

THE MILITANT

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

Labor peace assembly demands: OUT NOW!



Militant/Fred Halstead

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 26

JULY 7, 1972

CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 28, 1972

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

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: Domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$9. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$26; all other countries, \$42. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$33; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

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

In Brief

MEXICAN PRESIDENT GREETED BY PICKETS: President Luis Echeverria of Mexico was met by protest demonstrations demanding freedom for political prisoners in Mexico on June 18 and 19 in San Antonio and Los Angeles.

Echeverria served as secretary of state during the Diaz Ordaz regime, when hundreds of students were gunned down by police and soldiers in Mexico City in 1968. He was president during the June 10, 1971, massacre of students by right-wing gangs. Many Mexican student activists are still in prison, along with trade unionists, writers, and others who have opposed the Mexican government.

The San Antonio demonstration drew about 150 people, mostly Chicanos. It was called by the Committee to Free All Political Prisoners and was joined by supporters of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). In Los Angeles, 200 people turned out, also mainly Chicanos, in a protest called by CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores and joined by USLA supporters.



Militant/Steve Wattenmaker

San Antonio picket line greeted Echeverria with shouts of "Libertad," "Chicano Power," and "Free the Prisoners."

JUDGE SET TO RAILROAD RUCHELL MAGEE: Judge Morton R. Colvin of San Francisco has been appointed to preside over the trial of Ruchell Magee for murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy. The trial will be held in San Francisco.

At a recent pretrial hearing, Militant correspondent Michael Schreiber reports, Colvin announced he will not allow Magee to defend himself in court. Magee had previously been granted the right to act as co-counsel by Judge Leonard Ginsburg, who presided over pretrial hearings in Marin County before ordering the trial moved to San Francisco. Judge Colvin insisted that according to his own "interpretation" of the Marin County transcripts, Ginsburg never made the ruling on co-counsel.

Magee requested that he be granted an interview with the press to counter continuing prejudicial publicity. Judge Colvin responded that he would keep Magee from speaking to reporters by reimposing the "MacGuire gag rule."

Magee pointed out, however, that the gag rule had become legally void when Judge E. Warren MacGuire was successfully removed for cause last December. Magee said he will prepare a brief to challenge Judge Colvin for prejudice at a later hearing.

NEW JERSEY PRISONERS IN PROTEST: The New York Times reported June 26 that 520 of the 820 prisoners at Rahway, N.J., have begun a work stoppage aimed at gaining reforms in the parole system. While admitting that the protest has been peaceful, prison officials let it be known that "the work stoppage was being studied in the light of potential penalties. . . ."

A suit on behalf of all inmates in Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, accusing prison administrators of meting out illegal and improper punishment in connection with a similar work stoppage there last February, was dismissed by a federal judge on June 26. The American Civil Liberties Union has announced that it will appeal the decision.

THEY GIVETH WITH ONE HAND AND TAKETH AWAY WITH THE OTHER: The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that students have the right to organize political groups on state college and university campuses even if their philosophy is considered "abhorrent" by state officials. The June 26 ruling stemmed from a suit filed against Connecticut Central State College by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The college had refused to grant SDS a charter as a campus organization.

Meanwhile, in a 5-to-4 decision, the Court also ruled that owners of large shopping malls have the right to bar political leafletting on their property, despite the fact that such malls serve as public facilities.

ISRAELIS PERSECUTE DRAFT RESISTER: Giora Neuman, an 18-year-old Israeli, has spent more than six

months in a military prison. On June 11 he went on trial before a military tribunal on charges of evading the draft. Neuman, a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, has been singled out from among the thousands of young Israelis who avoid military service for religious or personal reasons because of his unwillingness to serve in an army of occupation and "to participate in the oppression of another nation."

A petition on Neuman's behalf will appear as an advertisement in the *Jerusalem Post*. It is being circulated in the U.S. by the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. Telephone: (212) 475-4300.

CITY OFFICIALS TESTIFY IN MAYE TRIAL: The trial of Michael Maye, president of the New York Uniformed Firefighters Association, on charges of beating Morty Manford of the Gay Activists Alliance began June 23.

Among those who have testified that they saw Maye assault Manford are: John P. Scanlon, assistant administrator of the Economic Development Administration; Jerome Kretschmer, New York City Environmental Protection administrator; Leonard N. Cohen, deputy borough president of Manhattan; and Mark Steinberg, a former aide to Mayor Lindsay.

VFW OUT TO SAVE DEMOCRACY AGAIN: A Veterans of Foreign Wars convention meeting in Minneapolis has announced that "The advocacy of the homosexual group is repugnant to the best interests of society. . . . it should be condemned and checked in every way possible as dangerous to the morals and well-being of the nation." Furthermore, "the advocacy of homosexuality could help to undermine our democracy."

The June 7 issue of *The Advocate* reports that this reactionary resolution on homosexuality was prepared and introduced by the Reverend Joseph B. Head. The last time the good reverend headed a fight for democracy was when he tried to get the 1969 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance banned from the University of Minnesota campus.

GRADUATION 1972: Although graduation ceremonies this year were calmer than some in the past, signs of radicalism were not lacking. At Columbia University, Dr. William J. McGill, the school's president, called the war in Vietnam "a cancer" and said "our involvement in the war must cease immediately." Several hundred Columbia and Barnard students marched in protest of the war.

Students at the State University of New York at Albany devoted their 1972 yearbook to such topics as the war in Vietnam, gay liberation, women's liberation, and the Black struggle. Repeated throughout the 46 pages of smiling seniors at the end of the book is the picture of the severed head of a young Vietnamese revolutionary.



Militant/John Lauritsen

Commencement at Columbia University

AMA SHIFTS STAND ON MARIJUANA: The conservative American Medical Association substantially softened its position on marijuana on June 20. Although stopping short of the demand for legalization, the AMA took a stand similar to that of the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, calling for an end to felony charges for the possession of small amounts of marijuana. The AMA resolution stated, "there is no evidence supporting the idea that marijuana leads to violence, aggressive behavior or crime."

MARIJUANA REFERENDUM TO BE ON CALIFORNIA BALLOT: A June 27 Associated Press dispatch from Sacramento reports: "An initiative to legalize the private use of marijuana has qualified for the November ballot, the Secretary of State's office said today."

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: The May issue of *Tumbil*, a newspaper published in Providence, R.I., ran on its front page an article by Dick Roberts on Nixon's trip to Moscow. The article originally appeared in the May 26 *Militant*.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Steel mill, hospital, dikes hit

Nixon increases bombing of North Vietnam

By ED SMITH

JUNE 28—President Nixon is systematically escalating the bombing of North Vietnam. This is aimed at dulling the antiwar sentiment of the world's populace and convincing Hanoi that there are no limits to the bombing destruction Washington can unleash in North Vietnam.

Whatever minimal aid is supplied to Hanoi by Moscow and Peking, it is insufficient to deter the bombing attack. Here is the *New York Times* record of the U.S. bombing in North Vietnam for the last three days:

● June 26: "American fighter-bombers using guided bombs have wrecked North Vietnam's only modern steel plant, halting production there, the United States command said yesterday.

"The raids, carried out Saturday [June 24] by Air Force F-4 Phantoms, were said to have been directed at the Thainguyn steel works, which is 30 miles north of Hanoi and 65 miles from the Chinese border.

"The attack, at 5 P.M. local time Saturday, marked an apparent step-up in the current bombing of North Vietnam."

● June 27: "Twenty Air Force fighter-bombers have attacked a power plant 25 miles northwest of Hanoi with laser-guided 'smart bombs' that 'effectively destroyed' its usefulness and blacked out part of the North Vietnamese capital, the United States command said yesterday.

"The raid Sunday, at Vietri, 'effectively destroyed the plant's capability to produce power,' the command said, adding that photo reconnaissance 'confirmed the destruction of the boiler facility, the electrical switching building and the flue and coal conveyor.'"

● June 28: "American planes flew more than 320 strikes against North Vietnam Monday and attacked targets within the city limits of Hanoi and Haiphong. . . .

"The North Vietnamese press agency, in a broadcast, said that a tuberculosis hospital and a two-story residential block were destroyed in the Monday raids on Hanoi and that more planes flew over the city yesterday. . . .

"The North Vietnamese version of the raids said that American planes destroyed two dispensaries in the port and dropped dart bombs that killed and wounded many people in the city. It said a dike at the nearby hamlet of Dongtru was hit by an American rocket."

Washington sources consistently deny that dikes have been the targets of U.S. bombs. But is well to remember that the Pentagon has blanketed its whole seven-year-long bombing of North Vietnam with lies at every step of the way. Anthony Lewis, a *Times* correspondent who was recently in Hanoi, summarized the evidence on the bombing of the dikes June 26.

Writing from London, Lewis noted that "One item is a report from the correspondent of Agence France-Presse in Hanoi, Jean Thoraval. On June 24 he and some other foreign reporters visited Nam Dinh, a town sixty miles south of Hanoi. He found its textile mills and commercial center in ruins from bombing. Then he went to some of the dikes protecting Nam Dinh, about fourteen miles from town. He reported:

"One of the dikes was completely cut. Several were gutted, with gaps in the dike itself and hollows, evidently caused by bombs, alongside. Deep cracks were visible everywhere. The landscape was



almost what one might have expected to find on the moon."

Anthony Lewis continued, "The second piece of evidence is a report from a highly reliable, non-Communist diplomatic source of information on North Vietnam. This source has concluded that 'without doubt there is now systematic bombing of the dikes.'"

"The rainy season is just under way in North Vietnam; the rivers usually rise toward the top of the dikes between July and September. No one should be in any doubt about what systematic destruction of the dikes at this time might mean

"Fifteen million people live on the Tonkin plain, one of the more densely populated areas of the world. Some would drown in floods if the dikes failed; many more would be in danger of starvation after flooding of the rice paddies." [For further

information, see *World Outlook* supplement, page WO 4.]

Last April 17, Lewis declared, "The truth is now impossible to escape if we open our eyes. The United States is the most dangerous and destructive power in the world. . . . Only a fool or a madman could believe, now, that more bombing will bring peace to Indochina."

Today the bombing of Vietnam is nearly double what it was when Lewis wrote those lines. He concludes his column on the bombing of the dikes: "Is the United States now systematically bombing

the dikes of North Vietnam? . . . Those American officials or members of Congress who care about the possibility of causing mass civilian deaths in North Vietnam might want to ask."

Further information confirms, as *The Militant* has previously reported, that the Thieu regime is tightening up its military rule in the face of the revolutionary offensive. Daniel Southerland, of the *Christian Science Monitor* staff wrote from Saigon June 22: "The Saigon government has arrested some 8,000 persons as a 'preventive detention' measure since the beginning of the North Vietnamese offensive.

"Critics, including some national assemblymen from the provinces where arrests have been made, say that many of the arrests do not involve Communist sympathizers and that the government has been taking advantage of martial law to remove some of its non-Communist opponents."

General Lavelle takes rap for Pres. Nixon

At a news conference in Johnson City, Texas, New Year's Day 1967, the president responded to questioning reporters. "Well, I have followed our activity in Vietnam very closely," Lyndon Johnson said.

"I think the country knows, and I would like to repeat again, that it is the policy of this government to bomb only military targets."

Lyndon Johnson was lying. That same week, Harrison Salisbury, then the assistant managing editor of the *New York Times*, had visited Hanoi. Salisbury exploded the lies about U.S. bombing in North Vietnam in a sensational series of articles. He revealed that from June 1965, under the pretense of hitting "only military targets," U.S. bombs had been directed at civilian centers, including Hanoi itself.

The Pentagon papers were later to reveal that an estimated 80 percent of the casualties in North Vietnam were caused by U.S. bombing of civilians. This information, compiled in secret reports in 1968, was not revealed to the American people until the Pentagon papers were exposed in 1971.

In 1970 and 1971, Nixon ordered an increasing number of bombing strikes against North Vietnam that were labeled "protective reaction" strikes. We are supposed to believe that these strikes were limited to military targets. We are supposed to believe that General John Lavelle, former commander of the U.S. Seventh Air Force, was violating orders when he bombed beyond the alleged limits of "protective reaction" in 1971-72.

Seymour Hersh, who brought the Mylai massacre to public attention, checked out the Lavelle story with lower-echelon Air Force personnel. "Without exception," Hersh wrote in the June 18 *New York Times*, the interviewed airmen "agreed that, as one put it, protective reaction 'was a constant joke.'"

"The former intelligence specialists, who were violating Federal codes by talking openly about their work, alleged that many so-called 'protective reaction' raids had in fact been planned in advance by Air Force headquarters in Hawaii or Saigon. In addition, they said that at least three times as many such raids were actually carried out as reported by the Pentagon throughout 1970 and 1971."

Lavelle's supposed "violations" took place between November 1971 and March 1972. But Nixon was already carrying out three times as many raids as were reported by the Pentagon throughout 1970 and 1971, according to these officers. The timing is important because Lavelle would have us believe that he personally undertook the "unauthorized" raids to prevent the buildup for the revolutionary offensive launched in March.

Senator Harold Hughes (D-Iowa) argues, "Long before the offensive actually started, the United States took several steps to increase its military actions and capabilities in Indochina. From a low point of 47,315 tons of munitions dropped in October, the U.S. air war soared to 91,670 tons in April, the latest month for which figures

are available.

"Between December and March, the United States tripled the number of B-52's available for action in Southeast Asia, doubled the number of other attack aircraft, doubled the number of naval personnel off the coast of Vietnam, and began the process of increasing personnel in Thailand by over 50 percent." (*Congressional Record*, June 14, p. S9311.)

It wasn't all Lavelle's doing. The Nixon administration had ordered a massive escalation of the war. The admitted number of "protective reaction" strikes also increased. Hughes stated that "compared with the previous dry seasons, the number of protective reaction strikes soared dramatically this year to six times the level of last year and 18 times the level of 2 years ago."

Lavelle's so-called unauthorized strikes took place during secret negotiations between Washington and Hanoi. This was Nixon's way of saying he could get away with anything. It is a message the president constantly tries to drive home in his attempt to bring the Vietnamese revolutionaries to terms. In this case there was a slipup.

An unidentified officer wrote to Senator Hughes, "I and other members_____ have been falsifying classified reports for missions into North Vietnam. . . ." Hughes reported to higher-ups and Lavelle became the scapegoat. What is most significant is the antiwar sentiment among members in the lower ranks of the military, who are increasingly willing to spill the beans on the brass. — E. S.

British pound devalued

New crisis shakes international finance

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 26—The deepgoing crisis of the international monetary system erupted with full force last week, resulting in the effective devaluation of the British pound on Friday, June 23.

Immediately afterward, an immense flight from the dollar indicated that a new devaluation of the dollar may also be in store.

British workers will be the first victims of the new financial upheaval. They will be hit by increases in food prices, and new wage controls are likely to follow.

The devaluation of the pound, which was technically "floated" in money markets June 23, means that prices of British goods are lowered in international competition. Prices of foreign goods are raised in the British market. Since most of the food eaten in Britain is imported, devaluation of the pound will drive up the prices of groceries.

In the wake of intense labor struggles, symbolized by the 280,000-strong coal workers strike in January and February, the British ruling class is beating the drums about how higher wages cause inflation. This is a familiar argument to Americans.

But the truth is that in Britain, as in this country, prices are soaring and workers are struggling to keep abreast of them. Currency devaluations and wage controls are aimed at unloading the monopolists' problems of international competition on the backs of workers.

The depth of the dollar's problems was indicated by *New York Times* reporter Clyde Farnsworth, writing from Paris, June 24. "Within minutes, speculators hit the dollar, and within two hours of the British announcement, the major foreign exchange markets of the continent were closed because of the deluge of unwanted dollars.

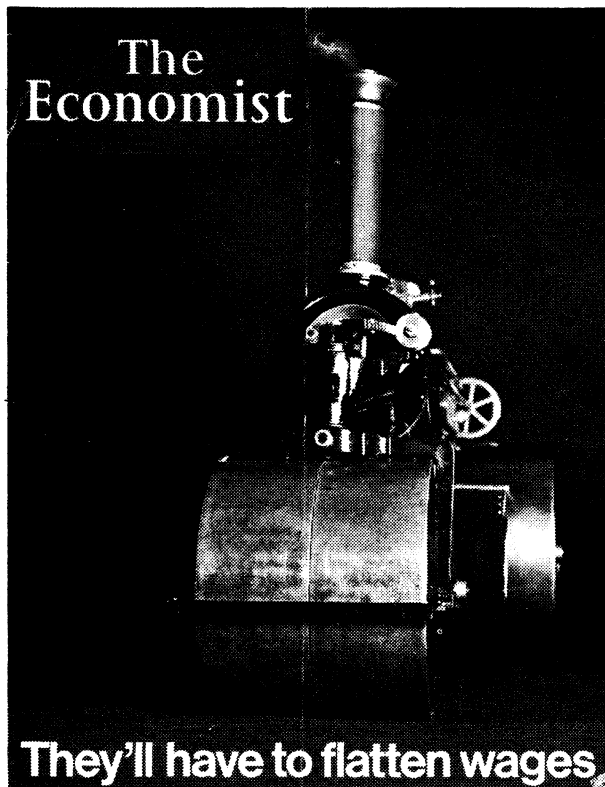
"The German central bank alone took in \$1-billion to support the mark's dollar rate before deciding to close."

The connection between pound devaluation and dollar devaluation, which set this chain-reaction dollar flight into motion last Friday, is not difficult to trace. Financial experts believe that a devalued pound will most likely cause some European nations to devalue their currencies as well. They would do this to prevent Britain from getting a competitive edge in trade.

But if the value of European currencies goes down, this would erase some of the advantages Nixon gained by devaluing the dollar last December. At the Smithsonian conference in Wash-

ington, D.C., Dec. 18, the dollar was devalued at fixed rates in comparison to European and Japanese currencies. Devaluing some of these currencies now could force Nixon to strike back by devaluing the dollar again.

Other factors contribute to the weakness of the dollar. Most important is Nixon's reescalation of the Vietnam war, which will necessitate big government deficits and will speed up inflation. At the same time, the U.S. position in international



The Economist pushes for new wage controls. Prestigious British financial magazine believes controls should accompany devaluation in ruling-class attack on labor.

trade continues to weaken.

"The U.S. ran a \$2.5-billion trade deficit last year—the first in the 20th Century," *Business Week* stated June 10. "Based on the data available for the first four months of 1972, the U.S. is heading toward a \$4-billion to \$5-billion deficit this year—double the figure that was being talked about at the Smithsonian six months ago."

Bretton Woods, the international financial system that held together world monetary affairs in the postwar period, lasted 27 years. Nixon tossed it into the wastebasket last Aug. 15 when he announced the "New Economic Policy," suspending the convertibility of dollars for gold.

The Smithsonian agreement, which Nixon heralded as "the most significant monetary agreement in the history of the world," lasted six months. London violated the agreement on Friday when it floated the pound.

Another agreement headed toward the circular file was the entry of Britain into the Common Market's "monetary union," signed only last month. According to the May treaty, Britain's currency would fluctuate within a limit of 2.25 percent above or below the exchange rates of Common Market currencies. British Prime Minister Heath also violated this accord when he floated the pound.

Under the press of intensified international competition, events have a way of canceling the paper agreements, especially when the paper concerned is money. In Britain last week, workers threatened to shut down the docks, just as figures revealed a worsening British trade balance.

The Economist, a British financial magazine that is restrained in its language except when workers' struggles are involved, whined about "a rule of Luddite anarchy at the ports." (The Luddites fought industrialization in its early stages by smashing machines.)

Although the strike was averted at the last moment, international financial institutions had sold \$2.5-billion worth of pounds in one week up to Friday, June 23. The "enormity" of this rate can be judged by the fact that if it had continued two more weeks, British reserves—which were at their historic peak—would have been reduced to zero!

Yet the new financial crisis that developed last week is undoubtedly even more serious than the one that precipitated Nixon's "New Economic Policy." This is because it shows that the new, supposedly more "realistic," fixed rates adopted at the Smithsonian won't prevent further financial crises.

Ever more drastic financial controls will be necessary to gird world finance. These will all the more intensify the drive against labor designed to bolster each national capitalism in international competition.

The character of the crisis was hinted at by a European central banker who stated on Friday, June 23, "The politicians better wake up before the Western world disintegrates."

Prices keep climbing on food, other items

By LEE SMITH

JUNE 26—The Price Commission met yesterday and a key item on its agenda was "controls" for food prices. "However," today's *Wall Street Journal* reported, "Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson Jr., who leaves Thursday [June 29] for Europe on a business-vacation trip, said after the meeting that there weren't any announcements. He hasn't scheduled any commission meetings until August."

On June 21, the commission sent a letter to the Cost of Living Council, urging that raw agricultural pro-

ducts, exempt from "controls" since the "freeze" on prices was imposed by Nixon last August, be made subject to Price Commission authority. The Cost of Living Council met June 22 but took no action. The same day, Nixon told reporters his administration has not ruled out controls for farm products.

In the June 23 *Washington Post*, James L. Rowe Jr. quoted anonymous "commission sources" as saying: "We have a credibility problem. With food prices doing what they're doing, the commission cannot do nothing and expect the public to believe that it is

interested in holding prices down." Rowe's sources told him they expected some sort of action from yesterday's meeting. The commission members, he wrote, were "not of a mind to let it ride." But let it ride they did, at least until August. By then, meat prices may well have peaked for the year.

The fundamental problem, of course, is not that the Price Commission failed to place new controls on food prices. The same economic laws of supply and demand that are forcing up unregulated prices are doing the same thing to prices that are supposedly already "controlled."

This was clearly spelled out in a front-page article in the June 21 *Wall Street Journal*. Its headline read: "A Higher Law/ Supply and Demand Push Many Prices Up Despite Federal Control/ Some Boosts Involve Ending of Discounts, Other Rises Are on Imported Products/ It's Right Down Japan's Alley."

Illustrating how ineffective the Phase II controls are, the article points out that economists who expected prices to be held down had based their estimate on "continued slack in the economy." U.S. plants, the *Journal* commented, "operated at less than three-quarters of theoretical capacity in the first quarter [of 1972], which would hardly indicate widespread shortages that should drive up prices."

"However," the article goes on, "conversations with company officials indicate that demand in some areas has risen into much closer balance with available capacity, bringing on increases in previously weak prices."

Specifically, the article cites plastics, stainless steel, metal drills and other cutting tools, and electronic components. In these areas, listed prices are traditionally only a starting point for bargaining with buyers. But the reduced discounting has meant substantial price increases on these items.

International markets have stepped up demand for some products, such as maple lumber now being imported by Japan for bowling alleys, forcing up those prices. The same is true of hide prices.

The *Journal* article also commented on the rises in the price of raw agricultural commodities: "Beef probably comes to mind first for most consumers: Live steers have been bringing the highest prices in nearly 21 years and are up 17% from a year ago."

With typical understatement, the *Journal* article also explains what the reduced discounting means to most of us: "Manufacturers eventually will pass along the higher costs. . . . Retailers, in turn, will have little choice but to sock it to the consumer—and some may take advantage of the stronger economy to fatten their margins a bit at the same time."



Price Commission failed to act on soaring meat prices

7,000 in New York for gay pride action

By LIZ JAYKO

NEW YORK CITY—About 7,000 gay men and women marched through the streets here June 25 in the Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration. The march culminated a week of gay pride activities.

The march was the third annual commemoration of the June 1969 Christopher Street "riots," in which hundreds of gays fought back when cops raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village.

This year's march, like the previous two here, was organized by the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee (CSLDC). The CSLDC is a coalition of gay groups and individuals in the New York area.

As the June 26 *New York Times* observed, "The growing self-confidence and openness of homosexuals in pursuit of their rights—there are estimated to be between 300,000 and 800,000 homosexuals in the city—was reflected in the signs, banners and costumes. . . ."

In addition to the familiar chants of "Gay Power!" and "Out of the Closets and into the Streets!" many of the marchers this year chanted "Jail Michael Maye!" Maye, head of the New York Uniformed Firefighters Association, was among those who viciously assaulted members of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) at an April 15 banquet at the Hilton Hotel here. He is being tried on a token charge of

smaller than the one last year. In last year's action, about 10,000 marched and 20,000 attended the rally in Central Park.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidate of the People's Party, marched in the Gay Veterans for Peace contingent. Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign also marched, including three New York SWP candidates.

Literature about the SWP candidates for president and vice-president, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, was enthusiastically received by many marchers. The SWP candidates support full human and civil rights for gay people.

Unfortunately, some *Militant* salespeople, persons distributing SWP campaign literature, and others distributing antiwar literature were harassed by people wearing CSLDC marshal's armbands. Several had their literature forcibly seized and destroyed.

One of the marshals who interfered with sales and leaflet distribution was identified by those she harassed as Deni Covello. Covello is a McGovern delegate to the Democratic Party convention.

The organizations whose literature was seized are preparing a formal protest to the CSLDC.

By JEFF BERCHENKO

DETROIT—More than 200 persons marched in the June 25 Gay Pride



New York gay pride march, June 25

Militant/Mark Satinoff

"harassment."

The GAA chapters from all five New York boroughs marched in contingents behind their banners. Most of the others taking part also marched behind the banners of their organizations. Among them were Radicals, Daughters of Bilitis, Mattachine Society, and Gay Youth. Signs indicated some of the marchers came from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, and even as far away as Nebraska.

The proportion of women marchers seemed to be larger than in the previous two New York marches. The march as a whole, however, was

march here, and 500 attended a rally at the end of the march in Kennedy Square.

The march was organized by the Michigan Gay Confederation, a coalition of gay organizations from throughout the state.

Speeches at the rally had a militant tone, denouncing the Democratic and Republican parties. John Morales, a Chicano from the Detroit Gay Activists, told the rally not to rely on George McGovern. He said, "There are those in the gay liberation movement who think gays can do what Blacks, Chicanos, and labor couldn't do—make the Democratic Party represent their interests."

New Pentagon papers

Hanoi sticks to guns despite U.S. pressure

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 27—"Hanoi plunges on despite cooling allies" is the headline in the June 27 *Christian Science Monitor*. The *Monitor* complains that U.S. intelligence experts in Saigon "see no sign in the wake of the recent Podgorny and Kissinger trips to North Vietnam and to China that Hanoi might be making preparations for a cease-fire or concessions at the conference table."

Despite the immense diplomatic and military pressure Nixon is exerting, Hanoi has not yet bent to Washington's terms. And there are signs that the attempt to cut North Vietnam off from outside help may be faltering too.

According to *New York Times* reporter Craig R. Whitney, writing from Saigon June 26, "An American intelligence officer said that there had been a considerable increase in truck traffic from China into North Vietnam in recent weeks, and that the increase was thought to represent efforts by the Communists to circumvent the mining of North Vietnamese ports early in May."

A report from Washington indicated that North Vietnamese were also building a fuel pipeline from Hanoi to the Chinese border. This could neutralize to some extent the mining of Haiphong harbor, where Soviet tankers used to deliver most of North Vietnam's petroleum.

"The Air Force will probably wait until they put the pipe in before destroying the work," an official stated, according to Whitney.

"So far," Whitney said, "American officials here have reported no evidence that the Chinese are planning to send construction troops across the border to help North Vietnam keep its rail and road lines open, as they did in 1966-67."

During the 1965-68 bombing campaign, about 300,000 North Vietnamese laborers worked along with 40,000-50,000 Chinese to keep the bombed-out tracks in repair, according to a June 26 Associated Press dispatch from Saigon.

It cannot be ruled out that Peking will restore ground crews to aid Hanoi, despite its willingness to cooperate with Nixon in attempting to bring about negotiations.

Both Peking and Moscow are reluctant to openly betray the Vietnamese revolutionaries in the face of international antiwar sentiment supporting the Vietnamese against Washington's genocidal attack. This is why both bureaucracies have continued to supply minimal aid to Hanoi since the beginning of the U.S. aggression. They undoubtedly will continue to do this. And for the same reason, they will continue to grind out solemn declarations of solidarity with the Vietnamese and stern warnings to U.S. imperialism.

This is not Nixon's problem. Washington strategists long ago concluded that the level of military and economic aid supplied to Hanoi by Moscow and Peking was insufficient to deter their attack.

But the Vietnamese have not bent. Seven years of the heaviest bombing in warfare, hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops, and diplomatic pressure from Hanoi's supposed allies have all failed to win the desired concessions from Hanoi. There is new testimony to this in the Pentagon Papers released in the last few days by Jack Anderson.

Up to now, the diplomatic history

of the Johnson administration's war policies has not been revealed. It was not contained in the highly abridged version of the papers released by the *New York Times* last summer nor was it contained in the much lengthier version released by the House Armed Services Committee.

The reasons for this omission are obvious enough from the little that Anderson has made public so far. Both Warsaw and Moscow played leading roles in pressing Hanoi for negotiations. Nixon had no interest in embarrassing these diplomatic go-betweens; he still needs their help. That is why the White House succeeded for such a long time in bottling up this part of the Pentagon papers.

Anderson states, "The history of our



Jack Anderson

secret negotiations with Hanoi contains some painful lessons, which still seem to be disregarded in the quest for a Vietnam peace." He stresses two "lessons."

The first is that whenever negotiations seemed to be getting underway, Johnson would escalate the bombing. The second lesson is that "The North Vietnamese whether on the battlefield or at the peace table, never lost sight of their ultimate goal, control of all Vietnam. As the unpublished papers put it, 'Who shall govern SVN [South Vietnam] is what the war is all about.'"

To document the first "lesson," Anderson wrote in his June 26 column: "An exchange of peace messages through the Poles, for example, ended abruptly with the bombing of Hanoi on Dec. 13-14, 1966."

"... the same scenario was repeated when the American embassy in Moscow tried to resume contact with the North Vietnamese. The exchanges continued through a Tet truce until the U.S. on Feb. 13, 1967, resumed the bombing of North Vietnam. . . ."

"The papers quote a Soviet diplomat as saying the North Vietnamese regarded the bombing of their homeland as an effort 'to get Hanoi to talk.' The refusal to talk while the bombs were dropping, he said, 'was a direct response' to the U.S. position."

Anderson apparently wants Nixon to stop bombing North Vietnam in the belief that this will again open the path for negotiations. But Anderson appears to miss the real lesson of the other point.

Washington insists on remaining in control of Saigon. The question of "who shall govern SVN" is two sided. On one side are the forces of the revolution; on the other side are the forces of U.S. imperialism.

This new revelation of the Pentagon papers documents a crucial aspect of

Continued on page 22

In Our Opinion

'Public servants' serve themselves

There are thousands of threads that tie big business to the elected and appointed officials of Democratic and Republican administrations. If anyone doubts it, they only have to consider the \$25-million in bribes the big construction companies pay to New York City officials every year.

According to reports in the *New York Times* following a six-week investigation of this corruption, payoffs range from \$5 to \$10,000. These are paid to city building inspectors, highway officials, policemen, state safety inspectors, agents of the Federal Housing Administration, and clerks in various city agencies.

Contractors bribe officials to obtain certificates permitting tenants to move in before a job is completed. This often means that ventilation fans aren't working and plumbing facilities aren't hooked up. Safety officials are paid to overlook conditions that may not pass inspection.

"Hardly a skyscraper is built, scarcely a change is made in the world's most celebrated skyline, hardly a brownstone is renovated or a restaurant expanded without the illegal payoffs," the June 26 *Times* reports.

Are those accepting the payoffs arrested? The city's Commissioner of Investigation admits that only 17 inspectors have been arrested in the last four years. Most received suspended sentences.

And what about the millionaire companies paying the bribes? City officials concede that they haven't even tried going after them.

These revelations come on top of the Knapp Commission hearings on police corruption last fall. Those hearings revealed that graft totaling at least \$4-million (it's probably much more) is paid to New York cops each year.

Anyone who thinks this is all happening behind the back of New York's liberal mayor, John Lindsay, is naive. This corruption is the necessary part of the way all Democratic and Republican administrations function. Elected officials depend on support from businessmen and bankers. Those who are appointed win their posts through patronage and sell their loyalty.

But this isn't the way government has to be. Nearly 100 Socialist Workers Party candidates are campaigning this year for a government that represents the interests of working people instead of industry and high finance. Such a government will not simply replace Democratic and Republican officeholders with socialists, leaving the governmental bureaucracy intact. The old administrative apparatus, honeycombed with graft, will be dismantled. New, democratic forms of organization determined by the masses will be established. The profit-hungry corporate owners, including those in the construction industry, will be replaced by the democratic control of the workers over industry. These steps will cut off corruption at its roots.

Snoopers, Inc.

Mystery still hangs over the June 17 break-in at the Democratic Party's National Committee headquarters in Washington, D. C. However, a few things are clear.

Five men were caught red-handed in the headquarters with extensive photographic equipment and electronic surveillance instruments. All five were linked in one way or another to the Central Intelligence Agency and the activities of anti-Castro counterrevolutionaries in Florida.

One of them, James McCord Jr., was a salaried security aide for Nixon's reelection committee and held a separate contract to provide security services to the Republican National Committee.

On top of this, E. Howard Hunt, the top CIA official in charge of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba, met with one of the five men two weeks before the raid. He now refuses to answer questions about the break-in.

On June 19, the Republican Party's National Committee sent out an internal memorandum instructing those on the party payroll not to say a word about the case.

These facts raise several questions: Was the Republican Party responsible for the raid? Did the order come from the White House?

Of course, John Mitchell, President Nixon's campaign director, and Ronald Zeigler, his press secretary, denied that this was the case. Mitchell even asserted, "We deplore such activity."

Now if there's anything most Americans know, it's that Mitchell has no qualms about bugging and wiretapping. When he was attorney general he pushed for the virtually unrestricted right to bug and tap.

But electronic eavesdropping didn't begin with Mitchell and the Republican Party. It was widely used during the Democratic administrations of Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson. It has most often been employed by both Democrats and Republicans against movements for social change, including Black and Chicano organizations, labor unions, and radical groups.

Now the chickens have come home to roost. Somebody has tried to bug the Democratic Party headquarters. Whether or not the Republican Party was responsible, the incident has increased many Americans' distrust of the capitalist parties.

Letters

Convinced socialist

On June 23 I shall be transferred to a rehabilitation center. After a period of eight weeks there I shall obtain my full release.

The political insights I have gained from consistently perusing *The Militant* have completely convinced me of socialism. I thank you. A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Martin Sostre

Your June 16 issue carried a full-page story on the victory of Angela Davis. Your story very soberly points out the battles still to be won on behalf of Magee and so many others.

We wish to bring to your attention the case of Martin Sostre, a Black activist serving 30 to 41 years on a frame-up.

A few years ago, Martin Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican, opened the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Buffalo, N. Y. In the summer of 1967 the Black community in Buffalo erupted in rebellion. During the uprising, Sostre allowed his store to be used as a haven for those who were fleeing tear gas and bullets.

On July 4, 1967, the police raided his store and arrested him. He was charged with riot, arson, assault, and possession of narcotics.

His case finally came to trial in March 1968, after he had spent almost eight months in jail because of an outrageous bail set by the court. During his confinement, the Buffalo police and news media whipped up a racist hysteria.

Sostre's trial lasted three days. Manifestly innocent of the drug charges, he was nevertheless convicted of possession and sale of narcotics and was given a sentence of 30 to 41 years. The jury was all white.

In prison, his educational work among the inmates brought him harsh punishment—373 successive days in solitary confinement. His release from isolation came as a result of a suit he filed against the State of New York for cruel and unusual punishment.

The key witness who testified against Sostre in 1968 has since admitted in a signed affidavit that he gave false testimony to save himself from a prison term on a drug charge. He is willing to present his testimony in court if granted immunity from prosecution for perjury.

The police officer who arranged for the false testimony has reportedly been discharged from the Buffalo police department for suspected graft and participation in the drug trade.

In light of these facts, we are demanding that Martin Sostre be freed on bail immediately and granted a new trial. More information on the case and petitions calling for Sostre's release are available from the defense committee.

Vanguard Defense Committee for Martin Sostre
Box 839, Ellicott Station
Buffalo, N. Y.

Raza deportation

In Chicago recently a picket line of about 25 people, many of whom were priests, was held at the Federal Building to protest the continued harassment of undocumented Raza residents. The demonstration was called by the Latin American Committee of the Catholic Church Archdiocese.

Over the past four months, local police and immigration authorities have harassed, detained, and even deported literally thousands of Latin Americans as "illegal aliens."

A favorite tactic has been to place agents in front of churches in the Latin American communities on Sunday. They ask everyone to produce papers proving citizenship. Those who cannot are detained and further questioned, sometimes for hours. Many are eventually deported. Once the police took a whole busload from one church.

This kind of activity is not limited to churches. Police constantly stop people with dark skins at bus stops and factory gates and ask them to produce papers. Even Puerto Ricans, who are U. S. citizens, are detained for hours.

Often a Latino who is picked up for being an "illegal alien" will not risk calling family or friends for fear that they too will be deported. Thus, many Latino families don't know the whereabouts of relatives and are frequently left without support.

The demonstrators at the Federal Building distributed a flyer listing the rights of "aliens." They also circulated a petition demanding that President Nixon end this racist harassment.

Bob Lewis
Chicago, Ill.

Gun control: A reader replies

This is the first time I have been in disagreement with any article in *The Militant*, but I strongly disagree with your editorial on gun control [*Militant*, June 2].

I agree with you that the capitalist system is the supreme source of violence and that Blacks and other oppressed peoples should have the right to defend themselves. But registering guns does not deprive people of the right to bear arms.

M. K.
Austin, Minn.

In reply—*The Militant* defends the right of the working class and Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities to defend themselves and their organizations by any means necessary. This includes the constitutionally guaranteed right to bear arms.

Think over your argument for a moment. You agree that capitalism is the major source of violence. You would also agree that the capitalist rulers of this country control the government and use it to further their own interests. And yet you say they should be allowed to use officials of that very government to limit most Americans' access to arms. It doesn't make sense.

The right to bear arms is a fundamental democratic safeguard, like the right to free speech. Just as the government doesn't have the right to determine who can speak at a public meeting or who can publish a newspaper, it doesn't have the right to decide who can bear arms.

We won that right in struggle nearly 200 years ago. There is no reason to support legislation that would restrict it in any way.

Villanova graduation:

Cap, gown, and nightstick

Our keynote speaker during the Villanova [University] graduation this year was none other than the chief of naval operations, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt. He gave a pretty good speech for a military man, although the graduation was marred

The Great Society

by disruption. The disruption came not from the dissenters but rather from their opponents, who used force and violence to intimidate them.

Eight persons from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War were harassed by the Philadelphia police and were arrested outside the Philadelphia Civic Center (where the graduation was taking place) on trumped-up charges of "breach of the peace," "disorderly conduct," and "conspiracy," although they were not engaged in any disorderly actions.

Inside the auditorium, a student who was a Vietnam veteran stood up in front of the stage to express dissent during Admiral Zumwalt's speech. When two other students tried to join him, they were hustled out and beaten by Villanova security guards.

A man from the audience who claimed to be an ex-marine colonel aided the security police in beating up one of the students. After the graduation, this same man and the rest of his family incited a physical confrontation with some of the students outside the civic center. The victims were arrested or harassed by the Philadelphia police while the actions of the perpetrators were condoned.

All in all, it was a sad day for Villanova.

Robert M. Ferrara
Villanova, Pa.

Nottingham women's festival

Nottingham Women's Liberation Group has been invited to contribute to the Nottingham Festival in July. On the final day of the festival, July 23, we have booked the market square in the city centre to hold a celebratory woman's day.

In the morning we will have exhibitions, bookstalls, music, and street theatre. In the afternoon we are planning a National Women's Rally. We have invited several prominent speakers, including Shirley Williams, Joyce Butler, Simone de Beauvoir, Germaine Greer, Evelyn Reed, and others. To complete the day, we hope to organise a closed women's meeting.

The aim is to organise a day in which all women feel they can take part. We are inviting representatives of women's organisations in the local area to participate in the coordinating committee and to make use of the day to publicise their own activities, ideas, etc.

Invitations will also be sent out to women's groups nationally. With publicity in the national press we hope to draw as many women as possible to Nottingham on that day—to demonstrate and debate their problems, ideas, and hopes in a truly mass action.

For more information, write to us at this address:

Nottingham Women's Liberation Group
The Women's Centre
3, Cobden Chambers
Pelham Street
Nottingham, England

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.

A question—For some weeks we've been pondering a point made in a May 20 *Daily World* editorial on Nixon's USSR trip. "In his Moscow television appearance," the edit said, "Nixon hypocritically invoked the memory of the child Tanya, who watched her family die during the siege of Leningrad by the Hitlerites. Vietnam has tens of thousands of Tanyas whose families are being killed as a result of U.S. imperialist aggression." What we've been wondering is if the *DW* could explain how Nixon got on Soviet TV to begin with.

More truth than poetry—"Miami Cubans Dance for Nixon"—Headline on a *New York Times* article describing a fund-raising ball for Nixon by rich Cuban exiles.

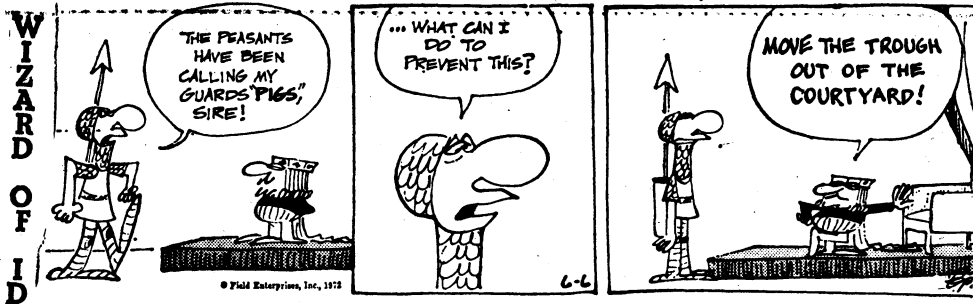
Don't let too much hang out—"I'm not against people meeting behind closed doors. I don't think we ought to do everything we do out in front."—Senator McGovern explaining why he held a private meeting with Chicago's Mayor Daley immediately after a June 20 New Orleans speech during which McGovern denounced "back-room deals."

His trough runneth over—Arthur Lord, a San Francisco cop who was lapping up a fifth of whiskey a day, was given a year's leave with pay.

His psychiatrist said it was service-incurred. "Previously, a policeman was accorded respect, even by those he apprehended," the shrink reported. "Now, however, Mr. Lord perceives himself as a target of continuous and unjustified hostility and ridicule... coming from the very people he was sworn to protect." At the mere thought of going to work, Lord would break into hives, which the liquor cured.

The blessings of coexistence (I)—Some 130 Vancouver residents signed up for a three-year, \$230 correspondence course with the North American College of Acupuncture.

The blessings of coexistence (II)—A fourteenth-century Chinese wine jar was auctioned in London for a record \$573,000. It was spotted by an appraiser in the home of a collector who had used it for years as an umbrella stand.



— HARRY RING

The Militant gets around...

ANGELA DAVIS RALLIES: One hundred *Militants* were sold at the rally welcoming Angela Davis to Chicago on June 16. At a June 18 rally in Detroit, 184 *Militants* were sold and 3,000 copies of the SWP campaign brochure "The Black Community and the '72 Elections" were distributed. Top salesperson in Detroit was Trudy Hawkins with 53 sold.

Detroit reports that they sold out of *Militants* before most of the crowd of more than 12,000 arrived. This should point out to other areas the importance of increasing their bundles when there are special sales opportunities for the coming week.

SUB SALES AT THE POST OFFICE: One of our readers who is a postal worker in Chicago recently sold eight *Militant* subscriptions to his co-workers. This is how he did it: "I explain I want to sell a subscription and offer a free back issue, which can be kept regardless. A sales pitch seems unnecessary since the paper speaks for itself. A few days later I follow up to explain how they will receive the paper and what it costs. I insist on sending in the sub blank and money myself and offer a loan if they are short the dollar."

"A week of selling subs has given me a better political picture of my co-workers than two months of rapping and pushing pamphlets."

ROUND-UP OF SPECIAL SALES: Sales at special gatherings in the past few weeks include: 93 *Militants* sold at the Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis, June 23-24; more than 130 *Militants* sold at the McGovern rally at Madison Square Garden in New York on June 14; and 44 *Militants* sold at the AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) convention in Houston, May 29-June 2.

THE CAMPAIGN PAPER WINS ANOTHER SUPPORTER: From Boston, Jon Flanders writes, "After hearing Linda Jenness speak at the Boston rally celebrating the successful conclusion of a drive for 100,000 signatures in Massachusetts (for ballot status), a regular hawker of the local underground paper, the *Phoenix*, asked to sign out a bundle of *Militants* each week to sell."

SHOPPING CENTER AND PLANT GATE SALES: Bob Kissinger, sales director in Chicago, reports that *Militant* supporters there "are selling 15-25 *Militants* per week at a Western Electric plant. We are going to start selling regularly at a couple of Black shopping centers and in the Chicago Loop. Campaign tables will also be attempted in these areas."

And from Seattle, sales director Dymphna Flavin writes, "Two people came to the *Militant* bookstore ready to endorse the SWP campaign and to find out more about the SWP. This contact was made through our regular

Saturday 'wrap-up' sales at Northgate Shopping Center. . . . We are selling between 30 and 40 per week in the Black community.

THE MILITANT GETS TO THREE NEW PLACES: Requests for weekly *Militant* bundles were recently received from Ellenville, N.Y.; Helena, Mont.; and Storrs, Conn. Our salesman in Storrs included the following note with his request: "I got a trial bundle of 10 *Militants* from the Hartford Young Socialist Alliance last week and was pleasantly surprised—all sold in 50 minutes. Since I'm sure I can spend a couple of hours a week, please start me with a weekly bundle of 20."

That was several weeks ago. Last week we received another note with a bundle increase to 30: "Sales are going very well on the Univ. of Conn. campus, and since I've recruited one more salesperson, I think we can sell 30 *Militants*."

— NANCY COLE

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):
5 10 25 other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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



The Militant gets around in Houston.

Roy Simmons

UN environment conference

World's oppressed majority short-changed in Stockholm



By LEE SMITH

The daily press has variously assessed the significance of the 11-day United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. *Washington Post* correspondent Claire Sterling summed it up as "a happening" in her report from the final session in the June 17 *Post*. Walter Sullivan, who covered the conference along with Gladwin Hill for the *New York Times*, concluded an opinion piece in the June 18 Sunday *Times* by quoting Margaret Mead's statement that the conference was "a revolution in thought fully comparable to the Copernican revolution."

Reports indicate that the 114-nation conference did have a certain "happening" flavor. There were 1,200 official delegates and an equal number of officially accredited journalists at the conference.

In addition, thousands of young people poured into the Swedish capital to take part in counter-conference events such as the Environmental Forum and the People's Forum. Swedish authorities set up a tent city at Skarpnack, south of Stockholm, to accommodate the overflow of what the June 5 *New York Times* described as "exotically dressed young people." And the officials were helped in running the

camp by Hog Farm, the U.S. communal group that helped feed the thousands who went to the Woodstock, N. Y., concert in 1969.

But if Sterling could dismiss what took place in Stockholm as merely a happening, it was not only because the decisions of the official conference lacked substance by comparison to the discussions of the international, radical youth participating in the unofficial conferences. Sterling's assessment was at least partly based on a smug racism that allowed her to cynically treat the aspirations of the world's hungry and oppressed majority. She wrote in her June 17 *Post* article:

"Any suggestion that the wealthier states mean to carry out all the recommendations made here would strain the credibility of even a delegate from the Central African Republic or Fiji Not many poor states seemed to grasp the realistic limits of this Stockholm confrontation, to sense how far the industrial states might reasonably be asked to go. Having asked for everything, they got it, on paper."

Of course the U.S. and the other imperialist, industrial states are not going to live up to the agreements made at Stockholm. Not only are the agreements at this point only recom-

mendations to be voted on by the UN General Assembly, but even after the General Assembly vote, whatever passes will still be "non-binding."

The 35-member U.S. delegation made its attitude plain in Stockholm. Composed of State Department functionaries, a cabinet member, a senator, and others held trustworthy by the ruling class, the U.S. delegation steadfastly opposed the four recommendations on "additionality."

"Additionality" is the principle—proposed by the less-developed nations and paid lip service by the major capitalist states except the U.S.—that the developed countries should supply *additional* funds to less-developed countries to finance ecological measures without impairing economic development.

Because poor countries are not allowed to develop as long as they remain in the capitalist orbit, except as pawns and subjects of imperialism, the issue of "additionality" masked the real issue at the official conference. But it was on the dual axis of this issue and the issue of Vietnam that the UN conference debated the questions spelled out more clearly in the unofficial counter-conferences.

The Soviet Union and most of the

Eastern European countries boycotted the conference to protest East Germany's exclusion. Four of the 114 nations represented were countries that have abolished capitalism: Albania, China, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. China emerged as a major force, acting as the chief representative of the poor nations in the confrontation between imperialism and its victims.

The Chinese delegation succeeded in reopening debate on the declaration of principles that had been prepared in advance for conference approval. Amendments were added to the declaration including references to racial segregation, apartheid, colonial oppression, and the "just struggle of the peoples against pollution." Despite the Chinese delegation's continual reference to Vietnam in speeches, however, it did not press for specific mention of the destruction in Indochina in any of the conference documents.

The first reference to U.S. ecocide in Indochina was made on the opening day, June 6, in an address by Swedish Premier Olof Palme. His remarks brought an angry retort by U.S. delegation head Russell E. Train of the Council on Environmental Quality. Train said he "personally" was an "environmentalist, not a politician," and considered the premier's speech "a gratuitous politicizing of our environmental discussions."

In fact, what was gratuitous at the meeting was its formal action. The monitoring "Project Earthwatch," the principles adopted, and the other recommendations will not slow the elimination of endangered species or halt the disruption of the life cycles that keep the biosphere habitable. Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl (famous for his "Kon Tiki" expeditions) observed, according to the June 8 *Washington Post*, that during the 11 days of the conference, 50 million pounds of pesticides would be dumped into the oceans.

The real significance of the conference was that politics forced itself into the discussions, despite the organizers' desire to keep it out. Because of that, the unofficial meetings were of at least equal significance to the official one.

One of the best assessments of the Stockholm gatherings appeared, not in the daily press, but in the weekly *Village Voice*. Writing in the June 22 *Voice* from Stockholm, Ross Gelbspan gives an extensive account of the discussion that occurred at the counter-

Continued on page 22

By Any Means Necessary

BLACK PROTESTS CONTINUE AGAINST CHICAGO POLICE. According to *Militant* correspondent Ninure Saunders, "On the night of June 20 Renault Robinson and other members of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL) took over the last of a series of 'community' meetings held by police superintendent James B. Conlisk Jr. on Chicago's Black South Side."

"After a number of speakers from the Chicago police force had spoken, Robinson, in full uniform, approached Conlisk with a bullhorn and said, 'This format is not going to work tonight. We're going to turn this meeting open to the people. Everyone line up behind a man with a megaphone and we're going to do the talking from now on.'"

Our reporter said the AAPL, through Robinson's column in the *Daily Defender*, a Black newspaper, had indicated that it would hold a series of "real community meetings to discuss the police."

On the day of the meeting, the *Chicago Daily News* ran a front-page story linking five Black cops to the murders of six Black men. The murders occurred between September 1971 and February of this year. They reportedly stemmed from police involvement in drug traffic. According to the *News*, two of those killed were victims of mistaken identity.

The disclosure comes on the heels of a study revealing that Chicago police have killed civilians at a rate three times that of other large cities. Moreover, it comes at a time when organized activity by the Black community against the police is increasing.

Blacks comprise more than one-third of Chicago's population, and they are an integral part of Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine. However, the rise of Black nationalist consciousness has had a corrosive effect upon the machine.

For example, this spring, after revelations of police brutality against two Black doctors, Representative Ralph H. Metcalfe, a Daley faithful, assembled a broad coalition of Black organizations into the Concerned Citizens for Police Reforms (CCPR).

Metcalfe and other Black politicians refused to meet with Daley downtown after the mayor rejected their request for a meeting on the South Side. Among other things, the CCPR demanded the establishment of civilian review boards and the hiring and promotion of more Black police.

In response, Conlisk started holding meetings in the Black community, but to no avail. A couple of the meetings were broken up; and now, since Conlisk has not met CCPR demands, Metcalfe

and others are demanding his resignation.

The disclosure of police complicity in the murder of six Black men will fan the flames of discontent. Meetings and rallies to air Black grievances against the police have already been scheduled. In addition, some Black leaders have threatened mass demonstrations in the streets this summer unless City Hall takes action on their demands.

A REFLECTION OF THE STIRRINGS BELOW (or, you haven't seen nothing yet). "History tells us that nations can survive for years by shifting the burdens of life to the people confined by force and violence to the bottom. But, history also tells us that this process rebounds against the oppressor. For, at a certain point, the people on the bottom begin to straighten their backs and the burdens rise to the top of society, affecting everything and sparing nothing. That is where we are today. The great political and economic pyramid is beginning to tremble and quake. Hence, the difficulty in electing Presidents and mayors. Hence, the chaos in our cities. Hence, the shakiness of our international position." — Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, in the June 29 *Jet*, a widely read Black weekly.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Wallace: no friend of the working people

By CAROLINE LUND

Democratic presidential candidate George Wallace claims he represents "the little man" and "the average citizen," not the powerful rich and the unresponsive government bureaucracy. Who is this "little man" Wallace claims to champion?

From the relatively high votes for Wallace in some industrial states, it is clear that many working people—including members of unions such as the United Auto Workers—believe Wallace is speaking for them. One aspect of Wallace's appeal is to racist sentiments. But he also attempts to relate to the frustration and alienation of working people that stems from the deep problems of capitalist society.

But does Wallace have working people in mind when he claims to want to help the "little man"? Definitely not. A look at his program and record demonstrates that Wallace stands for the rights and interests of the capitalist employers, not the workers. His image as a candidate who is against the rich and the establishment is carefully cultivated to confuse workers and win support—but it is phony.

Wallace seldom mentions working people or trade unions—and this is no accident. He never speaks for higher minimum wages, the right of workers to automatic wage increases as the cost of living rises, or the rights of unions, because he does not support them.

Although Wallace claims to oppose "unnecessary control of big Government," he says nothing against government interference with the right of unions to strike and to bargain collectively. For instance, he didn't oppose Nixon's use of the Taft-Hartley law to try to break the longshore strike last fall.

Wallace has even less to say concerning the problems of Black workers. He opposes adequate welfare allotments and antidiscrimination measures, and he champions the police in their war against Blacks.

Wallace's main economic proposal concerns taxes. He gives the impression that he wants to decrease taxes on working people. Does this mean he wants to increase taxes on big business? No. In announcing his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, Wallace said he wants "A

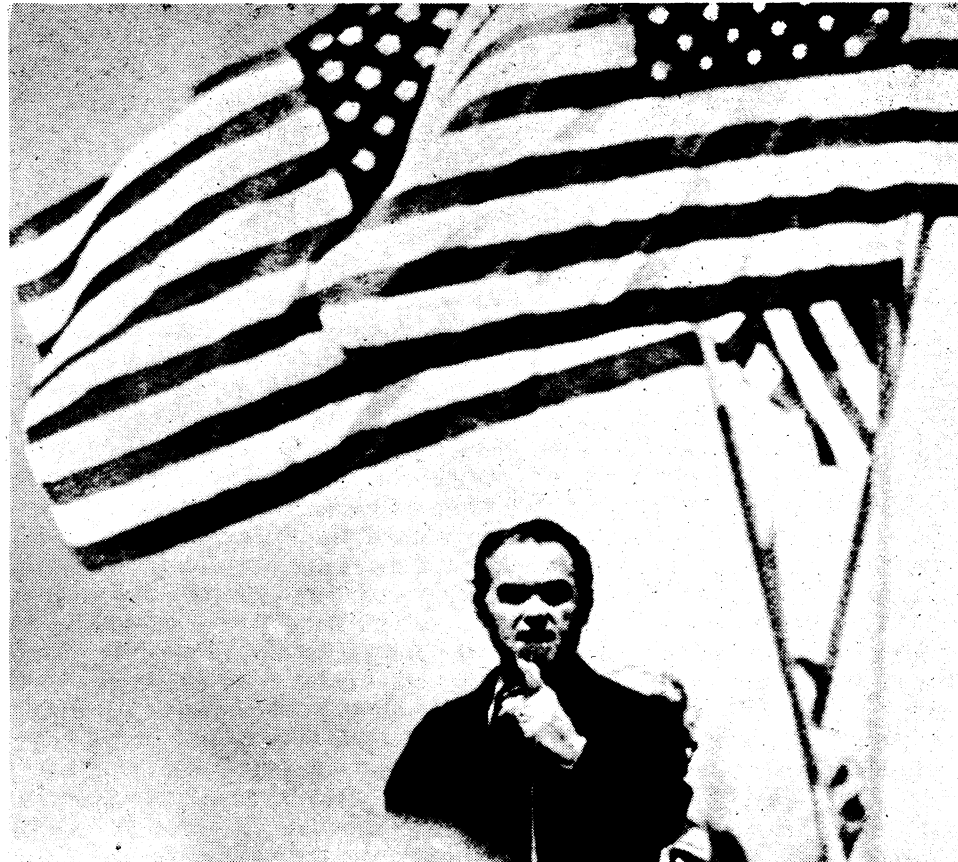
reduction in taxes for the individual and businesses and industry. . . ." (Emphasis added.) Who then does he think *should* be taxed more? Only the foundations and commercial property owned by churches.

This is demagoguery. What Wallace is actually doing is covering up for the huge tax loopholes regularly used by the capitalists. He has no program for reducing taxes. And he doesn't even claim to have a program for defending the *wages* of working people against the effects of inflation.

In his 1968 campaign as an American Independent Party candidate, Wallace spent \$7-million. And this is only what he publicly admits.

Another way Wallace tries to fool working people into supporting him is by claiming to oppose the bureaucracy, corruption, and unresponsiveness of the government. When he calls Washington, D. C., "the hypocrite capital of the world," many people know he is right. But is Wallace any different?

Wallace is part of that corrupt gov-



Wallace addressing rally in Saginaw, Mich.

Like the other Democratic and Republican party contenders, Wallace gets decisive financial support from big capitalists. Even according to the figures he discloses, more than 30 percent of his money comes from contributions of \$100 or more.

The June 10 *New Republic* lists various capitalists in the South who have contributed from \$5,000 to \$20,000 to the Wallace campaign. One of his well-known contributors is the right-wing Texas millionaire, H. L. Hunt.

ernment apparatus. He has been in control of the state government of Alabama for 10 years, and in this position of power he has operated in the same way he accuses the federal government of operating. For instance, it is widely known that in his 1968 campaign Wallace used state officials, state finances, and the state apparatus to help his campaign. Wallace's former state finance director has been indicted twice for tax evasion. A campaign official was convicted of

accepting bribes and kickbacks and evading taxes. This year Wallace's brother and many of his close political associates are under federal grand jury investigation for various forms of corruption.

The May 5 *New York Times* reported that one of Wallace's standard ways of paying off political debts was through the Alabama highway department. Recipient of one such payoff, the *Times* states, was Robert Shelton, head of the Ku Klux Klan.

Working people do not have to look just at what Wallace *says* he stands for. They can look at his record and see what he has actually done in the 10 years he has been the top politician in Alabama.

Alabama is either at or near the bottom of the list when compared to other states in per capita income, education expenditures, and health and welfare services. The average welfare allotment in Alabama is \$13 per month, compared to the national average of \$112 per month, according to the May 5 *New York Times*.

Wallace has helped kill proposals for state minimum-wage laws and has preserved the antiunion "right-to-work" laws in Alabama. He maintained one of the worst unemployment compensation laws in the country.

Finally, Wallace shows he represents the capitalist class in his foreign policy positions. He says he is for "peace through strength, superior offensive and defensive capabilities of our military forces—second to none." Although now he demagogically bends to the antiwar sentiment of the American people, he says Washington should get out of Vietnam only because it's losing. In principle, he fully supports wars like Vietnam, which only benefit big business. And he is ready to continue committing billions of dollars of workers' tax money to finance such wars.

Wallace has no program for solving the problems of working people, who are the vast majority in this country. His program is basically the same as that of the other Democratic and Republican politicians: defense of this system of inequality. Wallace appeals to the growing feelings of exasperation with the crises created by the capitalist system. But he offers no solutions whatsoever.

Israeli attacks spur curb on Palestinians

By TONY THOMAS

JUNE 26—Israeli military attacks on villages in southern Lebanon on June 21 and June 23 have raised the possibility of a confrontation between the Lebanese government and the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon.

The Israeli government took advantage of the anti-Arab hysteria in Israel following the May 30 terrorist attack on the Lod airport in Tel Aviv to launch the attacks. On June 21, Israeli armored vehicles, artillery, and ground and air forces launched attacks on Lebanese villages near the Israeli border. The villages had been used as bases for the Palestinian resistance.

At Ramieh, four Lebanese policemen were killed and several visiting officers of the Syrian army were captured. Air and artillery attacks were launched against the village of Hasbaya. "Reports from Hasbaya said that air raids had resulted in much destruction," the June 22 *New York Times* disclosed, "with many houses and parked cars burned."

There was also fighting near the village of Hibbariye on the slopes of Mount Hermon, where the Lebanese army repulsed an Israeli column.

The second round of attacks began on June 23. They centered on the village of Deir el Ashayer, on the Lebanon-Syria border, and a four-village area near Marjioun in southern Lebanon. According to the June 24 *New York Times*, the Lebanese military reported that "18 Lebanese civilians had been killed and 12 wounded in the attacks, and the command of the Palestine Resistance Movement reported 'scores of guerrillas' killed or wounded."

The Israelis launched the attacks to compel the Lebanese government to crack down on Palestinian resistance forces based in southern Lebanon. In 1969, after massive struggles against the Lebanese government by Palestinians and by Lebanese workers and students, an accord was signed allowing the Palestinian guerrillas to maintain bases in southern Lebanon. Under these agreements, the Palestinians were forbidden to fire on Israel from Lebanon but were free to launch operations from these bases.

After a series of Israeli attacks earlier this year, Lebanese officials forced a partial retreat of Palestinians from southern Lebanon. Now demands have been raised for revoking the 1969 agreements and for placing the

Palestinian forces under the control of the Lebanese army.

The Israelis chose Hasbaya as a focus of their June 21 attacks because the village had been the scene of tensions between conservative members of the Druze sect and Palestinian guerrillas. Only a week before the attacks, an incident between Druzes and Palestinian commandos had led to a shooting.

These frictions had become "a rallying point for right-wing parties and newspapers that have been calling for Lebanon to follow the example of Syria and Jordan in restricting commando operations," according to Jim Hoagland in the June 23 *Washington Post*. "Whether intended to do so or not, Wednesday's [June 21] raids on Hasbaya have reinforced those calls."

While Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam has claimed that he wants to preserve the 1969 agreements, his regime has also said that it favors placing the Palestinian forces under control of the Lebanese army. This would be a further step in the direction of silencing the Palestinian freedom fighters. Since 1969 a series of military confrontations have taken place between the Lebanese army and the Palestinians.

However, Salam and other leaders of the Lebanese government oppose

a total crackdown. According to the June 24 *Washington Post*, they "fear a confrontation with the commandos could bring Lebanon back to the edge of civil war, a prospect it faced in 1969 when the commandos and Lebanese military units clashed."

Following the Israeli attacks, Lebanese authorities and Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, negotiated for several days. According to the June 27 *New York Times*, guerrillas eventually "agreed to suspend their activity against Israel from southern Lebanon for the time being. . . ." The *Times* was unsure whether this was a temporary truce, as guerrilla leaders claimed, or the prelude to complete guerrilla evacuation of southern Lebanon.

Whatever strategy the rulers of Lebanon use to crack down on the Palestinians, the Israeli attacks have shown once again that as long as the Zionist state of Israel exists, national liberation and independence are secure for no one in the Arab world.

Instead of cracking down on the Palestinians, the way for the Lebanese people to advance their own interests is to support the Palestinian struggle for the destruction of the Zionist state and the establishment of a democratic Palestine.

New York debate

How to achieve socialism in Chile

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK—An overflow crowd of more than 200 packed into a New York University auditorium June 23 for a debate on the meaning of recent developments in Chile. The audience heard three speakers—Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party, Professor James Petras of Pennsylvania State University, and Stephen Torgoff of the *Guardian*, a radical newspaper. All three had recently visited Chile.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Militant Labor Forum and the *Guardian*. David Dellon of the North American Committee on Latin America served as chairman.

The first speaker, Peter Camejo explained that although the Allende government had been forced to grant important concessions to the workers and peasants of Chile, it could never solve the basic problems of the Chilean masses. To solve these problems, he said, it is necessary to go beyond capitalism. Allende's Popular Unity (Unidad Popular—UP) coalition, however, is a bloc of working-class-based parties and capitalist parties.

He pointed out that the capitalist class in Chile still has complete control of the state power—the army, police, and the courts—and therefore is in a position to use violence to block any movement toward socialism unless the workers and peasants arm themselves.

Camejo contended that the Allende government was betraying the interests of the masses in Chile by telling the workers and peasants that the capitalist class would allow socialism to come about peacefully.

He predicted that the Chilean capitalist class would attempt to crush the mass movement for social change as soon as it felt powerful enough to do so. He said the workers and peasants should prepare to defend the gains they have made with armed self-defense guards.

Camejo pointed to a recent incident in which the Communist Party mayor in the UP-governed city of Concepción called out police to put down a leftist demonstration. He said that this shows that workers cannot depend on a government based on capitalist "legality."

Professor James Petras disagreed that

the capitalist class had predominant control in Chile. He called the UP "a poly-class coalition in which the working class parties have hegemony." He spoke of "two phases" of the Chilean revolution—a bourgeois-democratic phase, which he claimed has been achieved by Allende; and the socialist phase, which lies ahead.

Petras tried to deny that the Allende government had used armed force against the workers and peasants. He asserted that such information comes only from the bourgeois press in this country, which "blows up every little crisis, every little strike."

Petras called the SWP position one of "sniping" against the revolutionary process occurring in Chile. He pointed to the government expropriation of 3,000 farms. "How fast do you want it?" he asked. "How many changes can the country absorb?"

Petras also attacked Camejo's criticism of Allende for not repudiating Chile's international debt of more than \$3-billion owed to imperialist interests. Petras claimed the UP government had to accept the debt to get international financing.

Stephen Torgoff, the third speaker, also tried to deny the government attacks on leftist demonstrations. Later in the discussion, however, he reversed himself and admitted at least one such incident.

Torgoff summarized his position by saying, "No matter what is the nature of the UP government, masses of workers and peasants support it and are ready to die for it. The only question is: 'Are we on their side or not.'"

He stated that "the politics of the UP, in itself, cannot lead to socialism," but that the UP had "won democratic rights for the masses" and "lifted the foot of the state off the backs of the workers."

He felt that at the present time "the alternative is the UP government or fascism" because "the masses of workers and peasants are not ready to mobilize for socialism."

Torgoff tried to say that because the SWP opposes the politics of the Allende government, it "ignores and opposes the sentiments of the masses of Chile" and therefore takes the side



Rouge

Independent mass mobilizations of Chilean workers and peasants are needed to defend gains that have been won.

of the imperialists. He charged that "the SWP calls for fascism to teach the masses a lesson."

During the lively discussion period, Camejo strongly discouraged the use of such absurd slander as accusing others on the left of supporting fascism. He stated, "We take the same basic attitude to the Allende government as the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union took to the Kerensky regime in 1917; that is to say 'No support to Kerensky.'" At the same time, Camejo explained, the Bolsheviks called on the workers to organize independently to defend the gains they won with the Kerensky regime against any attempts to reverse them by the right wing.

In regard to Torgoff's statement that the UP government had brought the workers democratic rights, Camejo said: "Don't give credit to the UP government for what the masses themselves are winning in the streets."

Although all three speakers took positions to the left of the Communist

Party—which uncritically defends the Allende regime—a person rose in the discussion period to attempt to defend the CP position. In spite of overwhelming opposition to his views from the audience, he was given time to state his view.

He praised the CP for being the strongest supporter of Allende in Chile. He offered as an example of such support the fact that the CP gives "the strongest assurances of continued production in the factories." He said the Communist position was "not one of permanent sell-out." The CP, he explained, was only asking for nine months of "consolidation," before taking further steps. He said the rampant inflation in Chile "necessitates what may seem like antisocialist measures."

In ending the meeting, all speakers agreed that despite differences in evaluation of the UP government, all Americans should unite to defend Chile's right to self-determination in the face of U.S. imperialism.

Women: The Insurgent Majority

THE WONAAC NEWSLETTER, published by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, regularly reports on how women are organizing to win the right to abortion.

The contents of the June 26 Newsletter indicate that the upcoming third Women's National Abortion Action Conference will include an exciting discussion of how to continue the struggle to repeal restrictive abortion laws. The conference, sponsored by WONAAC, will take place July 15-16 at Hunter College in New York City.

This issue of the Newsletter carries the first two

preconference discussion articles. Activists in WONAAC chapters and in the women's movement as a whole will want to follow this important discussion and participate in it by submitting articles and proposals to the Newsletter and by attending the conference.

Two articles in the Newsletter present evaluations of the June 4 WONAAC National Coordinating Committee meeting, at which a debate took place over strategies for the campaign to repeal abortion laws.

The article by WONAAC national coordinator Matilde Zimmermann explains the need to continue to organize a mass-action struggle around the right to abortion. In arguing against the proposal made at the NCC that WONAAC plan no further nationally coordinated demonstrations, Zimmermann points out that the majority of women favor repealing all abortion laws. Our job, Zimmermann said, is "alerting women to the necessity of getting out and making that a massive and visible sentiment."

Zimmermann scores the abstention from the abortion struggle of groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW). She also demonstrates how the red-baiting directed against the Socialist Workers Party at the NCC can only work in favor of the enemies of women's rights.

Zimmermann presents a thorough analysis of

where WONAAC stands and the challenges it faces. In contrast, the second article on the NCC, by WONAAC national staff member Rose Weber, contains absolutely no discussion of the political issues involved in the current debate. Instead, Weber repeats red-baiting charges she made at the NCC to the effect that the SWP "dominates" WONAAC.

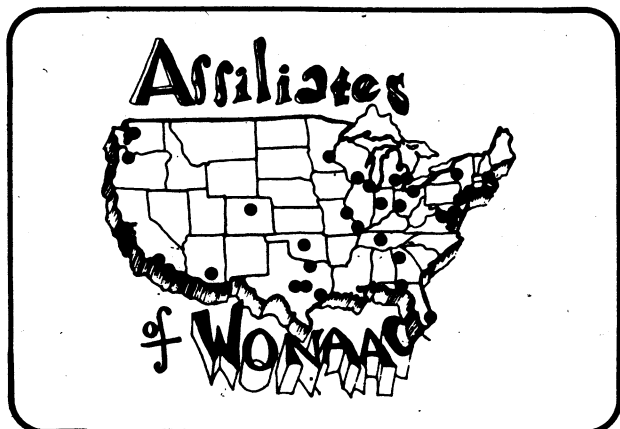
The proposals Weber and Zimmermann presented to the NCC are also reprinted in the Newsletter.

In addition, there is an article by WONAAC staff member Kipp Dawson on why lobbying is not an effective way to win repeal of the abortion laws. Dawson points out the dangers of placing faith in spineless legislators instead of in the power of women united in a mass struggle.

Other articles in the Newsletter report on new developments in fights against state abortion laws, such as the *Women v. Connecticut* suit, the overturning of the Shirley Johnson (Wheeler) conviction, and the response of women in Massachusetts to a proposed bill giving the "right to life" to fetuses.

You can subscribe to the Newsletter for \$3 for one year. Single copies cost 15 cents. Write to WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-1950.

— CINDY JAQUITH



WONAAC now has 35 affiliates

By DAN ROSENSHINE

ST. LOUIS, June 24 — The June 23-24 founding conference of Labor for Peace drew more than 1,200 delegates and observers to St. Louis. The conference, the largest labor gathering ever held against the war, passed a resolution for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

The conference was initiated this spring after three international union officers traveled to North Vietnam. The three were Clifton Caldwell, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Teamsters; and David Livingston, secretary-treasurer of the Distributive Workers of America.

Caldwell, Gibbons, and Livingston were joined by 40 other officers of international unions in issuing a call for the St. Louis conference. The 43 conference initiators were presidents, secretary-treasurers, and executive board members of 19 international unions.

Nine hundred-eighty-six of those in attendance were delegates designated by local unions, city and county central labor bodies, or international unions. Among the unions most represented were the United Auto Work-

Peace provided for establishing a permanent headquarters and staff to distribute educational material to unions and set up a speaker's bureau. A steering committee of 45 international union officers proposed by the conference sponsors was adopted.

The structure proposal stated, "The Steering Committee shall authorize the establishment of Labor for Peace bodies in localities, regions and organizations. Such subordinate bodies shall carry on the work of Labor for Peace in accordance with the policy statement adopted at the Conference. Membership in such bodies shall follow the pattern of National Labor

eration of Teachers proposed that the conference amend the sponsors' policy statement by calling for a one-day general work stoppage to protest the war and wage controls.

Mazey, from the chair, opposed this proposal. Instead of continuing the discussion, Mazey called for an immediate "straw vote." To his surprise, a majority of those who voted supported the amendment.

A debate continued between supporters and opponents of the amendment. Eighty delegates and observers who had formed a "rank-and-file caucus" attempted to develop a general, alternative program to that presented by the sponsoring committee. Unable to come to agreement on such a pro-

gram, they supported the work-stoppage proposal.

Conference sponsors Mazey and Harry Bridges (president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—ILWU) argued that a work stoppage could be called only through the unions themselves and would require majority support of members. They warned that a premature call for a work stoppage could result in a failure that would be a setback for the antiwar movement.

Mazey then stated that the inclusion of such a call would not be acceptable to the sponsors, who had drawn up a program for Labor for Peace based on a consensus among them-

tional Antiwar Conference in Los Angeles. Twenty-five sponsors for the conference were obtained. The L.A. conference, hosted by NPAC, will discuss proposals for mass antiwar demonstrations for the fall.

A previous labor antiwar conference, which formed the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace (LLAP), was held in 1967 and drew more than 500 delegates. It was addressed by Eugene McCarthy, who used the appearance to launch his 1968 presidential campaign. The LLAP then concentrated on supporting McCarthy and other liberal Democratic politicians.

This conference was twice as large as the LLAP meeting. Unlike the 1967 conference, this gathering was officially endorsed by a number of international unions—the UAW, AFSCME, Meat Cutters, UE, ILWU, Distributive Workers of America, Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, and the Furniture Workers.

The tone of the speeches given by many of the top union officials was sharp and categorical; many of them called for immediate withdrawal and condemned the destruction caused by U.S. bombing in Indochina. Local union officials made similar speeches from the floor.

The only dissenting voice from the immediate-withdrawal position was Harry Bridges. He favored calling for "a cease-fire first," but said that he would not vote against the sponsors' resolution.

There is no doubt that a formation like Labor for Peace, if it decided to concentrate on mobilizing working people in independent antiwar actions, could make a great contribution to the antiwar struggle. A number of speakers criticized the earlier LLAP for not having continued its work (speakers included some of the LLAP's initiators) and hailed the formation of Labor for Peace as the beginning of an enlarged and sustained labor antiwar organization.

But the activities Labor for Peace will carry out in addition to circulating educational material in the unions were never discussed at the conference. A number of the conference sponsors pointed to "dumping Nixon" as the immediate task of the labor and antiwar movements. On the other hand, the prospects for future participation in mass demonstrations were not discussed at all.

In view of the lack of concrete projections for independent labor antiwar activity in the coming months, the danger exists that the newly-founded Labor for Peace could go the way of its predecessor and be reduced to a campaign-support group for the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate.

The stated position of the conference—immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina—can be achieved only by mobilizing masses of workers, along with other sections of the population, in antiwar actions organized independently of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Such mass antiwar actions can unite supporters of various electoral perspectives, draw new forces into the movement, and build an independent movement powerful enough to force the U.S. out of Indochina.

Exactly what course of action Labor for Peace will pursue remains to be seen. Its electoral perspective, its relation to other sections of the antiwar movement, and the extent to which it will organize local bodies are all open questions.

But the fact that such a large and broad labor antiwar conference has been held can encourage more unions to take antiwar positions and give impetus to the work of antiwar committees within the unions. It also provides opportunities to gain union support for the July 21-23 National Antiwar Conference and for the August 5-9 and fall antiwar demonstrations.

1200 at Labor for Peace Conference

Unionists demand Out Now!



Opening session of Labor for Peace conference

Militant/Fred Halstead

ers (UAW), the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Teamsters, the Clothing Workers, the Meat Cutters, the United Electrical Workers (UE), and the Teachers.

The meeting overwhelmingly adopted a statement of policy and structure for Labor for Peace proposed by the conference sponsors.

The policy statement condemned the destruction in Indochina and linked the war to inflation, unemployment, and wage controls. It stated, "We demand the immediate withdrawal from Indochina of every American soldier, every gun, every plane, every warship and every dollar. . . .

"To achieve this goal, and to in-

for Peace and shall be open to delegates of local and regional organizations where such organizations have approved participation."

Speeches by Coretta Scott King and Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) hailed the formation of Labor for Peace.

Debate at conference

Several hours of discussion followed a report on the proposed program of Labor for Peace. Emil Mazey, who chaired the discussion, called upon both delegates and conference sponsors.

A debate took place when Steve Zelluck of the New Rochelle (N.Y.) Fed-

erated. He ruled that it would be out of order to vote on the amendment.

Fewer than 25 delegates finally voted against the sponsors' resolution. This included Zelluck and other supporters of the International Socialists, and supporters of the Workers League, who argued that a call for a Labor Party for the 1972 elections was the most important business before the conference.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign distributed literature to the delegates and sold 93 copies of *The Militant*.

Supporters of the National Peace Action Coalition passed out NPAC materials and talked to delegates, urging attendance at the July 21-23 Na-

By GERRY FOLEY

Taking advantage of the unfavorable reaction in the Catholic ghetto of Derry to the Official IRA's shooting William Best, a man from the area on leave from the British army, conservatives in the embattled city launched a campaign against the young militants on the grounds that they were "Communists." An "anti-Red" campaign was started by leading church figures almost immediately after Best was shot as a spy on May 19.

geous and honest way. Obviously, if the community turns against them, not just their reputations and careers are at stake, but their lives and freedom. At the same time, in their statement in the June issue of their paper, *Starry Plough*, the Derry Official republicans made it clear that they were real revolutionists and not acolytes of any bureaucratic system.

In many ways, Stalinism bears a similar relationship to the Russian revolution as Free Statism,

eventually come together to form a coordinating body for the whole area. . . . As far as we know there are no James Bonds or Mata Haris involved. So rest in peace, Sean and Martin, and if you hear strange noises in the night it's not the local neighbourhood spy going about his business; it's the faulty plumbing.

There is, of course, a much more serious side to all this. The Provos cannot really have hoped to convince the majority [of] people that we were trying to set up a network of spies. What they, like the others, hope to do is simply to spread a bit of mud about, to pin the label "Commies" on the Official Movement and thus make people distrust us. The latest Provo statement to try to do this was published in the "Journal" on May 9th. They accuse us of trying to set up "a Marxist State . . . a one-party State". They refer to "the Officials and their Red Counterparts". They end with a quotation from James Connolly.

We have no intention of running away from these allegations. There *are* Marxists in the Official Republican Movement. We DO want to overthrow capitalism. If, because of that, people want to call us "Reds", then so be it. As an Irish Socialist put it some years ago "I'd rather be called a Red by a rat, than a rat by a Red". Connolly was a Marxist. He said so. He proclaimed it in print and from platforms and was, as a result, denounced from every pulpit and right-wing platform in Dublin. Those who sprinkle their statements so liberally with quotations from Connolly and simultaneously attack Marxism distort his beliefs and defile the memory of the man. He deserves better.

Connolly was a Marxist because he understood, as a result of long experience in the trade union movement in Britain, Ireland and America, that only the working class can lead any oppressed nation to real independence, that all other classes will *inevitably* sell out, that "freedom" under any other class means exploitation under another guise. The Twenty-Six Counties is eloquent testimony to the validity of that belief.

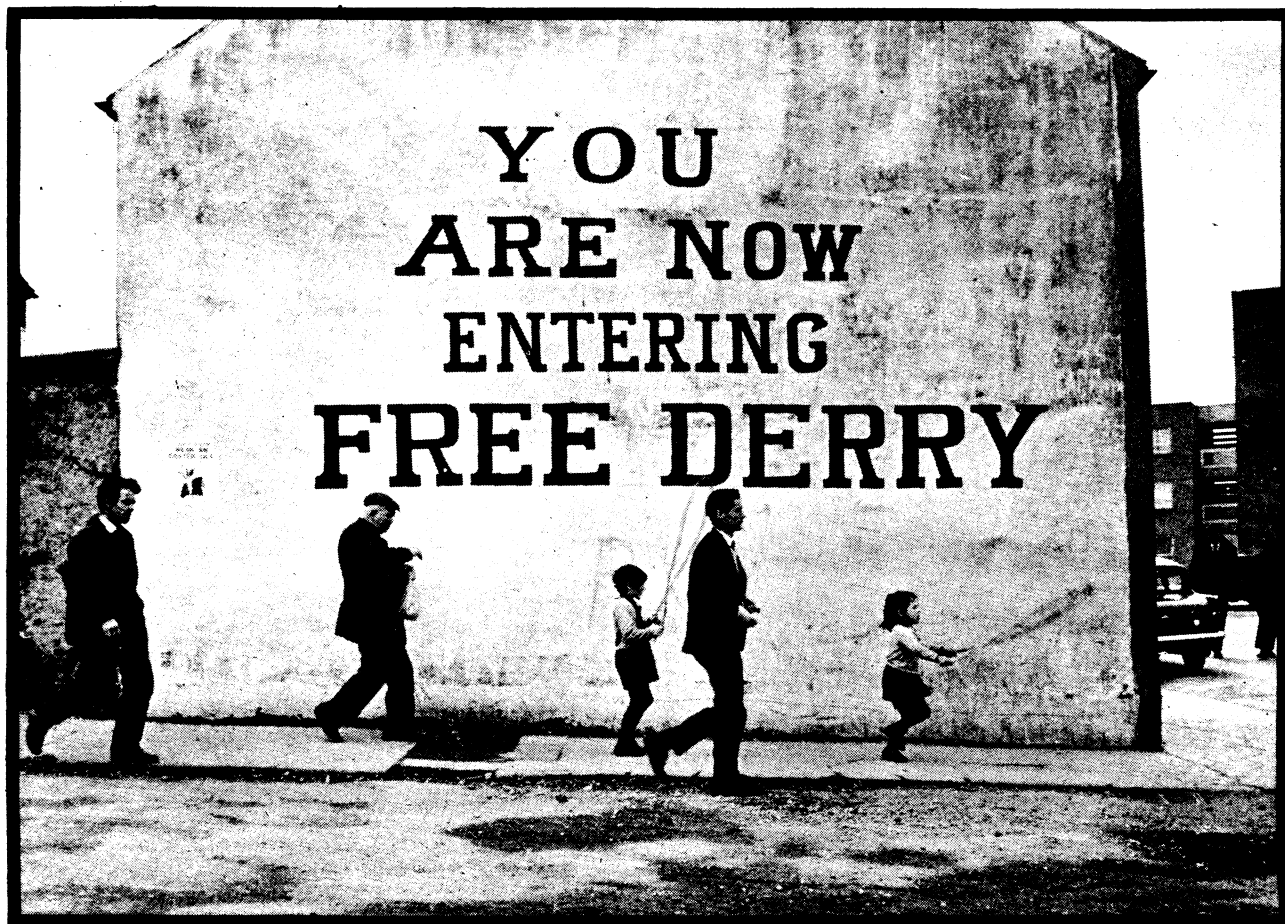
If the case for revolutionary, socialist Republicanism, as expounded by Connolly in "Labour in Irish History", "Socialism made Easy" and other works, was examined honestly and objectively by the working class people of this area, then few, we believe, would see any reason to reject it. But it rarely is examined honestly and objectively. Right-wingers won't allow that. As soon as Connolly's ideas are applied, as opposed to insulting semi-mystical incantations of his name, the hullabaloo about "Commies", "Reds under the bed" and Russian spies is started, and people get frightened and run for the cover of a more comfortable ideology.

Our opponents don't argue against our politics. They can't. They just shout scare words and hope that they will do the trick. When have you ever heard a Provisional or a member of the S.D.L.P. [Social Democratic and Labor Party], or the Nationalist Party actually try to prove in straightforward terms that we are wrong when we say that capitalism cannot solve the unemployment problem. That under capitalism rents *inevitably* increase, small farmers are *inevitably* forced off the land, wages are *inevitably* devalued by rising prices. That, while capitalism exists, there *cannot* be an end to sectarianism? Never. Because they cannot answer our politics.

We stand for the defence of the area and for the immediate interests of the people within it. We see this as a step on the way to the overthrow of both Irish States and the creation of a united socialist Ireland. By a "Socialist Ireland" we do not mean a state modelled on Russia. Brezhnev and Kosygin have as much relation to the ideals of the 1917 revolution as Jack Lynch and Des O'Malley have to the ideals of the 1916 Rising. We mean an Ireland in which the wealth of the country would not pour out to bulge the bank accounts of Canadian mining firms, in which the rents of houses would not be determined by the inflated interest rates which local authorities, North and South, pay to foreign banks, in which people would not be unemployed because it is unprofitable to invest in particular areas (like Derry), in which the wealth created by human labour would be controlled by those who do the labour. And we will achieve this, as sure as the sun rises tomorrow. There will some day be a socialist Ireland, not because it is written in the stars but because there will always be those who will see through the fog of distortion, lies and scare-words and recognize where the real interest of the mass of the people lie. That is what we are working towards. That, ultimately, is why we involved ourselves in the military struggle against the British Army, why we wish to see the people organized street by street, why we are involved in co-ops., and in trade unions. And we are going to win. Watch us. Or, better still, join now and help us.

Irish answer red-baiting

'I'd rather be called a Red by a rat, than a rat by a Red'



Right-wingers labeled the attempt of the Official IRA to set up elected street committees to run the Catholic ghetto in Derry "a Russian idea."

Only a few years ago, Derry was as conservative as any small, isolated Irish town. Communists were accused of committing terrible crimes halfway around the world. In Derry, however, they really only existed as mythological creatures useful for livening up a dull sermon or frightening naughty children.

But after the oppressed nationalist community rose up in rebellion against Unionist and British terror in 1969 and 1970, communists suddenly seemed to be everywhere, all kinds of communists. Most of those who called themselves socialists were in the Official republican movement and smaller, specifically socialist groups. But in many areas, the Provisional IRA also included social radicals, such as Maoists and various ex-members of the People's Democracy group. Close relationships between People's Democracy and supporters of the Provisional IRA developed in a broad protest group called "The Northern Resistance Movement."

Two years before, such an alliance would have scandalized both the Provisionals, who split from the Official IRA on the grounds that it was "Communist-dominated," and People's Democracy itself, which was a rather "purist" socialist group that regarded nationalism as reactionary.

At the same time, people of moderate to conservative, and even very conservative, views remained in both the Provisional and Official IRA. They worked together with socialists ranging from the rather stuffy and bureaucratic members of the Irish Communist Party to Maoists and Trotskyists.

This unity of the most diverse political views in the fighting organizations of the nationalist people is the most eloquent testimony to the moral power of the Irish cause and to the revolutionary aspirations held, on one level or another, by the majority of the Irish people.

The Official IRA in Derry responded to the "anti-Communist" campaign against them in a coura-

geous and honest way. Obviously, if the community turns against them, not just their reputations and careers are at stake, but their lives and freedom. At the same time, in their statement in the June issue of their paper, *Starry Plough*, the Derry Official republicans made it clear that they were real revolutionists and not acolytes of any bureaucratic system.

Official IRA statement

When reactionaries run out of arguments they start to shout "Red". We are seeing this in Derry at the moment. The "Red scare", the last refuge of the political bankrupt, is being used in an attempt to discredit the Official Republican Movement. Street Committees are a Russian idea, howled the Provos [Provisional IRA] in a recent press Statement. The Officials want neighbour to spy on neighbour and so on and so on.

Now we would not bother to answer such arguments if we were not aware that this type of mindless nonsense has worked before in Irish history. In the last general election in the Free State, Fianna Fail managed to convince quite a few people that the harmless, timid Brendan Corish [leader of the Irish Labour party] was a blood-stained Bolshevik in disguise. In the thirties Republicans in the South were hounded by Government propaganda which suggested that the I.R.A. had been sent specially by either Satan or Stalin to subvert Catholic Ireland and drag it, screaming, into some nightmare socialistic hell.

Some people believed it, some people will believe anything, if they are told it often enough, so let's get it straight now. When we advocated street committees we did not mean that neighbour should spy on neighbour. . . .

We explained what we meant by Street Committees in the last issue of "Starry Plough" and in Press statements. They were local committees for people, elected street by street, who would look after the affairs of that street and which, we hoped, would

World Outlook

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

JULY 7, 1972

New Zealand

Socialists defend their right to be in Labour Party

By Keith Locke

Wellington

The Socialist Action League (SAL) is organising a big defence campaign following a decision by the National Executive of the New Zealand Labour party that "membership of the League is incompatible with membership of the Party."

The right-wing Labour party leadership began its witch-hunt immediately following the party's national conference in Wellington May 8-11. At the conference the SAL launched a "Socialists for Labour Campaign" for this year's general election.

The campaign is in support of the Labour party as the political arm of the New Zealand labour movement, but on the basis of a socialist programme and opposition to the right-wing leaders who have betrayed the interests of the party's working-class supporters.

The socialist election effort will be tied closely with union struggles and independent mass movements against the Indochina war, the 1973 South African rugby tour, and the abortion laws, campaigning on their demands.

Most major newspapers reported the socialist campaign and the SAL intervention in the party conference.

The May 11 Christchurch *Press* reported that "the young and militant members of the Socialist Action League—and in a more moderate form, university delegates—have made it clear that they are not happy

with the 'conservatives' leading the party. . . .

"The Socialist Action League is dismissed, in private, by a senior member of the leadership as 'lunatic fringe,' but the league has been busily distributing its literature to any delegate who will accept it—and there are quite a few. . . .

"Unimportant as the league might be, its thoughts echoed in the conference today." The report went on to explain the debate on women's liberation issues, the war, apartheid, and social welfare.

Delegates were very angry about Nixon's blockade of Haiphong, which was announced during the conference, and greeted a special motion condemning the escalation with sustained, standing applause. There was obviously great enthusiasm for action on the question, and many delegates signed a petition supporting the July 14 antiwar mobilisation. The party leadership, however, bureaucratically prevented a special motion in support of the mobilisation from reaching the floor, and ruled out of order an addendum to a remit that would have committed the party to July 14.

The mood of the conference was more radical than it has been for many years and there were heated debates over New Zealand's relations with apartheid South Africa and the abortion laws. A conference of about 100 of the party's youth held just prior to the main conference passed

motions in support of the July 14 antiwar mobilisation, mass protests against the coming South African rugby tour, the abortion law repeal movement, and nationalisation under workers' control of all basic industries. It also condemned the party leadership's complicity in the smashing of the New Zealand Seamen's Union.

The futile attempt of the party leadership to stop these motions from coming to the attention of the party conference was countered by one delegate, on behalf of the Socialists for Labour Campaign, issuing a leaflet listing the motions passed by the youth. These leaflets were on delegates' tables when the party president, Bill Rowling, announced that the motions had been eliminated from the official youth report.

The party leaders have now clamped down on the developing socialist opposition to their procapitalist policies. The June 11 *Sunday Herald* explained it like this:

"It appears that the activities of the Socialist Action League at the recent Labour Party conference—when they distributed leaflets pledging a 'Socialists for Labour Campaign' but added some nasty swipes at the 'bankruptcy of the Kirk leadership'—angered the party leadership and brought to a head a desire to curb the activities of some on the radical fringe of the party." The leaders also feared that the SAL "might associate the party with extremist ideas and frighten middle-of-the-road voters away."

Though the defence against the proscription has just begun, some party branches have already sent letters of protest. Prominent persons who have already signed a petition defending the right of SALers "to be members of the Labour Party and put forward their particular views" include five Labour candidates for this year's general election. □



Christchurch, N.Z., antiwar demonstration of 11,000 on July 30, 1971. Labour leaders prevented party conference from considering support to July 14, 1972, antiwar mobilization.

South Africa

Protests continue; students charged under 'riot' law

"The violent police reaction to recent antiapartheid demonstrations by white, English-speaking students was apparently a cold-blooded political decision by the government calculated to provoke a confrontation," wrote London *Observer* correspondent Stanley Uys in a dispatch printed in the June 12 *Washington Post*.

"South Africa has lurched to the right," he added. "After dabbling in various image-building exercises, the government has realized that it is better to be ugly and strong than pretty (if that is the word) and weak. Vorster's remark [in support of police violence against students peacefully demonstrating against apartheid] showed that he no longer cares what the world thinks about him."

Vorster has made it clear that his unleashing of the police was not the end of his war against student dissent. On June 11 sixty-two students from the University of Witwatersrand were charged under an "antiriot" law. They could receive prison terms of up to two years and fines of up to \$520. Previously, white students arrested during demonstrations were usually held for a few hours and released on low bail.

Vorster also announced that laws would be passed next year ensuring that all foreign students entering the country would be individually screened by the parliament.

But the government's hard line has not destroyed the student protest movement. On June 9, for example,

the entire staff of the University of Capetown joined a mass meeting of students called to protest police attacks on demonstrators. The staff also decided to draft a petition calling for support to the students and circulate it on a countrywide basis.

In parliament Japie Basson, a leader of the opposition United party, called the June 2 police attack on demonstrating Capetown students "disorder committed by the people who are supposed to keep order in South Africa."

The June 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Dr. Alex Boraine, moderator of South Africa's Methodist church, had called upon the students to continue their protests, saying that the very existence of the uni-

versities was at stake.

The South African white population appears to be split as never before, the English-speaking section favoring some reform of the apartheid system, the Afrikaaners remaining intransigent. But that clash comes in the context of a fresh upsurge of the Black movement in all southern Africa—a new level of struggle reflected in the months-long strike in Namibia, the increasing student and worker agitation in South Africa, the Malagasy general strike, and the mass mobilizations in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) that forced the British Pearce Commission to veto a plan that would have ended the disagreement between Great Britain and the racist Ian Smith regime. □

Interview with Chinese Trotskyist leader

The 'Great Cultural Revolution' and the fall of Lin Piao

[The following interview with the veteran Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse was obtained by Igor Cornelissen and published in the January 29 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*. A translation of the first portion of the interview appeared in the June 30 issue of *World Outlook*.]

Stopping only for innumerable cups of invigorating Chinese tea, Peng Shu-tse and I moved rapidly through the last fifty years of Chinese history. The 1920s and the almost complete physical liquidation of the Communist party were already behind us. Slowly we were coming to the question of how the party of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, even though it stayed loyal to Moscow's directives, was able to take power in 1949 and smash the Kuomintang throughout mainland China. No more than in the previous article can I give a full account of Peng's interpretations and analyses. Peng belongs to a generation that was not content with giving short, superficial answers. Thus, when I asked him about the cultural revolution, he imperturbably began with 1957. Even his wife, Pi-lan, who must have been well acquainted with this broad approach, thought that he meant to say 1967. But no, if you want to understand a development, you have to take in at least the ten preceding years. O. K., first, how and why did the CCP take power in 1949?

Peng. "That is not only a very important but also a very complicated question. For many years, the period of the Long March, the CCP had been driven into the countryside. In 1937 and after they supported the Kuomintang. In those years the most important thing was the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Because of these objective conditions, the situation in China became more favorable for the Communists.

"After the war against Japan, the Kuomintang was completely rotten with corruption and found itself paralyzed. Chiang was not exactly in the best position to launch an attack on the Communists. Truman sent Marshall to China to try to persuade Chiang to make a compromise, but the Kuomintang leader refused to make even one concession to the CCP; he did not even want to concede anything to the bourgeois parties. So the Marshall trip failed.

"Most importantly of all, the American imperialists were unable to send troops to China. The soldiers wanted to go home and they made that very clear. When Truman also cut off his lavish aid to the Kuomintang, the Chiang regime fell apart. The CCP took advantage of the situation to launch a counterattack. These are the reasons for the victory of the CCP in 1949. *Except for the Japanese invasion, except for the second world war, the CCP would not have taken power.*"

I found that a very negative estimation of the policy of the CCP and its practical activity. Peng also did not feel—as some historians do—that the CCP "took" power in 1949 against the wishes of the Russian Communists.

The historians who hold this view believe, for instance, that the Chinese Communists were largely isolated from Moscow in the 1930s and more and more independently developed a political line of their own.

Peng. "Politically, the CCP was never isolated. They always had radio contact with the outside world. They could receive shortwave messages from Moscow. There is no question of their having an independent political line in the 1930s. They did shift back and forth from left to right (as is shown, among other things, by the changes in leadership) but these shifts never had a principled basis."

Peng's wife, Peng Pi-lan, added another piece of evidence—the Sian Incident in 1937, when Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped and finally released by the Communists themselves. The result was that a temporary halt was called to the civil war between the Communists and the Kuomintang and a common front against the Japanese arose. The Sian Incident has never been fully clarified.

According to Pi-lan, in 1937 Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai were determined to liquidate Chiang Kai-shek, since after all he was their archenemy. *"But Moscow sent a telegram signed by Stalin that said that Chiang had to be released and that an attempt had to be made to reach a compromise with him so that they could fight together against the Japanese. The party leaders were forced to obey. I was in Shanghai at the time myself. All the party members and sympathizers were overjoyed at Chiang Kai-shek's capture. They did not understand why he was released later."*

Peng. "The victory of the CCP in 1949 has to be credited to unusual historical circumstances—the Japanese occupation and the second world war. A contributing factor was that the Russians occupied Manchuria in 1945, seized the modern weapons of the Japanese and turned them over to the CCP, and also organized the Fourth Army of Lin Piao. Thanks to these weapons, the Chinese Communists were able to build a modern army. Furthermore, Russian specialists were sent into this army. But in some provinces, Chiang Kai-shek's forces fled in 1948-49 before the Chinese Communists arrived.

"Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, the man who has now taken Lin Piao's place, admitted this once, saying: 'We ourselves were completely dumbfounded.'"

Peng considers the CCP still to be a Stalinist party in which there is no democracy.

"No one can question a decision by the leaders. As soon as you criticize Mao's view, you are purged." To be sure, in the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Chinese views (the attacks on revisionism) seemed correct. But, according to Peng, the recent developments around the India-Pakistan conflict—to say nothing of the position the Chinese-oriented Indonesian CP took toward Sukarno—show that both Moscow and Peking

"have taken the same opportunistic standpoints."

Now let's come to the cultural revolution. What was its significance?

Peng. "You have to ask: Why did Mao need the cultural revolution? The fact is that at a certain point he was in a minority in the Political Bureau. In 1957-60, in a completely personalistic and dictatorial way, Mao launched a campaign for agricultural cooperatives. He forced the peasants to join them, just as Stalin did around 1929. This resulted not only in mas-



Red guards marching through Peking in 1966 with portrait of Mao Tsetung. Through the 'Cultural Revolution,' Mao attempted to use the Red Guards as an instrument to bureaucratically regain control over sections of the Communist Party and government.

sive resistance among the peasants but also in dissatisfaction among large strata of the rest of the population (workers, students, and intellectuals).

"This resistance became apparent in 1957 when the Chinese leadership was forced to begin the 'hundred flowers' campaign. This liberalization coincided roughly with the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

"But the campaign took on more and more the character of resistance to the entire party bureaucracy. In Wuhan, for example, a huge opposition developed. Mao was forced to suppress all opposition.

"As usual, this left opposition was portrayed as a 'right deviation.' Hundreds of thousands of people disappeared from the youth movement, but the feeling of dissatisfaction continued to exist, especially among the intellectuals.

"Mao understood very clearly that he had to take measures to quiet the peasantry. In 1958, he started another big campaign, the campaign for the so-called people's communes. All small private ownership of land was eliminated. The free market was done away with. Mao also launched the 'Great Leap Forward,' the experiment in which millions of people were forced

to produce steel in their backyards. This was a horrendous failure.

"As a result, there was a further change in Mao's position. Now not only the peasants opposed him but the party leadership, at least the majority of it, opposed him. In July-August 1959, Mao was forced to call a special meeting of the party Central Committee. Minister of Defense Peng Te-huai opened the meeting with a sharp attack on Mao, and he was supported by the chief of staff of the army and other members of the Central Committee.

"The outcome of the meeting, however, was that Peng Te-huai and his immediate associates were ousted from their posts. But behind the scenes, Liu Shao-chi, the vice chairman of the party, as well as Marshal Chou Te had supported Peng. Mao's position had also been weakened by the secret speech that Khrushchev gave about Stalin in 1956. Liu and Teng Hsiao-ping, the general secretary of the party, were in agreement with Khrushchev, at least as regards his criticism of Stalin. Mao on the other hand did not agree with Khrushchev but at that time he could not openly say so.

"All these factors together determined the situation in the party in those years.

"Mao was forced to take a step backward. In 1959, he had to give up his position as head of state to Liu Shao-chi. Many concessions were made in the areas of education and the communes, and the people were given more freedom to express themselves. The opposition to Mao continued to exist. Pamphlets were even circulated demanding his resignation. The cultural revolution began in November 1965, when Lin Piao wrote an article on this theme in the army paper. He directed his fire against all opposition tendencies.

"It is important to keep in mind that Lin Piao had supported Mao earlier, when Liu Shao-chi came to the fore as the head of state. *Lin Piao saw this as a threat to his position as Mao's heir.* Mao knew very well that almost the entire intelligentsia supported Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, who in turn controlled the party apparatus. On the local level, in Canton, Sinkiang, Manchuria, Shanghai, and many provinces the party opposed Mao.

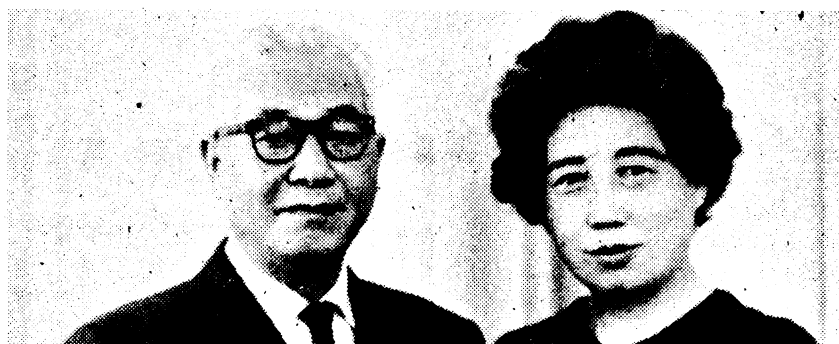
"According to the statutes, at that time Mao should have opened a dis-

cussion and called a congress. But he knew that that would have meant his downfall. Therefore, Mao had to use the army, but he could not rely on the loyalty of all the units. So, he resorted to using the high-school and university students (as the Red Guards). In fact, power was then taken out of the hands of the party and even of the government.

"Although many party leaders were attacked, they still held their posts.

we don't know, but politically he is dead. Wang Yen-chung and all his followers have disappeared.

"For months I heard him every day on Radio Peking, since I follow it very closely. But since mid-September I have heard nothing more about him. A lot of months have gone by. It goes without saying that the party members and the military want to know what is going on, but nothing has been disclosed, nothing explained.



Peng Shu-tse and Peng Pi-lan.

Then Mao ordered the army to support the Red Guards. The conflict that followed was reminiscent in some places of a civil war. In Kwangsi province, several hundred persons, probably several thousand, were killed. Many houses were destroyed. The situation took an especially dangerous turn when the Red Guards also attacked some army commanders (in July 1967), as in Wuhan, where the officer corps was split.

"At that time, the Cultural Revolution Group—whose core was made up of Chen Po-ta (Mao's secretary), Chiang Ching (Mao's wife), Kang Sheng (a Politburo member) and Wang Li (director of the Central Committee's propaganda department)—felt that the army endangered the goals of the cultural revolution. This group wanted to launch an attack on the army leadership. But Lin Piao remained loyal to the military command.

"After this Mao Tsetung was forced to make concessions to the army leaders. Mao purged the 'ultra-leftists,' such as Wang Li, the writer Chi Pen-yu, and also the deputy chief of staff of the army, Yang Cheng-wu. This part of the Cultural Revolution Group was purged under the pressure of the army command.

"All this shows how great the contradiction was between Lin Piao and Mao Tsetung. Facing the pressure of the military leaders, it was primarily Mao who made the concessions. In the period after 1967, Revolutionary Committees arose in almost all localities and were controlled by the military. This conflict between the army and the party became permanent and through the defeat of Mao's cultural revolution the party was also wrecked. Power in the country was now unquestionably in the hands of the army. In this situation, in August 1970, Chen Po-ta was purged, no one knows how or by whom.

"Lin Piao and his army controlled the entire party. At the beginning of 1968, Lin Piao replaced General Yang Cheng-wu, the deputy chief of staff, with Wang Yen-chung from Canton. From the moment he took this post, Wang began placing his closest associates in important positions, for example Wu Fa-hsien, the minister of the air force, who also became a member of the Political Bureau. The same thing happened in the navy and in the logistics sections. Everywhere followers of Wang Yen-chung turned up in important posts."

The question now is: What happened to Lin Piao?

"What happened to him physically,

A big development is being kept secret.

"In my opinion, the purge of the Lin Piao group means that Mao's own position has been enormously weakened. Lin Piao was Mao's heir. That was even emphatically declared in the party statutes. In the party's highest body, the present leadership of the Political Bureau, Mao still has the support only of Chou En-lai. The other members—Chen Po-ta, Lin Piao, and Kang Sheng—are dead or purged.

"How was Mao able to defeat Lin Piao? In my opinion, because he had the support of Chou En-lai. Their common interest was to preserve the party in order to be able to control the army. Of course, Chou En-lai does not have mass support in the army but he knows enough commanders to have an influence. It is important in this connection that Chou was head of the party Military Committee before 1949.

"The most important man in the army, and perhaps in all of China, in my opinion, is now Marshal Yeh Chien-ying (member of the Central Committee since 1945, chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army in 1945-47, and a member of the Political Bureau since 1967). In practice, Yeh Chien-ying is acting as minister of defense.

"When you make a quick survey of the situation, you get the following picture. After the purge of the Lin Piao group, the army has become weaker. Yeh Chien-ying does not have the same kind of influence in the army as a Chou Te (commander in chief 1946-54), a Lin Piao, or a Chen Yi (recently deceased) had. The army may break up into many factions; it may disintegrate.

"The same kind of picture is presented by the party. No one has any authority. How can the members have any confidence? No one trusts anyone. I think that many cadres in the army and the party are demoralized. Therefore, it is my opinion that a militarily dangerous situation has arisen. I think that the trend in China now is toward political revolution; there is no other way out."

Cornelissen. "But since the military situation is dangerous for China, who is the greatest threat, America or the Soviet Union?"

Peng. "That is very hard to say; I don't know. The question is not how a war against China might begin, but how it will end."

Cornelissen. "After a revolution, could you and your wife return?"

Peng. "If it was a real revolution, yes." □

Soviet Union

New information on the frame-up of Bukovsky

New information on the case of Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky is provided by issue number 24 of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, which has recently become available in the West. The issue, dated March 5, reports the contents of a petition in behalf of Bukovsky, who in January was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years exile.

The petition was submitted to the prosecutor general of the Soviet Union by Bukovsky's mother, N.I. Bukovskaya. Besides pointing out the numerous legal violations in the course of the trial, Bukovskaya brought to light information surrounding the testimony of Hugo Sebrechts.

Sebrechts is the Belgian citizen to whom Bukovsky allegedly passed "anti-Soviet documents of a slanderous nature." His testimony was one of the principal pieces of "evidence" used to convict Bukovsky. (See the trial transcript in the June 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)

Bukovskaya revealed that Sebrechts, after returning to Belgium, had written a letter dated April 19, 1971, to the prosecutor general of the Soviet Union. In the letter, Sebrechts repudiated the testimony he had given while being held by the KGB in Moscow. He stated that his testimony was obtained under "physical and psychological pressure." This letter was not introduced at Bukovsky's trial.



Vladimir Bukovsky

The *Chronicle* also describes the hearing held in response to Bukovsky's appeal to a higher court. The proceedings took place February 23 in the Superior Court of the USSR. Despite protests and petitions from abroad and from Soviet citizens pointing out the legal violations and the outright fraudulence of the evidence used to convict Bukovsky, the hearing was brief and general.

The court refused Bukovsky's request to speak in his own behalf. Defense attorney V. Ya. Shveisky asked that Bukovsky be acquitted. The prosecutor, Vorobev, briefly reviewed the charges, and the court upheld the conviction. On February 25, Bukovsky was transferred to Vladimir prison.

Meanwhile, persons associated with the Bukovsky case are being victimized. Aleksei Tumerman, who released the transcript of the trial to the West, is now confined in a psychiatric hospital. Recent information tells of the harassment of Soviet novelist Vladimir Maksimov, who had employed Bukovsky as a literary secretary.

Yuri Glazov and Yuri Titov, two Soviet intellectuals who recently emigrated, held a news conference in Rome May 30 to report that Maksimov "was in great danger in Moscow." They said that Maksimov was about to be expelled from the Writers Union because he refused to repudiate his novel *The Seven Days of Creation*, which the Writers Union condemns as a "dangerous transmitter of bourgeois ideology." Glazov and Titov expressed fears that Maksimov would be arrested and confined in a mental institution.

Information in issue number 24 of the *Chronicle* would seem to support these fears. It reports that at the end of January Maksimov was summoned to the office of V. Ilin, secretary of the Moscow division of the Writers Union. Ilin tried to persuade Maksimov to write a "renunciation-confession" for *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in connection with his novel, which was published abroad.

Maksimov refused. Several days later, according to the *Chronicle*, he was called before a medical commission of "psychiatric experts," who ruled that Maksimov's psychiatric state had taken a turn for the worse. □

Amnesty International makes appeal for Pyotr Grigorenko

Amnesty International has asked supporters of civil liberties to write the Soviet government, requesting that Major General Pyotr Grigorenko be released from forced confinement in a psychiatric hospital.

Grigorenko has been held since May 1969 as the result of his efforts to defend the rights of Crimean Tatars. "As far as we know," the organization stated in its June newsletter, "this is one of the longest continuous periods of confinement in a psychiatric hospital that a dissident in the USSR has ever undergone."

A commission was scheduled to rule some time in June on Grigorenko's further confinement.

The newsletter reported that a member of the Amnesty International staff had been able to speak by telephone with Grigorenko's wife. She said that she had last seen him on April 27, and that he had then appeared to be in reasonably good health. Earlier, Grigorenko had been reported ill as the result of brutal methods used to force him to abandon a hunger strike. □

Vietnam

U.S. bombing near dikes could bring catastrophe to Vietnamese civilians

Ever since U.S. imperialism began the systematic bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, there have been fears that it would eventually undertake the destruction of the dikes that protect the country from flooding if other means failed to force the Vietnamese to surrender. The massive escalation of the air war begun by Nixon in April indicates that the danger of such a murderous attempt is now greater than ever before.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has, in fact, charged that U.S. bombs have repeatedly struck the dike network since April—charges blandly denied by the U.S. military. Nguyen Thanh Le, spokesman for the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks, told a news conference June 8 that between April 10 and May 24 a total of 580 bombs have been dropped on both river and maritime dikes.

There is now increasing evidence that Nixon is planning to flood North Vietnam and that he might be able to accomplish this even without ordering direct attacks on the dike system.

The Plain of Tonkin would periodically be submerged were it not for the fact that the Vietnamese peasants since the Middle Ages have built up an intricate network of dikes. One system is built up along the Red River; a second system, more or less perpendicular to the first, is built up across the plain to block flooding if one section of the primary system breaks; finally, there are coastal dikes that prevent coastland flooding during typhoons. Altogether, there are 4,000 kilometers of dikes, which must be constantly kept up if the crops and lives of some 15,000,000 inhabitants of the plain are to be protected.

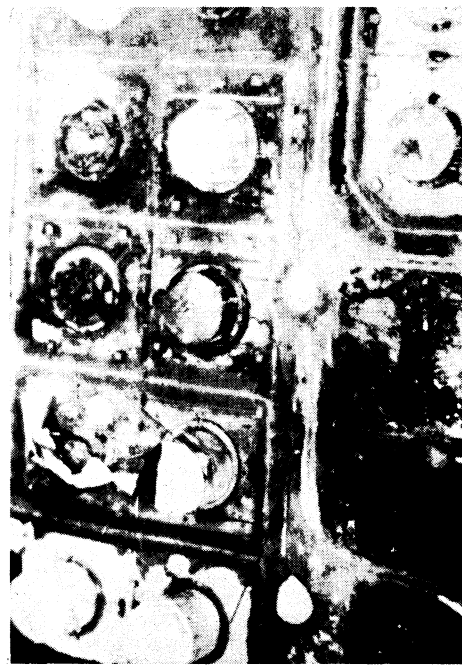
A series of strategically selected breaches during the rainy season, noted the French geographer Yves Lacoste in the June 7-8 issue of *Le Monde*, could inundate virtually the entire plain. "It is very probable that this catastrophe would cause a greater number of deaths than the exploding of several atomic bombs on the Plain of Tonkin."

When U.S. bombing began in 1965, a civilian army of some 200,000 men and women was formed to patrol the dikes along the branches of the Red River, looking for ruptures. Many foreign observers, including *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury in 1966, saw firsthand the effects of U.S. air strikes against the dikes. Unimpeachable evidence (including photographs and film) of such destruction was presented to the Bertrand

Russell International War Crimes Tribunal in 1967.

The Johnson administration gave serious consideration to a plan to combine bombing of the dike system with an all-out bombing of the transport system to prevent foodstuffs from reaching North Vietnam from China. The plan was rejected. Defense Secretary McNamara explained why in a memorandum on May 16, 1967: "There may be a limit beyond which many Americans and most of the world would not permit the United States to go."

This does not mean that the dikes were not bombed. They were, but only on a limited scale. The joint chiefs of staff never liked this restriction,



Aerial view of petroleum storage tanks bombed near Hanoi.

as the Pentagon Papers revealed. They argued for a removal of restraints on bombing Hanoi and Haiphong ("with the expected increase in civilian casualties to be accepted as militarily justified and necessary") and for the systematic bombing of the dikes and dams.

Actually, the United States used its bombing of the dikes in the summers of 1965, 1966, and 1967 to perfect a tactic intended to make possible a rupture of the dikes without ever requiring a direct hit. This technique was described by Lacoste in a report to the Russell Tribunal and summarized in *Le Monde*: "Very large bombs are dropped, not directly on the dike but some distance away, on the alluvial base above which the river

flows. The enormous holes thus caused have a jolting and undermining effect that can result in a full discharge of the river's force onto the plain, and not simply a spilling over of a portion of its water. This tactic, which offers the 'advantage' of not appearing to actually hit the dike while actually being infinitely more destructive, is completed by a series of raids in which pellet bombs are dumped on the workers who have rushed to the scene to repair the damage."

Unlike the use of nuclear weapons, this tactic has the advantage of causing an unbearable catastrophe without Nixon ever having to give a direct order; he could deny any responsibility and blame the result on a series of "natural accidents." The responsibility might even be laid at the doorstep of the North Vietnamese themselves: If they had only spent more energy looking after their dikes and less on fighting, it would never have happened.

Nixon has lifted the restrictions on bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. Will he give the joint chiefs a green light on the dikes? They are known to favor doing so. And with the fear of direct intervention by the Soviet Union and China diminishing, the least that can be said is that such a go-ahead signal seems less remote than ever.

Nixon has not made any effort to hide the fact that he is holding this option open. Porter recalled that on April 30 Nixon was asked about the dikes and dams. "His answer, carefully phrased, could be interpreted both as a warning to Hanoi and a trial balloon at home. First he called the dikes and dams 'strategic targets,' indicating his acceptance of the joint chiefs' doctrine that they are legitimate targets. He went on to say that bombing the dikes and dams could cause 'an enormous number of civilian casualties' and that this was something which 'we need to avoid' and also 'something we believe is not needed.' But he did not rule out such attacks at some future time."

Less than two weeks later, following serious setbacks to the South Vietnamese puppet army, U.S. bombers knocked out a number of dikes in the southern provinces and a section of one protecting Hanoi itself.

Was this only a warning? Perhaps. But these "warnings" are continuing. And the waters held back by the dikes will be peaking between July and October. And Nixon's options in Vietnam are running out. □

Argentina

Students, workers, strike in Mar del Plata

Mar del Plata, an Argentine coastal city 400 kilometers south of Buenos Aires, "was totally paralyzed and occupied by military and police forces because of a general strike by workers and students that took place without incident," according to an Associated Press dispatch in the June 16 issue of the New York daily *El Diario-La Prensa*.

"The strike was prepared by the students, who were demanding freedom for five of their comrades. The trade unions of the workers joined the protest. Four of the jailed students have already been freed, but the strike went ahead anyway."

Student unrest in the city has been on the increase since the murder last December of the student Susana Filler when rightists attacked a peaceful assembly of students. □

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Portugal

Lisbon students protest war, police attack

Some fifty students and seventeen policemen were injured at the University of Lisbon when police attempted to break up a meeting May 16. Police invaded the Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences without authorization from institute authorities in an effort to stop a meeting of students who were demanding educational reforms, according to Agence France-Presse.

"According to certain eyewitness accounts, professors were beaten and several students jumped out of windows in order to flee police dogs that

had been turned loose.

"The students had demonstrated last week against the wars carried out by their own government in Africa, as well as against the North American escalation in Vietnam."

Following the incident provoked by the police, the council of professors decided to respond by protests, the students went on strike the next day and the director of the institute, Professor Cruz Vidal, sent a report protesting the police action to the minister of national education. □

By CINDY JAQUITH

When the New York state legislature passed the most liberal abortion law in the country in 1970, many women concluded that the struggle for the right to abortion had been won—at least in New York. So it came as a shock when, on April 16, New Yorkers witnessed a demonstration of more than 10,000 people demanding that the state make abortions illegal again.

On May 10, the New York state

the women's movement best organize to win repeal of all anti-abortion laws?

The national women's abortion conference, called by WONAAC for July 15-16 in New York, will discuss these questions. This conference takes on added importance because of the challenge the right wing is posing at this time.

The near success of the anti-abortion offensive dashed many illusions that the right to abortion was safe in New York and that the so-called "right-to-life" groups could simply be

can presidential candidates have taken a stand against women's right to abortion. McGovern, the leading Democratic contender, has retreated from his initial claim that he supported abortion.

Both the church and the state support restrictive abortion laws because they help keep women oppressed, tied to their traditional roles in the family. By demanding the right to control their own bodies, women are rejecting the concept that their only role is to bear and care for children. Thus, they

church officialdom must be exposed for foisting its religious views on the rest of the population. Women must also expose the Democrats and Republicans who make the laws that prevent women from controlling their lives.

Democrats and Republicans

The Democratic and Republican parties have stood in the way of every reform women have demanded, from the time of the suffrage movement to today. Just as women had to organize massive struggles to force these parties to grant protective labor laws and the vote, women today are finding they must launch a massive campaign to win the right to abortion.

The Democrats and Republicans in the state legislatures and in Congress listen only to power. They listened in New York in 1970 when women built a demonstration of 3,000 to demand the right to abortion. And the same legislators paid attention this spring when the New York "right-to-life" forces, with Nixon's blessing, mounted a campaign for a return to the old law.

This is why women cannot depend on influencing the legislators through the lobbying efforts of a few women. The legislators will respond to women's demands only if they see a powerful mass movement behind those demands.

The strategy of relying on Democratic and Republican politicians is being followed by the National Organization for Women and the Women's Political Caucus. Caucus leader Betty Friedan summed this up in a statement printed in the June 8 *New York Times*.

Friedan said the way to prevent another defeat in New York is to urge women "to support those brave men and women who voted to retain our right to medical help and abortion and to defeat a picked few of our enemies." She went on to say that "in the nature of the inflammatory situation, this will have to be a somewhat quiet effort."

A "quiet effort" at this time will simply give the right wing a green light to intensify its campaign. In fact, the New York May 6 action was smaller than it could have been because NOW and the Caucus counterposed getting "good" Democrats and Republicans elected in the primaries to giving their active support to mass actions.

This is exactly the trap the anti-abortion forces want women to fall into. If the abortion law repeal forces become intimidated and retreat into "quiet efforts," it will be a setback for the entire women's movement.

The abortion law repeal movement must continue to organize demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, and other forms of visible action to win this fight. WONAAC has been in the forefront of this effort.

The Third National Women's Abortion Action Conference will take place July 15-16 at Hunter College, New York, N.Y.

For more information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

While the size of the actions called by WONAAC has thus far been modest, the actions have played a crucial role in focusing public attention on the abortion laws. They have helped increase support for women's right to abortion and have put the state and federal governments on the spot.

The July 15-16 national abortion conference provides an opportunity to discuss and plan a strategy for building the kind of massive actions that will defeat the right wing and eliminate the anti-abortion laws.

How women can organize to defeat the anti-abortion forces

legislature voted to repeal the liberal abortion law. The new bill they passed called for reinstatement of the archaic statute making all abortions illegal except those to save the life of the woman.

In the midst of this crisis, a demonstration in defense of the right to abortion initiated by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) took place on May 6.

ignored. Many women now realize that the right wing is serious about its campaign and has powerful forces at its command.

The Catholic Church hierarchy, joined by conservative Jewish and Protestant leaders, has openly helped organize the anti-abortion campaign. Anti-abortion groups have received free office space and large amounts of money from the Catholic Church.

are directly challenging the right of the church and the state to wield control over their lives.

Until the late 1960s, abortion was a taboo subject. The thousands of women who had illegal abortions, jeopardizing their health and even their lives, suffered from tremendous guilt. Then the women's liberation movement burst the shroud of secrecy and asserted that abortion is a woman's right.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Washington, D.C., Nov., 20, 1971. Women must continue to build mass actions demanding the right to abortion in order to answer the offensive of the anti-abortion forces.

Between 1,500 and 2,000 people participated.

This protest was followed by a news conference on May 12 denouncing the passage of the new bill and demanding that Governor Nelson Rockefeller veto it. Representatives from a broad range of groups participated, including WONAAC, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Women's Political Caucus, the New Democratic Coalition, Black Feminists United, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Although Rockefeller's veto preserved the liberal New York law, these events—paralleled in other states such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—made it clear that the anti-abortion forces are waging a national campaign. In fact, this effort is not only national but international.

Why is the right wing able to mobilize so many people on this question, especially when public sentiment is more and more in favor of giving women the right to abortion? Faced with this opposition, how can

The Catholic hierarchy has launched a campaign among its own members against abortion, lecturing them in church services and in Sunday schools. Cardinal Terence J. Cooke personally urged Catholics to march on April 16 in a letter directed to all Catholic Church services the week before.

Hypocrisy

Those in the Catholic Church hierarchy hypocritically argue that abortion is "murder" but say nothing about the many women who die each year because restrictive abortion laws force them to resort to back-alley or self-induced abortions. Many of the religious leaders who have campaigned most vociferously against abortion are at the same time staunch defenders of the war in Southeast Asia.

An even more powerful force behind the current abortion laws is the federal government. During the fight over the New York law, Nixon sent a personal letter to Cardinal Cooke congratulating him on his work. Virtually all the Democratic and Republi-

The feminist movement has had a deep impact within the Catholic Church itself. Growing numbers of women and men are beginning to reject its reactionary teachings on the rights and roles of women. This has resulted in such formations as Catholic Women for the Right to Choose, a pro-abortion group in Connecticut.

The victories women have won on the abortion issue have had an important effect on the struggles women are also waging for child care, equal pay, and the right to an equal education. The same is true of another victory—congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. If ratified by 38 states, the amendment will make it easier for women to fight for better working conditions.

Realizing this, the opponents of equal rights for women are determined to prevent the abortion law repeal movement from making further gains and to roll back the victories it has already scored.

Because the church and the state are allies in this effort, the women's movement must fight them both. The

'72 Socialist Campaign

Newspaper clippings about Linda Jenness's recent tour of Latin America are still coming in to the national campaign office. The June 4 issue of the Mexico City *Excelsior* ran a dispatch from Santiago, Chile, focusing on Jenness's support for the Chicano struggle. The article explains that support to the Chicano struggle is one of the major issues in the SWP campaign.

Jenness is quoted as saying that millions of Chicanos, along with 25 million Blacks, "suffer doubly: because they are workers and because of the color of their skin."

Mimeographed copies of Latin American press coverage on the Jenness tour are available from the national campaign office.

"Young Black Socialist Offers an Alternative for Minorities" reads the headline on a June 7 story on Andrew Pulley's campaign in the *Christian Science Monitor*. The article focused on the drive to put the SWP on the ballot in Massachusetts, and on Pulley's program for the Black community. "The Black convention in Gary," said Pulley, "showed that there are many Blacks who want to opt out of American politics as they know it, and who want to control their own communities, their education, and their destiny."

With chants of "Let Jenness Run" and "10,000 Voters Can't be Wrong," supporters of Linda Jenness's right to be on the Ohio ballot held a spirited picket line outside a Cleveland Republican Party fund-raising dinner on June 14. Ted W. Brown, Ohio secretary of state and the man who has threatened to rule Jenness off the ballot because she is "too young," was scheduled to be at the dinner.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is urging that letters supporting the democratic right of Ohio voters to be able to vote for the socialist candidates be sent to Ted W. Brown, Secretary of State, Columbus, Ohio 43215. A victory in Ohio will be a victory for democratic election laws everywhere.

Jarvis Tyner, the Communist Party candidate for vice-president, spoke at the Roxbury, Mass., YMCA earlier this month. Several supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign were there, and they asked him some questions.

Tony Prince reports, "I asked him why the Soviet Union did not call for massive antiwar demonstrations around the world when Nixon escalated the bombing and mined the ports of North Vietnam. Tyner replied that the Soviet Union has always opposed the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and that there were demonstrations in the USSR when Nixon went there. He gave the example of a woman in an opera house who protested when Nixon came to the opera. He neglected to mention that she was thrown out of the opera house by cops for her protest."

"Tyner asked how we thought it would look if Brezhnev greeted Nixon at the airport with a huge banner

demanding that the U.S. withdraw from Vietnam. 'This would not be proper protocol,' he said. But he was sure that the Soviet leaders expressed their views on the war forcefully at the bargaining table."

Seems like Nixon and McGovern aren't the only candidates with a credibility gap!

The California Supreme Court has refused without comment to hear a case filed by the Socialist Workers Party and two other parties challenging the provisions for forming a political party in California.

The suit seeks to invalidate the requirement that signatures from 10 percent of the state's registered voters be obtained in order for a party to win recognition by the state. California has the most restrictive election laws in the nation. More than 600,000 signatures would be required to put the SWP on the ballot.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which is handling the case, has announced that the suit will be re-filed in federal court.

A letter from Ohio is typical of many that have been received by the SWP national campaign office in the past few weeks: "I have heard that you have some information on the true nature of George McGovern. Would you please send this to me? I am finding Sen. McGovern's campaign more and more confusing every day!"

The truth about McGovern is contained in "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About George McGovern," a 25-cent pamphlet. More than 25,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold so far.

Two Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in Nashville sold 32 copies of the "truth kit" in 45 minutes at the Tennessee State Democratic Convention in Nashville. In Flint, Mich., a YSJP sold 15 pamphlets to a meeting of about 50 McGovern delegates and supporters preparing for a county convention there. Bundles of the McGovern truth kit can be ordered from the SWP campaign. The price is 15 cents each on orders of 50 or more.

The pamphlet on McGovern and the recently published truth kit on Humphrey (If HHH Were President) will be among the most important pieces of campaign literature that YSJPs will be distributing at the Democratic Party Convention in Miami Beach, Fla. The YSJP will be setting up a Young Socialist movement center there and talking to delegates and demonstrators about the SWP campaign.

The YSJP is appealing for volunteers to come to Miami Beach to help staff the movement center and to distribute campaign literature. If you want to participate, contact the national campaign office right away.

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

— LARRY SEIGLE

Pulley scores Ichord on 'subversive' GIs

Andrew Pulley, 21-year-old Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president and a former GI, replied on June 23 to a House Committee on Internal Security report on "subversion" in the armed forces.

Democrat Richard Ichord, chairman of the committee, announced on June 21 that a year-long study showed that "subversive efforts" by radical groups "to undermine the morale of personnel in the armed forces" had been "a total failure." Among the groups investigated by the committee were the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The following is Pulley's statement.

Contrary to the findings of the House Committee on Internal Security, it is the Vietnam war itself and the undemocratic and racist nature of the armed forces that convince servicemen and women to oppose and organize against the war.

Mr. Ichord's committee has once again wasted taxpayers' money and insulted the American people's intelligence with its year-long attempt to prove the McCarthyite myth that "subversives are trying to undermine the morale of armed forces personnel."

After my discharge from the Army, I joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, two of the groups on Mr. Ichord's list. The YSA and SWP are instrumental in supporting the GI antiwar movement—that's how I first met them and one of the reasons I joined them.

But no one—only the rotten war itself—had to tell me, when I was in the Army, that the U.S. government has no business waging war on the people of Southeast Asia; only the war had to convince me and other GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to organize GIs United Against the War in 1969.

In fact—also contrary to Mr. Ichord's findings—opposition to the war is so widespread among soldiers, as it is among the American people as a whole, that President Nixon dares not send more troops into combat.

My running mate, Linda Jenness, and I welcome the GI antiwar movement. We both will continue to encourage servicemen and women to exercise their constitutional right to oppose and organize against the war until all the GIs are brought home from Indochina and all the bombing is stopped and the U.S. is totally out of Southeast Asia.

Pulley at rallies in Seattle, Portland

SEATTLE, June 25—Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, kicked off his West Coast tour with campaign rallies in Seattle on June 23 and in Portland on June 24.

In Portland, Pulley spoke to 45 campaign supporters at a banquet held to announce the SWP candidates from Oregon: Rita Moran, for U.S. Senate; John Studer, for secretary of state; Peter Graumann, for state treasurer; and George Kontannis, for district attorney of Multnomah County. A collection at the banquet raised \$450 for the campaign.

The day before, Pulley wound up his tour of Washington with a barbeque sponsored by the Seattle campaign committee. Eighty people attended and donated \$400 to the campaign.

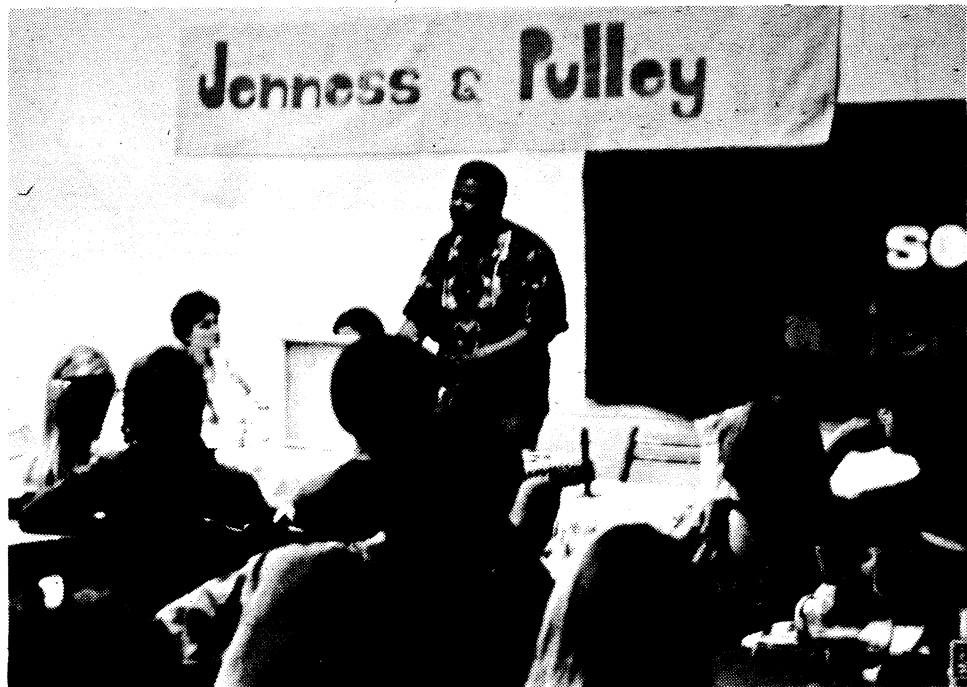
While in Seattle, Pulley joined 60

people at a Black Educational Alliance workshop convened to discuss organizing Black opposition to mandatory busing in the city. Pulley's suggestions for how to fight for Black control of Black education were well received.

On June 22 Pulley met with Black antiwar GIs at the Shelter Half Coffee House in Tacoma, Wash. The GIs organized a news conference for Pulley in Tacoma.

Pulley had been invited by the Prisoners' Council at Walla Walla state penitentiary to address inmates there. Bad weather, however, prevented him from flying there in the "Red Special," a plane piloted by a campaign supporter.

Pulley also spoke to students at the University of Washington campuses in Seattle and Pullman and held news conferences in both cities. Eleven reporters interviewed the vice-presidential candidate during his stop in the state.



Pulley addressing Houston campaign rally on June 10.

Roy Simmons

SWP ballot drive moves ahead

Petitioning in Illinois completed

By BARRY DAVID

CHICAGO, June 25 — In a final week-end push that netted 8,000 signatures, the Socialist Workers Party completed the first drive in its history to place a presidential ticket on the Illinois ballot. Campaign supporters gathered a total of 40,360 signatures, well over the required figure of 25,000. Virtually assured of ballot status, the SWP will file its petitions on July 31.

SWP petitioners made big news this week in Rockford, a city of 150,000 in northern Illinois. Local reporters descended on petitioners in downtown Rockford to find out what socialists were doing in that traditionally Republican stronghold. They were surprised to find that among the ten petitioners were Pat Grogan and Suzanne Haig, SWP candidates for governor and attorney general.

"Isn't it difficult to get people to sign petitions for socialists in a conservative town like Rockford?" asked

one reporter for the *Morning Star*. "Oh, no," said Grogan. "Most people support our democratic right to be on the ballot. Even people who don't support our campaign see nothing outrageous about letting socialists run for office."

The same reporter asked Haig, who has collected more signatures (519) in one day than any other petitioner, if it was more difficult to petition in Rockford than in Chicago.

"Well, you don't get a chance to talk to as many people, and some people are wary seeing socialists for the



Suzanne Haig Militant/Dave Saperstan

first time," answered Haig. "But young people are especially eager to sign once I've explained what we stand for."

The reporter then interviewed several people who had signed petitions to find out their reasons for helping socialists get on the ballot.

"Socialists would get more jobs for Blacks," said one woman.

Another signer indicated that he was for an antiwar, socialist party. "There's going to be a third party one day," he said, "and it just might be the Socialist Workers Party."

Channel 2 TV filmed Rockford citizens signing the petitions and gave Grogan and Haig the opportunity to explain what they would do to help the citizens of Rockford and how they differ from George McGovern.

Pa. drive at halfway point

By GWYN VORHAUS

PHILADELPHIA, June 25 — At the end of the first full week of petitioning, Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters have collected 16,610 signatures on nominating petitions to get SWP candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot.

They must collect 35,624 by Aug. 14 to win ballot status for presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley and a slate of presidential electors pledged to them. The petitions will also certify Joseph Sanders, candidate for auditor general, and Harvey McArthur, candidate for state treasurer.

Signatures were collected this week in Philadelphia, Erie, and Allentown. The petitioners braved rain and floods in an all-out effort to stay on schedule.

Each petitioner averaged 107 signatures per day. One campaign sup-

porter brought in more than 250 signatures three days in a row.

In response to an article in *The Militant* on the launching of the Pennsylvania ballot drive, one high school student stopped at the Philadelphia headquarters last week to offer his help. Other campaign supporters took part in a Saturday mobilization in Philadelphia, which netted 9,000 signatures.

As a regular feature of the petition drive, campaign supporters have set up a table at Philadelphia's City Hall, where in addition to collecting signatures, they obtain the names of volunteers.

SWP files in D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 27 — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, filed 26,000 signatures here today to place the SWP on the D.C. ballot.

The SWP, the first party to file in D.C., gathered twice the required number of signatures. This is the first time the SWP has attempted to achieve ballot status for its presidential slate in the District.

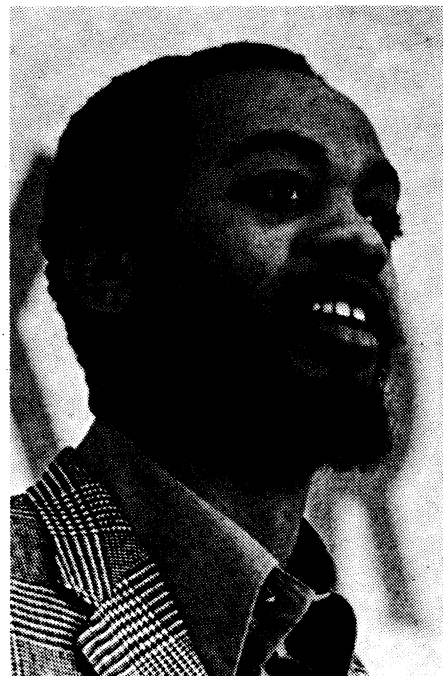
Reporters from the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Evening Star*, the *Washington Daily News*, and Channel 5 Metro Media attended a news conference held to announce the filing.

Jenness told the reporters that Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be in Miami Beach during the Democratic Party convention to talk to the radical youth there, especially those who support George McGovern. Many of these young people, she explained, are becoming disillusioned with the rightward shift of McGovern and will be seeking a real alternative to capitalist politics.

Jenness said that some of them would be won over to supporting the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

SWP campaign supporter James Harris read a statement to reporters from Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. nonvoting delegate, hailing the efforts of campaign supporters in the District ballot drive. He also scored the incumbent nonvoting delegate, Democrat Walter Fauntroy, for urging Blacks to vote for McGovern.

The reporters asked Jenness why the SWP wanted to get on the ballot if its candidates had slight chance to win in November. Jenness replied that her campaign offers voters the only alternative to the policies of war and oppression carried out by the Democrats and Republicans.



Herman Fagg Militant/John Gray

Socialist supports Conn. bus employees

John Ratliff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Connecticut's 3rd C.D. (New Haven), issued the following statement on June 18.

I fully support the employees of the Connecticut Company in the various activities they have undertaken in the past few days to protest the latest cut in bus service and the rise in fares for students and the elderly.

For the past several years we have seen increasing fares and deteriorating service by what is supposed to be a utility serving the people. The owners of the Connecticut Company have placed their private profit above the needs of thousands of students, working people, and the elderly, who depend on the buses as their sole means of transportation.

At a time when there is mounting concern about the pollution caused by excessive numbers of private automobiles in our central city, public transportation should be expanded and made free rather than be cut back.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes:

1) That the management of the Connecticut Company be taken over by a committee of elected representatives of the employees and those who ride the buses;

2) That the fare be eliminated;

3) That an expanded bus service be financed by a tax on the employers and merchants in the Greater New Haven area, who are already profiting from their workers and customers who ride the buses.

Calif. to vote on death penalty

LOS ANGELES — Police throughout California succeeded in placing a referendum on the state ballot to restore the death penalty. Capital punishment was abolished here in February when the California Supreme Court ruled that it violated the state constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual punishment."

Backed by the Reagan administration, police, prison guards, and sheriff's agents throughout the state mobilized to secure the half-million signatures needed to place a constitutional amendment on the ballot. According to the secretary of state, more than 640,000 signatures were filed.

The police drive to restore the death penalty raises to a new pitch their racist "crime-in-the-streets" propaganda, which is used to justify the brutality that comes down hardest on Chicanos, Blacks, and other oppressed minorities in the state.

Among the forces opposing restoration of capital punishment is the Socialist Workers Party. Its candidates are using their campaigns to mobilize the largest possible vote against the amendment.

Help the SWP get on the ballot



During July, SWP campaign supporters will also be petitioning in Colorado, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, and Rhode Island. If you would like to help in any of these drives, send in the coupon below.

() 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 _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
School/organization _____

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

Chicano socialists answer red-baiting

The following are replies to a recent red-baiting attack against the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party and Raza Contra la Guerra, a Chicano antiwar group in Houston, Texas. The attack appeared in the June 1 (Volume 2, No. 10) issue of *Papel Chicano*, a Houston Chicano paper. Deletions made for reasons of space are noted by ellipses.

Four Chicano socialists, Pedro and Kris Vasquez, Manuel "Tank" Barrera, and Richard Garcia, were accused of everything from stealing money to engaging in "divide and destroy" actions against various movements.

With charges of "bringing foreign ideologies into the Chicano community," *Papel Chicano* stated that Raza members of the YSA or SWP were "not welcome in the barrio." *Papel Chicano* stated in the attack that "Mr. Vasquez will be offered a full opportunity to respond to this article in our next issue." The following are major excerpts from the reply submitted to *Papel Chicano*.

Ironically, the *Papel Chicano* article was entitled "Socialist Workers Party Invades Aztlan." Pedro Vasquez, 24, was born in Segundo Barrio, the second oldest barrio in Houston, and has lived there all his life. Kris Vasquez, 23, was born in Austin, Texas. Tank Barrera, 20, was born in Brownsville, Texas. And Richard Garcia, 30, was born in El Paso, Texas.

Tank Barrera is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Richard Garcia is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Kris and Pedro Vasquez were among the founders of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) and of *Papel Chicano*. They helped to organize the Chicano Moratorium of 1,500 held in Houston July 26, 1970. While active in MAYO, Pedro Vasquez was one of its five official spokespersons.

Stella Ortega, an independent activist, is a former president of the Houston Chicano Youth Council. She participated in the Raza Contra la Guerra Committee to build the Raza Contingent for the April 8 antiwar action sponsored by the Houston Peace Action Coalition.

Open letter to 'Papel Chicano'

By MANUEL "TANK" BARRERA, RICHARD GARCIA, KRIS VASQUEZ, and PEDRO VASQUEZ

... The Socialist Workers Party (which was referred to as the Swampy Warlock Pedants) was accused of being "famous for its divide and destroy act." The article gave as an example of this supposed "divide and destroy" tactic YSA and SWP participation in the building of a Raza contingent for the antiwar demonstration in Houston April 8, in which 100 Chicanos participated. The article stated that "Widespread boycotting of the Houston march by Chicanos occurred," apparently trying to give the impression that the YSA and SWP were responsible for cutting down on Raza participation. What are the facts, however?

... A great deal of enthusiasm developed for the April 8 contingent and by all indications Raza participation would have been quite large. But then something occurred. Opponents of the action took the master mailing list of the Raza Contra la Guerra Committee and began a telephone campaign urging Raza not to march on April 8. ... people were told not to

march simply because there were socialists (YSA and SWP) involved in the antiwar committee. The telephone campaign was geared to scare people with a "red hysteria" not very different from that practiced by the late gringo J. Edgar Hoover. ...

Who then were the dividers and destroyers? The members of the YSA and SWP who were trying to unite Chicanos in an antiwar march to help our *carnales* still in Vietnam, or those members of *Papel Chicano* who started a red-baiting campaign to split the movement? And who won out by lower Raza participation on April 8? *Papel Chicano*? La Raza? Absolutely not. Richard Nixon won because the more Raza that protest, the sooner this war will be over. ...



Kris Vasquez



Pedro Vasquez

As part of *Papel Chicano*'s excuse for red-baiting (that is, attacking someone not for their ideas but for their political affiliations) they state that Chicanos "do not need to endorse or accept any foreign ideology. *Carnalismo* says everything that needs to be said." This argument that socialism is a "foreign" ideology is again something that the gringo capitalist rulers have been saying for years. They teach it in the schools and say it in the mass media. ...

Another attempt to discredit our ideas without actually having to discuss them is *Papel*'s charge that we are "controlled by Anglos." It is absolutely true that there are Anglos in the YSA and SWP. There are also Blacks, Asian-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and Native Americans. Why? Because we are serious about changing this society and believe that only by combining the energy and talent of all oppressed peoples in this country will this be possible. We Chicanos cannot overturn capitalism by ourselves.

But this does not mean that we should not struggle and build our own organizations, such as an independent Chicano political party. ... We of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party fully support La Raza Unida Party because, although we share a common oppression with all workers whether Anglo or Black, we also suffer cultural and racial oppression as Raza which requires our own organizations to fight it. ...

Carnalismo, contrary to what *Papel Chicano* implies, does not involve the rejection of ideas because they happen not to have been originated by La Raza. Should we refuse to use the telephone in organizing our people simply because a Chicano didn't invent it? Should our Indian brothers and sisters have refused to use the European rifle to defend their land? That, indeed, would be a very narrow view of *Carnalismo*.

Ideas are not bound by race, color or nationality. They must be judged on their own merits. We should never reject ideas merely because of what country or people first raised them. Benito Juárez was inspired by the concepts of the French revolution and used them to further the interests of Mexico, even against France itself. Emiliano Zapata was influenced by anarchists and socialists such as Ricardo Flores Magón, and incorporated many of their ideas into El Plan de Ayala. Lázaro Cárdenas, former president of Mexico, influenced by Marxism and the ideas of the Russian revolution, nationalized Mexico's oil deposits.

... It is only in Cuba where a socialist revolution has occurred that La Raza has control over its own destiny.

As is the case in most red-baiting attacks, *Papel Chicano* does not deal with the political views of the YSA, the SWP, or even the Raza Contra la Guerra Committee. Where does *Papel Chicano* stand on organizing not only Chicano moratoriums but also Raza contingents as part of united antiwar actions? It is not enough to criticize, *hermanos y hermanas* [brothers and sisters], you have the responsibility of providing alternatives.

The key issue, as we see it, is the right of all political points of view to be freely expressed within the movement. ...

... only our gringo oppressors have anything to gain from the suppression of ideas. ... Only with the free exchange of ideas can our movement grow and avoid the errors which always result when a small group puts itself up as the only legitimate interpreters of what is in the interests of our people. ...

We hope that in the future we may work together where we can agree on issues; and where we don't agree, let us disagree, while respecting each other's rights to hold such views.

Pedro Vasquez: 'My ideas developed from the struggle'

I would like to thank *Papel Chicano* for this opportunity to respond to the article that *Papel Chicano* termed more as a defense of *Papel* rather than as an attack on me. Yet, the only thing I could surmise from the article was that I and the Young Socialist Alliance were under direct attack. It was an obvious attempt to discredit our work.

Papel Chicano alleges that I have been soliciting money from individuals and organizations under false pretenses—supposedly as a representative of *Papel Chicano*. This I have not done. In the article I search for the evidence that supported your accusation; I found none.

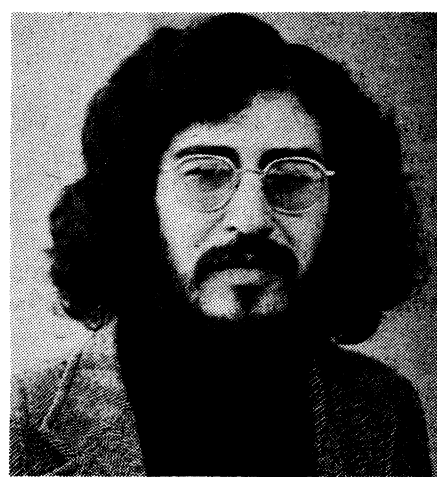
It is true that I, along with Hope

Aguilar, Stella Ortega, Elvia Ríos, and Richard Garcia, did try to raise funds for the expenses of Raza Contra la Guerra Committee. On those occasions that I did approach people who associated me with *Papel Chicano*, I immediately made it clear that I was no longer with *Papel*. It will be interesting to see who this individual or organization is that claims to have given me money, since the only fund raising I have done lately has been for Raza Contra la Guerra and very limited monies were raised.

In the same article it is also stated that I have suddenly betrayed La Raza and have joined the Young Socialist Alliance, even though I was long a critic of the organization. Yes, I agree. I have betrayed, but not La



Manuel 'Tank' Barrera



Richard Garcia

Raza. I have betrayed a capitalist system that thought it had me in its web of anticommunist propaganda and could make me compromise my gritos [cries] of Chicano liberation into nothing more than pleas for token reform. My change was not sudden, however, for it developed naturally.

My ideas developed from the struggle demanding "Chicano control of the Chicano community," politically, economically, and culturally.

I, like other *carnales y carnalas* [brothers and sisters] in the movement, began to realize that the question of liberation was more than one of just our own Raza. I was one who began to realize that it was this whole system that needed not to be overhauled, but to be replaced.

The ruling class of this country—that small sector of America which controls the masses of us Chicanos, Indios, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and white working people—has tried to cut across any opposition to their oppression by means of labeling these movements as "communist" or "foreign." Maybe that's why many of us hesitated in joining the YSA. We feared being labeled and we wrongly thought that this would cut across our organizing efforts in the barrio. I, for one, am tired of evading the question and have committed myself to pointing out the true source of our oppression as Chicanos, and that is—American capitalism.

We as Raza members of the Young Socialist Alliance do not wish to present ourselves as the Saviors of La Raza, as you claim we do. However, we do wish to organize and mobilize

our Raza against capitalist oppression. We stand for the building of a socialist society — where we as Chicanos can determine our own lives and futures.

Papel Chicano states that the Young Socialist Alliance and the growing number of Chicanos joining are not welcomed in the barrios. Does *Papel Chicano* speak for all La Raza?

I believe that as the Chicano movement radicalizes and politicizes more Chicanos, the youth will be less susceptible to anticommunist propaganda and will see the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party not as invaders of Aztlán, but as comrades in a common struggle against the real oppressor — the gringo capitalist rulers of the United States.

— PEDRO VASQUEZ

Raza Contra la Guerra replies

By STELLA ORTEGA and PEDRO VASQUEZ

Raza Contra la Guerra is a Chicano antiwar group organized to mobilize Chicano antiwar sentiment into demonstrations and moratoriums.

The committee is composed of individuals and organizations whose main concern is to unite against the war in Vietnam.

In the Volume 2, No. 10, issue of *Papel Chicano*, Fred Garcia Jr. of MASO (Mexican-American Student Organization at Lamar Fleming Junior High School) levels a serious charge against the committee. Fred alleges that Raza Contra la Guerra took credit for organizing MASO. This is totally false. At no time did Raza Contra la Guerra state that it had organized MASO. As has been stated before, the main concern of Raza Contra la Guerra was to organize Chicanos against the war.

In the same article, [Fred] Garcia points out that "We agreed to endorse Raza Contra la Guerra, but we did not state that we were for the war or against it." We ask Fred to examine his statement more closely. How can you agree to support an antiwar group, and yet state that you are neutral on the war?

How can you be neutral toward a war that has taken the lives of nearly 9,000 *hermanos*, many of them young Chicanos like yourselves in MASO? How can you be neutral toward a war that has lasted through the administrations of five presidents — Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon — and has almost completely destroyed the people and ecology of Vietnam? Even today with talk of peace and "winding down the war," the United States carries on its aggression with constant bombardment from B-52s.

Our people have not participated in antiwar demonstrations because it's a fad. They have organized massive, peaceful moratoriums, like the Chicano Moratorium here that drew 1,200 Raza in July 1970, because it was seen clearly that Chicanos were suffering heavily from this war.

Chicanos who feel this oppression will relate to the necessity of demonstrating their opposition, as did several MASO students, who not only marshaled the demonstration of April 8, but also very proudly led it. Do you remember that, Fred?

In closing, Raza Contra la Guerra remains open and looks forward to working with the students of MASO and with any other individual or organization regardless of their political views on other matters, as long as they are against the war.

Interview with high school students

Language struggle in Quebec

By TONY THOMAS

HULL, Québec — "A few years ago you could walk down the main street here and all you would hear was French. Now all you hear is English." This is how a high school student described the process of Anglicization in this town.

Like Blacks in the United States, the Québécois are an oppressed nationality. They suffer lower wages, worse jobs, and poorer living conditions. In Québec this oppression includes attempts to eliminate the French language, the native tongue of 80 percent of the population.

Canada's official policy is called "bilingualism." This is supposed to mean that both French and English are equal in all facets of life. However, the experiences of three Québécois I spoke with — Marc DuPont, a former activist in high school struggles here; Lyne Meloche, a high school student at the Polyvalente de Gatineau; and Vic Raymond, a former teacher at the Polyvalente de Gatineau — demonstrate how the "bilingual" policies of the Canadian ruling class serve to hasten the process of eliminating the French language.

Meloche told me, "If I ever saw a classified ad asking for a Québécois, I'd answer it. All the ads now say, 'qualified bilingual wanted.' I've never seen one for a 'qualified Québécois.' 'Qualified bilingual' is another way of saying English-speaking only. Because of this situation," she continued, "from the time you're a child, your parents tell you that you have to learn English if you are going to get anywhere. So do teachers and the bosses."

In the French-speaking schools, the educational policy forces the children to learn English. DuPont pointed out that in humanities courses the classes and texts are in French but the references and source materials are largely in English. In science, commercial, and technical courses even the textbooks are in English.

"The teachers tell you," he said, "that there are no French scientific geniuses, and that business here is all in English. Even if these racist arguments were true, there is no reason to ex-

plain why the 'bilingual' Canadian and Québec governments refuse to simply translate these texts into French, except a calculated desire to force the French to learn English." Students who don't — and DuPont pointed out that French students have difficulties with such courses — don't get educated.

DuPont and Meloche explained that the English schools are also favored financially. The English minority is only 15 to 20 percent of the population, yet under the separate school system it receives the same amount of funds as those of the French majority.

Another example of this undemocratic favoritism is the case of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, a high school of 1,500 French students until last year, when it was closed down. This was done to renovate the school for 800 English students. The French students were then crowded into other already cramped "Polyvalentes," some of which had two or three times as many students as they were designed for. All this happened in spite of a massive struggle by French-speaking students and parents.

"Counselors in the French schools," Raymond told me, "tend to tell the Québécois students to become technical or clerical workers — if they are 'bilingual.' Those who aren't are told to be handy with their hands, for manual labor."

"If you spent one day at the Polyvalente," Meloche said, "you would be sickened by it. There is always noise, overcrowding, no place to sit by yourself, the classes have no content — only shut up and pay attention. Some days it makes you physically sick just to be there." She added that under the religious system of "public" schools in Québec (the schools are divided into Catholic and Protestant as well as French and English) religious indoctrination is almost mandatory for students. It's not surprising that large numbers of Québécois students are pushed out before graduating by these oppressive conditions. Raymond said that at Polyvalente de Gatineau, 300 out of nearly 3,000 students

dropped out in one semester. Most teachers' attitude was, "They're Québécois. We can't do anything with them anyway. It's good to get them off our hands."

Raymond, Meloche, and DuPont agreed that the only way out for the



Victor Raymond on demonstration for an independent, socialist Quebec.

French Québécois majority would be to have an independent, unilingual Québec. Bilingualism — which they said is seriously attempted only in Québec and not the rest of Canada — has pushed Anglicization. Only if all work, business, and education are conducted in the language of the oppressed majority can the problems of the Québec masses be solved. This, they say, will involve a major confrontation with the American and Canadian capitalists who control Québec and Canada.

100 Raza women attend

Adelante Mujer conference held

SOUTH BEND, Ind. — Nearly 100 Raza women from eight states met here on June 17 for a one-day Adelante Mujer! (Onward Women!) Conference. The purpose of the conference, which was organized by women from the Midwest Council of La Raza, was to discuss the social and political role of the more than half a million Raza women in the Midwest. Participants came from Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, Texas, Colorado, New York, and Washington, D.C.

The keynote speakers at the opening session were Marta Cotera, Texas Raza Unida Party candidate for state board of education; and Lupe Anguiano from the National Women's Political Caucus in Washington, D.C.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Olga Villa, organizer of Adelante Mujer!, said Raza women decided that they could organize La Raza more effectively if they had a clearer understanding of their feminism. She captured the spirit of the enthusiastic Latinas present when she identified feminism with La Raza, saying, "*Vamos*

a hacer comadre" (Let's make the new woman).

Workshops were held on many topics, including social action, sex-stereotyping of Raza women, bilingual education, child care, and family planning.

Representatives from each of the Midwest states were elected and delegated to organize statewide Adelante Mujer! conferences within the next six months. The organization formed out of the South Bend conference — the Council of Adelante Mujer — plans to issue a call for a Midwest conference in 1973.

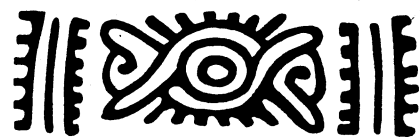
As an expression of La Raza's solidarity with those who are victimized by repressive Latin American regimes, the conference passed a resolution endorsing the efforts of the USLA Justice Committee to free Latin American political prisoners.

Women from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition also attended the conference, distributed WONAAC literature, and discussed with the conference participants the upcoming July 15-16 WONAAC national

conference to be held in New York.

Campaign supporters of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party presidential slate, participated in the conference. Their campaign literature table drew an enthusiastic response from many of the women present.

Raza Pamphlets



Chicanas Speak Out
Women: New Voice of La Raza
by Mirta Vidal, 25 cents.

The Struggle for Chicano Liberation — 1971 Socialist Workers Party resolution, 60 cents.

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

Meany: Vietnam war is okay, and strikes are old-fashioned

By LEE SMITH

After Nixon announced his blockade of North Vietnam May 8, one of the first and more unequivocal endorsements of his action came from the head of the 13-million-member AFL-CIO. "In this time of crisis, with 60,000 lives at stake," George Meany said, "I think the American people should back up the President, irrespective of politics or other considerations."

Such jingoism is not new for Meany. He has been one of the most consistent supporters of U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia, both under the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

Meany's right-wing views on foreign policy correspond to his overall outlook. In many ways the 78-year-old AFL-CIO president epitomizes everything reactionary about the bureaucratic crust fastened on top of this country's organized labor movement.

Lately, he has been beating the drums for a proposal to do away with strikes and replace them with some form of arbitration. Speaking to a New York collective-bargaining conference May 19, Meany said: "I have never been enchanted with strikes. They are not fun—they are grim. There are casualties in every strike—economic, human, social casualties. And I'd like to avoid any of these consequences."

"Any responsible labor leader considers, as I do, that a strike is never more than the lesser of two evils, adopted by workers as a last resort to protest some grievance that, to them, is worse than not working at all."

This is not a new attitude for Meany. Some 16 years ago he boasted to the December 1956 convention of the National Association of Manufacturers that he "never had anything to do with a picketline."

After the six-month steel strike in 1959, Meany wrote to President Eisenhower and proposed a "national conference of union and industry lead-



ers." The conference, Meany said then, "would foster the much-needed improvement of labor-management relations." He called for "a thorough examination and evaluation of the collective bargaining process" by this meeting of bosses and union heads. Such an examination, Meany said, was "essential in view of the many new and complex problems labor, management and the American people face in consequence of our expanding economy and trend toward automation."

This kind of thinking is characteristic of the outlook that predominates in the top ranks of officialdom in the U. S. labor movement today. Meany and the other top AFL-CIO bureaucrats, along with their counterparts in other unions, reject the concept of class struggle as "foreign" and "old-

fashioned."

According to their thoroughly false view, labor and business have a common interest in promoting the "national good." If there is prosperity, the theory goes, then business will reap profits while workers reap higher wages, more jobs, and better conditions.

This perversion of reality simply ignores the fact that profits have their source in bosses paying workers less than the value of what they produce. Thus the interests of business—making profits—are irreconcilably opposed to the interests of workers—making a decent living.

But if one looks at labor and management as some sort of equal partners with a common stake in "keeping America strong," then one can take

Continued on page 21

Attitudes are changing

Unrest among young workers

By CAROLINE LUND

"A new breed." That's what the younger generation of working men and women are increasingly being called these days.

Numerous analyses have appeared recently in newspapers and popular magazines on the growing unrest among young workers. This dissatisfaction is reflected in such ways as absenteeism, increasing drug use, sabotage of production, and refusal to go along with speedup measures.

Reporters Haynes Johnson and Nick Kotz of the *Washington Post* surveyed union members and leaders around the country for three months. Their analysis, reported in the April 10 *Post*, concluded that "young workers today share common attitudes with the far more publicized—and favored—young college students. Call it what you will—counterculture, drug culture, anti-establishment feeling or youth rebellion—the same forces are moving and motivating both groups."

Younger workers have the "I don't care" attitude, said Stan Geist, 30-year-old secretary-treasurer of a United Auto Workers local in Detroit. "They know they've got to work, but when they want a day off, they want a day off and they don't care about

anything else.

"The young guy wants it all without the overtime," he continued.

The *Post* reporters stated that this aggressive attitude among young workers was confirmed by virtually every union leader and member they interviewed. "What comes through clearly after talking to these workers," they write, "is the enormous dissatisfaction they feel about their jobs. In effect, they, too, are rebelling against the system—whether it is a system personified by their union or company official or society in general."

Young workers feel alienated from their work—one of the results of the capitalist system that is increased by automation of production. "The problem on the factory line," said Doug Fraser, a top UAW official, "is that the job controls the man."

In addition, young workers are now refusing to be "bought off" with overtime pay. "Absenteeism runs 12 percent on Saturdays despite time and a half pay," said Fraser. "Guys won't give away their social life or their free time for 50 or 60 dollars a day."

In general, the analysis concludes, today's young worker "wants more free time and a different life style. Material possessions do not seem all

that important." They also cite "a changing attitude toward work" among young people.

Studies such as this one indicate the basis for growing militancy in the trade unions. Young workers will be increasingly receptive to demands that most trade unions have so far refused to fight for. Demands such as a shortening of the workweek to 30 hours or four days at no reduction in weekly pay; an escalator clause in all contracts to assure that wages must increase as the cost of living rises; and an end to the federal Pay Board and the wage controls.

As the radicalization proceeds among young workers, there will be a growing interest in social and political questions as well—such questions as discrimination against women and Black and Raza workers, and the war in Vietnam.

"What goes on everywhere else, goes on inside the union," Victor Gotbaum, president of the New York local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), told the *Post* reporters. "So if there is unrest among the young and the blacks, you'll find that unrest among the trade union movement itself."

Postal workers head talks about 'one big union'

By FRANK LOVELL

The U. S. Postal Service has not earned high marks as a generous employer since it took over the job of delivering the mail a couple of years ago. The service, though still financed by the government, is privately managed.

The American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, which claims to represent about 300,000 members, has been trying to negotiate a contract with the Postal Service for more than a year.

When Francis S. Filbey, APWU president, spoke before the national convention of the Communications Workers of America in Los Angeles on June 12, he pledged to join with the CWA to form "one big union for communications workers of the country."

The CWA represents about 500,000 telephone workers. If the 210,000-member Letter Carriers union, another AFL-CIO affiliate, joins the merger, the combined membership of the three unions would be more than a million. At present this is only in the talking stage, mostly among the top officials of these unions.

In unity there is strength. And numbers are important. But leadership is decisive. In 1970 President James H. Rademacher of the Letter Carriers opposed the only strike ever attempted by postal workers in this country.

Filbey was the compromise choice of a four-union merger that formed the APWU after the U. S. Postal Service was established. He has never led a strike in his life.

CWA president Joseph A. Beirne called off the telephone strike (on company terms) last August, just in time to escape the Nixon wage-freeze edict. He then refused to support the New York locals of his own union that remained on strike for seven months after the settlement. Beirne is strictly a wage-control man who intends to stick by the guidelines of the Pay Board.

None of these three presidents, nor any of the cliques around them, could be expected to provide much in the way of leadership for "one big communications union."

The authentic leadership for such an organization will emerge from the struggle of low-paid workers in the telephone company and in the U. S. Postal Service against the whole system of government wage-controls.



N.Y. postal clerk in 1970 strike.

120 attend Minneapolis banquet celebrating 'Teamster Rebellion'

By GLEN BOATMAN

MINNEAPOLIS—On June 24 Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a key leader of the 1934 Teamster strikes that made Minneapolis "a union town," returned to the city where it all happened.

More than 120 people attended a dinner and program sponsored by the Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party to celebrate the publication of Dobbs's book, *Teamster Rebellion*. Several of the participants in the 1934 strikes, including Harry DeBoer and Ray Rainbolt, were honored guests. Other "old timers" from later Teamster organizing struggles were also present.

Marvel Scholl, who helped organize Local 574's women's auxiliary, spoke about the role women played in the strikes. She mentioned that she considered it the first installment of today's women's liberation movement.

Dobbs began his presentation by paying tribute to Max Romer, a Minneapolis journalist, who first gave Dobbs the idea of writing a book on the 1934 strikes. Dobbs observed that today's schools teach only "historical pap" and nothing about the

true history of the class struggle in the U. S.

Dobbs stated that writing the book was a way of fulfilling the responsibility of old-timers to lend a hand to the new leadership in the revolutionary movement. He said certain generalizations could be gleaned from the methods used in the 1934 strikes that will apply to the coming struggles in the labor movement.

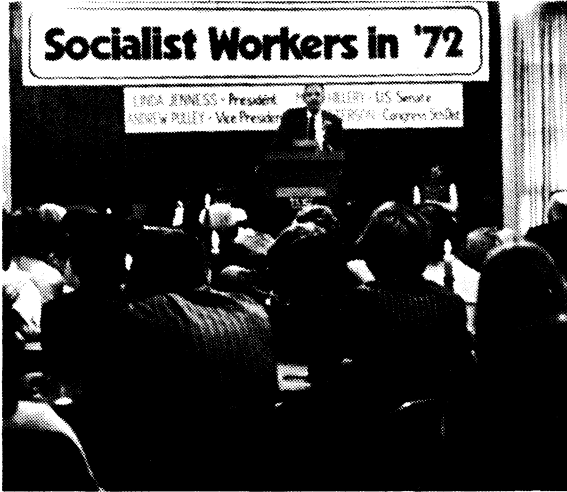


Militant/Mark Satinoff

Marvel Scholl and Farrell Dobbs speaking on Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934.

Dobbs urged everyone present to make sure that *Teamster Rebellion* gets into the hands of young militants in the trade-union movement. Fifty-four autographed copies of the book were sold during the evening.

Dobbs appeared at two book stores in the area and at a news conference to promote the book. Three TV stations and two newspapers carried news of Dobbs's visit.



New death threat on L.A. Teamster

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, June 24—A new threat has been made on the life of John T. Williams, Teamsters union organizer and National Peace Action Coalition national coordinator. Williams narrowly escaped death June 20 when his car was firebombed. Now hospitalized with injuries sustained while escaping from his car, Williams received a death threat through the hospital switchboard.

Williams is currently a candidate for business agent and president of Teamsters Local 208. He is facing two opposing groups in a bitterly contested election.

One group includes people who were part of a trustee administration imposed on the local by the Teamsters International leadership. The trusteeship came after charges that the local union officials—including Williams, who was then vice-president—had permitted unauthorized strikes. The present elections are a result of the ending of the trusteeship. Since the trusteeship began, Williams has served as an organizer for another Teamsters local.

On June 20, Williams was lured to the vacant union headquarters late at night by a fake phone call. A firebomb was hurled at his car. The car was destroyed moments after he got out.

Williams sustained back and neck injuries. His neck is in a collar brace and traction is being used to aid the recovery of his back muscles. Doctors at the hospital in Inglewood have told him they cannot immediately assess the extent of his injuries.

In a telephone interview, Williams said local police and the hospital staff seemed to be providing him adequate protection.

Meanwhile, there is no evidence that the Los Angeles police—known for their ties with the Teamsters bureaucrats and the California Truckers Association—are making any serious attempt to apprehend those responsible for the attempted murder.

To the contrary, a report in the June 23 *Los Angeles Times* on the hospital death-threat included this curious, ominous formulation:

"Sources close to the police and fire department investigators said, however, they had uncovered no evidence to substantiate the story of John T. Williams that two men forced his car on the sidewalk . . . and hurled a missile through his car window, setting his car on fire."

The police, who invariably try to turn the victim into the criminal, would apparently have the public believe that Williams set his car on fire himself and then smashed his neck and back against the car doors to make his story plausible.

Asked to comment on this reported view of the Los Angeles police department, Williams responded from his hospital bed, "It's just about what I would expect from them."



John T. Williams Militant/John Gray

Court to rule soon

YSA recognition fight in Fla.

By MARK UGOLINI

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—On June 14, U.S. district court Judge David L. Middlebrooks deferred ruling for at least 20 days in the suit Brett Merkey and the Young Socialist Alliance have brought against the Florida Board of Regents. The judge had heard testimony in a non-jury trial stemming from a 1970 campus-recognition suit initiated by the YSA.

Following are excerpts from a statement made June 27 by Young Socialist Alliance National Chairman Andy Rose in response to a unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on June 26 upholding the right of Students for a Democratic Society to official campus recognition.

"This represents a victory not only for SDS, but for the entire student movement. . . . The decision was a reflection of the pressure being exerted by radicalizing students and other youth in opposition to the repressive and undemocratic high schools and colleges. . . . It must now be extended nationwide into all high schools and college campuses. . . . At the present time the YSA as well as SDS is banned from all Florida state college campuses. . . . The best way to uphold the civil liberties of all American students . . . is to continue to build public support and pressure in defense of the democratic rights of students."

The case involves a Florida Board of Regents' policy announced in September 1969 that prohibits certain groups from gaining official recognition on state university campuses. The board based its policy on the allegation that certain groups have as their goal "the destruction of the total educa-

tional process" of the state university system.

Six months later, D. Burke Kibler, chairman of the Florida Board of Regents, declared that the YSA should not be granted official campus recognition.

"It would be a naive person, indeed," Kibler said, "that could read the literature available on YSA and not come to the conclusion that their goal is the destruction of the total educational process on your campus, and every campus. . . . It must be clearly understood by them [the YSA] that they will not be recognized. . . . Such an organization cannot have the sanction of the state universities in the State of Florida."

The Board of Regents made this undemocratic decision without consulting any other section of the university community. The YSA itself was never granted a hearing on its plea for recognition or given a chance to answer Kibler's charges.

After the YSA was officially denied recognition on the Florida State University campus at Tallahassee on April 1, 1970, the group initiated a broad-based campaign against the board's policy. The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) was established to enlist public support for the YSA's right to be recognized. In addition, the YSA filed suit in federal district court, arguing that the actions of the Florida Board of Regents were entirely arbitrary, that they deprived the YSA of due process, and that they directly stifled the YSA's First Amendment rights.

On Aug. 24, 1970, the case came before a three-judge federal court. The court held that the "federal constitutional issues raised were insubstantial" and remanded the case to Judge Middlebrooks. In the fall of 1970, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans ruled that Middlebrooks had to hear the case on its constitutional merits. Finally on June 14, nearly two years after the initial suit was filed, Judge Middlebrooks agreed to hear the case.

The fact that the Board of Regents is willing to go to court indicates that

it sees this case as crucial in its plans to continue to limit the democratic rights of students on Florida's campuses.

After hearing more than seven hours of testimony, Judge Middlebrooks decided to allow 10 days for the submission of summary briefs. A ruling is expected near the beginning of July.



Florida Flambeau/Robin Swicord

Jack Lieberman speaking at FSU rally in Tallahassee.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus is planning a stepped-up campaign to gain endorsers and to publicize the facts of the case throughout the state. Sarah Ryan, a FAPEC representative from Tallahassee, commented: "The board's policy represents a serious threat to the civil liberties of all sections of the university community, and we will continue to build public pressure until it is declared unconstitutional."

Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Florida's 2nd C.D. and a spokesman for the Young Socialist Alliance, held a news conference at the state capitol in Tallahassee after the trial. He stated, "what the Board of Regents has attempted to do is to intimidate students from exercising their basic democratic rights and create a witch-hunt atmosphere on Florida campuses. . . . students must respond to these attacks in a united and massive way."

Contributions to help build the defense can be sent to: FAPEC, c/o Sarah Ryan, 648 E. Park Ave., Apt. 20, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

In Review

Books

'Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen'



Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen by Alix Kates Shulman. Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. 274 pp. \$6.95 cloth.

Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen is the first novel by a contemporary American women's liberation activist to be distributed by a major publishing company. Its author, Alix Kates Shulman, is a member of New York Radical Feminists. She is the originator of the widely publicized "marriage contract," in which both partners agree to share equally in household chores and child care. Shulman has also written *To the Barricades*, a book on the life and ideas of anarchist-feminist Emma Goldman, and has edited a collection of Goldman's speeches.

The central figure in *Memoirs* is Sasha Davis—beautiful, smart, and from the right part of town. Traveling circuitously, the book traces the course of Sasha's life, from her childhood in the 1940s to her marriages in the early 1960s.

In other words, *Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen* records the plight of a woman as she is shuttled through life and bombarded by the forces of sexism. Sasha Davis is unable to fight back. There was no women's liberation movement for her to link up with.

If *Memoirs* had been printed five years ago (and it's unlikely that without the pressure of the feminist movement any publisher would have been interested), it would no doubt have been ignored as another one of those melodramas by some "lady novelist." It is only when filtered through the prism of consciousness created by the women's liberation movement that *Memoirs* attains its significance.

The book reads as if Shulman spent a lot of time in a consciousness-raising group, jotting down thousands of examples of the subtleties of female oppression. These instances then become the ingredients of Sasha's story. All else is subordinated to their elaboration, giving the book an anecdotal style.

Shulman gets it all in. There are the

grade school bullies who teach little girls to stay out of "boys' territory," the onset of menstruation and the mystery surrounding this woundless bleeding, the agonizing "make-out" sessions in the backseat of a car, and the running away from all that to take a summer job waitressing in the mountains only to wind up struggling in the backseat of yet another parked car.

Later, there is an affair with her philosophy professor that ends miserably with a confrontation with his wife, the classroom discussions where women's contributions are regarded as impertinent interruptions, a dull marriage for the sake of marrying (after all, Sasha consoles herself, "none of his parts were missing"), and the male psychiatrist who sides with her husband and chides Sasha for denying her "instincts" by rejecting motherhood.

It's all there. And unlike those Hollywood productions where no matter how elaborate the sexual gymnastics, the women somehow manage never to get either (1) the clap or (2) pregnant, Sasha does both.

Memoirs is cemented together by Sasha's obsession with how she looks and whether men find her desirable. Snakelike, this theme twists throughout the novel, disappearing for a time, only to make a more venomous appearance later on.

Every person in her life functions as a mirror in which Sasha attempts to read her reflection and determine whether she is pretty. As the book progresses, the obsession becomes laced with panic. Sasha knows that as she grows older, she will grow uglier.

At the age of 24, she can sense a network of creeping ugliness spreading silently beneath her skin, about to push through. The emphasis this society places upon youthfulness and its own brand of beauty leads Sasha to regard life as a disintegrative process. One's pores enlarge, dimples crease, pimples scar, skin sags—and it's really all over at 21.

Perhaps the best section of the book—and one read by Shulman at a panel on women and literature at New York's Upper Manhattan Militant Forum—describes the high school Bunny Hop at which Sasha is proclaimed "queen." Here Shulman nostalgically documents what it was like to grow up in the 1950s when there were two types of females in the world—the virgins and those who "went all the way."

The former were the prudes; the latter were relegated to the status of obscene graffiti on the bathroom walls. There was no way to win. The passage is nostalgic only because the youth radicalization—is a powerful force in the high schools today and antiwar demonstrations are as much a part of high school life as proms.

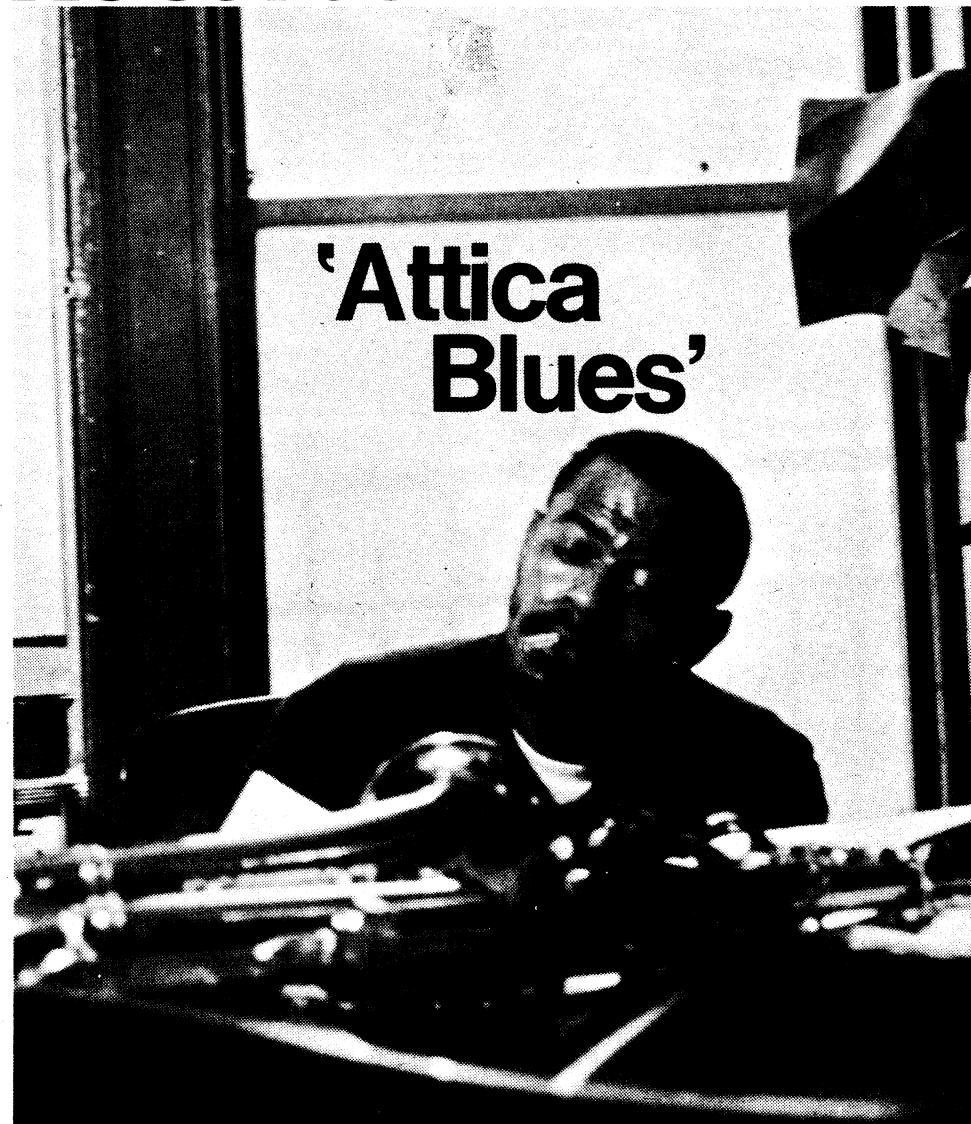
Sasha Davis is not exactly "Everywoman." Not many of us ever get to be prom queens. When Sasha's marriage begins to fall apart, she takes off for Spain and Rome to try to pull herself together—a way of coping that is beyond the reach of most women.

But the very fact that Sasha has so many things in her favor—looks, brains, education, wealth—and is still miserable and ready to resign from humanity at the age of 21, testifies to the depth of female oppression in this society. No one is spared.

The movie rights to *Memoirs* have just been sold. The theaters will no doubt bill it with *Portnoy's Complaint*. That's all right. It's about time growing up female got equal time.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Records



'Attica Blues'

Attica Blues by Archie Shepp and friends. Impulse/ABC records. 1972.

"If I had the chance to make one decision,
"Every man would walk this earth in equal condition. . . .
"And I'd put an end to war. . . ."

Archie Shepp's latest album approaches a synthesis of Black musical art and political consciousness only hinted at in his previous efforts.

This is Shepp's first recorded attempt to combine the small-group approach with a large, fluid, yet "unpolished" ensemble of eight to 28 artists playing with and against each other.

With the exception of "Attica Blues," "Blues for Brother George Jackson," and "Invocation to Mr. Parker," *Attica Blues* consists of slow, sometimes sweet, melodious, ballad-like compositions. But throughout even the sweetest of the romantic pieces runs a roughness, verging on discord, that reflects the tentativeness of the optimism expressed in the themes.

This is particularly apparent in "Ballad for a Child." The invocation to the ballad—written by Beaver Harris, a percussionist throughout the album, and read by civil liberties attorney William Kunstler—is repeated and modified in the lyrics and in Shepp's brilliant tenor sax solo.

The theme of the importance of youth in shaping the future runs throughout *Attica Blues*. The final song, "Quiet Dawn," was written by Cal Massey, who plays piano on several tracks. His seven-year-old daughter sings it. She presents that theme powerfully.

"Invocation to Mr. Parker," a tribute to Charlie Parker, is an interesting

"jazz poem" composed and recited by Bartholomew Grey.

Attica Blues is hardly the best thing Archie Shepp has created. For one thing, it is difficult to structure the work of a large group without stifling creative freedom. The album also suffers from an overemphasis on horns and vocals in places.

I recall a performance of this group in concert where a prominent feature was the driving power of a combination of African and Afro-American percussion work. Unfortunately, the engineering of *Attica Blues* doesn't do that as well.

Archie Shepp has been prominent for less than a decade. But in those years he has worked with many new and exciting trends in Black music. He brings to this art a cultural-political emphasis that has been mostly implied by others in the past, with the exception of such people as Max Roach, Billie Holliday, and Charles Mingus. His work opens up a new, important direction in Black music.

As I listened to "Steam," parts one and two, the thought crossed my mind that I was listening to a continuation of the work of John Coltrane. It is beyond the scope of this review to discuss Coltrane's contribution to Black music, but the reader can refer to Frank Kofsky's *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (Pathfinder Press, 1970) for a detailed analysis.

In my opinion, Archie Shepp comes closer than anyone else today to picking up where Coltrane was cut off. In addition, he begins to articulate more clearly the implied thrust of Coltrane's music—Black nationalism and political radicalism.

For that reason, *Attica Blues* is a significant work. It deserves a hearing, and more than a light one.

—RICHARD LESNIK

Carlos Feliciano wins acquittal

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

NEW YORK—An important victory was scored on June 22 in the ongoing effort to defend Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano from the complex maze of legal charges that have been brought against him.

A Bronx Supreme Court jury of nine men and three women acquitted Feliciano of all charges of attempted arson and bomb possession.

The prosecution had attempted to prove that Feliciano was planning to bomb a U. S. Army recruiting station on May 16, 1970. A pipe bomb, supposedly found in Feliciano's car by the police, was the main evidence offered by the prosecution. The defense contended that the bomb was planted by the prosecution's star witness, Andrew Gutierrez, a police detective who had been following Feliciano's movements for about a year.

Defense lawyers William Kunstler and Conrad Lynn brought out several blatant contradictions in the testimony of prosecution witnesses. In summarizing the case for the defense, Kunstler asked the jury to find Feliciano not-guilty only if they agreed that Feliciano was being framed-up; none of the essential facts of the case were in dispute except for who put the bomb in Feliciano's car.

The prosecutor, Kenneth O'Malley, also insisted that the jury would have to believe that Feliciano was being framed in order to acquit him.

After nine and a half hours of deliberations, the jury announced its decision of acquittal on all counts.

Feliciano still has two more trials to face. The next one is expected to begin in September in Manhattan Supreme Court. The charges are the same—attempted arson and bomb possession. This time, however, they involve an alleged attempt to blow up the General Electric building.

In pretrial publicity, prosecutor John Fine contended that Feliciano is an agent of "an alien government outside the limits of the United States," which he later indicated was Cuba. Fine also stated that Feliciano is a member of the MIRA (Movimiento Independientista Revolucionario Armado—Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement), an underground Puerto Rican independence group with an urban guerrilla orientation.

Alfredo Lopez, coordinator of the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, contends that these witch-hunt charges show the political nature of the trial. "The prosecutor is attempting to paint a picture of the independence movement as if it were full of terrorist bombers and violent agents. It's an

attack on the whole movement."

The principal "evidence" made public by the prosecution for the second trial consists of a piece of newspaper with Feliciano's fingerprint on it. The police allege that the newspaper was wrapped around a bomb found in the General Electric building. The other "evidence" consists of pipes and wires found in the building where Feliciano was employed as a superintendent.

After completing the second trial Feliciano faces still another. The third trial is on a charge of perjury based on a technicality. When Feliciano applied for a hunting rifle in 1968 he misunderstood a question on the application about whether he had ever been arrested. He thought it asked if he had ever been convicted.

Since he had been arrested (although never convicted to this day on any charge), the district attorney's office seized this flimsy excuse to indict him for perjury. Feliciano used the rifle only for hunting—a fact the district attorney has not disputed.

Funds are needed to pay legal and publicity expenses. Contributions can be sent to: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, P. O. Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013. Telephone: (212) OR4-6377.

2,000 ring Capitol

By RICH ROBOHM

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22—More than 2,000 antiwar demonstrators, most of them women and children, joined hands here today in an unbroken "Ring Around the Capitol."

As many as 2,000 more people who had departed from New York and Philadelphia were prevented from reaching D. C. by torrential rainstorms.

The protest took place as scheduled, despite a charge that the action was "racist" and demands that it be cancelled and replaced by a "summit conference" of certain antiwar and Black leaders.

The demands were raised at a news conference June 16 by local Black figures, including D. C. school board president Marion Barry; Mary Treadwell of Pride, Inc.; Walter Fauntroy, D. C. nonvoting delegate to Congress; John Gibson, who is associated with the Urban League and the Democratic Party; and Bob Lindsay, chairman of the D. C. Young Workers Liberation League.

Fauntroy later dissociated himself from the attack, saying he lent his name to the statement, without seeing it, on the advice of persons he trusted. He is reported to have told an antiwar activist that he "had high respect for the peace movement."

A number of Black leaders who did not sign the statement criticized it after it was released. Among these was Julius Hobson, vice-presidential candidate of the People's Party.

In the action today, Joan Baez, one of the central organizers, led the march from St. Mark's Church to encircle the Capitol at 1 p.m. After ringing the building, the crowd gathered for a rally. Then, after encountering some initial resistance from Capitol police, the demonstrators were allowed to enter the congressional halls to lobby their representatives.

Among the sponsors of the demonstration were LaDonna Harris of Americans for Indian Opportunity, who chaired today's rally; Ruth Gage-Colby; and Anais Nin.

Rally speakers included Cora Weiss of Women Strike for Peace, Representative William Ryan (D-N. Y.), Senator Fred Harris (D-Okla.), Candice Bergen, and Charles Cassell.



Charles Cassell

Militant/Flax Hermes

Cassell, a member of the D. C. school board, referred to the June 16 statement in his speech. He said he believed the attack on the antiwar movement "was politically motivated by people who have made no contribution to the struggle against the war." He expressed support for the right of people to demonstrate without restriction of their constitutional rights.

Members of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee participated in the demonstration and distributed literature about the Hiroshima Day antiwar activities that will take place Aug. 5.

...Meany

Continued from page 18

jingoistic proimperialist stands on foreign policy in the name of labor. And one can look for some alternative to strikes, since strikes, after all, disrupt the "partnership."

As international competition puts the squeeze on U. S. business today, strikes—and the gains workers can win through them—become a more acute problem for Meany's "partners" across the bargaining table. Thus his campaign to replace strikes with arbitration has picked up steam in recent months.

Early this year, for instance, the heads of six AFL-CIO maritime unions gathered for a conference at which they agreed that their unions would seek to avoid strikes, negotiate longer-

term contracts, and establish "a mechanism or procedure for the resolution of disputes without stoppages."

Commenting on the conference in the Feb. 22 *Washington Post*, Meany said: "We'd like to see some mechanism that would eliminate strikes, because we find that strikes are becoming more and more expensive not only to industry but to the membership we represent."

On April 18, Meany told the same thing to a Senate labor subcommittee studying legislation to replace the Taft-Hartley Act in dealing with transportation strikes. At the Senate hearing Meany stressed, as he always does, that what he favors is *voluntary* arbitration. He is absolutely opposed, he says, to *compulsory* arbitration.

Meany's distinction, however, does not amount to much of a difference in how arbitration will affect the work-

ers involved. If arbitration is compulsory, a government board has the power to enforce a settlement on terms it deems fair. Under the voluntary arrangement, union representatives agree in advance to abide by the terms a "neutral" board declares to be fair. While the latter setup preserves a role for the bureaucrats in maneuvering to get rank-and-file acceptance of a handed-down settlement, it is essentially no different from the compulsory arrangement.

Both forms of arbitration hit at a basic weapon of the unions—the strike. This is what Meany and the trade-union bureaucracy have to propose at a time when what is required is an all-out mobilization of the labor movement to fight back against the attack on living standards by the bosses and the government.

The National Picket Line

GOVERNMENT COUNCIL CUTS WORKERS' WAGES: Lowering the living standard of the working class is the purpose of the government wage controls. This was demonstrated again on June 12 when the president's Cost of Living Council overruled a wage increase ordered by the District of Columbia's Minimum Wage Board.

The board's decree would have raised the minimum hourly wage for D. C. hotel and restaurant workers from \$1.60 to \$2.25. It would have affected 41,500 workers, the vast majority of whom are unorganized. About 8,000 union members in the industry have a \$2-an-hour minimum scale.

The \$2.25 an hour base had been set by the unanimous decision of the board's labor, management, and government members.

The Cost of Living Council's official reason for knocking down the new wage base was that it would drive small operators out of business. This argument was substituted for the usual contention that high wages cause inflation.

The Cost of Living Council is interested in maintaining its own \$1.90-an-hour level, which it set earlier this year as the line for exempting wages of the "working poor" from the government controls program. Consequently, it indicated that it will approve a \$1.90-an-hour minimum wage for hotel and restaurant workers in the nation's capital.

This is the first time the government wage-control machinery has been used to knock down a legally set wage-scale. The action has been appealed to the Pay Board, a body the Cost of Living Council has jurisdiction over.

The June 17 *AFL-CIO News* reported that the action of the Cost of Living Council "took on national significance in view of the amendments to the Fair Labor Stan-

dards Act pending in Congress." These amendments would raise the minimum wage.

"The Administration," said *AFL-CIO News*, "has been fighting to hold down the amount of the increase and the Senate Labor Committee has approved legislation calling for a two-step raise to \$2.20 an hour."

Union leaders, according to the *AFL-CIO* paper, "voiced outrage." But their outrage is not directed against the wage-control program because that program is supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The labor skates have a better issue here. They can denounce their \$1.90 enemies and support their \$2.20 "friends."

EXPLOITATION OF DAY LABORERS: In New York City an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 unskilled day laborers are paid about \$2.18 an hour. Mainly Black and Puerto Rican, many of them Vietnam veterans, they find work through day-labor contractors who charge an average of \$3.42 an hour for the services of these workers. Thus, the labor contractor pockets a 36 percent profit.

A recent survey of these conditions conducted by students at the New York University School of Law found that day laborers are not paid travel time or standby time. In addition, the labor contractors evade the New York State wages and hours laws that afford minimal protection to full-time workers.

These "casual" laborers, numbering millions in this country, are classified as "working poor." The Cost of Living Council, in line with its ruling in the case of hotel and restaurant workers in Washington, D. C., would hold wages of these "working poor" to \$1.90 an hour. Otherwise some of the smaller labor contractors might be forced out of business.

—FRANK LOVELL

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 68 Peachtree St. N.E., (Third Floor) at 8:30 p.m. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

Mon., July 3: Leninist Party Organization.
Thurs., July 6: Stalinism

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 611 W. 29th. For more information, call (512) 478-8602.
Fri., July 7; Sat., July 8; Sun., July 9: Principles of a Leninist Party. Teacher: Dan Styron.

BAY AREA, CALIF.

TOUR SCHEDULE FOR ANDREW PULLEY, SWP VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (partial listing):

Mon., July 3, 6:30 a.m. Rally, ILWU Hall, 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco.

Wed., July 5. Campaign Meetings: Ohlone College, 10 a.m.; UC Berkeley, East Pauley Ballroom, 12 noon; Popace Club, 35 S. Park, San Francisco, 7 p.m.; Model Cities-Hunters Point, 1551 Newcomb, San Francisco, 8:30 p.m.

Thurs., July 6. Campaign Meeting: San Francisco State College, 12 noon; West Edition Project Area Committee Meeting, 1511 Fillmore St., San Francisco, 8 p.m.

Fri., July 7. Campaign Meeting, Kimbell Park, San Francisco, 2 p.m.

BOSTON

WHOSE RIGHT TO LIFE? Speakers: Lorrie Adolewski, coordinator of Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC); Pam Raab, high school activist; representative of the Massachusetts Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws (MORAL). Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

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

VOICES OF DISSENT. Roots of Rock—Music and commentary. Wed., July 5, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1 Sat., July 8, 6 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Dinner served at 6:30 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

Tues., July 4: The Character and Composition of the Revolutionary Workers Party. Teacher: Joe Henry.
Wed., July 5: First class in series on Stalinism: Why Stalinism Triumphed. Teacher: Dan Rosenshine, staff writer for The Militant.

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND: THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Teacher for a three-class series: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant.

Fri., July 7, Program for the African Revolution, 8 p.m.

Sat., July 8, Balance Sheet of Ghana Under Nkrumah, 3:40 p.m.; Balance Sheet of Tanzania and Other Countries, 5-6:30 p.m. Refreshments, 7 p.m.; Dinner, 7:30 p.m.; Party, 9 p.m.

CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—COMMUNIST PARTY DEBATE. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, and Jack Kling, chairman of Illinois Communist Party. Sun., July 2, 6-7 p.m. on WGN-TV, Channel 9.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Chicago Socialist Summer School. 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.

July 7, 8, 9: Special summer school weekend: Three classes on the labor movement. Teacher: Frank Lovell, SWP trade-union director.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate; Pat Grogan, SWP candidate for governor; Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for state's attorney. Sat., July 8, 8 p.m. YMCA, 37 S. Wabash.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Wednesday evenings at 6:45 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.

Wed., July 5. The Leninist Conception of the United Front.

Sat., July 8. Special weekend series of three classes on Origins and Character of Chinese Stalinism. First class at 11 a.m.

DENVER

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.

Tues., July 4: Wilhelm Reich and Marxist Theory.

Thurs., July 6: The Transitional Program.

Sun., July 9: The Shachtman Fight.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes 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, 6409 Lyons Ave. Classes include: The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist Manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The Popular Front vs. the United Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND: Revolutionary advances of the postwar period. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

FORUM. Fri., July 7, 8:30 p.m.: Post-WW II Upsurges: Popular Front vs. United Front and Bureaucratic-Military Transition or Revolutionary Change. Speaker: Theodore Edwards. Donation: \$1.

CLASS. Sat., July 8, 7 p.m.: U.S. Labor's Greatest Upsurge. Donation: 50c.

CAMPAIGN PARTY TO WELCOME ANDREW PULLEY, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., July 8, 9 p.m. 1346 N. McCadden (1 block east of Highland). Donation: \$1.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN AMERICA. A series of classes sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. 50c per class or \$6 for entire summer school. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 6: The Debate on the Russian Question. Teacher: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. Socialist Summer School. Weekly series of classes until Aug. 9. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). 50c per class or \$5 for entire series, including special weekend classes. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 5, 8 p.m.: The First 10 Years of American Communism: History of the CPUSA: 1919-1928. Teacher: Peter Seidman.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND: Principles of Leninist party organization. Classes held at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. 50c per class. Ausp Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Teacher for all four classes: Andrea Davis. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

Sat., July 8: 10 a.m., continental breakfast; 11 a.m., Class 1; 2 p.m., Class 2.

Sun., July 9: 10 a.m., continental breakfast; 11 a.m., Class 3; 2 p.m., Class 4.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held on Sunday at 4 p.m. and Tuesday evenings at 6:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). \$5 for whole series; 50c per class. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

Tues., July 4: The Transitional Program.

FORUM: Fri., July 7, 7:30 p.m. The Second Wave of Feminism. Speaker: Dianne Feeley. Donation: \$1; h.s. students 50c.

PORTLAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201. Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

Wed., July 5, 7 p.m.: The Burnham-Shachtman Split.

Thurs., July 6, 6 p.m.: The Cochran Split.

Fri., July 7, 7 p.m.: The Regroupment Period. Teacher for all three classes: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau.

SAN FRANCISCO

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 2338 Market St. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

Thurs., July 6: History of the Russian Revolution.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featured speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. Sanchez School, Sanchez Street. For more information, call (415) 864-5056.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at University of Washington HUB (room will be posted). Admission: \$5 for entire summer school or 50c for individual session. For more information, call (206) 523-2555.

Sat., July 8, 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.; Sun., July 9, 1 p.m. Three-part series on What is Leninism? Teacher: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

Thurs., July 6. First class of series on Transitional Program: Communist Manifesto. Teacher: Jane Van Deusen.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. 75c per class, \$10 for entire summer school. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Wed., July 5, 8 p.m.: Stalinism. Teacher: Herman Fagg.

Fri., July 7, 8 p.m.: Transitional Program: Reform or Revolution. Teacher: Herman Fagg.

...U.N.

Continued from page 8

conferences, quoting leftist scientists, liberation fighters from Angola and Mozambique, and other representatives of oppressed nations.

Seeing the accomplishment of Stockholm as consciousness-raising, Gelbspan articulates the view of the spokesmen and spokeswoman there from the earth's majority:

"... in Stockholm one gets the international flavor of the whole thing. And in a global setting, the hideous, anti-life direction of American policy on all fronts becomes unbearably obvious. On this earth at this time the greatest threat to human life is the United States."

...Hanoi

Continued from page 5

the war that revolutionary socialists have repeatedly emphasized: Washington's terms to Hanoi mean leaving U.S. imperialism a foothold in Saigon. This is what the Vietminh, under the pressure of Peking and Moscow, agreed to in 1954. The result is well known to the entire world. They have not agreed to doing the same thing again, and that is why the bombs keep falling.

It does not mean that the revolutionaries can hold out indefinitely. Aid from Moscow and Peking is being doled out with an eyedropper while these bureaucracies cooperate with Nixon in pressing for new talks. The bombing pressure is the most intense in the history of warfare.

But there is another lesson of the history of the war and it bears emphasizing over and over again. The antiwar movement has reduced Nixon's room for maneuver; it can press Washington to withdraw from Southeast Asia entirely. This is the most pressing task that faces us today.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, 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.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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: Red Bank: YSA, c/o Vince Manning, 10 Washington St., Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 503 Carlisle S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

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.

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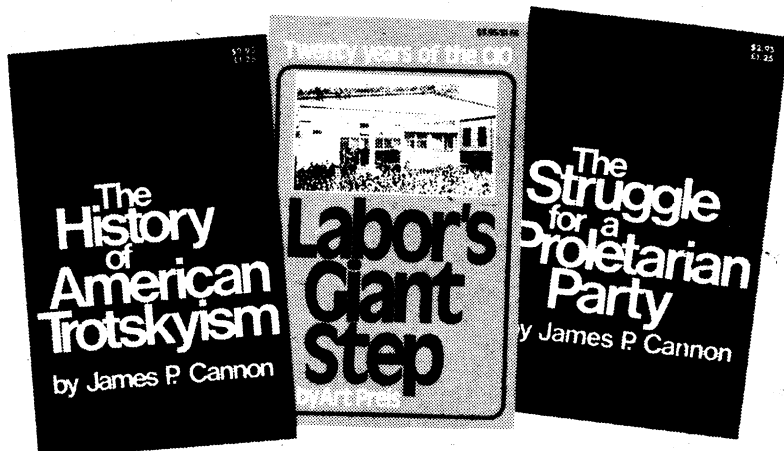
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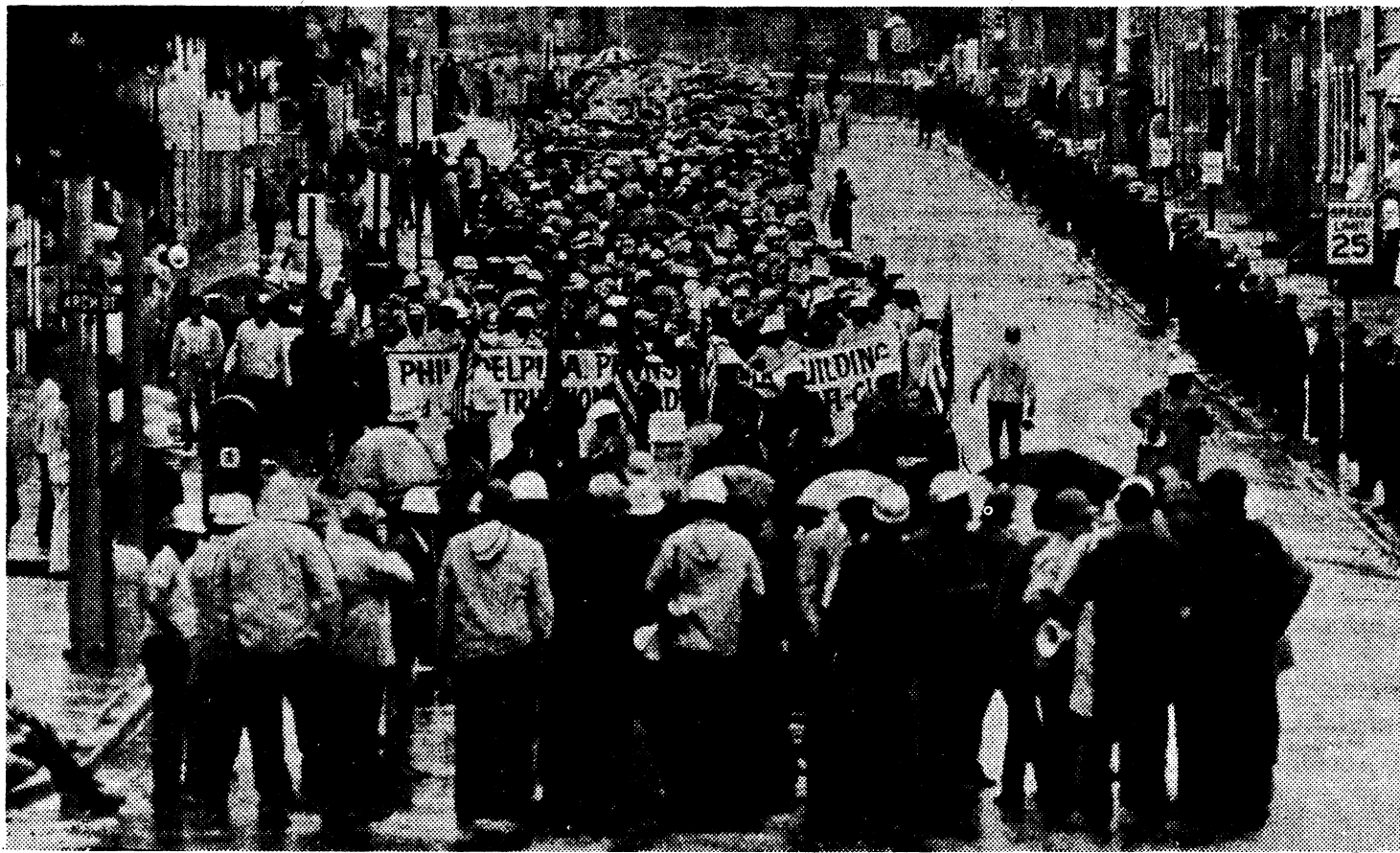
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THE MILITANT

35,000 construction workers protest drive to break unions



Workers march through heavy rain in Norristown, Pa., June 22 to protest company efforts to break building-trades unions.

By ROSE OGDEN

NORRISTOWN, Pa. — Well over 35,000 trade-union members marched June 22 in a demonstration organized by the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council to protest a court injunction against picketing a nonunion construction site.

Chanting "Altemose has got to go!" the marchers covered the seven miles from Plymouth Meeting Mall to Montgomery County courthouse and back again in a drenching hurricane rain between 6 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. "Altemose" refers to the Altemose Construction Company, the nonunion firm the building-trades unions have been picketing.

Most marchers wore signs saying "We protest the decision of the Montgomery County Courthouse against organized labor." The militant demonstration involved 74 union locals from Philadelphia and representatives of 150-200 labor organizations throughout the state. Although the majority of the workers were from the building trades, other unions represented included the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Marchers came from as far away as New York, New Jersey, and Maryland. Less than one-third of the marchers—all wearing hard hats—were under 30 years of age. Only about 50 Black workers participated, reflecting the discriminatory membership policy of the union.

Despite this fact, the character of the demonstration was that of a union struggle against government and big business attacks, rather than a fight to keep Blacks and Puerto Ricans out of the union.

Although the unions clearly stated that the demonstration would be peaceful, the state responded by mobilizing more than 2,000 state and local police. Before the march, state police commissioner Rocco Urella had requested that the unions send 2,000 men to help communities throughout

Pennsylvania hit by hurricane rains and floods. As busloads of union men left the march to help evacuate survivors in Harrisburg, the 2,000 state troopers unloaded from buses to police the demonstration.

The demonstrators raised pointed questions about the stationing of so many troopers along the line of march and in such bad weather. "Wouldn't it be more sensible," they wanted to know, "to send those rain-drenched idlers into the flooded areas, where they could be put to work helping the flood victims?"

It was apparently more important to the state to display its strength in an attempt to intimidate the union movement than to utilize its forces to aid the thousands of Pennsylvanians whose lives were in danger because of the floods.

The specific focus of the demonstration was the June 5 injunction against picketing. But the broader issue was the growing strength of nonunion contractors, representing a threat to the existence of the building-trades unions.

Altemose is affiliated with the Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc. (ABC), an organization of nonunion contractors that has been organizing for approximately eight years in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and parts of the Midwest, against the building-trades union.

In its attempt to break the construction unions, ABC has been organizing on a large scale. It gets many of its recruits from Appalachia. Others come from prisons that require men to have jobs before they can get parole.

Altemose requested the injunction, following a raid on the Sheraton-Hilton Hotel site that resulted in more than \$300,000 in damage. The unions deny responsibility for this action and are demanding their constitutional right to continue picketing.

This mass demonstration was the first offensive action by the building-

trades unions to answer the open-shop attacks on organized labor. It set an example of militant trade unionism for other unions across the country facing the same antiunion attacks by employers, the government, and the courts.

Bernard Katz, attorney for the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council, stated that this demonstration is only the beginning. "We will be back," he promised, "at least in equal numbers, for various forms of protest."

Although this demonstration was a significant step forward for the union movement, it did not set forth a long-term strategy for the construction workers.

The policy of having many building-trades unions keeps the membership books closed and forces many skilled mechanics to work on union permits. This, along with rampant racism in some of these unions, has made it easier for open-shop contractors like Altemose to hire both Black and white unorganized workers.

The lack of jobs suffered by building-trades unions results from the recent emergence of many open-shop contractors. The industry is not booming, but it is the largest single industry in the country and is in far better shape than most others.

The building-trades unions can force the open-shop contractors into line when they appeal directly to the workers involved in these scab operations and when they take action to protect the interests of the unemployed.

Some building-trades unions have fought for the six-hour day. If this measure were applied throughout the building trades with no reduction in weekly take-home pay, it would open up tens of thousands of new jobs.

Many new jobs would also be created if the money spent on the war in Vietnam were used to rebuild the deteriorating cities. The demand to end the war has, until now, been largely overlooked or opposed by the building-trades unions.

Ellsberg, Russo, deny new charge

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, June 24 — The Pentagon papers defendants vigorously denied a government charge that they had released previously undisclosed volumes of the Pentagon papers to columnist Jack Anderson.

When defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo made the Pentagon papers available to the *New York Times* and other newspapers, several volumes dealing with current negotiations on the Vietnam war were not included. Anderson has recently published information based on these volumes.

The prosecution has asked the court to investigate whether the defendants gave Anderson copies of the four volumes the court provided them to help prepare their defense.

The court order making the volumes available to the defendants stipulated: 1) that they be kept secret, and 2) that the court be provided with a list of names of those in the defense who were to have access to them.

The defendants declared that the prosecution's charge was "without fact or foundation." "This false allegation by the Justice Department," they declared, "appears to be a last-ditch, desperate move to create prejudice against the defendants in a case which the American people are coming more and more to recognize as a hoax. . . .

"If a leak did in fact occur," the defendants stated, "the most likely possibility is that it came from the government. Copies of the Pentagon papers have been made available to the Congress, to many past and present government officials, and to the U. S. Attorney's Office."

"As the defense has established by affidavit in this case, there is a consistent history of leaks to the public by government officials of otherwise 'secret' information. If an investigation is to be conducted, it should be directed to the government prosecutors and other officials themselves."

Pretrial motions are still being argued before Judge Matt Byrne. He has agreed to hear testimony on defense arguments that the grand jury that indicted Ellsberg and Russo for violations of the Espionage Act did not properly represent young people and other sections of the community.

Judge Byrne denied a motion to sever and postpone Russo's case. Russo requested that his case be postponed because he is awaiting a U. S. Supreme Court decision on a bid to quash the indictment against him. Russo asked that his case be dismissed on the grounds that the grand jury before which he had been summoned had granted him immunity from prosecution.

The Supreme Court decision on Russo's case is expected soon.



Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo.