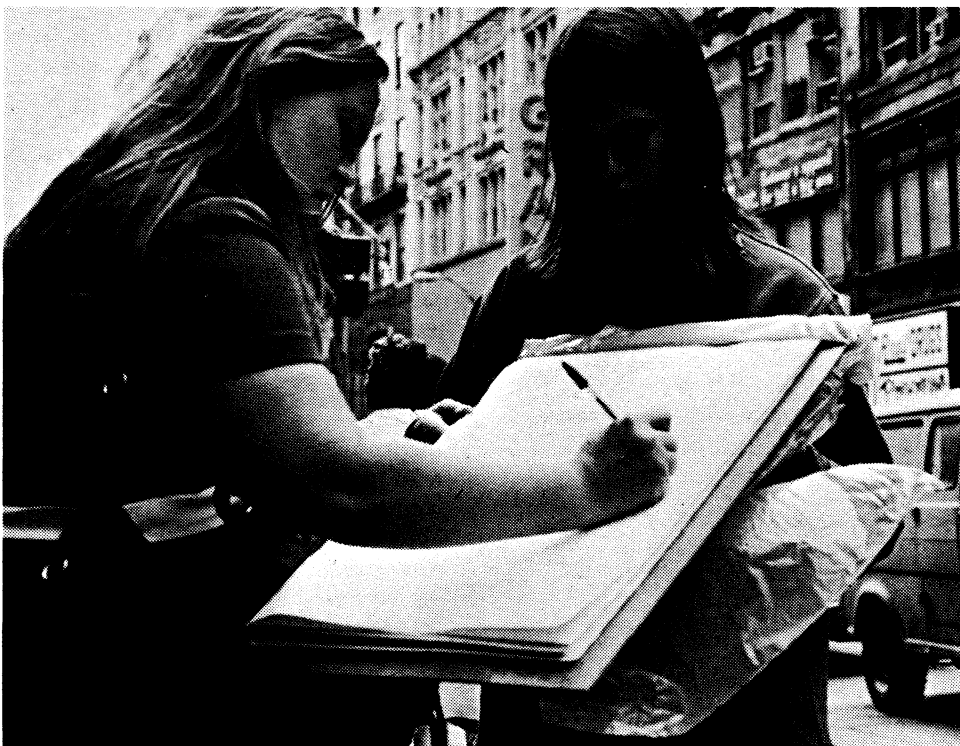
for Powers and Lafferty have already been collected.

The average number of signatures a petitioner obtains in a day is between 80 and 90. This is a remarkably high figure because Massachusetts requires that signatures from each town be kept on a separate sheet. Response in the big shopping centers in the Boston suburbs has been the best.

On Saturday, June 3, in New Bedford, a grocery store owner bought soft drinks for an SWP petitioner outside his store, apologized to her for not being able to provide a lunch, and asked all of his clerks to sign her petition!

"Our big problem now," said office coordinator Anne Marie Capuzzi, "is finding new places to petition. So many people are petitioning for us that we have saturated the area. Last Saturday we had over 150 campaign supporters on the streets collecting signatures for Jenness and Pulley. But we'll find room for twice that many if they want to help out."

Volunteers should contact the SWP petitioning headquarters at 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Telephone: (617) 482-8050.



Debbie Clifford, one of the Young Socialists working full time on petitioning in Massachusetts, signs up a woman in Boston to help place SWP candidates on the ballot.

Jenness takes Ohio to court

By DAVE PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND, June 2—Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley filed suit today in Columbus, Ohio, along with 25 candidates for presidential elector pledged to their slate in the state of Ohio. The suit seeks to prevent the Ohio secretary of state from barring the socialist candidates from the ballot on the grounds that they are "too young." The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is sponsoring the suit, which is the focus of a growing fight for the right of SWP candidates to be on the ballot in Ohio.

Attorneys for CoDEL are Benjamin Scheerer of Cleveland and Ron Reosti of Detroit.

Ted W. Brown, Ohio's secretary of state, has threatened to rule Linda Jenness off the ballot on the grounds that she doesn't meet the minimum age of 35 required to serve as president. Jenness and the other plaintiffs are asking for a temporary restraining order to force Brown to transmit the nominating petitions to local election boards for validation. According to Ohio law, this must be done on June 15.

In their suit the candidates point out that almost 10,000 signatures, nearly twice the requirement, were filed to place Jenness and Pulley on the ballot. They further argue that even though Jenness and Pulley do not meet the restrictive age limit set in the U.S. Constitution, all of the candidates for elector are fully qualified. Under the U.S. Constitution it is the electors who are actually selected by voters. These electors, in turn, cast ballots for the president and vice-president.

The suit cites the precedent of a 1948 attempt to rule Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace off the ballot because he was not a "proper" candidate. The Ohio Supreme Court ruled then that the secretary of state could only inquire as to whether the candidates for presidential elector were qualified.

The Ohio Committee for Democratic Election Laws is appealing to all defenders of civil liberties to immediately write to Brown protesting his announced intention to bar Jenness and Pulley from the ballot. Letters of protest may be sent to him c/o Secretary of State's Office, Columbus, Ohio 43216.

Among those who have stated their support for the right of Jenness and Pulley to be on the Ohio ballot are: Richard Niebuhr, general vice-president, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; William Franklin, councilman of Cleveland's Ward 10; Jean Capers, chairwoman, Northern Ohio Regional Women's Political Caucus; Dr. Paul Olynick, SANE; Katie Baird, coordinator, Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition; Lewis Robinson, chairman, Cuyahoga County New Democratic Coalition; Dr. Carl Ubellohde, ACLU Executive Board; and the Cleveland State University student government.

SWP ballot-drive scoreboard

STATE	SIGNATURES REQUIRED	SIGNATURES COLLECTED
Florida	27,960	51,600 (completed)
Idaho	1,500	3,000 (completed)
Illinois	25,000	20,000
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	38,000
Michigan	14,256	28,732 (completed)
Mississippi	1,000	begins in June
New Hampshire	1,500	500
New Jersey	800	2,350 (completed)
North Dakota	300	689 (completed)
Ohio	5,000	9,767 (completed)
South Dakota	4,799	6,619
Tennessee	225	begins in June
Texas	22,253	45,200 (completed)
Utah	500	942 (completed)
Vermont	1,535	3,000
Washington, D. C.	13,000	19,500

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 _____

SWP campaign gears for summer activity

By ALEX HARTE

"The final five months will be the most exciting and the most important phase of the SWP 1972 election campaign." This was the main point national campaign manager Larry Seigle stressed in an interview with *The Militant* this week. "In a sense," he said, "everything we have done so far is preparation for the big push that is beginning now and will run right up to November."

Even with campuses not in regular session, Seigle foresees intensive activity by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley during the summer. "If anybody is expecting us to scale down our campaign during the summer, they're underestimating the energy and enthusiasm of thousands of socialist campaign workers," he said.

Both Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley will be conducting national campaign tours in June and July. Jenness will stump the East Coast and Midwest cities, and Pulley will cover the South, Southwest, and West Coast. Major campaign rallies are being planned in 20 cities. These rallies, which will often follow fund-raising banquets, will give thousands of new campaign supporters a chance to hear and talk to Jenness and Pulley.

"Although there will be fewer opportunities for big campus meetings during the summer," Seigle explained, "we are going to try to set up meetings for Jenness and Pulley before community groups, churches, women's organizations, and Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups." Efforts will be made to have the socialist candidates speak to workers at trade-union meetings and at open-air rallies at plant gates.

At the same time as the Jenness and Pulley tours, Laura Miller, a national coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, will make a national organizational tour.

In addition to the SWP national ticket, more than 100 socialist candidates around the country are running for office. These local candidates, as well as being activists around local issues and problems, are also representatives in their districts of the Jenness and Pulley ticket. Seigle anticipates that many of these local campaigns will step up their activity as more student volunteers have time to work on the campaigns and as opportunities for equal broadcast time are made available after the Democratic and Republican nominees are chosen.

"Our main base of support will remain students and other young people," Seigle explained. "Even though high schools will be closed and col-

leges will be in summer session, we will be taking the socialist campaign wherever young people are—rock concerts, parks, beaches, and university communities.

"Our goal this summer is to involve thousands of young people in active support for our campaign, to solicit their help in distributing our platform, building campaign meetings, getting on the ballot, and raising enough



A Socialist Workers Party campaign literature table in Los Angeles. Staffing such tables is only one of many activities that will occupy campaign supporters as the SWP election drive moves into high gear this summer.

money so that our campaign can continue to grow and expand right up to November."

Distribution of campaign literature and sales of *The Militant*, which provides week-to-week coverage of campaign activities, will be the means to accomplish this.

In addition to campaign activities, YSJers will have a chance this sum-

mer to get an introduction to socialist ideas by participating in the socialist summer schools organized by the SWP and YSA. These classes will be held in 18 cities and are open to supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

The cornerstone of the summer campaign program will be a drive to sign up new endorsers of the campaign. Eleven thousand people have already signed cards endorsing the socialist campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. "Many of these people do not agree with everything in the SWP platform," Seigle said. "But they agree with the need for a socialist alternative, and they see support to Jenness and Pulley as the most effective course in 1972."

"As a result of working in the campaign, many of them have become convinced that they should belong to a socialist youth organization and have joined the Young Socialist Alliance. We anticipate that many new YSA chapters will be formed between now and November."

The signed endorser cards are sent in to the national campaign office, and endorsers receive news about the campaign from the national campaign committee and from the local campaign in their area.

But what about George McGovern? Hasn't the growing chance that McGovern will get the nomination strengthened illusions in the two-party system? "To a limited extent that's true," said Seigle. "YSJers throughout the country have reported that a frequent answer from McGovern supporters is 'If McGovern loses at the convention, I'll be supporting Jenness and Pulley.' These people, who still believe in 'lesser-evil politics,' have renewed faith that the Democratic Party can be transformed into an instrument of social change."

"But much more significant is the fact that McGovern's recent success inside the Democratic Party has forced him to expose his basic approach, and thousands of young activists are in the process of learning some lessons about capitalist politics. Every step to the right that McGovern takes—whether it's on the war, busing, abortion, amnesty, marijuana, or his failure to challenge such repugnant party pros as Mayor Daley—helps prove the point that we have been making about McGovern all along."

"Jenness and Pulley have been saying that McGovern isn't interested in a fundamental change and that supporting him is a dead-end road. In response to those who claim that Mc-

Govern represents the only 'realistic' choice, Jenness and Pulley have argued that it is the belief that meaningful progress can come about through the Democratic Party that is totally unrealistic and utopian.

"McGovern's recent statements on the issues are proving the socialist candidates correct."

"McGovern is on a hard right course, and many students, Blacks, Chicanos, and others will be more open to our perspective."

"But if you think McGovern has moved to the right against Humphrey, wait till he starts running against Nixon! As Linda Jenness says, 'If McGovern thinks he's gotten rough treatment from us in the past, he hasn't seen anything yet.'"

But if McGovern doesn't get the nomination? "Then," said Seigle, "the same thing will happen, only in a different way. The race between Nixon and the Democratic nominee will be more like a rerun of 1968 but in the context of a deeper radicalization and a much bigger socialist campaign than we had in 1968. Disenchantment with the Democratic Party will be even greater than in 1968, especially, of course, among the tens of thousands of young activists who have worked for McGovern. We'll be campaigning against Nixon and whomever the Democrats pick because neither of them will have the answers to the problems confronting this country."

Regardless of what happens in Miami, Seigle anticipates unprecedented support for the SWP campaign this fall. "We're already making plans to put dozens of traveling socialist campaign teams on the road in September and October."

In addition, the campaign committee is organizing a committee of prominent speakers and socialist leaders who can represent Jenness and Pulley on hundreds of campuses in the fall because the two candidates will be able to fill only a fraction of the expected invitations.

But to do all of this, Seigle emphasized, the socialist campaign desperately needs more money.

"The opportunities are there. Our candidates are extremely effective, our program is one that makes sense to growing numbers of people, and we have lots of dedicated campaign workers. The only thing that can stand in our way now is the lack of money. We need literally tens of thousands of dollars to be able to carry out our plans. And we can only raise it if a lot of campaign supporters continue to pitch in and help."

By Any Means Necessary

MISSISSIPPI JUDGE GIVES REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA ACTIVIST LIFE IMPRISONMENT. On May 3, Hekima Ana (Thomas Norman), Midwest regional vice-president of the Republic of New Africa, was found guilty of murdering a white policeman by a Jackson, Miss., jury composed of 11 whites and one Black.

The case grew out of an assault last Aug. 18 by Jackson police and FBI agents on the RNA headquarters. Just prior to that the RNA had purchased a piece of land on which to set up their government. Threats by state officials against RNA activities culminated in the predawn assault on Aug. 18. Besides the policeman, who died, another cop and an FBI agent were wounded.

Ten other RNA members, including Brother Imari, the president, were arrested along with Ana.

According to a news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), "The prosecution's case against Ana is purely circumstantial. An FBI fingerprint expert from Washington, D. C., testified that a palm print taken from the cartridge receiver of a rifle matches Ana's. (The receiver is not held when a rifle is being fired, but a rifle is often gripped by its receiver when

it is being carried.)

"Another FBI witness from Washington, a ballistics expert, testified that the bullet which killed Detective Lieutenant William Louis Skinner 'could have been fired from the rifle' but admitted that it was impossible to be certain."

A later SCEF release announced that Ana's defense attorneys, John Brittain and Fred Banks, are expected to appeal the conviction. The grounds will be that there were too few Blacks on the jury; that involuntary statements made by defendants when they were being beaten by officers were admitted as evidence; and that certain procedural errors by the judge necessitate a new trial.

In a significant development, the New African Prisoner of War Committee reports that Tamu Ana, Hekima's wife, was released May 31 on \$10,000 bond. Imprisoned for two-and-a-half months in Parchman State Prison and eight months in the Hinds County Jail, she is the fifth member of the RNA 11, as they have become known, to be released. Although the charges of killing Skinner and waging "war against the state of Mississippi" were dropped against her, she is to stand trial on the charge of assaulting a federal officer.

Ana was the first of the RNA 11 to be tried and sentenced. Further trials are slated soon. For more information on the frame-up of the RNA 11, write: New African Prisoner of War Committee, 128 1/2 Gallatin St., Jackson, Miss. 39201.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Left to right: Imari Abubakari Obadele, Mustaf Olu, and Steve Turnage of the Republic of New Africa.

By CAROLINE LUND

The *Daily World*, reflecting the views of the Communist Party, hailed the Nixon-Brezhnev summit as an "unprecedented" achievement and a "triumph" for the cause of world peace. The declaration signed in Moscow was said to be "historic" in its importance. Nixon's "acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence" was welcomed.

the proimperialist and the prosocialist forces in Vietnam.

The leadership of the Soviet Union did not always consist of such hypocrites and betrayers of revolutionary struggles. In the early days of the Soviet Republic, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, an internationalist foreign policy reflecting the interests of the oppressed and exploited people of the world was carried out.

Any agreements they made with imperialist countries were concluded

League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars."

According to these revolutionary principles, the Communist party of the Soviet Union and all its followers around the world, including the CPUSA, would be barred from membership in the Third International of Lenin. They would be barred because of their lies to the working people of the world that the United States imperialists are capable of being "peaceful."

Party began to lose its revolutionary, internationalist spirit. It was taken over by narrow-minded, self-seeking bureaucrats headed by Joseph Stalin. The original leaders of the revolution were murdered, exiled, framed-up as "counterrevolutionaries," or otherwise purged by Stalin's henchmen and secret police.

Once a democratic organization with a lively internal life, the Soviet Communist Party became a shell of its old self—a group of hand-raisers, a place where no dissenting word was tolerated. This in turn led to the degeneration of the Communist International, which was formally dissolved in 1943. The CPs in other countries became subservient to the Soviet bureaucracy.

The social gap grew between the Soviet bureaucrats and rank-and-file Soviet workers and peasants. The bureaucrats made sure they were provided with expensive cars, vacation spots, homes, and fancy foods. Although their power was still based on a system of social ownership of the means of production, their interests grew further and further apart from the interests of the Soviet people and the oppressed people of the rest of the world. The Soviet bureaucrats now feel more akin to the rulers of capitalist countries than to the Soviet worker or Vietnamese peasant, as was well illustrated during Nixon's trip to Moscow. (As we can see, U.S. trade-union bureaucrats have much in common with their Soviet counterparts.)

The bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union is set up to protect privileges and to preserve inequality. Anyone whose concern is to protect his or her own privileges cannot be a revolutionary at heart. The Soviet bureaucrats are no exception. Their preoccupation with maintaining their privileged position in the Soviet Union transfers into the international arena, where their concern is also not to "rock the boat."

They do not support international revolutionary movements. Their statements of "support" to such movements are empty rhetoric. The material aid they dispense—as, for example, to the Vietnamese—is woefully inadequate.

Under Stalin this outlook was expressed beginning in 1924 in the slogan of "socialism in one country." This anti-Marxist conception replaced proletarian internationalism with a narrow, conservative, nationalist outlook. Stalin's heirs—from Brezhnev to Gus Hall—use the phrase "peaceful coexistence" to mean the same thing. The Soviet bureaucrats abandoned the original Marxist goal of world socialism expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* by the phrase "Workers of the world, unite!"

Continued on page 22

Roots of Soviet betrayal of Vietnamese revolution

How can the CP make such statements when everyone knows Nixon is continuing and escalating the war against Vietnam? In fact, the harbors of North Vietnam were mined and U.S. bombing reached new heights on the very eve of the summit.

The CP's reasoning is spelled out in a May 31 *World* editorial. It begins: "The most important factor in the international political scene today is the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. The most important goal in that relationship is agreement on peaceful coexistence." (Emphasis added.)

These statements show how far the U.S. Communist Party and its mentors in the Soviet government have degenerated from the positions of revolutionary Marxism. The "most important factor in the international political scene today" is not U.S.-Soviet relations but the Vietnam war.

In Vietnam the U.S. imperialists are attempting to crush the deepest and most intense anticapitalist struggle in the world today. Vietnam is now the battleground between the forces supporting imperialism and the forces fighting for national independence and socialism. The outcome of the Vietnam war will have a profound impact on every other struggle for social justice around the world. Its outcome will affect the preservation of the gains of the Russian revolution itself.

The government of the USSR claims to speak for socialism and for the goals for which the Vietnamese are fighting. They claim to support anticapitalist struggles around the world. But—as they made clear by inviting Nixon to Moscow—these are merely words. Their real concern is to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with the United States. This means ignoring or trying to subdue the actual conflict between

without the Soviet leadership's softening their public opposition to the imperialists' policies of aggression and subjugation of working people throughout the world.

This position was codified by the (Third) Communist International, the organization initiated by the new Soviet government to function as the



Brezhnev, Kosygin toast Nixon while U.S. bombers pound Vietnam.

general staff of the world revolutionary-socialist movement. At its Second Congress in 1920, the International adopted a series of 19 points as conditions for affiliation. Point number six reads: "Every party that wishes to affiliate with the Third International must not only expose avowed social-patriotism, but must also expose the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism; it must systematically point out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no talk about reducing armaments, no 'democratic' reorganizing of the

How did this degeneration of the Soviet leadership come about?

The 1917 Russian revolution took place in a very backward country. Thus one of the prerequisites for full development into socialism—an abundance of material goods—was absent. Russia was further drained of resources during the long civil war of 1918-20. In addition, the Russian rev-

olution was isolated for many years and received no aid from victorious revolutions in other countries.

The poverty in the Soviet Union—the fact that there wasn't enough food, clothing, housing, etc., to go around—helped lead to the rise of a privileged bureaucratic layer. This bureaucracy, in turn, built up a repressive apparatus designed to protect its privileged position.

With many of the best communists killed during the civil war and many workers exhausted from the civil war and demoralized by the isolation of the revolution, the Soviet Communist

76,500 Canadians demand abortion right

The following is excerpted from the May 22 *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Canada.

By KATE ALDERICE

OTTAWA, May 15—Women from across Canada presented a brief to the federal government today, demanding repeal of all the sections of the Criminal Code that deal with abortion in order to make abortion a personal decision for the woman involved.

The women, representing the six provincial chapters of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and the Québec repeal movement, brought with them signatures of 76,500 Canadians in support of their demands.

The presentation of the petition and brief in Ottawa culminated a week of activities May 1-6 across Canada. The Canadian actions were part of a worldwide Abortion Action Week.

In Canada, the week of actions were

the first coordinated activities on such a scale that the abortion law repeal movement has yet undertaken. In the final week of the campaign, the repeal petition went out into the streets, the schools, and the shopping plazas.

The week's activities included coordinated marches and rallies on May 6 in seven provincial centers across Canada—Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax.

In a press conference following the presentation to the federal government on May 15, Lorna Grant pointed out the significance of the petition campaign: "At our founding last March," she said, "we decided to aim to collect 75,000 signatures by May 15. Response to our petition has been so tremendous that we have surpassed our goal. And this is only the beginning. We are now launching the second stage of the petition campaign with the aim of winning hundreds of thousands more signatures over the summer."



Photo by MacInnis/Labor Challenge

Supporters of right to abortion march on Ontario provincial legislature in Toronto, May 6.

Berkeley April Coalition: 'Working within the system'

This is the third of four articles assessing the April Coalition's first year in office. The coalition, a bloc of movement activists and Democrats, elected three members to the Berkeley City Council in April 1971.

By HARRY RING

While many differences have developed between the three members of the Berkeley City Council elected by the April Coalition, there is one important political attribute they do have in common. During their year in office, none of them have shown the slightest interest in mobilizing their constituencies to carry through a serious public fight for their particular programs.

The styles of D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons on the one side, and Loni Hancock on the other, may differ. But all three concentrate almost

such a political approach actually goes counter to their efforts to "work within the system."

Their total alienation from such an approach was most clearly expressed during the 11-month conflict over filling the vacant ninth seat on the council.

To begin with, Hancock, Bailey, and Simmons made no effort to agree on a candidate they could jointly support. And they certainly made no move to take the issue to their constituencies to find out who they wanted on the council and how they proposed to get her or him there.

Instead they confined themselves to maneuvers within the council, with Hancock, at least, apparently hoping an agreement could be reached with the majority of the council members.

When the forces on the council led

Writing in the Dec. 17-23, 1971, *Berkeley Barb*, Goldberg wailed:

"In a backroom deal that would have made Richard Daley, Joe Alioto and Lyndon Johnson extremely proud, Mayor Warren Widener last Tuesday evening once again betrayed the student and radical communities that insured his election as mayor last April. . . .

"He wouldn't even discuss the ninth seat with representatives of the student and radical communities that elected him. Instead he went into the backroom and made a deal to put a white woman from the wealthiest section of Berkeley on the council. . . .

"As they do so often in establishment politics, the Democrats made a deal with the Republicans."

fused to support Widener because he would not support the Community Control of Police charter amendment."

After pointing to various aspects of Widener's sorry record in office, Goldberg states, "What makes this doubly aggravating is that Widener would never have been elected had he not received over 85 percent of the votes in the south campus area and had not won by a considerable margin in the 'Grove St. strip,' the area . . . where many young, radical people live."

One might ask how effective the April Coalition's nonendorsement of Widener was if the bulk of its supporters voted for him. In reality the nonendorsement was more formal than real.

And this was not accidental. The glue that held the April Coalition together was the alliance between the "radicals" and those long committed to the Democratic Party. Sections of the April Coalition, like their mentor, Congressman Ron Dellums, actively and openly supported Widener. The others in the Coalition simply ducked the issue. None of the leaders of the April Coalition utilized the campaign to teach the student and radical community why it was a mistake to support any Democrat.

Their failure to do so is the key expression of how superficial their radicalism really is.

The initiators of the April Coalition presented their project not simply as a chance to win municipal office but as a significant new ingredient in the process of educating and radicalizing masses of people and thereby advancing the cause of fundamental social change.

Yet they failed to come to grips with any of the basic issues. They were simply against the evils of the present society and suggested a nebulous path to an undefined future. They did not examine or attempt to explain the basic social forces responsible for these evils.

While many in the April Coalition would agree that capitalism is the root of war, class exploitation, racism, and sexism, they offered nothing in the way of a political program that addressed itself to these basic problems.

The main reason they didn't and couldn't do this is because such an analysis would have necessarily posed the question—what kind of political formation do we need to effectively combat the social system responsible for these evils?

To put the question that way would have immediately posed another question: What is the real role of the Democratic party?

And any serious examination of that question must conclude that the Democratic Party, like its Republican counterpart, is a political agency for maintaining the status quo. It represents and defends the interests of the ruling capitalist class.

That kind of an analysis of the Democratic Party would have made it impossible to justify building the April Coalition as a bloc with the Democrats. It would have exposed the reformist illusions that fundamental social change can be accomplished by working within a capitalist political party.

The April Coalition radicals never presented such an analysis. That's why it's only after the fact that they can howl about "betrayals."



Joy of some radicals after election of April Coalition has now turned to bitterness.

exclusively on trying to achieve their aims by maneuvers within the city council. They really are trying to work "within the system."

The importance of this point cannot be overestimated. If the April Coalition were serious about using its "base of power" within the council as a lever for educating and organizing masses of people to press for basic social change, they would certainly utilize the political issues developing out of the council to do so.

And the sensitivity to the public mood other council members display on such issues as the war indicates that significant public pressure would have a lot more effect on them than the council-meeting maneuvers of the three.

Conflicts have arisen between Hancock's proposals addressed to the needs of women and Bailey and Simmons's addressed to the Black community. Wouldn't it be of enormous political value, both practically and in terms of basic education, to thrash these matters out in the constituencies concerned and then determine what the people actually involved think about these issues?

Such public discussion could provide the means for developing a united approach and for building significant public mobilizations in support of it.

But Bailey-Simmons and Hancock seem to instinctively recognize that

by Mayor Warren Widener moved to hold a secret session of the body to see if they could work out a deal, Bailey and Simmons objected but Hancock joined the council majority in voting for the closed session. Bailey and Simmons walked out in protest.

But the clearest demonstration that none of the three favored a genuinely democratic solution to the problem came when they joined the rest of the council in rejecting a proposal for the ninth seat made by Marilyn Winch, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Winch's proposal was simple: hold a special election and let the voters fill the vacant seat. It should certainly have had the support of three people elected to the council on the program of "returning government to the people."

Yet neither Hancock, Bailey, or Simmons would give a single word of support for the proposal. The outcome, of course, was that the other five council members simply got together behind their backs and agreed on a choice for the ninth seat.

They selected, by a 5-to-0 vote, Susan Hone, whose politics is summed up in her self-description: "A lifelong Democrat."

Bailey, Simmons, and Hancock agreed the choice was scandalous. So did people who campaigned for them. One pained cry came from April coalition activist Art Goldberg.

Goldberg bemoans Widener's refusal to discuss with "representatives of the student and radical communities." But who did these "representatives" consult with?

The April Coalition council members did nothing to mobilize the community on the issue, and they refused to lend their support to the SWP proposal for a special election.

Goldberg also advises that "it will come as no surprise to *Barb* readers" that Hone and those who joined in putting her on the council "are all active in Democratic politics, where backroom deals are a way of life."

If Goldberg agrees that such behavior on the part of Democrats is a fact of life, then how does he explain the fact that the "radical" April Coalition ran an avowed Democrat—Loni Hancock—for the council? How does he explain the fact that the April Coalition, whose declared aim is to organize the community to win control of its own destiny, glosses over the fact that the function of the Democratic and Republican parties is precisely to thwart such developments?

Even in the limited terms of Berkeley politics, the issue is not irrelevant. In the previously cited article, Goldberg also complains about Mayor Widener.

"Those who took part in the campaign last April," he wrote, "will remember that the April Coalition re-

Noise pollution: health hazard

By LEE SMITH

"America," Oscar Wilde wrote in 1882, "is the noisiest country that ever existed." Ninety years later, it's still noisier—and getting worse. Many people are alarmed by the increasing noise. If what some experts say is true, more of us should share their alarm.

Doctors say noise harms our physical health. It depresses our pulse and can cause high blood pressure, ulcers, or even loss of hearing. Psychologists say noise harms our mental health. It makes us more tense and less efficient.

Noise, in the sense it is used here, is sound that is unwanted, unpleasant, or harmful. Sound is pressure waves in the air. We hear when these waves make vibrations in our ears. Sound is commonly measured according to its intensity in logarithmic units called decibels.

According to medical experts, consistent exposure to sounds ranging above 90 decibels can cause hearing loss. Traffic noise on crowded city streets and busy turnpikes is over the level we can safely listen to. Those of us who ride aged and decaying transit such as the New York City subways know that the noise of metal wheels on metal tracks can approach the point of causing pain. Inadequately muffled power equipment and industrial machinery expose many workers to harmful noise for most of the working day. There are many other examples.

As with air and water pollution, the main culprits responsible for noise pollution are profit-hungry capitalist enterprises. And the main victims are working people.

The capitalists' responsibility for noise pollution is spelled out between the lines of an article that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* April 30. Written by Melville C. Branch, the article deals with the need for planning to control noise. Branch is a professor of planning at the University of Southern California. The kind of planning Branch proposes is severely limited compared to the planning socialists advocate. But because his own proposals are not adequate



to deal with the problem, they point to the need for more sweeping measures.

Branch mentions some of the problems standing in the way of effectively controlling noise, such as the irrational political division of urban areas into separate municipalities that often "operate at cross purposes, do not coordinate their efforts or do not join in the metropolitan regional approach required to solve some problems. . . ."

He also mentions the enacting of laws "without determining how they will be enforced, whether there will be enough voluntary compliance to make them work, or whether enforcement is too costly or otherwise impractical."

Branch puts his finger on what he means by "costly" and "impractical" when he says that "most city planning commissions will not advocate noise controls which would be opposed vigorously by almost all commercial interests."

Because it would cost "commercial interests" more money to produce commodities quietly—and therefore reduce their margin of profit—they are "opposed vigorously" to measures necessary for the physical and mental health of the community.

In attempting to argue that such "discouraging realities" can be overcome, Branch cites an example that must not even convince him. Last year, some residents of Beverly Hills managed to pressure federal officials into requiring jet airliners taking off from Los Angeles International Airport and flying over Beverly Hills to climb at a higher rate.

Such aspirin-for-cancer measures do not match up to Branch's prescription of more effective planning. It is true that the pressure of noise pollution victims organized around a particular problem can win concessions, but ultimately planning is the answer. And such planning must be carried out, not by business-oriented planning commissions, but by democratically elected bodies that truly represent the mass of working people who suffer most from noise pollution.

Artists stage dramatic antiwar action

By RON WOLIN

NEW YORK—On May 20 an unusual antiwar demonstration was held here as a build-up to the May 21 Emergency March on Washington, D.C. The action, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition-New York, was endorsed by 70 leading figures in New York's community of the arts. These included John Lennon, Yoko Ono, Kurt Vonnegut Jr., Arthur Miller, Anais Nin, William Styron, Tennessee Williams, Jules Feiffer, Joseph Papp, Harold Prince, Robert Ryan, Ben Gazzara, Phil Silvers, Brock Peters, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Tammy Grimes, Julie Newmar, Anne Jackson, and Eli Wallach. It also involved the casts of more than 20 Broadway and Off-Broadway shows.

The demonstration, called a "Candle-light Vigil and Procession for Peace," was held in Duffy Square on Broadway, the center of New York's theatrical district, from 8 p.m. to midnight. More than 1,000 people attended in an on-again, off-again rain.

The casts of a number of shows announced the event at the end of their performances. Cast members also helped NPAC and Student Mobilization Committee staff members and volunteers lead theater-goers to the action.

Speakers at the rally included cartoonist-satirist Jules Feiffer; Viveca Lindfors; Muriel Rukeyser; TV newscaster and author Geraldo Rivera; Jules Irving, director of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, making his first public antiwar speech; Raoul Juliard, one of the stars of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; Alexandra Borrie of *Follies*; Barbara Tarbuck of *The Crucible*; actor Christopher Tabori; Ron Maxton of New York High School SMC; and Anita Bennett for NPAC-New York. The event was co-chaired by Harold Taylor and Ron Wolin.

Entertainment was provided by the casts of *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Hair*, as well as by composer-musician David Amram, actress Barbara Harris, and folk-singers Goldberg and Baron Stewart.

The bulk of the demonstrators were non-students, many attending their first antiwar action of any kind. A tremendous feeling of rapport developed between speakers, entertainers, and the crowd, with chants of "Out Now!" frequently heard throughout the four-hour action.



Jules Feiffer

Photo by Eli Finer

African Liberation Day in Canada

By NORMAN FARIA

TORONTO, Ontario, May 27—"What time is it? Nation time! What are we? Africans! NATO out!" These were the major slogans of a spirited demonstration of more than 1,000 Blacks here, part of the continent-wide show of solidarity with the liberation struggles in Africa.

Hundreds more Black men, women, and children, unable to join the demonstration, raised their fists in support from their homes on the route of the march. As the march went through

the downtown area, short rallies were held outside the Portuguese, French, British, and United States consulates.

Support actions occurred in Canada's other provinces and in Québec's largest city, Montréal, where a large number of this country's quarter of a million Blacks live. The Toronto action was sponsored by a number of Black organizations, ranging from the long-established Universal Negro Improvement Association to the radical Côte des Neiges Project in Montréal.

References to Canada came up frequently at the windup rally at Christie-

Pitts Park, renamed Henson-Garvey Park by the demonstrators. Many of the speakers—including Fania Jordan, Angela Davis's sister—spoke of Canadian business interests abroad and Canada's membership in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Through NATO, Canada helps supply the dictatorship in Portugal with the military equipment that is used against the liberation forces in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

The action was by far the largest political demonstration yet on the part of Black people in Canada.

Daniel Ellsberg trial to open soon

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Preliminary court moves are now underway here in the case of Daniel Ellsberg and his "co-conspirator" in the Pentagon papers case, Anthony Russo.

Ellsberg and Russo were indicted for theft of "secret" government documents after publication of the Pentagon papers in the *New York Times* and elsewhere created a political bombshell with revelations that shed light on the true character of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Pretrial motions were slated to be argued in the federal courthouse here

beginning June 6.

One defense committee staff worker estimated that jury selection would begin around June 19. He expected the trial to start June 26. He said the prosecution's case might take three or four weeks, and the defense's case perhaps well over a month.

Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional lawyer, will head the legal team for the defense.

The Pentagon Papers Fund has established an office to rally support for the defense. It has also set up a special press office headed by veteran publicist Marc Stone.

Initial government moves would have the court rule out any evidence by the defense relating to the legality or the morality of the U.S. role in Vietnam.

At the same time, the government is seeking a ruling permitting the exclusion of jurors who have participated in antiwar demonstrations or who are critical of the war. It would also permit exclusion of former members of the military whose experience in the service might lead them to take a dim view of the government's activity.

Books The Morris Starsky case

The March to the Right: A Case Study in Political Repression by Thomas Ford Hoult. Schenkman Publishing Company. Cambridge, Mass. 1972. 287 pp. \$5.95, cloth.

Morris Starsky, a socialist professor and antiwar activist, has lost two teaching positions—one in Arizona and one in California—as a result of his political activities and ideas. Recently a broad defense committee was formed on his behalf. It numbers among its sponsors such figures as Herbert Marcuse, Benjamin Spock, Eqbal Ahmad, George Novack, and Herbert Aptheker.

The March to the Right is an account of the battle Starsky fought to retain his position as assistant professor of philosophy at Arizona State University in Tempe. It deserves to be read by all supporters of academic freedom.



Morris Starsky

Starsky was an effective political activist on the 30,000-student ASU campus. At the insistence of the university board of regents, he was not rehired for the 1970-71 school year.

Victimizing Starsky was no easy task. His publishing record was satisfactory. He had organized three national philosophy conferences at the university. Moreover, he was a tenured professor.

Nevertheless, Starsky lost his job. As one conservative Arizona state senator bluntly admitted, it was because of "his political opinions." The board of regents, acting under extreme pressure from the legislature, traded his job for legislative funding of the school.

This was done in spite of recommendations from the chairman of the philosophy department, the dean of the liberal arts school, two faculty committees convened to investigate charges against him, and the president of ASU.

March to the Right was written by a colleague of Starsky's, Thomas Ford Hoult. Chairman of the sociology department, Hoult carefully records the process of hunting a witch in Goldwater country. Although Hoult had political disagreements with Starsky on many issues, he became a staunch supporter of his right to teach.

He served as chairman of the Faculty-Community Committee to Defend Academic Freedom at ASU.

Hoult's work is well written and highly readable. It contains a preface written by Aryeh Neier, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Starsky's political activity became widely known in the six years he spent in Arizona. He helped organize the state's first antiwar demonstration in 1965. In 1968, when Chicano and Black laundry workers (whose boss had an exclusive contract with the university) waged a struggle for union recognition, Starsky joined with student groups to document charges of discrimination, union busting, and intolerable working conditions. This later led to charges that he had "undermined the peace and concord" between the university and the community.

He served as faculty adviser to the Young Socialist Alliance, the Students for a Democratic Society, and other student groups, including some he disagreed with. At his "trial," Starsky explained that a student group without a faculty adviser was denied official recognition and could not function. He was for full and open debate, he said, and had become faculty adviser to secure a number of student groups the right to exist.

Starsky began the 1968 election period as a supporter of Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy. In the spring of that year he was won over to support of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle.

He spoke out against the racist policies of Brigham Young University, a school run by the Mormons. In January 1970, he cancelled a class to speak at a rally held at the University of Arizona at Tucson to defend eight students arrested for protesting their school's athletic ties with Brigham Young.

This incident proved to be the final straw. Starsky's detractors zeroed in on his cancellation of a class, a technical breach of contract but a common practice, to step up the campaign for his ouster.

The campaign was demagogic. "Why should taxpayers be forced to pay the salary of someone pledged to subvert our democratic system?" demanded the media throughout the state. The state board of regents shared the same mentality.

The Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, a body of five professors, sat to try Starsky. He was charged with distributing a leaflet that contained a profanity, dismissing a class to make a political speech, showing lack of respect for colleagues and regents, inciting occupation of the administration building, and misleading the public about the nature of the university and the role of the professor, hence eroding economic support of the university.

The Faculty-Community Committee initiated a statement, signed by 275 faculty members, calling for full academic freedom at ASU and condemning the political persecution of Starsky. Rallies were held and a number of press conferences were called to counter slanders in the media. Three thousand ASU students signed a protest petition in Starsky's defense. Letters and telegrams came in from

prominent professors across the country.

The Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure voted unanimously that Starsky not be dismissed. They did find him guilty of cancelling a class and deemed his judgment "inaccurate and misleading" for having called the board of regents "arrogant, cynical and hypocritical." But they found him innocent of all other charges.

Hoult does a particularly good job in excerpting some 100 pages of Starsky's testimony from the trial transcript. Starsky's thoughtful answers to a wide range of questions concerning academic freedom and democratic rights provide an example of how socialists defend themselves.

ASU President Harry Newburn very reluctantly concurred with the committee's decision that Starsky be retained. Then the regents, joined by the governor of the state, met to announce their decision. It is the judgment of the board, they intoned, "that the interests of education in the State of Arizona require that Dr. Starsky no longer be permitted to teach on the campuses under the jurisdiction of the Board."

Although Starsky was not rehired, a suit for his reinstatement is still pending in the courts. Starsky left Arizona and spent one year teaching at San Diego State College. He was then appointed to a new job as chairman of the philosophy department at California State College, Dominguez Hills.

But Starsky encountered yet another difficulty. His new appointment was withdrawn on the charge that he had falsified his employment application when he stated that he had never been fired from an academic position.

Starsky had *not* been fired from ASU; he had not been rehired. From a legal point of view this is an important distinction—and Starsky had completed his Dominguez Hills application form under advice of attorney. He is now suing Dominguez Hills for breach of contract.

One Less Sanctuary



The Phoenix Gazette took right-wing view of Starsky dismissal.

To fight this new case as well as the continuing struggle in Arizona, the Committee of 1,000 to Defend the Academic Freedom and the Democratic Rights of Professor Starsky has been formed. Contributions and letters of support should be addressed to the committee at P.O. Box 85425, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072.

—MICHAEL SMITH

Pamphlets



The Pollution Crisis: Who is Responsible? by Ronald Reosti. Pathfinder Press. New York. 1971. 14 pp. Thirty-five cents.

The Pollution Crisis originally appeared as an article in the December issue of the *International Socialist Review*. By bringing it out as an inexpensive pamphlet, Pathfinder Press has done a real favor to those who hear and read so much about pollution that it seems to defy orderly arrangement and understanding, let alone solution.

Marshaling some basic data from government and academic sources, Reosti presents a concisely argued case that describes the magnitude of the danger humanity faces from pollution. He makes clear that the very survival of our species has been placed in question.

The author then takes up and refutes the commonly heard argument that pollution is an inseparable consequence of population growth and technological development.

He lays bare the inadequacy of existing and proposed government programs and documents the opposition of big business to even these sorry, empty measures.

Reosti points to "two key obstacles" that stand in the way of the drastic reorganization needed to halt and reverse the destruction of our environment's life-sustaining balance. These are the "unavailability of funds" on the scale required and the "unplanned character of capitalist production."

Pointing out that mass actions are capable of altering the relationship of class forces and wresting some concessions from the polluters, Reosti writes, "The ultimate solution to the ecology crisis, however, is evident now. . . . The industrial plant that has been created by the labor of the American working people must be taken over by the workers themselves in the framework of a revolutionary transformation of society."

—LEE SMITH

California death-row prisoners spared—cops' petition lags

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The lives of 113 inmates on California's death row were spared May 30 when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review a California Supreme Court decision banning capital punishment. The sentences of the condemned men were reduced to life in prison.

The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on the constitutionality of capital punishment. But even if the court upholds it, the 113 would not be affected since the California decision was based on the state, not federal, constitution.

The California court ruled Feb. 18 that the death penalty violated the state constitution's ban against "cruel and unusual punishment."

Having lost in the courts, the Reagan administration and police agencies throughout the state renewed their drive to obtain the half million signatures necessary to place an initiative on the



ballot to restore the death penalty. Launched by the state prison guards' association, the petition drive has the support of the police department in Los Angeles and other major cities, as well as the various sheriffs' offices. Despite this support, petitioning lagged seriously, and it was not certain that the necessary number would be filed by the June 9 deadline.

Ten days before the deadline, the cops claimed to have in the neighborhood of 500,000 signatures. But even by their own projections, they lacked the extra 300,000 regarded as a necessary margin to assure getting the required number of valid signatures of registered voters.

It is not clear whether petitioning bogged down because of opposition to the move to restore the death penalty or because of normal police inefficiency and laziness.

...McGovern

Continued from page 24

population." (Emphasis added.)

What is a "reasonable" relationship to our number in the population? Obviously not proportional representation, or McGovern would have said so.

To the capitalist ruling class it is extremely unreasonable that Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Latinos, Blacks, and women should be hired by the government as well as by private industry, at every level, in direct proportion to their numbers in the population. That would destroy the whole purpose of racist and sexist hiring practices whereby Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities, for example, are hired for only the most undesirable and difficult jobs, such as farm work, and at the lowest wages. The savings to the bosses from this amount to billions of dollars in superprofits every year. What is needed to make up for the years and years of discrimination against La Raza, Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women is preferential hiring of these groups.

25¢ per Chicano

But what about the number of jobs that would be created even by McGovern's inadequate program, you may ask? McGovern claims that some 105,000 jobs could be opened up for La Raza nationwide, with about 29,000 in California alone. He states that this would amount to \$250-million in federal salaries to California Chicanos (or approximately \$900-million for all the jobs that would be created for Chicanos).

That impressive-sounding figure, calculated to produce votes, amounts to about \$90 per Chicano per year, if we accept the moderate figure of 10-million Chicanos in the United States. That's \$8 a month or about 25 cents a day. That's if the jobs were provided all at once and not over several years as is more likely to be the case. A pretty cheap price for the votes of La Raza! And since such jobs would only benefit a few, the masses would continue as always.

McGovern goes on. He proposes to sponsor a "Mexican-American and Latin-American [cultural] renaissance" to develop what he considers one of the nations "most precious resources"—the "gracious and magnificent Spanish culture, heritage and language." (Emphasis added.) What about the Indian half of La Raza? Well, what do you expect from an Anglo-sponsored Raza renaissance?

And point eight: "I intend to appoint, within two months after I take office, a prestigious [even more *vendido* than "outstanding"—A.C.] Presidential Commission to recommend specific programs by which the executive, legislative and judicial branches of our government, both local and federal, can ensure that the Spanish-speaking community shares fairly in the abundance of American life."

Although McGovern's program does not begin to offer solutions to the basic problems confronting the masses of La Raza, it is significant that the promises he makes for La Raza go much farther than those made by any previous presidential candidate, including John F. Kennedy.

Why all of this sudden attention? The May 26 *New York Times* quoted a "prominent" Democratic Party official as stating about the California primary, "If anybody could get the Chicano he would win the election." In addition, the growing popularity of the Raza Unida parties threatens the Democratic Party. The Raza Unida Party victories in southern Texas and the defeat of Democrat

Richard Alatorre in Los Angeles last fall because of the votes taken from him by LRUP candidate Raul Ruiz are examples of what McGovern and other Democrats fear.

The recent National Chicano Political Caucus meeting in San Jose, Calif., reflected the depth of dissatisfaction with the two capitalist parties when it overwhelmingly passed a resolution to endorse the building of Raza Unida parties wherever Chicanos live and to urge La Raza to not support either Democrats or Republicans.

In his speech, McGovern carefully skirted the most important issues facing La Raza. He stated that "Within the next few months [conveniently after the California primary] I intend to present my views on immigration, health, education, private employment opportunities and farm labor as it affects the Mexican and Latin American communities."

What about the pressing question of the harassment and deportation of undocumented Raza workers, many of whom have lived here for years? Does McGovern favor legislation such as the Dixon Arnett Law passed in California (later ruled unconstitutional), and House Resolution 2328—laws that would make it illegal to "knowingly" hire "illegal aliens"? Where does he stand on this important issue? McGovern conveniently declined to comment.

McGovern concluded his kick-off speech in California by explaining that "my commitment to the Mexican-American and Spanish-speaking communities, as well as to other minorities, is as strong and deeply felt as my commitment to end the war." If that is to be the criterion for judging McGovern's sincerity, we must conclude that he certainly cannot be trusted.

McGovern had previously endorsed mass antiwar demonstrations, but when it became clear that he had a chance to win the Democratic Party nomination, he began a quick turn to the right. He refused, for example, to endorse the April 22 antiwar actions because he had better things to do—namely, curry favor with Democratic bosses like Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

"Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern..."—a truth kit with McGovern's voting record. Twenty-five cents. Young Socialists for Jenness & Pulley, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The meaning, of course, is that antiwar activists should follow suit and get off the streets and onto the sidewalks to work precincts for McGovern. In fact, this is the central meaning of the McGovern campaign. He is asking La Raza to put faith in him as an individual, and in the Democratic Party as an institution. We are asked to drop everything we are doing to guarantee McGovern's victory.

Accepting this course would lead to a serious weakening of the Chicano struggle. Only the independent mobilizations of our people, such as during the National Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles, and the development of the independent Raza Unida parties have forced McGovern and the Democrats to take notice.

It is the masses of our people, independently organized, who will bring about the changes we want—not any individual, whether it be Nixon, Humphrey, or McGovern. All of them are basically committed to the capitalist system that is responsible for the oppression of La Raza and all working people.

Chicago police brutality protested

By NORMAN OLIVER and ANTONIO DELEON

CHICAGO—More than 2,000 Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos came to a South Side rally at Mount Pisath Church here May 31. The rally, sponsored by the Concerned Citizens for Police Reforms (CCPR), marked the deadline given Mayor Richard Daley's administration to agree to CCPR demands against police brutality.

At the rally a chair was set up front with Daley's name on it, but Daley didn't show. However, Representative Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus and head of the CCPR, said that steps would be taken to organize civilian review boards in the 27 police districts located in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

The demands of the CCPR, a Black and Latino coalition recently formed to protest police brutality, were presented by Metcalfe to Police Superintendent James Conlisk on April 24.

The demands called for the hiring of 500 Black policemen; the end of special task-force units; promotion of more Blacks to the rank of sergeant,

captain, and district police chief; and more Blacks in policy-making positions.

Most of the city's Black churches and community organizations supported Metcalfe. Since he had been one of the administration's faithfuls, this represented a blow to Daley's Democratic Party machine.

This was indicated by a couple of large meetings Superintendent Conlisk organized in the Black and Latino communities. His aim was to defuse community support to the CCPR by pretending to hear the "grievances of the people." But his remarks were so glaringly at odds with the temper of his audiences that the meetings only aided the CCPR's cause.

By organizing the CCPR, Metcalfe has also split Black and Latino Democrats down the middle. This division was spotlighted when Tyrone Kenner, a Black alderman, read a roll call of Black and Latino elected officials at the May 31 meeting.

As the names of those supporting CCPR were read, the crowd applauded. But for those known to be opposed, whom Kenner called the "dark disciples of downtown," the crowd responded with jeers and boos.

Calendar

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. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

Mon., June 12: Black Political Power. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*.

Wed., June 14: Black Liberation. Speaker: Derrick Morrison.

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

CHICAGO

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Chicago Socialist Summer School. June 12-Aug. 3. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Preregistration fee, including all classes and special weekend events, \$8. Individual sessions, 50c. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

CLEVELAND

WORKING WOMEN AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. A panel discussion with area trade unionists. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call 391-5553.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. June 6-July 27. All sessions in the University Center at the University of Houston. Information and class schedules at Pathfinder Bookstore, 6405 Lyons Ave. Classes include: The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist Manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The Popular Front vs. the United Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND. What if Revolutionaries Led the Trade Unions? A Study of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster Strikes.

FORUM. Fri., June 16, 8:30 p.m.: 1934: Prelude and Strike. Speaker: Max Goldman, a participant in the 1930s Teamster rebellion. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

CLASSES. Sat., June 17, 7 p.m.: 1934: Lessons and Aftermath. Teacher: Max Goldman. 9 p.m.: The Rise of the CIO. Teacher: Oscar Coover, former officer of the National Maritime Union. Donation: 50c per class.

Forum and classes at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

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

SEATTLE

THE FARM WORKERS STRUGGLE. Speaker: Sarah Welch, representative of the United Farm Workers. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. 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, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. June 8-Aug. 6. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E. Minneapolis. Opening series of classes on The Soviet Union and World Revolution—An Assessment of Stalinism.

Thurs., June 15: The Betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. Teacher: Dean Hull.

Thurs., June 22: The Rise of Fascism in Germany. Teacher: Bill Onash.

Classes to follow: A Marxist Approach to the Labor Movement, The Transitional Program, The Permanent Revolution and Nationalism, Socialist Electoral Strategy, and The Leninist Concept of Party Organization.

Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. Telephone: (612) 332-7781.

...bombing

Continued from page 5

May 31. "The slowness of North Vietnam to comment on President Nixon's Moscow talks reveals Hanoi's fear that it can no longer expect effective support from the Soviet Union," *Star* staff writer Henry S. Bradsher claimed. According to Bradsher, "Moscow radio broadcasts in Vietnamese to Vietnam for the past week have been emphasizing the need to negotiate an end to the war rather than keep fighting."

One such broadcast, according to Bradsher, said that "the war of aggression in Vietnam can be ended only through negotiations." Another Moscow broadcast in Vietnamese stated, "practical experience clearly shows that the Vietnam problem cannot be solved by military means."

This direct appeal to the revolutionists to give up their armed struggle in favor of bargaining with the imperialists at the negotiating table is thoroughly in line with Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence." According to this policy, the needs of the world revolution are subordinate to deals between Moscow and Washington.

Moscow's Vietnamese broadcast

"and the joint communique on Nixon's visit downgraded Vietnam to the status of just another world problem being viewed from Moscow along with the Middle East and others," *Star* Saigon correspondent Bradsher pointed out.

The same point was hammered home by the editors of the *New York Times*. "Implicit in all this has been the recognition by all involved that even Vietnam and the Middle East are side issues when compared to the imperatives of the new global equilibrium," the *Times* stated June 3. "Chairman Mao received President Nixon shortly after heavy bombing of North Vietnam had resumed; Secretary General Brezhnev received the President shortly after North Vietnam's harbors were mined. No words are needed to make Hanoi understand that the Chinese and Soviet leaders put their own interests first."

"That demonstration should have a sobering effect on Hanoi's firebrands," the *Times* continued.

It is also having a sobering effect on those who claim that the bureaucrats in Moscow or Peking represent the forces of world revolution.

...Davis

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city councils. Broader resolutions demanding freedom for Davis were passed by the American Federation of Teachers, the Amalgamated Meatcutters, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

About \$150,000 was raised to finance the printing of at least a million pamphlets and newsletters, and other activities carried on by the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis.

NUCFAD, headquartered in San Francisco, claims about 90 local chapters. It includes among its sponsors such well known persons as Julian Bond, Oscar Brown Jr., Bernadette Devlin, Jane Fonda, Coretta Scott King, William Kunstler, Herbert Marcuse, Anais Nin, Pete Seeger, and Simone Signoret.

There were Angela Davis defense committees in about 40 foreign countries, including every country in Europe, five or six countries in Africa, several in Latin America, and in Cey-

lon, Bangladesh, Spain, and Greece.

The largest rally in the United States gathered 20,000 persons in New York's Madison Square Garden in January 1971. Later this month NUCFAD is planning a series of victory celebrations in a number of cities around the country, including another in Madison Square Garden on June 29.

...Soviet

Continued from page 17

Deep down, these bureaucrats have a real fear of revolution. They know that the victory of revolutions in other countries, like Vietnam, will evoke a tremendous response in the Soviet workers, peasants, and students, inspiring them to renewed confidence in their revolutionary traditions. Such revolutionary inspiration would naturally lead to a growing revolt by the Soviet people against the very bureaucratic caste that is stifling their own lives. It would lead to demands for the right to full democratic rights, for an end to economic privilege, for policies that would free women from second-class status, for the right to self-determination of national minorities.

We have already seen signs of such a revolt brewing—in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Poland in 1970, and in the Soviet Union itself.

While the Soviet Union has still maintained the great advance of socialized production and a planned economy, a political revolution is needed to throw out the parasitic bureaucracy and replace it with a new revolutionary leadership. A leadership that would bring back the policies of Lenin, Trotsky, and the early Soviet leaders. A leadership that could inspire struggles for freedom throughout the world by telling the truth about the brutal, aggressive nature of imperialism and by exposing the lies and hypocrisies of the imperialist rulers. A leadership that would use the great resources of the Soviet Union to back to the hilt the liberation struggle in Vietnam and initiate a united-front movement around the world to mobilize a massive revolt against the continued U.S. slaughter in Indochina.

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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: 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.

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.

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: 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: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 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.

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THE MILITANT

What's wrong with Senator McGovern's program for La Raza

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

Senator George McGovern, now a leading contender for the Democratic nomination in July, began his California primary campaign with a major speech designed to win the Chicano vote in that state.

In hot pursuit of Hubert H. Humphrey, who announced his intention to appoint a Mexican-American to a cabinet position, McGovern outlined an eight-point program. Already he has won the endorsement of César Chávez and the United Farm Workers Union (UFW), as well as other Chicanos. But does McGovern's program provide a solution to the problems faced by La Raza?

"First," McGovern starts out, "I will do what no other American President has ever done." Enforce the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo perhaps? Pay reparations for more than 164 years of oppression in Aztlán? No, McGovern will appoint "at least one outstanding Spanish-speaking American to head a Cabinet." (Emphasis added.) For the word "outstanding" we can substitute "vendido" (sellout). That's what Democratic and Republican politicians mean by "outstanding."

For his second point, McGovern states that the "first judicial vacancy that becomes available," will be filled by a Mexican-American. He will also appoint the first Chicano federal judge in the history of California—which doesn't speak well for John F. Kennedy and previous Democratic presidents, all supported by La Raza and in positions to have done the same thing.

As his third point, McGovern promises to appoint "Spanish-speaking Americans, as well as women and other minorities, to a substantial number of Under and Assistant Secretary positions," in the Cabinet. (Emphasis added.) You can interpret "substantial numbers" any way you want to.

Point four states that he "intends" to appoint "at least one Mexican-American as a special White House advisor." What advice such a Mexican-American will give and whether it will be taken is another question.

To show that McGovern trusts La Raza with representing capitalist interests abroad, he intends "to appoint as Latin American Ambassadors persons capable of speaking Spanish [to better communicate with the natives—A.C.], including a substantial number of Mexican-Americans."

Just in case you are not much impressed with one "outstanding" cabinet member, one federal judge, "substantial" numbers of lower cabinet positions, one special "advisor," and a "substantial" number of ambassadors, wait. There is more.

To solve the unemployment problem, which in some communities runs over 18 percent among La Raza, McGovern "will issue an executive order requiring that Mexican-Americans and other minorities, at all federal civilian job levels, including top Civil Service positions, be represented in reasonable relationship to their proportion of the

Continued on page 21



Photo by Steve Ramirez

The National Chicano Political Caucus (San Jose, Calif., April 22-23) voted to build La Raza Unida Party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Raza Unida parties plan campaigns in L.A.; Colo.

Los Angeles

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES—The City Terrace branch of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) has announced that it will field a slate of three candidates in the fall elections.

Two of the candidates, Daniel Zapata and Pedro Arias, will be vying for seats in the 40th and 48th assembly districts. Both areas are plagued with an unemployment rate of more than 18 percent among the predominately Chicano population.

A third candidate of the Chicano party, Raul Ruiz, is running in the 27th senatorial district. This encompasses most of the same areas represented by the 40th and 48th assembly districts. Ruiz ran on the RUP ticket in a special election last fall to fill the vacant 48th district seat. In that contest he polled more than 3,000 votes, roughly 8 percent of the total votes cast. That was enough to defeat Democratic candidate Richard Alatorre. Almost half of the registered Chicano voters in the district cast their ballot for Ruiz.

The 48th district has since been reapportioned, and the winner of last year's election, Republican James Brophy, is now in another district.

Ruiz's opponent in the upcoming senate race is State Senator David Roberti, an Anglo Democrat. In an interview with *The Militant*, Ruiz called special attention to the 40th district assembly contest, where Zapata will face incumbent Alex Garcia, a Democrat, and Art Torres, also a Democrat.

Torres is backed by the United Farmworkers Union (UFW), having been what Ruiz termed "a broker for the union in Sacramento." Garcia is not popular among UFW leaders because he voted to repeal the Dixon Arnett deportation law and because he voted to outlaw secondary boycotts of farm products.

According to Ruiz, the biggest obstacle facing LRUP in the next few months will be securing ballot status. Because the Raza Unida Party is not legally recognized in California, all three candidates must run as independents. As such, they are required by state law to obtain the signatures of five percent of all registered voters in each district. Only signatures of persons who did not vote in the primaries are valid. According to Ruiz, this means approximately 8,000 signatures must be secured in three weeks beginning Aug. 15.

Despite this, Ruiz asserts, the campaign will press on. "The most obvious reason for this," he said, "is that the Mexican has no representation. The Democrats in the state legislature have gerrymandered and divided Mexican voters into districts where they can have no significant impact. With 15 percent of the population in the state, we have only two representatives in the assembly.

"Furthermore," he continued, "even those Mexicans who are elected are controlled from top to bottom by the Democratic Party."

"Look at Boyle Heights [part of Garcia's district]. It has one of the highest unemployment rates and poorest educational systems in the nation, yet Garcia has done nothing."

"People sometimes criticize us for 'splitting the Mexican vote' and giving the election to a Republican. To me, Garcia is a perfect example of how it doesn't matter which of the two major parties wins. They both do nothing for us."

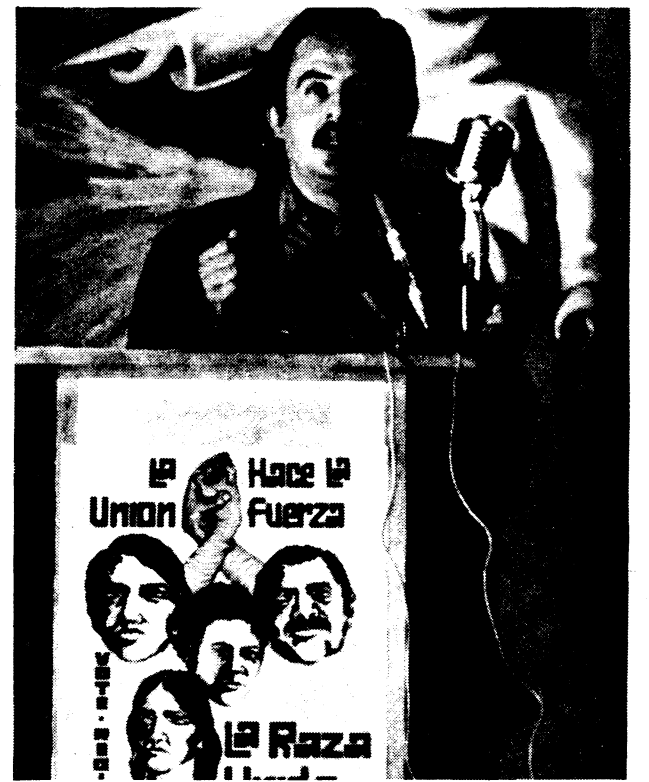
When asked about the Democratic primary race in California, Ruiz said, "Whether it's McGovern or Humphrey in the overall perspective, they don't serve the needs of the people. We are totally uninvolved in the primary. We see it as an extension of the old traditional politics."

Citing the example of Crystal City, Texas, where LRUP now controls the school board and city council, Ruiz said that "significant change" can result from the party's efforts in certain areas. "This doesn't mean all their problems are solved, but it does mean the people have taken a measure of power and have a sense of their own potential."

"We do not view electoral office as a pancea for the ills of the poor," he said, "and we do not tell the people our candidates will get things done for them. They have heard that before from the Democrats."

"But by running in an election, we have a chance to reach the masses of people and to educate them to organize themselves. We want them to understand their own potential power and to create change. Never do we have the opportunity to reach as many people with this message as during an election campaign."

Along with the party, Ruiz sees the need for a "Mexican labor confederation" in Los Angeles to combat what he terms the "racist policies" of current union leadership. He also feels it is necessary for Chicanos to participate in other struggles against oppression, such as the antiwar movement: "Because of our high casualty rate, Mexicans have a particular interest in ending this war. But even if not one of our people were dying, that war should end because the Vietnamese people are dying."



Raul Ruiz

Ruiz is quick to admit that many problems face LRUP in this campaign, only its second in Los Angeles. Nevertheless, he is optimistic. We are organizing our own party, he concluded, "because we feel this is the most effective way to mobilize our people. I believe the future will prove we are right."

The campaign will be organized out of the RUP office at 3573 City Terrace, Los Angeles, Calif. 90063.

Colorado

By AL BALDIVIA

The Colorado Raza Unida Party has taken the first steps to organize its 1972 election campaign, the most ambitious in its two-year history. On El Cinco de Mayo (May 5), the traditional day of celebration of the victory of Mexican independence, the party sponsored a major drive to register Chicanos as independents. (Colorado law permits registration only as a Democrat, Republican, or independent.)

The party has also opened five storefront campaign offices in the Denver barrios. These offices, which will be the main organizing centers of the campaign, are staffed by young party activists who are directly involved in the day-to-day struggles of the barrio.

El Gallo, the most widely read Chicano newspaper in Denver, will be the campaign newspaper. The paper, which is published by the Crusade for Justice, has recently undergone major changes in format to include more news about the Chicano antiwar movement and the Raza Unida Party.

To encourage mass participation in the selection of a large slate of candidates and the formulation of a platform, a mass meeting will be held here June 16 and a statewide assembly on June 17. These meetings will take place at the Crusade for Justice building.

For further information on the campaign, write La Raza Unida Party, P. O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218.