

THE MILITANT

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

N. Vietnamese face flood peril

Nixon bombs dikes

— page 3



LNS/Vietnam Veterans Against the War

Between April 10 and June 10, U.S. planes carried out more than 68 bombing raids against North Vietnam's dike system. Thirty-two important branches of the dike system and 31 hydraulic power plants were badly damaged. These facts were given at a June 23 news conference in Paris by Vo Van Sung, North Vietnam's representative in France, according to the July 5 *Liberation News Service*.

Sung explained, "As a result of these attacks, the dikes may be unable to resist when the rivers reach their high water levels in July, August and September. If the dikes

burst under pressure, a catastrophe affecting millions would take place, a catastrophe many times worse than the floods of Rapid City (South Dakota)."

Contrary to Nixon's denials that the dikes are being bombed, the above photo taken June 18 in Nan Ha Province, south of Hanoi, shows a partially destroyed dike. The photo was given to members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War who were in Paris for a meeting with Paris delegations of the National Liberation Front, the North Vietnamese government, the Pathet Lao, and the National United Front of Cambodia.

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PROSECUTORS WORRIED: "The tide is coming in incredibly fast," said Deputy Attorney General Nelson Kemp-sky of California, speaking at a meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General. "Every time a judge starts thinking about due process for prison inmates, we're in trouble," continued the troubled Mr. Kemp-sky.

According to the June 29 *New York Times*, Kemp-sky urged his colleagues to help make judges "aware of the practical aspects" of the prison system.

NOW YOU SEE THEM, NOW YOU DON'T: The June 28 *New York Times* reports that Israeli Premier Golda Meir has taken time out from supervising the destruction



Golda Meir

Lutte Ouvriere

of Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps to attend the twelfth congress of the reformist Socialist International.

"It's not just Socialist nostalgia that's motivating Golda to spend so much time here," one Israeli official explained. "The Socialist (Second) International is one of the few prestige organizations that have backed Israel during the six-day war and ever since."

No doubt these so-called socialists were reassured when Meir made it clear in 1969 that "There was no such thing as Palestinians. . . . It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

Correction

The article in last week's *Militant* on the Minneapolis Teamster Rebellion banquet incorrectly gives journalist Sam Romer's first name as Max.

VIETNAMESE STUDENTS FACE VICTIMIZATION: Seven South Vietnamese students studying in the United States are facing actions by the U.S. and Saigon governments to force them to return to Vietnam, reports the June 23 *New York Times*. Their public antiwar activity, including speeches, news conferences, and demonstrations, has resulted in their recall by Saigon and the cutting off of their stipends from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

AID officials say that the students will be allowed to finish the school year. They claim that letters sent to four of the students informing them that "your program has been terminated effective June 1, 1972," were "an administrative error." Presumably the phone calls from U.S. officials to the three other students, one of whom was told to be ready to leave by the next evening, were also "errors."

All seven students believe that their return to Vietnam will result in victimization by the Thieu regime for their antiwar views. One of the students, Nguyen Tang Huyen, has asked for political asylum in the U.S.

AUSTIN SMC FIGHTS EVICTION: The executive committee of the University YMCA is attempting to evict the Austin Student Mobilization Committee from its offices in the "Y." The pretexts for the eviction include the false

and contradictory claims that the SMC is inactive and not using the office, and that it leaves the building dirty.

Letters of protest from Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor Noam Chomsky and others have resulted in a postponement of the eviction. But more are needed. Write: Bayard Breeding, Director, University YMCA, 2330 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas 78705.

50,000 FOR 'QUEBEC FRANCAIS': More than 50,000 Quebecois took to the streets in Montreal on June 25 to celebrate Saint-Jean-Baptiste day. This nationalist festival took on the character of a political demonstration in dozens of cities and towns in Quebec. The theme was "for a French Quebec."

COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVISTS HARASSED: The *Daily World* reports that police in Nashville, Tenn., and St. Louis, Mo., have been attempting to intimidate Communist Party campaign workers. People petitioning to put the CP on the Missouri ballot and others leafletting to build a Nashville meeting for Jarvis Tyner, the CP's vice-presidential candidate, have frequently been stopped by cops and harassed.

On June 4, five carloads of police armed with shotguns entered the Nashville headquarters of the Young Workers Liberation League at 1:30 a.m. The cops used abusive language and threatened the people at the headquarters. Although they had no search warrant, they searched people and took \$16 worth of literature.

COMMUNIST PARTY IN HOOLIGAN ATTACK: The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) reports that two of its members selling newspapers outside the Center for Marxist Education in New York June 28 were attacked by four members of the Communist Party (CP). An NCLC press release tentatively identified the leader of the goon squad as New York State CP Chairman Rasheed Storey. The release stated that Storey broke the nose of one NCLC member during the attack.

VICTORY FOR HUMBERTO PAGAN: A Canadian court ruled on June 27 against the U.S. government's attempt to extradite Puerto Rican independence fighter Humberto Pagan. The U.S. is expected to appeal the decision.

GAYS MARCH ON WEST COAST: Nearly 1,000 gay demonstrators marched down Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles on June 25 as thousands of onlookers cheered. Participants in the Christopher Street West demonstration were demanding the repeal of laws legislating sexual behavior between consenting adults, the release of prisoners jailed on the basis of such laws, an end to discrimination against gays in all areas of life, and an end to police harassment of gays.

In San Francisco, 2,000 gay men and women marched 22 blocks, according to the June 26 *San Francisco Chronicle*. Police estimated that up to 15,000 cheering spectators lined the march route.



Militant/Harry Ring

Christopher Street West march in Los Angeles

GAY PRIDE IN CHICAGO: Art Gursch reports from Chicago that about 1,000 people participated in the gay pride parade there on June 25. On June 27 a noon rally of 100 was held at the Chicago Civic Center to protest housing and job discrimination against gays. The following day 25 people protested the treatment of gay prisoners at Cook County jail.

SWP OPEN LETTER TO CHRISTOPHER STREET LIBERATION DAY COMMITTEE: On June 27 the New York Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee sent an open letter to the organizers of the Christopher Street Liberation Day march. The letter protests several incidents in which socialist literature being distributed on the June 25 march was grabbed from people's hands and destroyed.

The letter pointed out that such attacks threaten the right of all participants in the gay movement to hear, discuss, and advocate varying ideas. It requested that the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee join with the SWP in protesting such violations of the official march policy.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Escalated U.S. air war in fourth month

'Bombing Vietnam into the Stone Age'

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 5 — The daily horror unleashed in Vietnam by American bombers cannot be comprehended without being there. This is the conviction expressed by a *New York Times* correspondent who was recently in Hanoi.

"Most Americans thought it grotesque and horrifying when Gen. Curtis LeMay spoke in 1965 of bombing the North Vietnamese 'back into the Stone Age,'" Anthony Lewis wrote in his *Times* column July 3. "But something very like that is happening right now. Two weeks ago it was said that 60 per cent of North Vietnam's industry, such as it was, had been knocked out. . . . Le Monde's highly respected correspondent in Saigon, Jean-Claude Pomonti, wrote recently: 'North Vietnam is returning to the Stone Age at a gallop.'"

U. S. bombs are pouring on the

How can Americans, who were always the most generous and sympathetic of people, close their eyes to their own Government's methodical, remorseless savaging of a small country's economy and life? The answer must lie not only in weariness with this war but in an inability to understand what bombing and shelling mean. American civilians have never had to live under bombardment. A month of life as the North Vietnamese live it, even a few days, would make remoteness impossible.

In the long run, Americans will not be able to keep the facts at arm's length. History will remember. In due course our children will ask, as German children did: What was the reason for the terror? What did America expect to gain? Where were you?

— Anthony Lewis,
New York Times, July 3

cities, villages and towns of North Vietnam, industrial centers, and even the vital dikes of the Red River delta.

Senator Edward Kennedy recently reported the staggering total bomb tonnages. "As of May 31," Kennedy stated June 29, "our country has dropped over Indochina nearly 6,360,000 tons of bombs. This is over 10 times the tonnage dropped during the Korean war, and over 3 times the tonnage dropped during all of World War II. In 1972, the tonnage has risen sharply from nearly 56,800 tons in January to nearly 105,800 tons in May—the bulk of it, presumably, over North Vietnam. For anyone to suggest these bombs have little impact on civilians—on the creation of war victims—defies understanding and commonsense." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 10660.)

An eyewitness in Hanoi, the Swedish ambassador to the North Vietnamese capital, accused the United States of pursuing "a policy of annihilation" in its bombing of North Vietnam. According to the *Washington Post* June 29, "The ambassador said it was not true that the Americans were bombing only military targets. They were dropping antipersonnel bombs on housing areas, schools and hospitals. . . .

"The biggest worry at the moment is the dams. The Red River has already begun to rise and it reaches its highest point in July and August. The Americans are aiming at the dams and dikes. If the river swells to the same level as last year there will be an immense catastrophe."

President Nixon deliberately refused to state in categorical terms that Washington would not bomb the dikes. Asked about this pressing matter in his news conference June 29, Nixon evasively declared, "We have had orders out not to hit dikes. . . . I do not intend to allow any orders to go out which would involve civilian casualties if they can be avoided."

Bombing the dikes

Anthony Lewis responded to Nixon's assertions in his July 3 column. "The President . . . gave assurances . . . that he had given orders not to hit the dikes of North Vietnam. The next day the A.F.P. [Agence France-Presse] correspondent visited Phu Ly, forty miles south of Hanoi, and reported that a dike there had been demolished by American aircraft. He said he saw destroyed sluice gates, houses bombed nearby and bomb craters being filled by women with their hands."

This massive bombing of Vietnam in the North and in the South should answer for all time those who declare that the Saigon regime could stand without U.S. support. Obviously the liberation forces would have been victorious if Nixon hadn't sent in the waves of bombers.

"It is clear to everyone here," correspondent Craig R. Whitney wrote from Saigon in the *New York Times*, July 2, "that if most of the steam has gone out of the North Vietnamese offensive, it is due at least as much to the massive use of American air and sea power as to the fighting ability of Saigon's forces on the ground. And plans are being laid to continue this air and naval involvement for a long time to come." (Emphasis added.)

Whitney gave figures showing that Nixon has not reduced U.S. military strength in Southeast Asia since the revolutionary offensive began: "The combination of a massive buildup of air strength at seven airbases in Thailand and the deployment of the largest naval fleet since World War II in the waters off Vietnam has meant that American military strength in Indochina has remained about constant since the North Vietnamese offensive began last March.

"At that time, there were 95,500 American soldiers in Vietnam, 15,000 sailors offshore and about 32,000, mostly airmen, in Thailand, a total of about 142,500 men. At the end of this month, the total will be 141,000 — 50,000 in Thailand, 42,000 in the Seventh Fleet and 49,000 in Vietnam."

Rainmaking

Meanwhile it has been revealed that the Pentagon has been consistently using yet another "technologically advanced" weapon in its genocidal Vietnam arsenal—rainmaking designed to hinder troop and supply movements and suppress antiaircraft fire. An undisclosed chemical to produce acidic rain is also used to destroy mechanical equipment, including radar, trucks, and tanks.

What are the effects of the artificially produced acidic rain? Dr. Matthew Meselson, a professor of biology at Harvard University, wrote in the June 16 issue of *Science* magazine: "It is obvious that weather modification used as a weapon of war has the potential for causing large-scale and quite possibly uncontrollable and unpredictable destruction. Furthermore, such destruction might well have a far greater impact on civilians than on combatants. This would be especially true in areas where subsistence agriculture is practiced, in food-deficit areas, and in areas subject to flooding."



U. S. bombs strike Haiphong

Refugees at highest level in war's history

More South Vietnamese have become refugees in the wake of the recent U. S. escalation of bombing than in any previous period of the war, including the Tet offensive of 1968. These are the conclusions of the Senate subcommittee on refugees headed by Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy, reported in the *Congressional Record* June 29.

"The flow of refugees in South Vietnam continues at an alarming rate," Kennedy stated. "The Agency for International Development—AID—informed me yesterday, that since their testimony before the Refugee Subcommittee on May 8—the official figure for new refugees in government-held territory increased by at least 125,000—a daily average approaching 3,000. The cumulative official figure since early April now stands at more than 814,000, with the bulk of these people in military region 1. Based on unreported data including displaced persons in enemy controlled territory, the subcommittee estimates more than 1,200,000 new refugees since April 1. The subcommittee now estimates that the cumulative total of refugees since 1965, approaches

nearly 8 million men, women, and children—nearly one-half of South Vietnam's population.

"As if this were not enough cause for concern, civilian casualties also continue at an alarming rate. . . .

"Our estimates put the number of civilian casualties during [April and the first week of May] at some 40,000 to 50,000—including some 15,000 deaths. . . . During May, another 30,000 to 40,000 civilian casualties probably occurred in South Vietnam—putting the total for April and May at nearly 80,000—including as many as 25,000 deaths. . . .

"The human suffering in South Vietnam staggers the imagination. It is difficult to comprehend the aggregate statistics of war victims in South Vietnam—and all of Indochina. It is even more difficult to comprehend the implication of these statistics—and the continuing war—on the social fabric of nations confronted with massive upheaval and total war. But few will disagree that a human swamp of rootless people and orphans and widows and war victims of all kinds, exists in Indochina."



South Vietnamese refugees flee battle zones

States debate anti-abortion bills

Support grows for national abortion rights conference

By SUSAN LAMONT

Support is growing for the third national women's abortion action conference, as attacks on the right to abortion continue in a number of state legislatures.

The conference, sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), will take place July 15-16 at Hunter College in New York City.

Some of the more than 1,000 plaintiffs involved in the *Women vs. Connecticut* class-action suit are helping to build the conference. They won a court ruling in April striking down

fundamental rights of women already acknowledged by the federal court that invalidated the old law. A June 30 hearing on the case in Hartford drew testimony from a wide range of women who had suffered from the restrictive abortion law. A final hearing is scheduled for July 21, with a ruling expected in August.

In Massachusetts, anti-abortion forces have launched a double-barreled attack. The House has passed the so-called Child Welfare Bill, which grants fetuses legal rights from the moment of conception. In addition, an amendment has been proposed to the state's constitution: "Every child [sic], from the moment of conception, shall be entitled to the rights of all citizens."

A special joint session of the legislature on June 14, meeting as the Constitutional Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed the amendment without debate. Before the amendment can become law another constitutional convention and a statewide referendum must endorse it.

The Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC) helped organize a demonstration at the convention to protest the amendment. In addition, BOWAAC is working with other groups to collect signatures to place a referendum supporting the right to abortion on the state ballot next November. BOWAAC has scheduled a series of fund-raising activities to build the July 15-16 conference in New York.

On June 20 the Pennsylvania House passed Representative Martin Mullen's bill prohibiting all abortions. The bill had been amended to permit abortion if a three-doctor hospital panel decided that a pregnant woman's life was in danger. The bill and the amendment were passed overwhelmingly. The legislators soundly rejected a bill to allow abortion on request up to the sixteenth week of pregnancy. It is expected that the Mullen bill will also pass the Senate.

This legislative action flew in the

face of the recommendations just released by the Pennsylvania Abortion Law Commission. Consisting of 23 women, this first all-women commission on abortion was established in January by Governor Milton Shapp. The majority of the commission recommended the removal of all criminal sanctions against abortion.

Protesting the legislature's action, Philadelphia WONAAC, the Pennsylvania Abortion Rights Association, the Philadelphia National Organization for Women, and the Philadelphia Women's Political Caucus jointly sponsored a picket line at Philadelphia's City Hall on June 24.

The attacks on the right to abortion occur at a time when the U. S. Supreme Court has refused to take any steps to protect women's rights. On June 26, the Supreme Court stated that it will not rule until next fall on the Texas and Georgia cases before it that challenge the constitutionality of the states' abortion laws.

Alerted to the threats posed by the anti-abortion forces, women around the country have responded enthusiastically to the upcoming WONAAC conference. Activists in the newly formed Long Island, N. Y., WONAAC chapter raised \$300 in one day of button sales and leafletting at shopping centers. In New Jersey's Bergen County, a group of women are planning to form a WONAAC chapter and are building for the conference.

The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition (IWAC) has already filled one and a half buses for the conference. Women from Minnesota will be driving to Chicago to ride the IWAC buses.

In Cleveland women from NOW, the Abortion Project Coalition, Sisters in Struggle, and the Gay Activists Alliance are working together to bring women to the conference.

For more information, contact WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 675-9150.

NPAC answers Nixon on troops, bombing

The following statement by National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) coordinator Stephanie Coontz was released on June 28. Coontz will report on her two-month tour of Europe, where she addressed some 65 antiwar demonstrations, at a New York meeting on Tuesday, July 11. The meeting will take place at 8 p. m. at Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 169, 33 West 14th St., New York.

Nixon's latest "troop withdrawal" announcement is nothing but a shell game designed to divert attention from his continuing escalation of the war in Indochina, as represented by the raids against the center of Hanoi.

At the same time as Nixon announces the reduction of U. S. troops in Vietnam to "only" 39,000, he has quietly raised troop levels in Thailand from 32,000 to 49,000.

How can Nixon have the gall to claim he is ending U. S. involvement



Militant/Howard Petrick

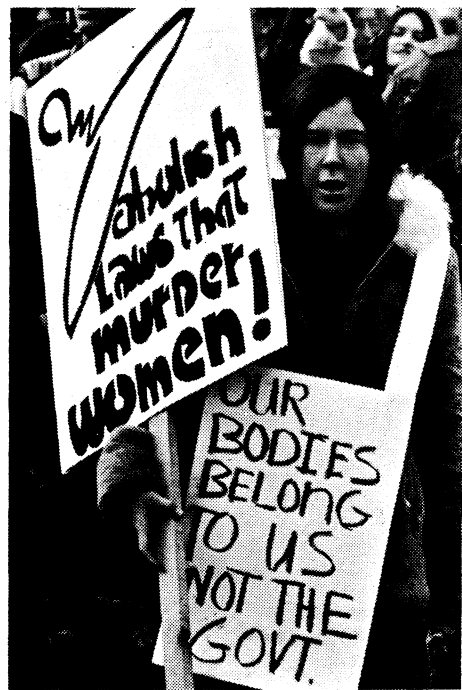
Stephanie Coontz

in Indochina when he has ordered bombing raids of unprecedented severity, built up troops and war materiel in Thailand, and shoveled millions of dollars into propping up a corrupt Saigon regime which nobody but Nixon supports?

Coming on top of the mining of Haiphong, the strikes against the dikes, and the dramatic buildup in Thailand, the new raids represent a reckless escalation of the war to which the world antiwar movement must respond.

In my discussions with the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam] in Paris, they emphasized that the ruthless, indiscriminate bombing of the U. S. has been unable to stop the forces fighting against U. S. intervention, and they argued that the Saigon regime had been more thoroughly discredited than ever by its total reliance on U. S. air power. Nevertheless, the bombing is inflicting tremendous punishment on the Indochinese people.

I discussed with leaders of the European antiwar movement the coordination of international antiwar activities this summer and fall, such as the actions called by NPAC and GENSUIKEN [Japanese anti-nuclear-weapons organization] on August 5-9. These actions, timed to commemorate the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, can be used to call attention to the fact that U. S. bombing has already created the equivalent of 450 Hiroshimas in Vietnam, and to demand that the U. S. end the slaughter now, by withdrawing all its forces from Indochina immediately.



Militant/Howard Petrick

the state's old anti-abortion law, but in May a new, restrictive law was passed. Despite the new law, the group recently won a temporary restraining order that allowed a pregnant 16-year-old plaintiff in the suit to get an abortion.

Women vs. Connecticut is now seeking an injunction against the new law on the grounds that it violates the

New endorsements of nat'l peace convention in L.A.

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES, July 3 — National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) activists working to build the national antiwar conference planned here for July 21-23 say events in Vietnam have made their efforts more important than ever.

One young woman pointed out that "With the extensive raids against the dikes in North Vietnam, Nixon is telling the Vietnamese that if they don't give up their struggle he may order the dams destroyed. That would leave half of North Vietnam under water and hundreds of thousands of people dead."

"It will be too late to do anything about that in November," she continued, "so I'm working to build the antiwar movement now."

The conference will take place at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). NPAC coordinator Katherine Sojourner reports that a convention organizing center has been set up on the UCLA campus. It will be used as "a mass volunteer center" to help build the convention.

Recent endorsers of the convention

include: Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party; attorney Charles Garry; Leonard Levy, western vice-president of the Amalgamated Cloth-



Militant/Howard Petrick

Katherine Sojourner

ing Workers; George Moscone, California State Senate majority leader; Agar Jaicks, chairman of the San Francisco County Democratic Party Central Committee; Charles Weeks, secretary-treasurer of the Marin County Labor Council; and Curtis McClain, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 6.

Bobby Seale and Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton have asked to join the NPAC steering committee and Seale has agreed to speak at the rally opening the conference July 21. Also speaking at the rally will be Chicano leader Bert Corona, Fred Branfman of Project Air War, and Ron Kovic a Vietnam veteran.

Workshops will discuss how best to organize students, Blacks, GIs, trade unionists, gays, women, Chicanos, and others into mass actions against the war.

The convention will be open to the entire antiwar movement on the basis of one person, one vote. The convention organizing office is at 308 Westbrook Plaza, Kerchoff Hall 331D, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024. Telephone: (213) 487-3535.

Argentina rocked by mass actions

Troops called out to suppress widespread anti-gov't protests

From Intercontinental Press

"The sixth anniversary of the taking of power by the armed forces was not commemorated by the military government, but the country's main cities were shaken by violent protest demonstrations directed against the authorities," reported a United Press International dispatch from Buenos Aires in the June 30 issue of the New York Spanish-language paper *El Diario-La Prensa*.

The army and the police massed in the capital of Buenos Aires on June 28 to prevent any demonstrations. The city's center area was declared an emergency zone.

"Yesterday morning," reported UPI June 29, "150 students abandoned the medical school of the University of Buenos Aires, which they had occupied the night before. The group Jóvenes Peronistas [Peronista Youth], supported by other student groupings representing various political tendencies, called a demonstration for yesterday 'in order to repudiate the sixth anniversary of the Argentine revolution.'"

All traffic in the capital was being strictly controlled by the army, and movement after 7 p.m. was banned. According to a report in the *New York Post* June 29, university students in Buenos Aires built barricades of desks and furniture, which they set aflame, and then later built new barricades with automobiles. Approximately 300 have been arrested in the capital, according to UPI.

The severe repression began following protests a week earlier by students, workers, and leftist organizations in Tucumán. Police there attacked a demonstration organized by public employees demanding better salaries.

In the clashes that occurred in Tucumán, more than 700 demonstrators were arrested, and one student was killed when a tear-gas grenade exploded in his face.

Demonstrations and clashes with police have been widespread in a number of other cities as well, among them Córdoba, Rosario, Salta, La Plata, Mendoza, San Nicolás, and Santa Fe.

The following account of the general strike in Mar del Plata on June 14 (see *World Outlook*, page WO-3) has been translated by Intercontinental Press from the June 21 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Avanzada Socialista*.

MAR DEL PLATA, June 17—The mobilization began with the students but rapidly spread to other sectors. The first unions to take a stand were Light and Power, the Tile Setters, Postal Workers, the Bus Drivers Union, among others. All these sectors, together with Intersindical [Interunion], which includes the flour workers and miners, began to put pressure on the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] to call a strike. The "62 Organizations" had already indicated their support through a press release.

The university staffs, associations of professionals, and political parties also joined the mobilization. The bar association decided at a general meeting to participate in the action. The university teachers, the deans, as well as the rector joined in.

The political parties, among them the UCRP [Unión Cívica Radical del Pueblo—Radical Civic Union of the People] and the FIP [Frente de Izquierda Popular—Front of the Popular Left], issued statements demanding release of those who had been arrested, and denouncing the repression. The PSA [Partido Socialista Argentino—Argentine Socialist party] called on all the parties to form a broad commission to give more power to the mobilization. The proposal was accepted by the PSP [Partido Socialista Popular—Popular Socialist party], the Communist party, the Juventud Peronista [Peronist Youth], the ENA [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—National Encounter of Argentinians] and the FIP. The Social Democrats and the UCRP turned down the proposal.

On Monday [June 12] a meeting of 1,000 persons, most of them students, was held. They decided to call a strike.

The presence of the labor movement at the head of the mobilization polarized the whole population. A large number of sectors began to join the strike. These included the Universidad Católica [Catholic University], Agronomía de Balcarce [Agricultural School of Balcarce], teachers of both the primary grades and high schools, nonteaching staff, the associations of psychoanalytical studies, of psychologists, visual arts, the engineers' center, etc.

The high-school students played a very important role. They elected delegates by schools to a coordinating body. The student vanguard was made up of youth from the high schools and from the working class. An eloquent index of the participation of the youth was the fact that

of the 105 arrested—all of whom were later released—the big majority were youth.

The army mobilized a huge force. They brought in troops from nearby areas as well as special detachments from the federal district.

Businessmen and the middle class opposed the strike. Terrified, they closed shop, and the school authorities called a holiday.

Nevertheless the strike was a complete success. Even the newsstands, daily papers, buses, and taxis stopped work. The rank and file of the unions that refused to support the strike (building trades, textile, and office workers) likewise joined the action. They organized picket squads that went from plant to plant in the unions whose leaders had acted as strike-breakers and got their comrades to down tools.

Despite the levy of troops, the workers and students formed into columns. These swelled to 300, 400, and up to 1,000 persons. People applauded from their doorways and helped demonstrators get away when they were chased by the military.



University students in Tucuman, Argentina, are searched by troops. One student was killed as troops clashed with demonstrators protesting military rule.

By Any Means Necessary

BLACK STUDENTS FIGHT LEGAL LYNCHING IN SOUTH CAROLINA. Voorhees College is a small private school of about 700 Black students in Denmark, S.C. The college is owned and operated by the Episcopal Church dioceses of Upper and Lower South Carolina. In the midst of a nationwide Black student upsurge in 1969, the students at Voorhees decided to act to correct the racist and oppressive conditions prevailing at the institution.

On April 28 of that year they conducted an armed seizure of the administration building, demanding an end to the wretched conditions and the incorporation of Black studies into the curriculum. In response, the governor at the time, Robert McNair, dispatched units of the National Guard and the state police.

But moments before their arrival, according to the March 2, 1970, *New York Times*, the administration ended the protest with a promise of amnesty.

This promise, however, was not made good. "The Governor . . . stated that an example was to be made out of the striking students and alluded to the fact that they must have forgotten the 1968 Orangeburg Massacre, when three striking Black students were killed and countless others wounded,"

remarked a recent release from the SOBU (Student Organization for Black Unity) News Service.

"In July 1970," the release continued, "7 students were tried and convicted for rioting, looting, arson, and were given sentences ranging from 18 months to 2 years at hard labor."

Samuel Miatz, Michael Moore, James Bryant, Oliver Francis, and James Epps were the brothers given 18 months. Ali Raysor and Alvin X Evans, the SOBU field representative for the state of South Carolina, were given two years.

After being convicted, the brothers were released on appeal bond. They recently appealed the case to the state Supreme Court. Instead of hearing the case, the court issued bench warrants for the arrest of the seven.

Supporters of the brothers are urging Black leaders and organizations to speak out and protest the frame-up.

JACKSON POLICE HARASS REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA ACTIVIST. A harassment complaint has been filed with the Jackson, Miss., police department by Chokwe Lumumba, deputy vice-president of the Republic of New Africa (RNA). Lumumba was accompanied by RNA defense attorney John Brittain Jr. and a representative of

Black Mississippians for Justice (BMJ).

According to a June 16 news release from the national headquarters of the New African Prisoner of War Committee in Jackson, the complaint stemmed from an incident on the night of June 14. At that time Lumumba and a female member of the New African POW committee, en route from a subcommittee meeting of the BMJ, were suddenly stopped and surrounded by about 15 Jackson policemen. Shotguns and other weapons were brandished by the police as they searched Lumumba's car in vain for firearms.

The release pointed out that this incident was part of an attempt to suppress any effort to build a defense campaign for the RNA-11—members of the RNA charged with murder and levying war against the state of Mississippi. These charges grew out of a police raid and shoot-out on the RNA headquarters on Aug. 18, 1971. One of the eleven, Hekima Ana, has already been tried and given life imprisonment. Further trials are slated for this month and next.

For more information on the defense, write to New African Prisoner of War Committee, 128 1/2 Gallatin St., Jackson, Miss. 39201.

—DERRICK MORRISON

In Our Opinion

Hands off Chile!

When corporations see their property and profits threatened, they become very persistent in their attempts to keep them. They lie, cheat, steal, and murder to get their way. The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, one of the largest imperialist enterprises in the world, is no exception.

Just before Dr. Salvador Allende was about to be elected president of Chile in the fall of 1970, ITT got worried that the Popular Unity government would expropriate its holdings there. It plotted with the Central Intelligence Agency to try to sabotage the elections and considered triggering a military coup. These plans were not discouraged by the Nixon administration. The maneuver didn't work, however, and Allende took office.

Last September the Allende regime took over the Chilean Telephone Company, in which ITT had a 70 percent interest. From a memorandum brought to light by the *New York Times* July 3, we learn that this take-over spurred ITT schemers to come up with a proposal to ensure that "Allende does not get through the crucial next six months."

Within two days of the take-over an 18-point plan was dispatched to the White House for its consideration. It urged Nixon to "establish a special task force within the National Security Council to put pressure on Chile."

Among other things, it called for further restrictions in loans to Chile, delaying purchase of Chilean copper, postponing fuel deliveries to Chile's armed forces, halting or delaying U.S. arms and ammunition shipments, and closing U.S. markets to Chile. Also proposed was soliciting the CIA to help out in applying this six-month squeeze.

The ITT plotters calculated that as this pressure led to increasing economic difficulties, "the armed forces will have to step in and restore order." And return ITT's holdings, of course.

How much of this plan ITT's friends in the White House are implementing is not certain. It is clear, however, that considerable U.S. pressure is being exerted to restrict Chile's credit for loans. This has contributed to a serious deterioration of Chile's balance of trade and to food shortages.

This drive against the people of Chile must be sharply condemned. Chile has the right to determine its own affairs without Yankee interference. This includes the expropriation of all foreign holdings without compensation.

Mandel ruling

The Supreme Court's June 29 decision to uphold the barring of Marxist lecturer Ernest Mandel from the United States represents a setback for democratic rights. With its ruling the court denied the right of Americans to hear all points of view. It upheld the constitutionality of a section of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, one of the most reactionary laws passed during the McCarthy era in the 1950s.

The Mandel decision was one of a series of important Supreme Court decisions in recent weeks. On the one hand, the Supreme Court declared the death penalty unconstitutional as it is now administered. It also ruled on June 26 that a witness may refuse to testify before a grand jury if the evidence that prompted the witness to be called was obtained by illegal government wiretapping.

These decisions, although limited in their scope, are to be welcomed.

In other rulings, however, the court has acted to further restrict civil liberties as it did in the Mandel case. On June 22 it voted that owners of large shopping centers can bar political leafletting on their property, although such shopping areas function as public facilities. And on June 29 the high court held that journalists have no right to refuse to tell grand juries the names of sources and information given to them in confidence.

These recent decisions demonstrate that the courts cannot be trusted to uphold democratic and human rights of the American people. Contrary to the myth taught in American schools, the courts do not stand above politics and class conflict, dispassionately upholding the rights guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. Its recent denials of the right to free speech and the right to hear all views show that the Supreme Court is basically an instrument of the capitalist ruling class against the masses of American people.

The court's decision in the Mandel case demonstrates the ruling class's fear of the power of Marxist ideas.

The American people cannot trust these hypocritical justices to defend democratic rights. The Bill of Rights itself was originally won only by the mass pressure of the American people. The only assurance of our democratic rights lies in struggling to defend victims of government repression and in demanding greater freedoms for the American people.

Letters

Marijuana

Bonnie Aptekar, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from California's 28th C.D., is certainly to be commended for her unequivocal declaration of support for the California Marijuana Initiative, a referendum that would legalize the use of marijuana. (*The Militant*, June 30.)

Unfortunately, one sentence in her statement manages to pack in a lot of misinformation. She states:

"Medical research from individual researchers through the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse has to date shown that marijuana has no more harmful effects than such drugs as tobacco, alcohol, barbiturates (downers), or amphetamines (uppers), and cannot be equated with hard drugs like heroin."

There are several things wrong with this statement on the factual level. First, barbiturates and amphetamines are usually considered to be hard drugs. Second, since it is easier to overdose on barbiturates than on heroin, barbiturates are clearly the more dangerous drug. Third, possession and use of amphetamines and barbiturates are illegal except as prescribed by a doctor. Fourth, marijuana, unlike tobacco and alcohol, has not been shown to have any harmful medical effects.

By any rational assessment of the facts, marijuana cannot be considered a dangerous drug—which is, of course, the main point Aptekar was trying to make in this wrongly stated sentence.

Arthur Maglin
New York, N.Y.

Report from prison:

Militant getting through

We have been receiving *The Militant*. It seems like the authorities here have decided to allow it to enter the institution, although they have refused to implement the rest of a recent court order. The order called for major reform in the administration of the so-called rehabilitation program, for incorporating the procedure of due process before the disciplinary board, for removing censorship from outgoing and incoming mail and publications, and for [pork-free] diets for Muslims.

We like *The Militant* very much and share it collectively. We think one important thing for people to do is to tell people they can support us by supporting the Socialist Workers Party.

A prisoner
Maryland

Pentagon papers

Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo face 150 years in prison because they gave the Pentagon papers to the American people. They will go on trial this summer, charged with violation of the espionage, theft, and conspiracy statutes.

They are so charged because they tore away the protective shield of secrecy and disclosed that the government itself—administration after administration—has systematically defrauded the people of the United States.

The Pentagon papers detail deliberate manipulations of public opinion. They prove, in short, that the war our government claims to be carrying out in support of freedom and self-determination is in fact an unjustifiable intervention intended to preserve U.S. hegemony in Southeast Asia and protect our leader's political ambitions at home.

In Los Angeles this summer, Ellsberg and Russo will ask the jury to rule that it is proper for Americans to restore justice and honesty to the nation when the government has come to function by habitually deceiving the public.

The Justice Department will use millions of our tax dollars to prosecute Ellsberg and Russo. Such resources cannot be matched by the defense. But with the voluntary financial support of many Americans, we believe a proper defense can be mounted.

Stanley Sheinbaum, Chairman
Pentagon Papers Fund
P.O. Box 1630,
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10017

Correction

An error somehow crept into the June 30 *Militant* article on the Pentagon papers case. The article states: "The Espionage Act has never been used except to prosecute those charged with providing secret information to another country with the purpose of aiding that country and injuring the U.S."

This isn't true. The espionage Act passed in 1917 and amended in 1918, was used to imprison the greatest socialist antiwar agitator in U.S. history, Eugene V. Debs. Debs provided no "secret information to another country!"

And Debs was not the only working-class fighter against whom the law was used. Half a year before Debs's arrest, the capitalist courts convicted Kate O'Hare under the same Espionage Act. Ironically, Debs had written to her after he heard the verdict, saying that if she was imprisoned, "I shall feel guilty to be at large."

The 1918 amendment to the 1917 law, passed between O'Hare's conviction and Debs's own, made it a crime to use "profane, scurrilous and abusive language" about the government. The amendment facilitated the law's use in a widespread red-baiting, prowar drive to shut up or jail opponents of the war.

Ray Ginger, in his *Eugene V. Debs: A Biography*, wrote (in Part IV of the book, "World Socialism"): "During the opening months of 1918, more than two thousand Wobblies were arrested. It was reported that a thousand indictments and two hundred convictions had already [in November 1918] been secured under the Espionage Law."

Lee Smith
New York, N.Y.

Campaign suggestion

Suggested demand for Socialist Workers campaign: Why not federal hiring of the unemployed as workers, engineers, and technicians to help rebuild the lives and homes of the victims of the recent flood—instead of a war budget given over to the destruction of the lives, homes, and industry of the Vietnamese?

B.F.
New York, N.Y.

New reader

I'm a slave here in one of the many state concentration camps. I'm without funds other than what these pigs give us a month, which is not even enough to buy toothpaste and soap for a whole month.

But a friend gave me a copy of your paper, which I dig the most. I'm looking forward to reading the next issue.

A prisoner
Ohio

The Great Society

Building trades demonstration

I read the article by Rose Ogden on the June 22 demonstration organized by the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council (*Militant*, July 7) with considerable interest.

It should be noted that this was not merely a demonstration. June 22 was declared to be a labor holiday in the state of Pennsylvania, and on that day the building trades unions carried on a 24-hour work stoppage. As it was presented at a meeting of a Painters local that I attended, anyone found working on that day was to be considered a scab.

It is interesting, too, to note that the General Building Contractors Association, representing 100 contractors signed up with the unions, strongly opposed the "holiday" and threatened to pursue court action.

Many union members, officials in particular, believe there is an affinity of interest between the unions and the "good" employers in driving their unfair competitors out of business. This has been reflected in Joint Industry Boards in many parts of the country, one of whose main tasks is ostensibly to join hands in efforts to complete organization of the industry.

But in reality, all employers sign up with the union mainly because they are compelled to by the strength of the union. The nonunion Association of Building Contractors (ABC) is now a point of attraction for the signed-up bosses; they are only waiting for the day that they feel strong enough to pull out also. I was told that even today, a number of employers in the GBCA subscribe to the organizational funds of the ABC!

To give your readers a further idea of the strength of the nonunion sector of the construction industry where ABC has been organized—the Altemose Construction Company itself has over 500 workers and is reported to have about 70 jobs running in the Philadelphia area. There is a still larger concern working out of Lancaster, Pa.

One further comment: *The Militant* reported the size of the demonstration as 35,000 and noted that 2,000 more were diverted to assist in flood relief. The demonstration was scheduled for 6 a.m. I left northeast Philadelphia at 5:30 a.m. and should have made it easily in 20 minutes. I didn't get there till 7:20 because of the tremendous jam-up of cars on the Pennsylvania Turnpike on their way to the demonstration. Once off the Turnpike I found the Plymouth Meeting Mall already packed, and like many others, I resourcefully parked lopsided off one of the two-lane highways nearby.

The following day, one of the two painters working with me told me that he had the same experience, got discouraged, and turned back for home.

Had the organizers of the march anticipated these difficulties and planned alternate routes and assembly points, I am sure that the number of demonstrators would have been considerably larger.

Howard Zucker
Brooklyn, N.Y.

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.

That is a problem—Dr. Russell Roth, president-elect of the American Medical Association, told reporters why the organized doctors take a cautious approach to the various proposals for public health plans. "It's not the system that guarantees quality," he explained. "It's the integrity and competence of the doctors."

A practical gift—We've been thinking that it was very nice of Brezhnev to send Nixon a gift of a 28-foot hydrofoil boat in return for the Cadillac that Nixon gave him in Moscow. When he's down at the Florida White House, he and his gusano chum Bebe Rebozo could try some quick commando sorties on the Cuban coast.

Fewer but heavier—U.S. smoking patterns seem to be evolving similarly to the way the process of concentration is choking monopoly capitalism. The number of smokers decreased from an estimated 50.7 million in 1965 to 48.8 million in 1970. The number of former smokers is estimated at 24 million, a 50 percent gain over 1965. But among those who haven't kicked the habit, the percentage of heavy smokers increased significantly.

Physically, that is—"Nixon healthiest president in 20 years, White House doctor says"—news headline.

Model entrepreneur—A federal court overruled an Internal Revenue Service decision that a man had to pay taxes on bread accumulated by manipulating slot machines in U.S. service clubs abroad. Money earned overseas is generally not taxable, but gambling income is. The man had learned from employees of the slot machine company how to beat them. The court ruled this wasn't gambling since there was no chance involved; the man had earned his money through "diligent application of an unusual skill."

Cultural imperialism—The Scotch did it some years ago, and now the Irish will be turning out a more bland whiskey to better suit the American palate.

Esthetics dep't—Arthur and Teddy Edelman flew into Los Angeles to display their new line of Capezio shoes. Said Arthur: "We knew the world wasn't waiting breathlessly for another line of shoes, but we felt the Capezio tradition of theater and dance could be updated for another generation." Added Teddy: "When you're dealing with a truth-serum kind of company like Capezio you must treat it as a very special thing, to give it a very special point of view."

Case of mistaken identity—A California court ruled against Francis

Heisler, 76, and his wife Bridey, 72, who sought a tax allowance on grounds that their bodies were being depleted just like oil wells, for which such allowances are provided. What the Heislars didn't understand is that even the hardest-working people can't support oil magnates and politicians the way a good oil well can.

— HARRY RING

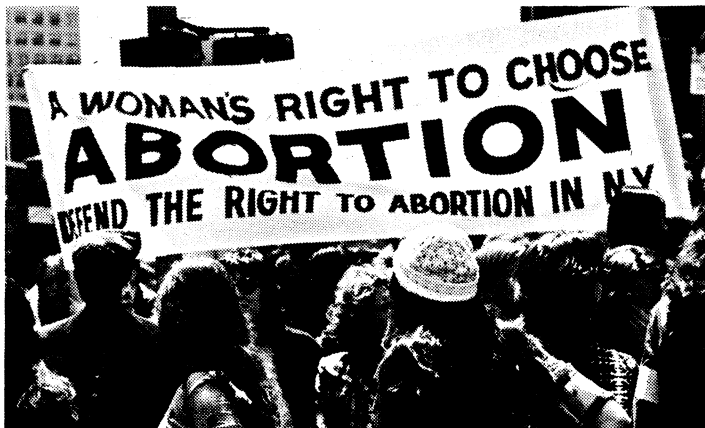


"You have just seen a re-enactment of the Declaration of Independence by the founding fathers... The opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the network!"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

DO ABORTION LAW REFORMS 'RETARD' THE STRUGGLE? HAS WONAAC STOPPED FIGHTING FOR REPEAL OF THE ANTI-ABORTION LAWS? The question of reformed abortion laws will be one aspect of the discussion at the national abortion conference scheduled for New York City, July 15-16. The conference is sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

The March-May issue of *Woman's World* (a feminist newspaper published in New York) contains several articles on reformed abortion laws. In one article, entitled "Abortion: The Struggle Expands," Barbara Leon criticizes WONAAC, saying, "... WONAAC is not really working for abortion law repeal," and that "...



New York, May 6. WONAAC defended the right to abortion in New York when anti-abortion forces tried to take back the gains women had made.

WONAAC has consistently demonstrated that it's too willing to stop at merely reforming the existing laws." (Emphasis in original.)

Leon does not believe that the passage in 1970 of the liberalized New York law represented a significant victory for women's right to choose whether to bear children. If anything, she implies that the passage of this law hurt the abortion law repeal movement. She says that the passage of the New York law has had "a retarding influence on repeal efforts in other states." (Emphasis in original.)

Leon's article was written before the recent assault on

the New York law by anti-abortion forces, which resulted in the legislature voting to repeal the liberalized law and to reinstate the 1865 statute. Governor Rockefeller vetoed the bill.

This near defeat made it clearer than ever that the New York law was a step forward in the fight for total repeal, and that the pro-abortion forces must respond energetically and forcefully to defeat any attempt to take back the gains women have won.

In the June 26 WONAAC Newsletter, Matilde Zimmermann, a WONAAC national coordinator, clarifies this question in an article on the June 4 WONAAC national coordinating committee meeting.

"The question of reforms can only be answered in the concrete, by looking at each instance and asking, 'Does this allow women the right to choose whether or not to bear a child or does it negate that right?'"

She cites two recent examples where WONAAC has been faced with this question: the case of the New York law, and an upcoming referendum in Michigan that asks whether Michigan residents favor making abortions legal when performed up to the twentieth week in a medically approved facility.

"New York state," Zimmerman says, "has a liberal abortion law which has come under heavy attack. Does WONAAC throw its forces into defending the right to abortion in New York, in order to extend it, or does it take a sectarian, abstentionist position, defaulting on its responsibilities to fight for legal abortion and isolating itself from the masses of women who want to do so?" WONAAC took the correct position that it had to help organize as broad, visible, and united a response to the anti-abortion attack as possible.

In the case of the Michigan referendum, Zimmermann explains that WONAAC argued for the referendum to be for total repeal when discussions around it began. However, now that it is on the ballot—with its limitations—the question facing WONAAC is whether to campaign in Michigan for a big pro-abortion vote. Zimmermann proposes that WONAAC support the referendum while continuing to campaign for total repeal as the only way women can achieve complete control over their bodies.

If the Michigan referendum fails, it will be seen as a defeat for the struggle to repeal the anti-abortion laws. If Michigan voters pass the referendum, it will be another step toward winning the right to abortion.

— CINDY JAQUITH

Blasts abortion stand

Jenness: 'McGovern has sold out women'

"They're going to realize that George McGovern does not speak for them and that in order to get their demands, they're going to have to fight." Speaking to students at Drexel University in Philadelphia on June 28, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness was referring to the women and other young supporters of McGovern who are going to the Democratic Party convention.

While in Philadelphia, Jenness was interviewed by a McGovern supporter on WUHY radio. She was asked if she didn't think it was more constructive to work through the "established" parties, particularly when someone like McGovern is running.

"I think George McGovern is a good example of why you shouldn't work through the Democratic Party," Jenness replied. "When he first started campaigning he raised many liberal demands. He said he was for repealing the abortion laws, that he was for taxing the rich and not the poor. . . . But now, in order to get the Democratic Party nomination, McGovern has had to back off on every one of these stands."

"Now he refuses to support the repeal of all abortion laws," she pointed out. "Both Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem recently attacked him for that and said he was selling women out."

"They're 100 percent right," Jenness went on. "He's selling women out in order to get the nomination. He's also selling out the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, gays, and antiwar activists who have worked for him."

Appearing on "Radio Free Women" (WGTV at Georgetown University) in Washington, D. C., on July 3, Jenness blasted the South Dakota senator's backsliding on the question of abortion. McGovern had told the *New York Times* on June 9: "I'm not going around preaching [abortion] as a major part of the McGovern campaign because I think it's irrelevant. I mean, it's sort of like asking me my theory of the virgin birth of Christ."

"Any person running for office in this country has to take a stand on abortion," Jenness said. She pointed out that although abortion might seem irrelevant to McGovern, it is a very relevant question for millions of women in this country who have to bear unwanted children or resort to butcher abortionists because of the restrictive abortion laws.

Jenness explained how McGovern had helped prevent a pro-abortion plank from appearing in the Democratic Party platform. During the platform hearings, she said, a plank supporting women's right to abortion had been proposed.

Shirley MacLaine, a McGovern dele-

gate from California, introduced a counterproposal that abortion should not be "mixed up in partisan politics." The platform committee voted down both proposals, and as columnists Evans and Novak said in the June 29 *New York Post*, "the McGovern camp could not have been happier."

Jenness pointed out that the Democratic Party platform makes absolutely no mention of two crucial issues for women in this country: abortion and child care.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Jenness noted the significance of the fact that the Democrats had included a "Rights for Women" section in their proposed platform. "They did that," she said, "because they realize a powerful movement of women is developing in this country, a movement they can no longer ignore."

"But women can't rely on the Democrats or Republicans to carry out any of their promises. We've had to fight them every step of the way to win our demands."

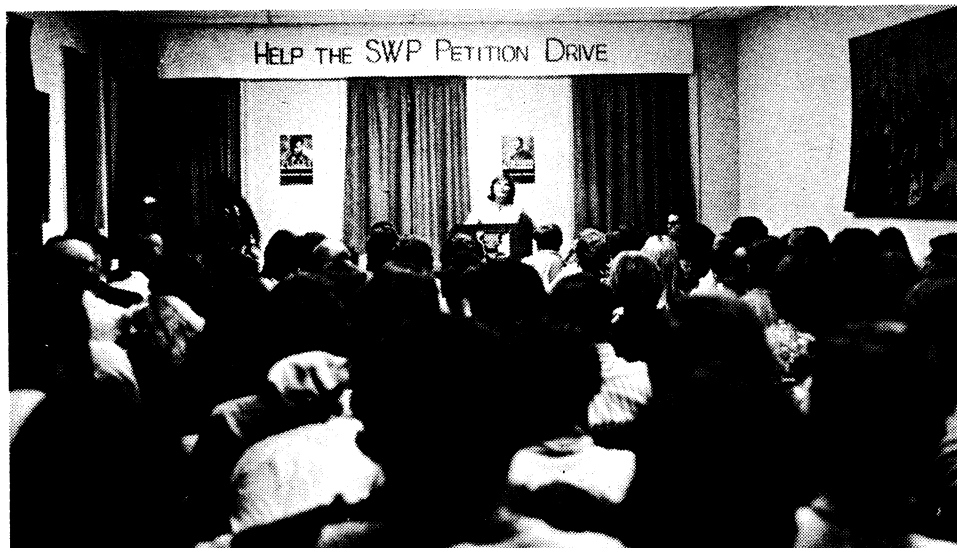
"Unlike George McGovern, I don't tell women, 'vote for me and I'll solve your problems.' The SWP campaign urges women to rely on their own power, united in mass action, independent of the Democrats and Republicans."

"This spring," Jenness said, "the Catholic Church hierarchy and the state legislatures have launched a vicious attack on women's right to abortion. SWP campaign supporters have helped build demonstrations and picket lines protesting the reactionary anti-abortion campaign. And where is McGovern? He's out campaigning for the support of the very people who are trying to take away our right to abortion."

Jenness recently completed a week-long tour at Philadelphia and Washington, D. C. She was the featured speaker at a June 30 SWP campaign rally in Philadelphia. The 120 supporters at the rally donated \$1,238 to the state and national SWP campaigns. Two people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance at the end of the rally. Several others volunteered to help with the Pennsylvania SWP ballot drive.

On June 28, Jenness addressed foreign students at the University of Pennsylvania International House.

In Washington, D. C., Jenness spoke at a July 2 picnic sponsored by the Iranian Students Organization and Palestine House. She joined 70 D. C. campaign supporters on the same day at a picnic celebrating the filing of petitions to place the Jenness-Pulley ticket on the D. C. ballot.



Jenness speaking at June 30 SWP campaign rally in Philadelphia

Pulley talks to heads of Ore. Black Caucus

By JOHN LINDER

PORTLAND, Ore., July 2—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, wrapped up his Oregon tour today after speaking to hundreds of people in Portland's Black community, on local campuses, and at the longshoremen's hiring hall.

During his tour here Pulley addressed a meeting of members of the political committee and central committee of the Oregon Black Political Caucus. He told them, "One of the things we have learned from the development of the Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party, is that the time for us to begin our own party is now. We must build a Black party that can carry out mass ac-



Andrew Pulley Militant/Howard Petrick

tions on the one hand and election campaigns on the other."

Pulley also spoke about the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D. C. He indicated that more mass actions should be built in solidarity with the African revolution and in opposition to the counterrevolutionary role of the U. S. government.

A lively discussion followed Pulley's talk, and he was invited to attend a convention of the caucus the following day. About 65 Blacks attended the convention. Its purpose was to nominate three people to represent Oregon in the National Black Political Assembly. (This is the structure that the steering committee selected by the Black Political Convention is trying to build.)

The ambiguous politics of the Assembly were reflected in a speech to the convention by Imamu Vernon Sukumu, the West Coast leader of the Congress of African People. While giving lip service to the idea of a Black party, he proposed using Black votes to make deals with the Democrats and Republicans. He criticized some Black politicians for supporting McGovern now and attacked Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.) for visiting Alabama Governor George Wallace in the hospital.

Pulley was able to talk with many people at the convention and distribute SWP campaign literature.

On June 27 Pulley toured the hiring hall of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He discussed his campaign with many ILWU members, recent victims of the Pay Board's attacks on working people.

That night Pulley spoke to an informal meeting of members of the Second Foundation, Portland's largest gay group. He received a favorable response from a number of McGovern supporters there who were dismayed at their candidate's failure to push for including gay rights in the platform of the Democratic Party.

Pulley also addressed 125 students at Oregon State University in Corvallis and 30 students at Portland State. At Portland State, a member of the Young Workers Liberation League endorsed the SWP campaign after discussing with Pulley the weaknesses of the Communist Party's electoral strategy.

While in Portland, Pulley was interviewed by five newspapers and his tour was covered by three TV stations.

Dellums defends rights

Pulley tries to visit San Quentin prison

By RUSSELL BLOCK

BERKELEY, Calif., July 3—Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign picketed today outside the gates of the San Quentin prison facility after Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice-president, was denied the right to tour and investigate the prison.

Campaign supporters had petitioned state officials and San Quentin prison officials about the proposed visit some time ago. Pulley's right to tour San Quentin and other California prisons was supported by a number of Black community figures, such as Carleton Goodlet, editor of the influential *Sun-Times*, a Bay Area Black weekly; Howard Moore, the chief defense counsel for Angela Davis; the Reverend Cecil Williams; and Representative Ron Dellums (D-Calif.). Dellums sent letters to state prison officials supporting Pulley's requests for prison visits.

Although Pulley was turned down at San Quentin, he will attempt to visit the Folsom, Soledad, and

Vacaville prisons.

Pulley began his tour of the Bay Area on July 1 with a rally of more than 100 campaign supporters and friends at the San Francisco International Airport. As Pulley emerged from the plane he was met by a delegation that included SWP congressional candidates Susan Vass, Kenneth Milner, and Peggy Bunn, and the 1964 SWP presidential candidate, Clifton DeBerry. DeBerry was the first Black to run for president of the United States. Pulley spoke from the steps of the United Airlines 747 lounge.

That evening Pulley spoke at an SWP campaign fund-raising dinner and rally held at the Rainbow Sign in Berkeley. About 180 campaign supporters heard speeches by Max Geldman, one of the leaders of the 1934 Teamster rebellion in Minneapolis, and by Carol Dobbs DeBerry, daughter of Farrell Dobbs, former SWP national secretary whose book on the Minneapolis truckers strikes was recently published by Monad Press.

Help the SWP get on the ballot

In the following 18 states SWP campaign supporters have collected enough signatures to meet state ballot requirements:

State	Number Collected
Florida	51,600
Idaho	3,000
Illinois	40,300
Indiana	16,500
Iowa	1,800
Kentucky	2,007
Louisiana	3,000
Massachusetts	100,625
Michigan	28,732
New Jersey	2,350
North Dakota	689
Ohio	9,767
South Dakota	6,619
Tennessee	500
Texas	45,200
Utah	942
Vermont	3,000
Washington, D. C.	26,000

Ballot drives are in progress or projected in these states:

State	Number Required
Arizona	4,114
Colorado	300
Delaware	convention
Minnesota	2,000
Mississippi	1,000
New Hampshire	1,500
New Mexico	convention
New York	20,000
Pennsylvania	35,624
Rhode Island	500
Washington	convention
Wisconsin	3-5,000

Volunteers and money are needed to help put the SWP on the ballot in these states. If you would like to help, send in the coupon below:

() I would like to 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.

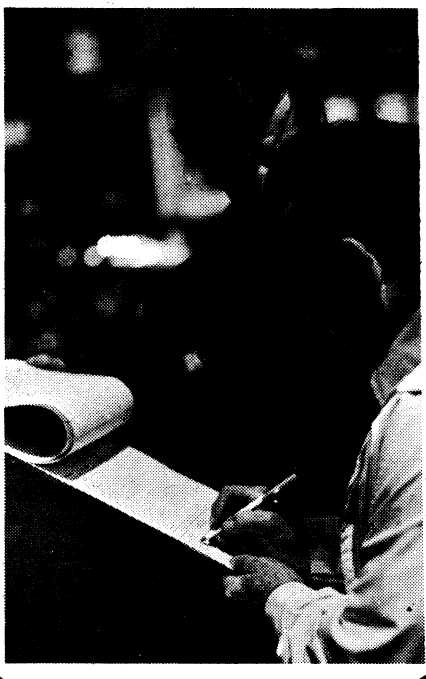
Name _____

Address _____

State _____ Zip _____

School/organization _____

SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.



Sec'y of State says she's 'too young'

Jenness meets with governor's aide to demand Ohio ballot status

By LARRY SEIGLE

COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 5 — Today Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, took her fight for a place on the Ohio ballot to the office of Governor John Gilligan here in Columbus.

Jenness and supporters of her right to appear on the ballot—including SWP congressional candidate in Ohio's 20th C.D. Herman Kirsch—met with Gilligan's chief of staff, Jack Hansen. They urged that the governor join the nationwide campaign to force Secretary of State Ted Brown to reverse his decision barring Jenness and SWP candidate for vice-president Andrew Pulley from the ballot because they are "too young."

Before entering the statehouse, Jenness explained the situation to a well-attended news conference on the capitol steps. Reporters from local radio and TV affiliates of the three major networks, as well as from National Public Radio, Associated Press, and United Press International were on hand.

One major radio station reported this afternoon, "Socialist Workers presidential candidate Linda Jenness vowed to lead a national pressure campaign to get Secretary of State Ted Brown to permit her name to appear on the Ohio November ballot."

The Associated Press quoted Brown as responding, "She'd better save her money. I've never given into pressure and I'm not starting now."

In a June 30 letter to Jenness, Brown had stated, "Your petition of candidacy for life office of president has been determined to have sufficient sig-

natures, and your name would be placed upon the Ohio ballot if your candidacy were otherwise valid. . . .

"Since your age is less than the minimum age specified for the office by the United States Constitution, you are not eligible to hold the office of president of the United States. . . .

"Since your presidential electors are legally committed to vote for you if you receive a plurality of the vote in Ohio and since you are not legally qualified to take the office if so elected, it would be a travesty on the electoral process and misleading to the persons who might vote for you if you were represented to the voters of this state as a person for whom

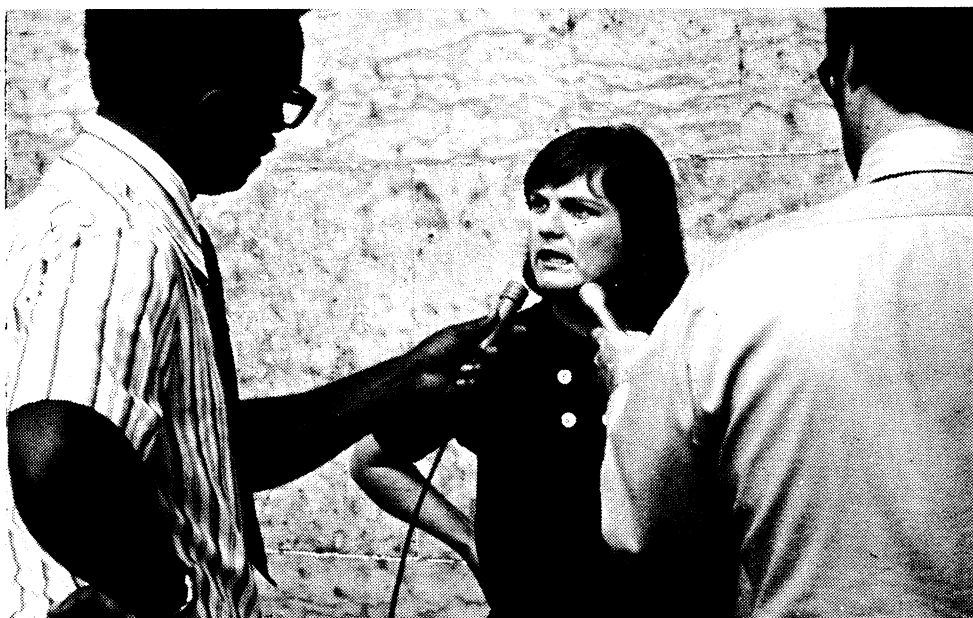
they could effectively cast their ballots for president."

Attorney Benjamin Scheerer, acting for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), said he will amend the lawsuit filed in federal court June 2 and will press for an immediate hearing on the case.

Jenness told reporters that Ted Brown "is toying with another election scandal," referring to the Ohio primary election fiasco last spring in which much of the state's election machinery broke down. Brown has been under fire for his obvious incompetence as administrator of elections.

"The main point we are concerned

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Militant/Herman Kirsch

Jenness tells reporters at capitol in Columbus, Ohio, why she has a right to appear on state ballot.

Pennsylvania ballot drive

Pittsburgh campaign supporters push signature total to 33,450

By MIKE LUX

PITTSBURGH, July 2 — Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley from the Pittsburgh area have launched a massive drive for signatures to put Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot in Pennsylvania. More than 8,000 of the 33,450 signatures collected statewide have been gathered here in the last six days. Fifteen people have endorsed the Socialist Workers Party campaign and one person has joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

A team of five YSJPer came to Pittsburgh one week ago to help with the statewide petitioning drive and to build a July 5 meeting for Socialist Workers Party candidate Linda Jenness at the University of Pittsburgh. The response to the petitioning has been enthusiastic, and team members average 157 signatures per day. The top petitioner netted 375 signatures in one day with the help of a passerby who took one of her petition boards and helped out for three hours.

The petitioning has centered mainly in the downtown area and at the University of Pittsburgh, but petitioners have also gone to shopping centers and even to the local zoo. The sympathetic response has ranged from a theater manager who invited a petitioner in out of the rain and provided her with a free cup of coffee to a restaurant manager who said to one YSJPer, "Every place I go, I see

people out collecting signatures."

Since the YSJP team came to Pittsburgh, the ideas of the SWP campaign are becoming more and more visible. A campus cop at the University of Pittsburgh detained one petitioner for 45 minutes, trying to ascertain why so many SWP campaign posters were appearing on the campus.

One young Iron City brewery worker helped petition on Saturday and asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance that night. "I've been looking for an organization that will get Pittsburgh into action," he said. "I have the feeling that the YSA is what Pittsburgh needs."

By GWYN VORHAUS

PHILADELPHIA, July 1 — Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters celebrated today the collection of 33,450 signatures after 14 days of petitioning. Pennsylvania has now passed the two-thirds mark in its goal of collecting 50,000 signatures by July 15, although the enthusiastic response to the petitioners may make it possible to end even earlier.

Many volunteers on Saturday averaged more than 125 signatures each. The top petitioners were Jean Fargo, 260; Joe Sanders, 245; and Bob Stanton, 225.

The best response came from Blacks, who supported the SWP demands for

an immediate end to the war and for Black control of the Black community.

Four petitioners were at Philadelphia's Italian market on Saturday, during a rally to "Reelect the President." Five bored-looking musicians tried to gather a crowd, and red, white, and blue-clad Nixon supporters strutted through the streets passing out literature. This had a very positive effect on SWP petitioning; people signed the petitions to show their opposition to Nixon and his prowar policies.

One petitioner described an incident in which she approached a Black man and his son. At first the man refused to sign, saying he did not know the candidates. His son said, "I know them. Andrew Pulley spoke at my junior high. He's against the war and he organized Black GIs in the Army." His father immediately signed the petition.

At a fruit stand nearby, a vendor wearing a "Reelect the President" button said he would not sign the petition. "Who wants a lady president?" he asked. Hearing this, two women who were standing in line came over and signed.

Campaign supporters are planning a victory party on July 22 to celebrate the end of the petitioning drive. Anyone wishing to help the SWP get on the ballot in Pennsylvania should drop by the campaign headquarters at 1004 Filbert St. or call (215) WA5-4316.

By DOUG JENNESS

Hundreds of thousands of Americans who have marched in antiwar actions during the past seven years are supporting George McGovern for president. They believe he will end the war in Indochina if he is elected.

Among those holding this view are Yippie leaders Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman. Both are helping to organize cultural and artistic activities in Miami. According to an official Yippie statement, these events are not intended to "discredit the Democratic Party."

In a telephone interview a couple

war?" I think that a strong case can be made that it isn't.

Since the beginning of the war it has been demonstrated repeatedly that the most powerful pressure brought against the warmakers in Washington is the struggle of the Vietnamese and the direct actions of the international antiwar movement.

McGovern's campaign, however, serves to minimize rather than maximize the pressure against the war. It has drawn tens of thousands of young people away from antiwar activities.

Following Nixon's May 8 announcement of his decision to mine North

ed by grass roots people" and that "he'll be responsible to us."

It's true that many of McGovern's campaign supporters are active in movements for social change. But after election day the organizations, committees, and "grass roots" movement they have established to elect McGovern will be dissolved. They were formed to win votes for McGovern and will have little influence on what he does in office. McGovern has captured the support of antiwar activists, women's liberation fighters, Blacks, and many radicals without having to give anything in return. He will have little reason to be re-

wonders if this means the promises he made six months ago or the ones he will be making in October if he gets the Democratic nomination.

Whatever the case, the chances of his keeping his promises are not very great. At least if you judge from the experience we've had with previous presidents.

Let's take McGovern at his word for a moment. He says he will withdraw all American forces and end all aerial bombardment of Indochina within 90 days of his inauguration. Why it would take so long, he fails to explain. Apparently the thousands of Vietnamese killed during this three month period are the price for peace.

McGovern then proposes that a "democratic, coalition government . . . composed of representatives of the current regime, from the neutralist and Buddhist elements in South Vietnam, and from the National Liberation Front" be established in Saigon.

What if negotiations break down, a coalition government is not formed, and civil war continues? Would McGovern remain neutral or would he commit U. S. forces?

What if a coalition government is established but soon falls apart, and the NLF assumes political leadership of South Vietnam? Would McGovern send in U.S. troops and bombers?

Does his proposal to end bombing apply to Cambodia and Laos? If so, what if the civil war raging in those countries reaches the point where the revolutionary forces are on the verge of taking power? Would he let them take power without U. S. intervention?

The point of these questions is to show that pulling U. S. troops out of Vietnam and ending the bombing inevitably sets into motion a chain of decisions McGovern would have to make. If he stood for the right to self-determination of all oppressed nations, he would pull all U. S. forces out of Southeast Asia and keep them out. He would let the people there choose whatever form of government they want without U. S. interference.

But even with his lofty rhetoric, McGovern doesn't promise this. And if he did, he would be lying. His support for using U. S. troops, if necessary, to prop up the Zionist regime in Israel against the Palestinian struggle

Continued on page 22



George McGovern

sponsible to them.

It can also be expected that the Democratic election platform, which his supporters fought to make more radical, will be filed away to gather dust.

The very force that *could* have some influence on McGovern if he is elected—the independent, mass antiwar movement—will have been partially demobilized by his campaign.

However, we don't have to wait to see what he would do if elected. It's already clear that he has back-pedaled on many popular demands for change as the prospect of his nomination gets closer.

Rubin says that McGovern is running an "honest campaign." He apparently assumes that McGovern would carry out his promises. One

McGovern's campaign: The way to end the war?

of months ago with *Space City*, an underground newspaper published in Houston, Rubin explained their position. "The only candidate we're supporting is McGovern," he stated.

"McGovern has said that he would get every American soldier and every piece of American equipment out of Vietnam within 90 days after being elected. McGovern is represented by grass roots people across the country and McGovern is running an honest campaign. So McGovern is coming across as a left wing candidate. . . ."

He added, "if we all unite, we could give a stinging defeat to Nixon and Humphrey and Muskie and put our candidate in office. And McGovern will then know that he was put into office by us; he'll be responsible to us and maybe, maybe there's some hope of changing this country—at least of ending the war in Vietnam, which has gone on *too long* for human beings to bear." (Emphasis in original.)

This sums up the attitude of many antiwar activists and radicals who have thrown in their lot with McGovern. But there are undoubtedly some who are nagged by the question, "Is support to McGovern really the most effective way to end the Vietnam

Vietnam's ports, McGovern urged that people not demonstrate against this aggression. Literature for the April 22 antiwar actions, the biggest during the five weeks of sustained antiwar activities this spring, was barred from some of his campaign headquarters. As a result, the actions against Nixon's stepped-up attacks were not as large as they could have been.

Instead of helping to lead a massive movement to organize actions right now against Nixon's continuation of the war, McGovern urges people to wait until he is elected. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Vietnamese are being killed by American bombers. And if Nixon is reelected, the antiwar movement will be in a weaker position to fight against the war because of McGovern's campaign.

A McGovern supporter might answer, "Demonstrations are important, but they haven't ended the war yet. We have to put our main priority on dumping Nixon and electing a president who's for getting out of Vietnam."

Let's assume that Nixon is defeated and McGovern moves into the White House. What guarantees do we have that he will end the war? Rubin tells us that McGovern "is represent-

Open letter to McGovern supporters from Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president

Special four-page Militant reprint contains Jenness's open letter; letter from Senator George McGovern to Jenness; "Jenness responds to McGovern's attacks on Socialist Workers Party"; plus other material. 100 copies for \$1. (single copies free). Write to SWP '72 campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Socialists hail ruling against death penalty

The following statement was issued by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

On June 29 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty as it is currently administered in the United States constitutes a cruel and unusual punishment. This decision represents a victory for all who aspire to a more decent and humane society. Its immediate result was to save the lives of almost 700 prisoners on death row across the country.

Already, supporters of the death penalty are rallying to challenge this decision. A few hours after the court's 5-to-4 ruling, a constitutional amendment allowing the death penalty for murder and treason was introduced in Congress. That night, President Nixon said he hoped that the court's decision would not ban the execution

of hijackers and kidnappers.

The next day, lawmakers in Georgia, Oklahoma, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Kansas said they would press for new laws to retain the death penalty. They hope these will be judged constitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court. A state constitutional amendment that would reverse a court ban on the death penalty in California is on the ballot there for the November election.

Along with the courts, jails, police, and other law-enforcement bodies, capital punishment is one of the devices the capitalist rulers use to try to intimidate the working class and oppressed nationalities into accepting their oppression. Of the 3,827 men and 32 women executed in the U. S. since 1930, virtually all were working people and 53 percent were Black.

Twenty-five people have been executed for armed robbery since 1930. How many businessmen and bankers have been executed or even jailed

for stealing billions of dollars in profits, taxes, and graft?

Hundreds have been executed for murder. But how many government and military officials have been sentenced to die for ordering the slaughter of countless Vietnamese? How many corporation heads responsible for the deaths of thousands of workers because of inadequate safety measures have ever gone to jail, let alone faced the death penalty?

There are two standards of justice in this country—one for the rich and one for working people. This is true not only for the application of the death penalty but for all forms of "social punishment" in the United States.

The thousands of working men and women who fill America's jails are the victims of this rotten system. This society—through all forms of class and racial oppression—pushes people down into poverty and insecurity, forces them into degrading and de-

humanizing social relations, and brutalizes them through many kinds of harassment and inequity.

The attitude of the capitalists toward their victims was summed up a few months ago by Republican Governor Ronald Reagan of California, who is campaigning to reintroduce capital punishment there. While admitting a "certain cruelty" in the execution of the prisoners on California's death row, Reagan cynically observed that "there is cruelty when you execute a chicken to have Sunday dinner."

Besides, as Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, another champion of capital punishment, has said, "If you have enough money, you'll be able to avoid the death penalty."

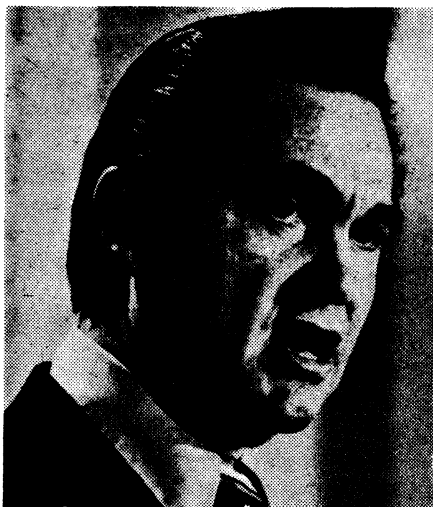
The right-wing campaign on behalf of the death penalty must not go unanswered! We urge all opponents of capital punishment to let their voices be heard against attempts to reinstitute it.

An answer to Wallace's demagoguery

Why white workers should fight racism

By CAROLINE LUND

According to Dewey Burton, a 26-year-old auto worker and a Wallace supporter, "There are two things you buy a home for—how close you are to a school and how close you are to a shopping center. What burns me to the bottom of my bones is that I paid an excessive amount of money so that my son could walk three blocks to school. I'm not going to pay big high school taxes and pay more for a home so that somebody can ship my son 30 miles away to



George Wallace

get an inferior education."

The interview with Burton in the May 14 *New York Times* expressed the feelings of many working people who contributed to the high votes Wallace won in some primaries.

A *New York Times* survey of Michigan Democratic primary voters—who gave Wallace 51 percent of their votes—indicated that the three major issues in the minds of those who voted for Wallace were busing, crime and violence, and the "welfare mess."

These are all important issues that reflect the deep problems facing this society. They are also the issues the Democratic and Republican party politicians have used most effectively to confuse the American people, set working people against one another, and divert public attention from such basic issues as the Vietnam war, racial oppression, inflation, wage controls, unemployment, and poor education.

The high votes for Wallace by working people are perhaps the best example of this con game. Wallace appeals to the fears and economic insecurity of the relatively privileged white workers.

He convinces them that their problems stem from the threat of Black people—that Black people's demands for equal education threaten their children's education; that Black people on welfare are responsible for their

high taxes; and that Black people are the source of the crime and violence that pervade this society. By appealing to these basically racist sentiments instilled in every white person by capitalist society, Wallace fools many white workers into voting for him and his totally anti-working-class and anti-union program.

When you look at what's underneath these issues of busing, welfare, and crime, it becomes clear why white workers like Dewey Burton are wrong and are acting against their own interests by supporting Wallace—or any Democrat or Republican, for that matter.

Behind the busing controversy lie two main factors. One is that quality education for everyone is not a priority of this capitalist system. The entire public school system—not only the predominantly Black schools—suffers from lack of resources for good buildings, teaching staff, and equipment.

Basically, this government of big business is concerned only that the masses of children are educated enough to produce profits for their factories, farms, and offices. The ruling rich have private schools for their own children. Working people will have to struggle to win the kind of quality education that will enable their children to develop their full capacities—just as it took a struggle to win the principle of free public education through high school.

The second factor is that racial oppression condemns Black people to even worse education. The struggle of Black people for the right to go to schools of their choice and for quality, community-controlled education aids the fight to achieve better schools for all working people. It increases pressure on the ruling class to allot more resources for education and, to the degree that they are successful, it creates precedents that can strengthen demands of all sections of the population for better schools.

So it is in the interests of white workers to give full support to the Black struggle for equal education. And this means supporting busing wherever the Black community feels it is a step toward equal educational opportunity.

In the long run it is impossible—in addition to being totally unjust—for white working people to maintain their better schools as white preserves at the expense of Black people. When whites attack the rights of Blacks to equal education they only weaken the entire fight for better schools.

Wallace's proposals concerning crime and violence are equally harmful to the working class. His program for

more police and greater military buildup is actually a program for increasing crime and violence.

The source of violence and crime in this society is not Black people, as Wallace implies, but rather the police, the prisons, corporate and government corruption, and the legitimization of violence by wars such as the Vietnam war.

Petty crimes like thievery are bred by this system of inequality, high unemployment, and poverty, where human beings are pitted against each other.

But the "crimes" of people driven by poverty and by bitterness are nothing compared to the crime that is promoted by the police. Through the hands of the police run the threads of major organized crime, prostitution, and dealing in drugs.

And the biggest criminals of all are the corporations and their servants in the government. They cheat people out of millions and get away scot-free.

The Black liberation movement is exposing the brutality and corruption of the police. It is fighting against drug traffic in the ghettos. And the Black struggle has the potential of drawing many Black people out of the desperate existence of drugs and petty crime by inspiring them with the vision of a better life.

It is in the interests of white working people to back the struggles of Black people against police brutality and for Black control of police in the Black community.

Similarly, it is Black people who are fighting for improvements in the welfare system. Wallace's inhuman pro-

gram denies adequate welfare allotments. It offers no solution whatsoever to the problems of unemployment, lack of job training, and lack of child-care centers—the problems that underlie the growth of the welfare rolls.

In addition to fighting for adequate welfare allotments, Black people are demanding the right to jobs and the right to join unions. They are demanding child-care centers so that welfare recipients with children are free to get good jobs. Child care was a major demand of the March for Survival of tens of thousands of Black people in Washington, D. C., this spring.

On all of these three issues the capitalist rulers and their agents like Wallace attempt to appeal to the racism of relatively privileged white workers in order to weaken the entire workers movement.

The labor movement is faced with an assault by the government and employers on wages and working conditions. This is expressed in the wage controls, speedup programs, and high unemployment. The privileges that some white workers have—their suburban homes, their more modern schools, and their above-average wages—are under attack. All workers face a major battle to defend their standard of living.

As the government's attack sharpens, many privileged white workers will see that they need to ally, not with Wallace, but with Black workers and Black liberation groups to win against their common enemy. They will see how the struggles of Black people are part of that struggle and in the vanguard of that struggle.



Wallace would have white workers believe that the struggle by Blacks against racial oppression is the source of their difficulties.

Idaho SWP holds convention

By BARBARA DEUR

BOISE, Idaho, June 30—Andrew Pulley's arrival at the Boise airport June 29 was a tribute to the hard work of Idaho campaign supporters who collected 3,000 signatures in May to qualify the Idaho SWP for ballot status.

This is the first year that the SWP has attempted to win ballot status here and the first time since 1948 that a socialist party will appear on the state ballot.

The news media showed great interest in the reemergence of socialist ideas in the Idaho elections. Articles on Pulley appeared in the major newspapers in the state even before he arrived in Boise. While he was here, the SWP vice-presidential candidate appeared on both Boise TV stations and received more newspaper coverage.

Pulley's visit was planned to coincide with the first statewide convention of the SWP in Idaho. By state law a new party seeking ballot status must nominate candidates at a convention. After hearing Pulley speak, the campaign supporters at the convention nominated a slate of electors pledged to Pulley and Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate.

The four electors are two students at Boise State College, an unemployed factory worker, and a retired farmer who once received 5,000 votes as a socialist candidate for state office in

Kansas.

The address of the Idaho SWP Campaign Committee is P.O. Box 676, Boise, Idaho 83701.

Texas SWP files for ballot status

On June 28 the Socialist Workers Party, for the first time in its history, filed for ballot status in Texas. More than 45,000 signatures—twice the number required by state law—were

filed at the state capitol in Austin. Mike Alewitz, the party's candidate for lieutenant governor, filed the signatures.

In addition to the SWP, it is expected that the Texas Raza Unida Party will qualify for ballot status.

In Florida, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness has won round one in her lawsuit to strike down that state's filing fee. She is contesting the requirement that she pay 10 cents for each name submitted on nominating petitions for ballot status.

A federal judge in Florida's southern district ruled June 27 that a three-judge court must be convened to hear arguments in the case. A suit Jenness filed had requested such a hearing to determine whether the filing fee is unconstitutional. The attorney general of Florida attempted to have the suit dismissed without convening a three-judge court.

No date has been set for the hearing.

1972 elections reflect impact of mass unrest, opposition to war

By CAROLINE LUND

Everyone agrees that the 1972 elections reflect radical changes occurring in this country. Political commentators have noted the widespread popular dissatisfaction and unrest that have been expressed in the presidential primary campaigns.

Some have written of a "revolution" going on in the Democratic Party. Analyses have been made of the growing numbers of independent voters and the other challenges to the viability of the traditional two-party political system.

The tumult and rumblings of discontent characterizing the 1972 elections reflect the deepening radicalization taking hold in wider and wider sec-

On the spot

Caroline Lund is in Miami Beach covering the Democratic Party convention for *The Militant*. For this firsthand coverage, make sure you get our next two issues.

tions of the population.

The past decade has witnessed the growth of a powerful antiwar movement that has brought hundreds of thousands into the streets against the government. Through the mass actions of the civil rights movement and the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s, Black people confronted the government with demands for freedom.

These and other movements (the Chicano struggle, women's liberation, and gay liberation) have arisen outside the electoral arena, free from control by the Democratic and Republican parties. They have changed the political climate in this country—legitimizing dissent, winning reforms, and demonstrating the effectiveness of mass independent action.

In the 1972 elections this radicalization is reflected primarily within the Democratic and Republican party campaigns—especially the Democratic campaign. On the one hand, the Democratic and Republican parties are attempting to adapt to the new demands for radical change in order to coopt the radical sentiment and contain it within the bounds of capitalist politics.

On the other hand, the independent movements are placing significant pressure on the two-party system. Although not consciously anticapitalist, the struggles of these movements have been directed against the policies of local, state, or federal governments—Democratic and Republican—and the full demands of these movements cannot be achieved within the capitalist system.

To evaluate the impact of the radicalization on the elections it is necessary to step back and take an overview of what has happened.

Democratic Party reforms

One major development has been the reforms in the Democratic Party. Under the impact of the demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Party convention, the party adopted a series of reform "guidelines." These "guidelines," which are supposed to be binding on all state parties this year, outlaw some of the blatantly undemocratic practices in past party procedure. They encourage representation of "minority groups," women, and youth "in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the state."

The reforms have in fact given the Democratic Party a "new face." In 1968, for example, according to the findings of the party reform commission, in at least 20 states, the entire process of selecting convention delegates was left to a handful of party bosses. More than one-third of the delegates were chosen prior to 1968. Only 5 percent were Black and 13 percent, women.

This year, predicted the June 26 *Newsweek*, 36 percent of Democratic Party convention delegates will be women, 14 percent Black, 21 percent under 30 (as compared with 4 percent in 1968), and four out of five will be delegates for the first time.

Chicanos and Native Americans have also been

elected as delegates—in small numbers, but more than ever before. In Tennessee, the state coordinator of the Black Panther Party was elected. Other delegates were previously activists in the antiwar movement, in the May 1970 student strikes, or were demonstrating *outside* the Democratic Party convention in Chicago in 1968.

Commenting on the selection of Georgia's delegates, Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox lamented that only "a few responsible, solemn citizens" were elected. "The Socialists, the civil rights agitators and those who think the world owes them a living have moved in and taken over the Democratic party machinery." (*New York Times*, March 16.)

Another aspect of the reform guidelines concerns the Democratic Party platform. In the past, a party hack would draw up a platform behind closed doors for presentation to the convention only a few hours before the delegates were asked to vote on it. This year, the platform was debated publicly in eight regional hearings, beginning a month before the convention.

The May 30 *New York Times* reported, "In Democratic platform fights across the country, young activists are pushing for, and sometimes winning, controversial planks on such issues as abortion, drugs, draft evasion and homosexuality."

At the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) convention June 11, for example, the DFL Gay Rights Caucus presented a minority report calling for an end to discrimination against gay people, repeal of all laws prohibiting sexual acts between consenting adults, and the legalization of homosexual marriage. Seventy percent of the delegates voted for the minority report, and 500 of the 1,216 delegates wore lavender armbands, distributed by the caucus, to show their support for gay rights.

Still another effect of the reform guidelines has been to increase the use of primaries for delegate selection. This has meant that the primary results have reflected popular sentiment more than in past years. Another new development has been the establishment of quasi-independent formations of women, Blacks, youth, and gay people. These formations are attempting to rally support from the various independent struggles to apply pressure on the Democratic and Republican parties to support the demands of these movements.

Black political convention

Eight thousand Black people attended a national convention March 10-12 in Gary, Ind., to discuss how best to further Black liberation through the 1972 election process. The conference released a National Black Agenda containing many demands of the Black movement.

This was the first time that Black people in such numbers got together and confronted the Democratic and Republican parties and the government with their demands. Most of the leaders of the Gary parley supported the Democratic Party. But the thrust of the meeting was to suggest the power Black people have as an independent, united force. The idea of forming an independent Black political party that could offer an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans was raised at the convention.

The National Women's Political Caucus is another of these quasi-independent formations. Its rapid growth shows that thousands of women for the first time want to mobilize to fight for women's demands and women's participation in politics.

Unlike the Black movement, the Chicano movement has developed forms of genuine independent struggle in the election process, as well as in the streets. Embryonic Chicano parties—La Raza Unida parties—have been formed on local and state levels.

Attempts by Chicano Democrats to form a Spanish-speaking political caucus oriented toward the Democratic and Republican parties have so far failed. For example, the 1,000 Chicanos at the first National Chicano Political Caucus meeting April 22-23 in San Jose, Calif., voted to support and build independent Raza Unida parties, in opposition to the perspective the conference or-

ganizers had of the working within the Democratic Party.

The broad support for the National Women's Political Caucus, the National Black Assembly that came out of the Gary convention, the Youth Caucus, and the Gay Political Caucus reflects the radicaliza-



Great Speckled Bird/Phil V.

In Georgia's fifth district, some 4,000 Democrats stood in line up to three hours to vote for convention delegates.

tion among all these sections of the population. The caucuses derive their bargaining power within the two parties from the threat posed by the independent movements—the Black liberation struggle, the women's movement, the massive antiwar movement.

At the same time, the orientation of these groups to supporting the Democratic and Republican parties serves to weaken these struggles. It only adds to the sagging prestige of the parties responsible for the war and for maintaining the oppression of women and Blacks.

McGovern's rise

The changes in the Democratic Party and the deepgoing antiwar sentiment among the American people made possible Senator George McGovern's

World Outlook

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

JULY 14, 1972

Iraq

Can el-Bakr gov't defeat Iraq Petroleum Company?

By Jon Rothschild

A Radio Baghdad commentator, voice choked with emotion, called it "the end of the colonial era. . . . The people of Iraq are finally avenged for half a century of exploitation, shame, oppression, and humiliation." Workers and peasants throughout the country who had gathered around transistor radios to listen to an "important announcement" from the government greeted the news with wild enthusiasm, dancing in the streets, cheering, firing shots into the air.

The Baathist government of Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr had, on June 1, nationalized all holdings of the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) in the north of the country. IPC installations in the Kirkuk region were occupied by troops, and the company's non-Iraqi personnel were ordered expelled from the country.

The following day, the Syrian government announced that it was also taking over IPC holdings, including a 500-mile-long pipeline carrying oil from Iraq across Syria and Lebanon to Mediterranean ports.

IPC has not officially put a value on its lost properties, but industry estimates range from \$520,000,000 to \$780,000,000. The corporation's holdings constitute some 10 percent of all Middle East oil.

The nationalization did not affect IPC's considerable holdings in the south of Iraq, and company executives, while threatening legal action against any buyers of the nationalized oil, tried to play down the significance of the move to the world petroleum industry. The nationalization triggered a series of negotiations, better called wheeling and dealing, that involves more than a dozen countries, including all the major imperialist giants.

The Iraq Petroleum Company is a consortium controlled by six Western corporations. British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, and the Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CFP) each own 23.75% of IPC; Mobil and Standard Oil of New Jersey each control 11.875%; the remaining 5% is owned by the Gulbenkian Foundation of Paris.

The importance of Middle East oil to world imperialism can hardly be overstated. Oil fulfills 44% of all Western European energy requirements. About two-thirds of the world's proven oil reserves are in the Middle East and North Africa.

The Iraqi nationalization of IPC was the latest stage in an eleven-year-

long dispute between various Iraqi governments and the giant corporation. In 1961, the Abdel Karim el-Qassim government nationalized IPC's holdings in the newly discovered North Rumaila fields in northern Iraq. The regime offered to pay compensation, and there ensued an interminable conflict over the terms of that compensation.

Geoffrey Stockwell, managing director of IPC, was quoted in the June 6 *Wall Street Journal* as complaining that the Iraqi regime had offered "peanuts" for the North Rumaila fields, although he declined to reveal the exact terms of the offer. (It should be kept in mind that oil companies normally demand compensation not only for the market value of nationalized holdings, but also for estimated lost profits until the expiration of their concessions, which in many cases means until the end of this century. The oil-producing countries usually offer to pay only the book value of the holdings—that value on which the companies pay taxes, or in other words, "peanuts.")

Stockwell also said that IPC had offered, on May 31, to pay the Iraqi government \$260,000,000 for all outstanding disputes over back payment of royalties, interest, and marketing discounts in a package settlement of the entire mess. This offer was rejected by el-Bakr and the company was nationalized the next day.

But the real reason for the nationalization must be sought outside the endless, and completely ordinary, disputes between the oil magnates and the governments of the producing countries. In contrast to other eastern Arab states, like Saudi Arabia, Iraq's oil production has been declining during the past period. Early this year IPC cut its production from 1,200,000 barrels per day to 694,000. The drop in production was accompanied by a decrease in investment.

Company officials claimed that the reason for the cutbacks lay in the allegedly uncompetitive price of Iraqi oil, which they said had become about 35 cents per barrel more expensive than competing crude oil from the Arab-Persian Gulf. IPC said this resulted from higher taxes and royalties imposed by the Iraqi regime.

El-Bakr estimated that the cutbacks would cost Iraq \$300,000,000 by the end of the year, and thus there was no alternative but to nationalize the company and boost production. El-Bakr's estimate was probably accurate. Fully one-half of Iraq's income

comes from oil royalties—the amounts paid by the consortiums for the privilege of exploiting the country's mineral and human resources; 80% of the funds earmarked for the current five-year economic development plan come from oil revenues; 85% of Iraq's foreign exchange earnings come from oil exports.

It is impossible to tell to what ex-

In the next issue....

Next week's World Outlook will be devoted to a major analysis of the meaning of Nixon's trips to Moscow and Peking in relation to the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolutionary struggle. Don't miss it!

tent IPC's production cuts were prompted by uncompetitive pricing and to what extent the company was just seeking a club with which to bludgeon the regime into a favorable settlement on the question of compensation for the North Rumaila fields. The oil cartel does not open its books to public scrutiny. But the dynamic of the clash is clear. Iraq is as dependent on oil production as the companies are on the right to exploit Iraq's resources. Thus, a constant tug-of-war goes on, each side trying to extract concessions from the other, and each meeting with greater or lesser success depending on factors that transcend both the local political context and the specific question of oil production.

In an article entitled "Power in Oil World Vastly Different Since 1967 War," printed in the June 6 *New York Times*, William D. Smith notes that the period since 1967 "has seen a radical swing in the balance of negotiating power from the industrialized nations of the Western world (and Japan) to the oil-producing states." Smith points to indications of the change—Algeria's nationalization of French oil interests, Libya's seizure of British Petroleum holdings.

Smith advances several explanations for the turn of affairs: the power-pinch on the United States; increased hostility to the West on the part of Arab governments because of the former's support to Israel; the closure of the Suez Canal, which has made Europe more dependent on North African Arab oil.

These factors are no doubt at work. But Smith misses more fundamental relationships. The world capitalist cri-

sis has reduced the power of the oil cartels in their dealings with the oil-producing countries. Heightened inter-imperialist competition has reduced the ability of the companies to function as a monolithic unit—a development the Iraqi regime has sought to turn to its advantage in the current dispute. The expanding role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East has given the oil-producing states increased maneuvering room against the West. And finally, the upsurge of the colonial revolution, primarily the Indochinese revolution, has tied down the imperialist powers and, by sparking the development of a mass antiwar movement, vastly reduced the possibilities of direct imperialist military intervention against any state that moves against the oil companies.

Behind IPC stand the power pinnacles of world imperialism. Numerous times in the past, imperialism has sent its soldiers to bang some sense into the heads of uppity Arabs who developed uncivilized ideas about controlling their own countries. A memo of a private meeting held between former U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and a number of oil executives to discuss Iraqi nationalizations in 1958 declared that "nationalization of this kind of an asset impressed with international interest goes far beyond the compensation of shareholders alone and should call for international intervention."

El-Bakr is seeking to counter this well-established imperialist policy through exploiting inter-imperialist competition, relying on the Soviet Union, and hoping for solidarity from the regimes of other oil-producing countries. As long as he does not fundamentally challenge imperialist domination of his country, he may be able to reach an accommodation with the corporations. If the objective conditions change and erode the ground from under that strategy, he will face a CIA-type coup or a direct military intervention from the West. In either case, his policy will not extract the country from the vise of imperialist exploitation.

That can be achieved only by carrying the fight through to the end—nationalizing without compensation all imperialist holdings and placing them under the control of the workers and peasants, a path the Baathists are not likely to follow.

The popular explosion of support for the nationalization by Iraqi workers and peasants shows the people's desire to take that road. □

Soviet Union

Kremlin arrests civil rights leader Pyotr Yakir

By George Saunders

After months of threats, the Soviet political police have arrested Pyotr I. Yakir, a prominent dissident Communist, civil-rights leader, and son of one of the Red Army generals assassinated in 1937.

Yakir was taken into custody by plainclothesmen about noon on June 21, according to friends of his. The arrest was made at his apartment in the auto-plant district of Moscow. He was driven away in an official-looking black Volga automobile, dissident sources said.

His friends reportedly expect that he will be put on trial on charges of "anti-Soviet" activity.

Yakir was subjected to a prolonged search of his apartment in mid-January, at which time large quantities of personal documents, manuscripts, and files were confiscated from him. In connection with an official drive to suppress the *samizdat* newsletter *Chronicle of Current Events*, he was kept under close surveillance after that and, reportedly, searched a second time.

According to Charlotte Saikowski, writing from Moscow for the June 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, Yakir was arrested for "anticonstitutional activities which he had systematically carried on for several years, submitting to Western propaganda agencies information which was used against the Soviet Union."

Together with Vladimir Bukovsky, Yakir was one of three Soviet oppositionists who gave a filmed interview to CBS-TV correspondent William Cole in Moscow in early 1970. That television film was part of the evidence used to convict Bukovsky in January of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," an offense for which he received a twelve-year sentence.

Saikowski says that her source named Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as the agencies to which Yakir allegedly submitted information. Such a tactic of smearing pro-Soviet, but antibureaucratic opponents by association with reactionaries and real agencies of imperialism has been Stalinist judicial practice since the 1920s.

Saikowski had further unpleasant news to report from her "source," who "said Mr. Yakir had been warned several times by Soviet authorities that

his activities were illegal, but he persisted in them. Also, he added, the dissident formed a group of young people, including his daughter Irina, to assist him." (This is an apparent reference to the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.)

"The latter charge apparently will be used in the trial," Saikowski goes on. "At this writing, however, it is not known under what article of the Soviet criminal code Mr. Yakir will be tried or when the trial will take place."



Pyotr Yakir

If Yakir is placed on trial, a very sharp confrontation between pro-Stalin and anti-Stalin forces in the Soviet Union could result. In recent years Yakir has become widely known as an outspoken opponent of Stalinism. An open letter he wrote in March 1969 stipulated grounds in present-day Soviet law under which Stalin should be posthumously tried.

An earlier open letter, in January 1968, cosigned by the Crimean Tatar poet and activist Ilya Gabai and underground satirical songwriter and singer Yuli Kim, had protested the increasingly favorable views of Stalin being printed. The 1968 letter contrasted the rehabilitation of Stalin's reputation to the continued negative treatment of Trotsky, whose role as

People's Commissar of War and Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council was still being presented as "unrelieved wrecking activities."

To oppose what he saw as a growing return to Stalin's methods of police terror, Yakir joined with other Soviet dissidents to form the loosely knit Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969. Most of its members have been jailed or confined in psychiatric hospital-prisons, the most recent victim being the Kiev mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who was arrested in January of this year.

The Initiative Committee's main activity has been to publicize violations of civil rights and to protest cases of political persecution. This has been done through protest letters and petitions, many addressed to the United Nations.

Despite the victimization of many dissidents in recent years, Yakir had not been previously touched, for all his outspokenness. In an open letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in March 1971, in which he called Stalin "one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century," Yakir indirectly referred to this temporary immunity he seemed to enjoy while friends and acquaintances were being picked off by the police on every side: "The selectiveness, the 'discrimination,' employed in exercising repression (for one and the same 'crime,' one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all, and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures."

The reason the KGB was reluctant to arrest him previously was of course that a legal case involving a Yakir would revive too many memories of the great purges of the 1930s. After his father, General Iona [Russian for "Jonah"] Yakir was shot, the general's widow and Pyotr, then fourteen years old, were interned in a concentration camp. They were not freed until after Stalin's death in 1953. In the "de-Stalinization" period they were rehabilitated, as were the Red Army officers Stalin had slaughtered on the eve of World War II, in a move that beheaded the first line of Soviet defense.

Khrushchev himself referred to Pyotr Yakir in the 1956 "secret speech"

at the twentieth party congress. Allowed to work as a historian, Pyotr edited a collection of articles about his father. How far the rehabilitation of the purged generals of 1937 went may be judged from the fact that a Soviet ship was named the *Iona Yakir*.

If Yakir is placed on trial, it will be the first time since the denunciation of Stalin's crimes that someone directly linked with a victim of the great purges has been subjected to revived Stalin-type frame-ups. The protests around the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, the Ginzburg-Galanskov trial, the Litvinov-Bogoraz trial, and the Bukovsky trial might prove to be only preliminary skirmishes if all the forces opposed to a revival of Stalin's methods can unite and mobilize in defense of Yakir.

For several years the Kremlin has shied away from public trials for dissidents who might win too much support, especially if they are opposition Communists who might win support from left forces internationally. Thus the tactic of "quiet" incarceration in madhouses was used against the dissident Communists Pyotr Grigorenko and Ivan Yakhimovich.

In recent months the Kremlin has adopted a new tactic: allowing dissidents to leave the country but not permitting them to return. Leading dissidents and associates of Yakir—Yuri Glazov, Yuri Titov, and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin—as well as the poet Iosif Brodsky have thus been removed as immediate problems from the Kremlin's point of view.

A recent report in a Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, states that the Soviet authorities are planning to offer leading oppositionists a choice: to leave the Soviet Union or be imprisoned. Correspondent Per Egil Hegge claimed that among the oppositionists to be thus approached were Yakir, novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Human Rights Committee member Valery Chalidze.

The Kremlin has real reason to aim reprisals against Yakir, Chalidze, Solzhenitsyn, and others like them. The signs of mounting unrest and political consciousness among the masses, especially among some of the national minorities, cause the Brezhnev regime to fear any organized or prominent oppositional person or group as a potential spark that could set off a conflagration. □

Prominent scientist asks democratization of USSR

"Our society is infected with apathy, hypocrisy, narrow-minded egoism, and hidden cruelty. With hurt and alarm I am forced to note, in the wake of a largely illusory liberalism, the growth of restrictions on ideological freedom or persecution for political and ideological reasons."

With these words Andrei A. Sakharov, member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a founder of the semi-underground Human Rights Committee, released to Western reporters the text of a March 1971 "memorandum" he had sent to Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

The memorandum contained a series of suggestions for reforming Soviet society, dealing with such points as economic policy, political prisoners, freedom of the press, and foreign

policy. When, after more than a year, Sakharov had not received a reply, he wrote an "afterword" (dated June 1972), invited Western reporters to his Moscow apartment, and presented them with both documents.

The June 23 *New York Times*, while not printing the full texts of the memorandum and the afterword (they are, after all, not official treaties or presidential pronouncements), summarized Sakharov's views.

His major fire was directed against the "open and secret privileges" of the government and party elite, who, he said, "are deeply indifferent to violations of human rights." He urged that the salaries of all public officials be made public, that single-slate elections be abolished, that the people be allowed to select government and party leaders. Provision should be made,

he said, for the "genuine possibility of recall of officials, at all levels, in cases of unsuitability," one of the norms of Bolshevik practice before the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist party and the Soviet state apparatus.

Other points included in either the memorandum or the afterword were: general amnesty for all political prisoners; an end to closed trials and a review of all sentences made "in violation of the right to know"; passage of new laws regarding the conditions under which political dissenters are held in mental hospitals; abolition of the death penalty; the drafting of a new law, to be presented to the people for discussion, on press regulations; an end to the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts and liberal access to foreign literature; the formation of

watchdog committees for all those arrested to protect them from physical abuse; the establishment of open borders.

Sakharov also called for an intensification of the struggle against drunkenness, whose spread to the "dimensions of a national calamity" he said was a symptom of "a moral degradation of society, which is more and more sinking into a condition of chronic alcohol poisoning."

Finally, Sakharov attacked the size of the Soviet military budget, which he estimates to be about 40 percent of the national income. "Only a concentration of resources on internal problems will make it possible to overcome difficulties in the areas of the economy and the welfare of the population." □

Chile

Allende cabinet shuffle reflects shift to the right

Chilean President Salvador Allende announced June 17 that six members of his cabinet had been dropped. One who lost his post was Minister of Economy Pedro Vuskovic, who has been an advocate of moving ahead with the administrative take-over of large private companies on a list of ninety-one earmarked for state control. He is being replaced by a more moderate independent socialist, Carlos Matus Romo.

The cabinet shake-up suggests that the Communist party, which favors a slowdown in implementing this and other aspects of the Popular Unity program, has won out in the crisis that has threatened the coalition since mid-May. Certain left-wing elements in Allende's own Socialist party around Senator Carlos Altamirano favor mass mobilizations and extra-parliamentary struggle as a way of implementing the program and combatting the mounting danger from the right. They appear to be the losers in the cabinet shuffle.

According to *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis, on June 17 Allende announced that the new cabinet had been chosen "to carry forward a more clearly defined and better coordinated program against inflation, deficits in Chile's international payments and wage and price conflicts, as well as to improve relations between the state and private sectors of the economy." Inflation is expected to climb to a rate of 40 or 50 percent this year in contrast to 20 percent in 1971.

The CP is pushing for more than a "consolidation" of the economy, however. It would also like to crack down

on the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and reach an accommodation with the opposition Christian Democrats. "The CP would like to bring about a complete break with the MIR by the government coalition," wrote *Le Monde* correspondent Charles Vanhecke, June 14, "as well as an explicit condemnation of the illegal occupations of farm properties that are doing their part to cut the government off from the moderate section of the electorate—as several partial elections during the past few months have shown. Realizing that the government is at a political impasse, it is proposing a dialogue—and even an understanding—with the Christian Democrats, whose neutrality in the parliament is indispensable to the government if it wants to get any legislation passed."

Whether Allende will move to crack down on the MIR remains to be seen, but no time has been wasted in beginning the "dialogue" with the Christian Democrats. Allende met for nearly two hours in the presidential palace June 13 with the president of the opposition party, Renan Fuentealba, reported Agence France-Presse. The aim of the meeting was thought to be an attempt to reach agreement on the text of a new constitutional change setting clear limits on the three sectors of the economy (national, mixed, and private). Minister of Justice Jorge Tapia made this observation following the meeting: "In the final analysis, Popular Unity was never all that far removed from Christian Democracy."

The *New York Times*, an influential voice of U.S. imperialism, had

kind words in a June 20 editorial for Allende's decision to reject the "radical counsel" of his own party in favor of the "more moderate and conciliatory approach urged by the Communists." It noted that "In thus shifting back toward the center of Chile's political spectrum, Dr. Allende has reduced the danger of large-scale civil strife and given his revamped Government its best chance to revive a

sagging economy." It also tossed in a bit of advice to the right-wing Chilean opposition: "It should always be the objective of Chile's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr. Allende out of office but to make his Government play by well-established rules." The cabinet shuffle shows that the imperialists can rely on the Communist party to play this watchdog role. □



An assembly of workers from a state-run plant discusses how to participate in the direction of the enterprise. Conservative wing of the Allende popular-front government wants to halt further steps toward expropriation of industry and farms under worker and peasant control.

Argentina

General strike wins release of student prisoners

On June 14, the city of Mar del Plata, 400 kilometers south of Buenos Aires, was completely shut down by a one-day general strike by workers and students. The June 14 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the newspaper of the Argentine Socialist party (PSA—Partido Socialista Argentino), called the mounting mobilization of workers and students "the most important reaction to date" in opposition to the "antissubversive" campaign of the repressive Lanusse regime.

The wave of unrest was provoked by the arrest of five students following a mass meeting at the university June 6. Approximately 1,000 had gathered there to mark the sixth month since the murder last December of the student Silvia Filler*, by armed fascists who invaded a peaceful student assembly and opened fire on the participants. Speakers at the June 6 meeting included representatives from all tendencies in the student movement, Filler's father, and Marcos Chueque, a member of the PSA who was seriously wounded in the fascist assault. Chueque is one of the main witnesses in the case.

As the crowd was leaving the audi-

torium, people were savagely attacked by the police. "In the confusion," reported *Avanzada Socialista*, "a group of policemen dressed in civilian clothes singled out PSA comrades Jorge Sprovieri, Sara Ferreiro de Chueque, and Marisol Diez, and arrested them along with the student Alfredo Iglesias." Later that evening, Marcos Chueque was also arrested at his home.

Along with Chueque, Sprovieri is a key witness in the case against the fascist gang, a number of whom are currently in jail. The arrests were seen as a blatant attempt on the part of the police to side with the fascists by dealing a blow to the plaintiffs in the case. The newspaper *La Capital* commented in its June 10 issue: "The impression, shared by people on all levels, is that this is an attempt to eliminate obstacles so that members of the CNU [the fascist group that murdered Filler] can be set free before long."

An indication of the complicity of the police with the fascists is the fact that two of those arrested—Chueque and Iglesias—were actually placed in the very same cell in which the members of the fascist band were being held, thereby risking not only their well-being but even their lives.

The response to these arrests was immediate among the student population. On June 7, a meeting of 1,000 students voted to strike and set up an

interuniversity coordinating apparatus.

On the night of June 8, a silent march was held around the slogan "Freedom for the comrades."

Support grew among the university population. The rector of the provincial university and all of the deans demanded that the prisoners be released. A top governing body of the university sent telegrams of protest to leading government figures, including General Lanusse and Minister of the Interior Mor Roig. A meeting of professors, teaching staff, and graduate students voted to organize a march encompassing all levels of the faculty. Statements of protest and solidarity came from a number of unions, among them those representing workers in light and power, press, private petroleum, milling, automotive transportation, banking, and graphics. They also called on the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) to call a meeting to vote on a proposal to hold a work stoppage demanding the release of the arrested students.

Statements of solidarity were also issued by a series of political groups, including the UCR (Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union), the "62 Organizations," the PSA, the FIP (Frente de Izquierda Popular—Front of the Popular Left), the Communist party,

the PSP (Partido Socialista Popular—Popular Socialist party), the Bar Association, the Peronist Lawyers Center, the Provincial University Workers Association, the Association of Psychologists, the Society of Architects, etc.

On June 12, the scope of the protests increased considerably with the involvement of the secondary school students and, especially, with the decision of the CGT to organize a general work stoppage on June 14. The same day, four of the five persons who had been arrested were released. Three of them—Iglesias, Diez, and Sara Ferreiro de Chueque—are nevertheless to be eventually put on trial. The fifth, Sprovieri, remains imprisoned, and was reportedly to be transferred to Buenos Aires.

The June 14 general strike was held in spite of the release of the four, which was generally understood to be a concession to the success of the mass mobilizations.

A coordinating committee of various political parties has been formed to help organize a continuing struggle for freedom for Sprovieri and demanding that no trials of any of those arrested be held. The participating parties thus far include the PSA, the FIP, the PSP, and the ENA (Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—National Encounter of Argentinians). □

* Our article on the Mar del Plata general strike in our July 7 issue incorrectly gives Filler's first name as Susana. — W. O.

Ireland

Both wings of IRA call for cease-fire; Arrests and internment continue

[The call for a cease-fire by the Provisional IRA—reported on in the article below—was preceded on May 29 by a similar decision by the Official wing of the IRA.

[The Officials based their decision to suspend armed offensive actions on two factors, as explained in the June issue of *Starry Plough*, the newspaper of the Official republican movement in Derry, Northern Ireland. The first and most important factor given by the paper is: "It was clear to us that the violence in the North, if it continued as it had been doing, could lead only to a sectarian war, a war between Catholics and Protestants which would be of no benefit whatever to the working class."

[Secondly, it states that "a continued military campaign would have meant a struggle in which, by its nature, the majority of the people could not physically participate. This would have separated the IRA from the people, a situation totally unacceptable to Republicans."

[It continued: "The suspension [of armed offensive actions] could change the present situation from one of elitist military activity into one of mass political action, in which the Official Republican Movement must be the vanguard, must give leadership so as to develop the struggle for basic civil rights—still to be won—into a struggle for the ownership of this country by the people of this country."]

By Gerry Foley

The Provisional IRA announced June 22 that it would suspend "offensive operations" provided there were a "public reciprocal response" from the British army. The statement continued:

"The leadership of the Republican movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major participants to the conflict.

"The movement has formulated a peace plan designed to secure a just and lasting solution and holds itself in readiness to present it at the appropriate time."

In the June 23 *New York Times*, a dispatch from Bernard Weinraub in Belfast commented:

"At least one element of surprise in today's announcement was that there was no time limit on the I.R.A.'s offer. There had been earlier indications that the Provisionals' leadership was discussing only a two-week or three-week truce.

"Another element of interest and surprise was the I.R.A.'s demand that it take part in any discussions on the future of Northern Ireland."

Weinraub noted that the Provisionals had dropped their previous conditions of an end to internment and abolition of the Belfast parliament, which in February was suspended for a year.

It did not seem, however, that the Provisionals would be the ones to gain from their concessions. Gerry Fitt, one of the principal figures in

the Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP), the moderate Catholic political organization, said:

"When I heard the Provisionals call for a meeting with Mr. Whitelaw [the London-appointed governor of Northern Ireland] and heard nothing about a precondition for ending internment, I nearly fell off my chair.

"Once they had missed that—and I rather think it was a mistake on their part—then we really had something to grasp. For the first time we could go and see Whitelaw without fear of pressure from anyone."

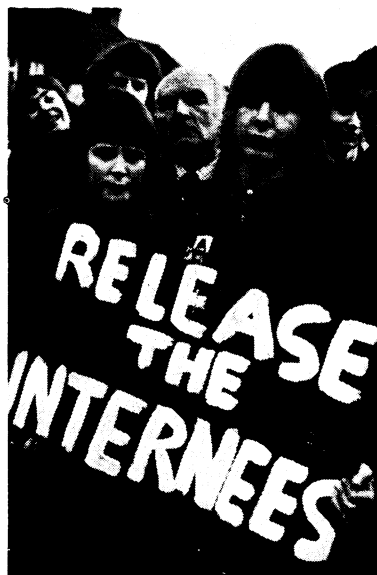
The British administration was quick to accept the Provisional IRA's offer. "Mr. Whitelaw said that the army would 'obviously reciprocate' when the

a decisive military victory. In August 1970, Seán Keenan, who was the Provisional leader in Derry then, told me and a Swedish journalist that he hoped the armed campaign would force United Nations intervention.

Nonetheless, it seems clear that the Provisional campaign has ended in a political defeat. They have been forced to surrender almost unconditionally by a peace campaign in the Catholic community fueled by little more than the promise of concessions from the British authorities. The concentration camps are still open. There have been only token releases, and arrests continue. No serious steps have been taken to meet the long-standing grievances of the nationalist commu-



Left, prisoners freed from internment camp. Right, demonstrators in Newry, Northern Ireland.



IRA ceased its campaign," Weinraub reported. "The Provisionals said tonight that they accepted this as a mutual suspension of operations."

The weekend preceding the scheduled truce, due to begin on midnight June 26, was marked by increased terrorist activity. The press speculated that the Provisionals' intention was to show that they had not been militarily beaten. There were also rumors that sections of the Provisional ranks would refuse to obey the cease-fire. In a statement quoted by Weinraub, Séamus Twomey, commander of the Belfast forces, seemed to confirm the existence of opposition to halting the campaign:

"Mr. Twomey said that, after midnight Monday, 'if any member of the Provisionals takes part in any offensive action, he will be very severely disciplined."

"And if we find he is guilty of an act of deliberate treachery, then he will be shot."

Disorientation in the Provisional ranks might be expected, since this group has been built almost exclusively on the perspective of guerrilla warfare, without a clear and effective program for mass action. On the other hand, the leaders of the organization have made it clear on several occasions that they were trying to force the British to the conference table and had no hopes of being able to win

the suspension of the Belfast parliament has only given the British administration a fresh face and greater maneuverability. The system of religious bigotry remains intact, and the Protestant proimperialist organizations continue to play their role as a backup and ally for the occupation forces.

The real reason for the power of the peace campaign seems to be that a large section, if not the majority, of the Catholic population has come to resent terrorist actions as a source of apparently needless discomforts and dangers. They have no control over such actions and the violence did not seem to be leading anywhere. There was support for the bombings and the other violent acts in the Catholic ghettos, but the most common defense of them that I heard in Belfast in February of this year was that "they make the government sit up and take notice." Now that the imperialist regime seems to be "taking notice," the support for terrorism appears to be ebbing with dizzying speed.

Moreover, since the Provisionals failed to build a mass political alternative to the moderate Catholic politicians, it was virtually inevitable that the halting of the military campaign would restore the position of these traditional "negotiators." □

Argentina

Guerrillas to stand trial

Preparations to try three persons for the April 10 killing of General Juan Carlos Sánchez in Rosario, Argentina, are under way. The three are Gabriela Yofre, 19, Graciela Lilliana Lavalle de Reyna, and Jorge Emilio Reyna. Federal Judge César Black in Buenos Aires has ordered them held under "preventive detention" for alleged crimes of "illicit association" aggravated by the death of Sánchez, according to a United Press International dispatch in the June 12 issue of the New York paper *El Diario-La Prensa*. "Black states that the three defendants have freely admitted taking part in the preparatory phase of the operation . . .," UPI reported. □

The July 3 issue of *Intercontinental Press* contains two articles of special importance that we were not able to include in World Outlook:

● "A Malignant Case of Sectarianism in Philosophy," by Marxist philosopher George Novack. An answer to the Socialist Labour League in England and the Workers League in this country.

● An open letter from 17 Latvian communists to Communist parties around the world. It documents and protests discrimination against the Latvian nationality within the Soviet Union.

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rise to front-runner in the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Initially, the commentators agreed almost unanimously that McGovern had no chance to win the nomination. The relatively high popular votes he has unexpectedly won in the primaries is a sign of the deep discontent among broad sections of the population, especially their opposition to the Vietnam war.

This discontent was also reflected in the congressional primary campaigns in several states. For instance, 30-year-old women's rights advocate Elizabeth Holtzman won a surprise victory against veteran Democratic Congressman Emanuel Celler in Brooklyn. In Texas, analysts were confounded by the surprise showing 45-year-old Frances Paret-hold, a critic of the Vietnam war, made in her bid for the Democratic nomination for governor. In California, also, the radicalization was expressed in the defeat of powerful incumbents and victories or substantial votes for "progressive" candidates.

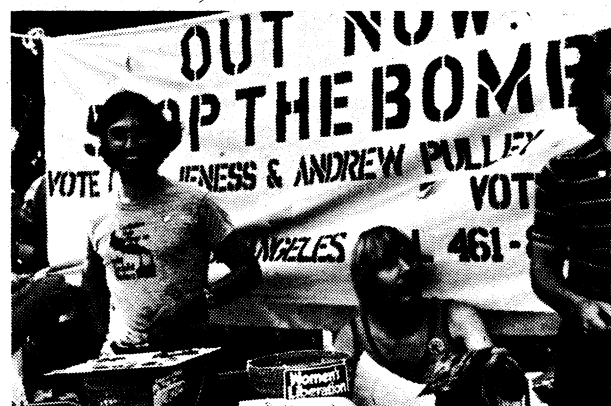
Still another new development is the shake-up of the traditional Democratic Party coalition constructed in the 1930s and 1940s—the coalition of labor officials, party machine bosses, Southern Democrats, reformist Black figures, and liberal intellectuals.

One aspect of this shake-up can be seen in the aggressive primary campaign of George Wallace, which has deepened the polarization within the Democratic Party.

Behind Wallace's primary bid is the threat that he will run independently, as he did in 1968, if the Democratic Party does not respond satisfactorily to his demands.

The polarization in the Democratic Party has put the labor officials on the spot. Some, such as George Meany, have so far refused to support McGovern. The more reactionary wing of the labor bureaucracy does not want to be associated with the young McGovern supporters, the criticism of the war, or the reforms within the Democratic Party. AFL-CIO representative I.W. Abel, for example, boycotted the meetings of the Democratic Party reform commission.

These bureaucrats are being exposed as unrepresentative of the large numbers of working people who want an end to the war and are looking for radical solutions to such problems as inflation,



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP presidential campaign is winning more support than ever before.

wage controls, and unemployment. Another wing of the labor bureaucracy opposes the Meany line and bends to the pressure of rank-and-file discontent. This was illustrated in the recent founding conference of Labor for Peace in St. Louis.

The Black nationalist radicalization is also exerting pressure on the traditional Democratic Party coalition. Black Democrats are being forced to take a more aggressive stance within the party.

All of the changes in the Democratic Party have not, however, signified a shift in the party's basic orientation. The Democratic Party has in no way become a party representing the interests of young people, Blacks, women, or working people. It has not become a democratic organization controlled by the masses of people who vote for it at election time.

Nor do these changes mean that the Democratic Party is falling apart, yet.

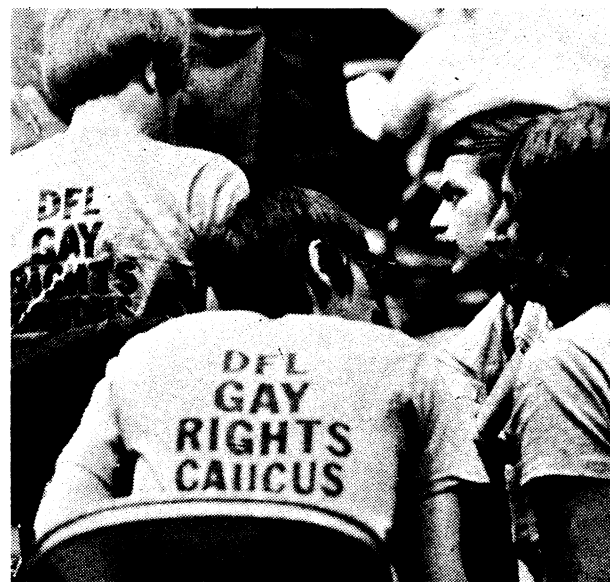
The purpose of the reforms in the Democratic Party is to persuade the radicalizing sections of the population to contain their struggles within the two-party framework. Reforms cannot change the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are ultimately controlled by the multimillionaires who finance them and their candidates. They are parties committed to defending the capitalist system.

The issues fueling this radicalization stem from the deep contradictions of this system. The war

in Vietnam, for example, is not a mistaken policy but part of the strategy of the U.S. government to keep the world safe for capitalist investments and exploitation.

The oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, and other nationalities is an integral part of this system. Such discrimination is profitable to those who own the wealth. And the oppression of women stems from the family system, one of the basic institutions of this society.

Inflation and unemployment are fundamental features of capitalism. The wage controls and pressures for speedup in the plants result from not only national but international problems of the capitalist system.



The Advocate/Larry Kampa

Gay Rights Caucus at Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor convention.

None of the issues that have been prominent in the 1972 elections can be solved with a few reforms, a few changes in the law, or a little more money allocated here or there. Solving these problems will require fundamental changes in the organization and forms of ownership in this society. The proposed Democratic Party platform contains no fundamental solutions whatsoever.

The social problems generating the present radicalization will continue to feed it and sharpen it. Radical-minded workers, women, and Blacks who are now turning to McGovern and the Democrats for solutions will come into greater and greater conflict with the Democratic Party.

This process is already beginning. McGovern has decided to set up a network of staff representatives to keep tabs on the McGovern delegates at the convention and "instruct" them how to vote on controversial matters. McGovern does not trust his delegates—many of whom have fought for, and sometimes won, radical reform planks in their state party conventions. Some delegates will not go along with such attempts to force them to compromise on important issues.

Even before the convention, McGovern has moved to the right, refusing to support antiwar demonstrations, bending to Wallace on the busing issue, reversing his position on the right of women to abortion, and retreating on his economic proposals.

If McGovern is actually nominated and goes on to win the election, those radical-minded people who supported him will see even more clearly from his actions where his loyalty lies. It is with the ruling capitalist class, not with the interests of those who elected him.

The developments in the 1972 elections point to the depth of the radicalization process and bode well for the future of the struggles for social change. The parties of the ruling class face deeper and deeper opposition and distrust from the American people.

Another reflection of the increasing radicalization is the unprecedented response the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party has received. The SWP candidates are helping to build the antiwar movement, the Black and Chicano liberation struggles, the fight for abortion on demand and other issues of the women's liberation movement.

The SWP is the only party promoting the formation of an independent Black party and a labor party based on the trade unions. Such parties based on the oppressed would provide an opportunity for the struggles of working people, women, Blacks, and youth to take on new and powerful forms.

Democratic platform: something for everybody

The proposed Democratic Party platform, as excerpted in the June 29 *New York Times*, begins with a shamefaced criticism of the Democratic Party itself. It states, "The people are skeptical of platitudes filled with political platitudes—of promises made by opportunistic politicians."

It goes on to note that the American people "feel that the Government is run for the privileged few rather than for the many—and they are right."

The platform, however, is largely made up of just such platitudes and projects no changes that could make the government representative of the majority instead of the privileged few. It promises a lot but contains few concrete proposals for change. And it contradicts itself by trying to satisfy both the liberal and conservative wings of the Democratic Party.

Regarding the Vietnam war, for example, the platform, in one section, calls for "the immediate total withdrawal" of American forces from Southeast Asia. The fact that the platform contains such a demand is testimony to the powerful impact of the antiwar movement.

But in another section, the platform places a condition on the Vietnamese, providing a loophole for continuing the war: "We must insist that any resolution of the war include the return of all prisoners held by North Vietnam. . . ." This section calls not for immediate withdrawal, but for setting the date for withdrawal. For now their date is Oct. 1, 1972.

The major excerpts from the platform printed by the *New York Times* do not include any section on the rights of Black people, Chicanos, or other oppressed nationalities.

The document calls for "full employment" and the right of everybody to "a job with decent pay and good working conditions." It does not explain whether "full employment" has the standard capitalist meaning of 4 percent unemployment. To achieve the right of everybody to a job the platform calls for "greatly expanded" public service employment. But it does not explain where the resources for this will come from.

After offering no specific proposals for achieving full employment, the platform calls for ending the welfare system and replacing it with a vague "income security program" based on "an earned income approach." For the meantime, it advocates no increase in the pitifully inadequate welfare payments, but only a vague assurance that each family should have "an income substantially more than the poverty level."

The platform states that "Homes, schools and clinics, roads and mass transit systems need to be built." But again there are no concrete projections on how such efforts will be financed.

The section in the platform on the rights of women advocates certain steps to curb discrimination against women in various areas, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and maternity benefits for working women. But it does not mention the two major demands the women's movement is fighting for: abortion on demand and 24-hour child-care centers available to all.

Regarding national "defense," the Democrats pledge to "Defend America's real interests and maintain our alliances, neither playing world policeman nor abandoning old and good friends."

Such phrases as "defending American interests" and "not abandoning old friends" are the justifications that the capitalist class, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has used repeatedly to back up reactionary regimes around the world, such as the South Vietnamese regime, and to intervene in other countries to crush popular movements for liberation.

This Democratic Party platform contains a few more concessions to the movements struggling for social change. But passage of the platform gives no assurance whatsoever that they will be carried out since the platform is not binding in any way upon Democratic Party politicians.

McGovern favors use of troops 'if necessary to save Israel'

By TONY THOMAS

Democratic presidential aspirant George McGovern has won considerable support as a supposed opponent of the type of politics that led to the Indochina war. Yet in his primary campaigns, especially in the New York campaign, McGovern has shown himself to have a "hawkish" position on U.S. support to Israel, despite his former reputation as a "dove" on this question.

In a barrage of radio and television commercials, public speeches, and visits with Zionist leaders, McGovern has tried to appear even more pro-Israel than the Nixon administration.

Frank Lynn reported in the June 18 *New York Times*: "Mr. McGovern, who campaigned extensively in Jewish areas last week, said repeatedly that he was fully committed to Israel and favored the use of American troops, if necessary, to save Israel."

McGovern shifted his position on Jerusalem, part of which Israel seized in 1947, the rest in 1967. Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak report in the June 26 *New York Post*: "On Jerusalem, he suddenly demanded outright recognition of the Holy City as Israel's capital. . . . The U.S., he said, should move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem—a symbolic act that every president since Harry Truman has refused to make." This position on Jerusalem has already been made part of the Democratic Party platform.

What's wrong with giving support to Israel?

The Zionist solution to the terrible oppression Jews have faced is to support the imperialists of Western Europe and North America, the prime source of anti-Semitism today. Zionists oppose the just struggles of oppressed people throughout the world against these imperialist powers and support the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs as the way out for the Jews. This is the basis on which Israel was formed.

The Zionists took advantage of the colonial status of Palestine to settle large numbers of Jewish immigrants there, despite the opposition of the Palestinian majority. The Zionists consistently opposed Palestinian independence from Britain, as well as demands for equal democratic rights for all who live in Palestine.

In 1947, the United Nations partitioned Palestine under U.S. pressure—against the wishes of the Palestinian majority. This is how the Israeli state was established. In the war that followed, Israel promptly seized the part of Palestine it had not received in the partition (except a small segment that was given by a secret agreement to the Jordanian monarchy and a tiny "strip" around the city of Gaza on the Mediterranean).

Through massacres and shelling of defenseless Palestinian villages and towns, the Israeli government drove hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to exile in other Arab countries. Property of Palestinians who fled during the 1947 war—even of many who didn't leave the country—was seized by the Israeli settlers. The Palestinians who remained faced second-class citizenship in their homeland. They suffered severe political repression and officially sanctioned discrimination in all fields of life.

The more than one million Palestinians who became refugees have lived in extreme poverty for the past 25

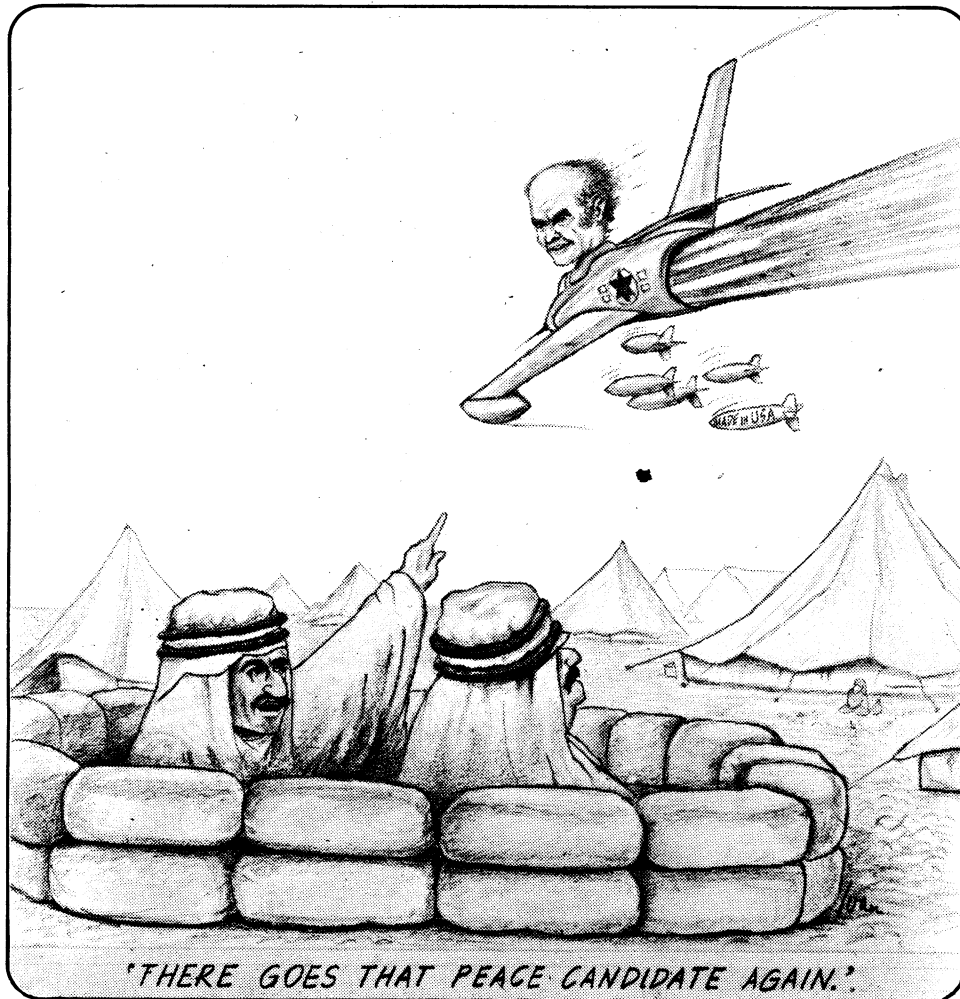
years. The number of Palestinians facing a choice between exile or discrimination in Israel swelled in 1967 when Israel occupied the Gaza strip and the Jordanian-held portion of Palestine in the Jordan River valley.

The existence of Israel is based on the oppression of three million Palestinians. This is why the Palestinian liberation movement is demanding that the state of Israel be abolished and a democratic, secular state be established. Equal political, economic, and religious rights would exist for all who inhabit Palestine, including both Arabs and Jews. This government would permit the "right of return" for Palestinians exiled by the Zionists since

rying on a genocidal war in Angola, Mozambique, and "Portuguese Guinea." The Israeli government also strongly supports U.S. intervention in Indochina—which McGovern says he opposes.

Not only does the state of Israel, armed by imperialism, provide a danger to the Arab and Palestinian peoples and other national liberation struggles. It is also against the interests of the Israeli Jews and Jewish people throughout the world.

Zionism and the state of Israel are used as diversions from the real struggle against anti-Semitism—the struggle to end capitalism internationally and to establish real workers democracy



1947. Contrary to Zionist propaganda, the Palestinian people do not call for the expulsion of Jews from Palestine.

All the major representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties, from George McGovern and Shirley Chisholm to George Wallace and Richard Nixon, oppose granting these democratic rights to the Palestinian people and support the Israeli oppressors. Why? Because the U.S. government finds Israel a very useful tool for exploiting the Arab peoples.

Both the U.S. and Israel fear an Arab national liberation movement that could sweep away U.S. imperialist exploitation in the Arab countries and win national liberation for the Palestinians. This is why Israel and the U.S. gave military support to King Hussein of Jordan in the September 1970 civil war between his supporters and the Jordanian and Palestinian masses. This was done even though Hussein is one of the most anti-Semitic and antidemocratic heads of state in the Middle East.

Similarly, the Israelis have been hostile to national liberation struggles elsewhere around the globe. Not only does Israel support the reactionary white settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. It also has close military and political links with the Portuguese government, which is car-

in the bureaucratically dominated workers states in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Settling more Jews in Israel at the price of oppressing the Palestinians is an obstacle to the struggle against anti-Semitism.

Moreover, just as the American people are forced to suffer inflation, exorbitant taxes, and death for an unjust war in Indochina, the Israelis are forced to suffer economic hardship, militarism, and the erosion of democratic rights to maintain the oppression of the Palestinians.

McGovern's call for U.S. troops, "if necessary, to save Israel" is the same type of policy that led to the U.S. intervention in Indochina—a policy based on the idea that U.S. imperialism has the right to intervene anywhere in the world when a reactionary regime is threatened by a national liberation movement.

Only by rejecting the politics of the Republican and Democratic parties—which are based on this and other policies of U.S. capitalism—can those people who support McGovern because of his supposed "antiwar" stand fight against imperialist war. McGovern's jingoist attitude toward the Middle East demonstrates that he has no more regard for the antiwar sentiments of the American people or for the democratic rights of oppressed people than Richard Nixon does.

HHH's real record

The Peanut Princess, official spokeswoman for Georgia's peanut growers, sent the *Village Voice* a copy of a letter she received from Hubert Humphrey. The *Voice* quoted from it in its June 8 issue: "My favorite sandwich is peanut butter, baloney, cheddar cheese, lettuce, and mayonaise on toasted bread with lots of catsup on the side." The Minnesota senator is noted for his expertise at this sort of windbagging hokum.

But among large numbers of people, Humphrey also has an undeserved reputation as a champion of civil rights and civil liberties, a "friend of labor," and an advocate of peace among nations. The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kit by Laura Miller, *If HHH Were President*, documents the real record of this loquacious liberal.

Miller takes up the red-baiting and witch-hunting that marked Humphrey's early national prominence during the McCarthy era, his cozy relations with the Dixiecrats who control the congressional committee structure, and his loyal defense of the Democratic coalition's inclusion of reactionary politicians such as Lester Maddox. "The Democratic Party is a big house," Miller quotes Humphrey as saying. "It has room enough for all of us in it."

Humphrey's hawkish record on the war in Indochina is drawn as a background to throw in sharp relief the shortcoming of his current inadequate, condition-hedged, set-the-date "peace" proposal.

His early willingness to compromise Black people's struggle for their democratic rights in order to accommodate the segregationist southern Democrats in congress is documented. Miller then matches that early record to Humphrey's more recent performances, notably his "law and order" stance during and after the 1967 ghetto rebellions and his mealy-mouthed hypocrisy on the busing issue in the current campaign.

The truth kit also surveys this "friend of labor's" record of sponsorship and support of strike-breaking and union-busting legislation. His position favoring Nixon's wage controls is also cited.

Miller finishes her discussion of Humphrey with his opposition to women's right to abortion and his two-faced stand on women's rights in general.

She concludes the truth kit with a discussion of the socialist alternative to Democratic Party phonies like Humphrey: "The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice-President—advocate a fundamental change from capitalism to socialism. . . . Production must be organized to meet the needs of the majority of the people, not the needs of a few, in order to end the war, poverty, pollution and oppression. . . . A mere switch in the occupants of the White House will obviously never accomplish this."

—LEE SMITH

If HHH Were President

The Real Record of Hubert Horatio Humphrey—Senator from Minnesota

A Young Socialists for Jenness & Pulley Truth Kit/by Laura Miller/25 cents.

Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Urge labor officials to join bandwagon

Social democrats support McGovern

By FRANK LOVELL

The prospect of having Senator George McGovern as the Democratic presidential candidate embarrasses AFL-CIO President George Meany and all those sycophants and time-servers around him, including his "socialist" advisers.

Early in the primary campaign, it was a well-advertised "secret" that pro-war Senator Jackson was Meany's personal favorite. The majority of the AFL-CIO hierarchy supported Humphrey because they thought he had a better chance to get the nomination than Jackson. Last April, before the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts primaries, Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, told an interviewer that "many labor leaders feel the nomination of McGovern would be a disaster." Now the disaster is imminent, and none are more grieved than George Meany himself.

This explains a curious letter written by two self-proclaimed socialist intellectuals, Irving Howe and Michael Harrington, in the June 18 *New York Times*. The letter must have been intended for Meany and his coterie of political advisers. It says that right-wingers are claiming McGovern is a "socialist" of sorts, but that "folks on the right should relax."

"Senator McGovern is not a socialist or even a radical; he does not propose measures that would significantly alter the socioeconomic relations of power in the U.S.; nor does he threaten the dominion of private property."

That should reassure even George Meany. The "real socialists" hasten to add that everyone who is in favor of tax reform should support McGovern because, as they say, "Socialism—from our point of view, unfortunately—is not an issue in the 1972 campaign."

Howe and Harrington could have sent a personal note to Meany saying the same thing, but their purposes are better served by this unassuming public letter. It puts everything on the record without being official or appearing meddlesome. At the same time, it notifies their political cothinkers in Meany's camp how best to handle the old gent's injured feelings over the unexpected turn of events.

A select crew from the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation has devoted special attention to the trade-union bureaucracy in recent years. They have been currying favor in the hope of bringing some strays back into the social-democratic fold. At the same time, they have been looking for minor administrative posts for promising youngsters of the over-30 variety in the Young Peoples Socialist League and carving out small niches for themselves in the process.

Most members of this crew are on the board of directors of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID). They include: Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (which is financed by the AFL-CIO); Penn Kimble, director of "Frontlash," a notably unsuccessful vote-catching organization sponsored by the AFL-CIO and directed to youth; Tom Kahn, LID executive director and occasional contributor to *The American Federationist*, official monthly magazine of the AFL-CIO (which lists George Meany as editor); and Donald Slaiman, AFL-CIO director of civil rights.

John P. Roche, a former YPSL member, writes a weekly column in the *AFL-CIO News*.

Harrington, in addition to serving as cochairman of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation, is board chairman of the League for

Industrial Democracy.

Howe is editor of *Dissent*, "a journal devoted to radical ideas and the values of socialism and democracy," the most ambitious publication of the social-democratic political tendency in this country.

The official SP-DSF publication is a small, semimonthly tabloid, *New America*, edited by Paul Feldman. It carries signed articles by the representatives of social democracy in the union movement. But they think it more prestigious to write for procapitalist publications.

Harrington and Howe write occasionally for the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* and other similar publications. Bayard Rustin published an article in *Harper's* magazine absolving the AFL-CIO bureaucracy of all charges of racism. It was reprinted and widely distributed by the bureaucrats. Penn Kimble wrote an article for *Commentary* a year ago entitled "Rediscovering American Labor." Praised by the union officialdom, it was reprinted and widely distributed inside the union movement.

Oppose independent struggles

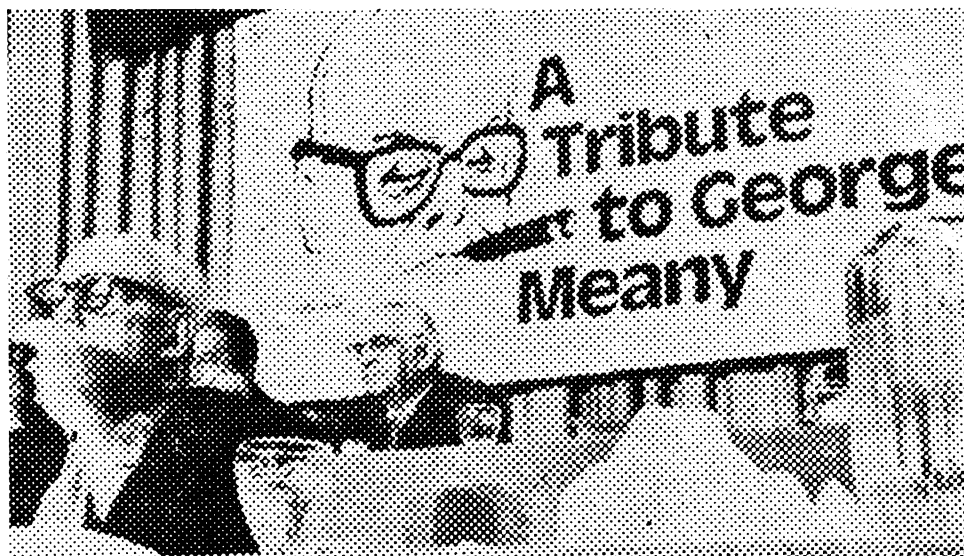
All of these "socialist" writers are

candidate of the Democratic Party, whoever it is.

Meany has not yet reached this position. But his social-democratic supporters are about to convince him that the best way to hang on is to get behind McGovern as gracefully as possible.

Meanwhile, they are prepared to fend off any harsh criticism directed against Meany and his cronies.

Tom Kahn, writing in *The American Federationist* last November, explained, "This criticism has been especially pronounced among those who became so preoccupied with the Vietnam war that they either could see no other issue or saw the war as the exclusive cause of all other problems, including inflation, unemployment, poverty and the urban crisis. With the war winding down, we may hope to see a sense of perspective restored and with it renewed attention to the basic inequities and imbalances in our national economy, injustices which existed long before the Vietnam war began, which are likely to outlive it and which have been the continuing and central concern of the labor movement as of nobody else. Meanwhile, those who made a fad and fetish of



George Meany was guest of honor at recent League for Industrial Democracy conference. The social democrats are now trying to convince the AFL-CIO president that George McGovern 'is not a socialist or even a radical.'

strong supporters of the capitalist two-party system and oppose independent working-class political action. They support a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam and continuation of that war while negotiations proceed. They are against "unilateral withdrawal."

They are open apologists for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. They fawn before Meany as "Mr. Labor," identify the bureaucrats with the labor movement, and defend "equitable" wage-price controls and "voluntary" arbitration of strikes. They are implacable foes of Black nationalism.

They are against the youth radicalization, the women's liberation movement, and mass demonstrations. Above all, they bitterly denounce those intellectuals who try to understand and explain the new radicalization and who fail to appreciate the "progressive" features of the union bureaucracy.

They often sound more like Meany than Meany himself.

They boast that their SP-DSF allows for all shades of political opinion on the question of electoral politics within the Democratic Party: until most recently, some members supported the nomination of Senator Jackson; others favored Muskie or Humphrey; McGovern also has supporters among them. The only thing they are dead set against is refusal to support the

'relevance' in the 1960s may discover that they are irrelevant to the 1970s and that the labor movement was where the action was all along."

Rustin on Black struggle

Others have since developed this theme in a number of ways. Bayard Rustin is the specialist on Black people. He wrote an article in the June 12 *New Leader* denouncing Black control of schools in the Black communities. His argument was simply a twist of the old saw that preferential hiring and proportional representation of Blacks, (especially on union executive boards) is "racism in reverse." In the debate about the school system, Rustin argues that community control "is the surrender of the suburbs to white domination."

In this view, Blacks can never hope to win recognition or strive to control their own affairs. Asking for recognition in an integrated organization, such as a union in which they are a minority, is a racist demand on their part. If they attempt to take control of their own community, they are abandoning the struggle for racial equality.

"Separatism," Rustin contends, "no matter what form it takes or how slickly it is packaged, has always worked to the detriment of the Black man." Therefore, he believes, the Black

community should never attempt to form its own independent organizations. Instead it should patiently submit its fate to such sterling champions of "racial equality" as Albert Shanker and George Meany.

This article by Rustin was reprinted June 11 in the weekly column in the *Sunday New York Times* paid for by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Shanker is a fellow LID board member.

These LID board members have become increasingly shrill against others—especially those in the academic world—who are not interested in the practical advantages of social-democratic politics and are not impressed with the questionable virtues of the labor bureaucracy.

Irving Howe makes a thinly disguised bid for an open and candid working relationship between the union bureaucrats and their social-democratic apologists. He writes in the 1972 winter (January-February) issue of *Dissent*:

"... if unions are to be persuasive in their claims to constitute a major defense of democracy, they must show themselves to be democratic within their own life. They are being asked to respond to a social and moral pressure that—fitfully, erratically, but significantly—extends throughout our society; and it is good that they should be asked."

This means Howe and his academic friends are asking for kinder treatment from the know-nothing union officials—but only asking. And why should Meany and his slothful cronies fail to respond? They have been jolted sufficiently during the past year, especially since wage controls were instituted last August, to arouse them slightly from their complacency. It is to their advantage to have some "socialist" guides around to warn them against pitfalls and provide them with arguments against their critics.

Meanwhile, these helpful servants are leaving no room for doubt about where their real loyalties lie. At a testimonial dinner last April, high point of the LID's sixty-seventh annual conference, George Meany was the guest of honor. Most LID board members, including board chairman Michael Harrington, were on hand to pay tribute.

Bayard Rustin praised Meany as the man who was there to challenge Nixon "when the intellectuals did not speak out." Albert Shanker claimed, "George Meany, unlike the many intellectuals who have closed their minds and abandoned the labor movement, has not abandoned the intellectuals."

Midge Decter, former managing editor of *Harper's* magazine, launched the attack on liberal intellectual critics of the union bureaucracy. She told the gathering that "the reformist intellectuals and the seemingly most vocal of my colleagues in the liberal press, had abandoned the labor movement for a rapid succession of self-styled and, alas, infinitely more romantic proletariats: glamorous swash-bucklers among the heralds of racial revolution; students; women."

Now the whole gang of social democrats are thrown together in the McGovern bandwagon with all the intellectuals they have so recently denounced. What Howe and Harrington are trying to tell others in their own camp is to help old Meany learn to appreciate the finer side of George McGovern—the fact that he's really not a socialist or even a "new left," though at times he must try to make others believe he is.

New American Mv't: attempt to revive new left off to slow start

By MARK UGOLINI

MINNEAPOLIS—Close to 400 people attended the founding convention here June 22-25 of the New American Movement (NAM). Of those, 263 were delegates from 35 chapters across the country and approximately 130 were observers. Most were over 25 years of age.

The New American Movement is an attempt to unite the remnants of the early new left, including former members of the Students for a Democratic Society. Although NAM aims to become an alternative to the "old left," it makes no attempt to analyze the major tendencies in the world socialist movement.

Much of the convention discussion centered on the "Revised Draft Political Statement," a document issued by NAM's National Interim Committee (NIC), a national leadership body of 13. The statement was eventually adopted by the convention in an amended form.

The statement, as explained by NAM leader James Weinstein, is meant to serve as "a general guide for activity . . . to effect the style of our work." While attempting to analyze the nature of capitalism and the need for "democratic socialism," the document does not present a coherent political program for achieving this goal. Nowhere is a clear strategy outlined for active involvement in the trade unions, the antiwar and women's liberation movements, or the Black and Chicano struggles.

The New American Movement was initiated about a year ago by a number of West Coast radicals, including Michael Lerner, previously a member of the Seattle Liberation Front; Therie Cook, a supporter of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; and Dan Siegel, former student body president at the University of California at Berkeley.

They had projected in a manifesto that NAM would become a "mass membership organization of Americans committed to the struggle to rebuild America on democratic socialist lines."

A meeting held in Chicago in October 1971 elected a national organizing committee. A national conference was then called for Thanksgiving

weekend in Davenport, Iowa.

The purpose of the Davenport conference was to begin the process of developing "guidelines" for NAM as a national organization. A great deal of stress was given to involvement in community organizing projects.

The conference, attended by approximately 350 people, outlined three national "priority programs" for local organizing by NAM chapters—(1) activities around the demand for "people's control of the economy"; (2) anti-imperialist activity; and (3) "anti-corporate" organizing.

The NAM leadership viewed the founding convention in Minneapolis as the next step in the process of developing NAM. A convention information sheet stated, "Although our June Founding Convention will not design a comprehensive programmatic blue-print or witness the miraculous emergence of the 'correct line', it can further develop our organization, promote the revision of our programs, and advance the collective political understandings which must underline any transitional programs that we organize around."

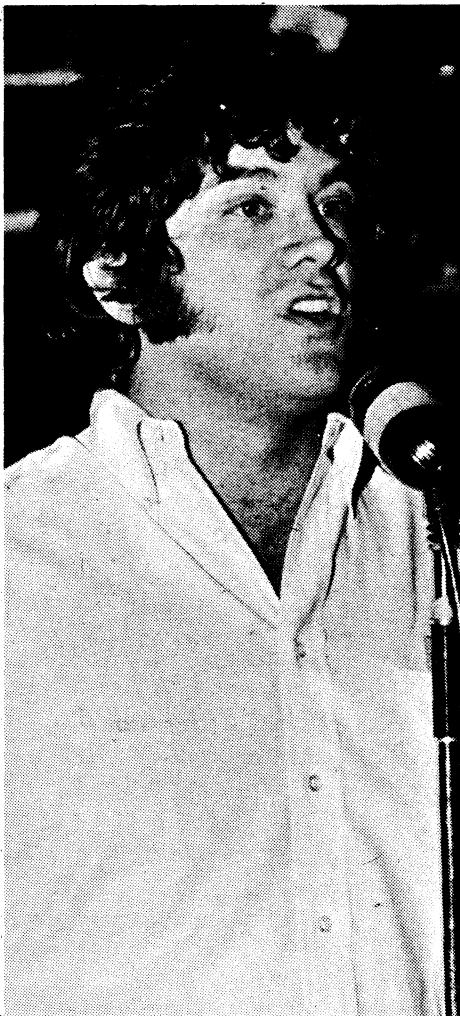
Although nearly everyone at the convention claimed to be a socialist, it became clear that the participants reflected a wide range of political views.

At a workshop on internationalism, for example, a great deal of debate took place on the class nature of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union's role in world politics.

Some claimed that the Soviet Union is an imperialistic, capitalist state, while others proclaimed it to be socialist. Still others said that the Soviet Union is state capitalist. These major political differences on this question—an important one for socialists—were put aside and glossed over in the political statement that was adopted.

At the convention's opening plenary, reports were given by members of the National Interim Committee. The reports stressed that although the number of NAM chapters had increased "fourfold" since Davenport, NAM is plagued with serious organizational problems, both nationally and locally.

One reporter indicated that little had been done on the national level because the Iowa conference had not delegated clear lines of authority to the NIC and the national office. As



NAM founder Michael Lerner. Caucus with which Lerner is associated says: 'NAM has become . . . a comfortable sanctuary for New Lefters only.'

a result, the national office has only a limited idea of what NAM chapters are doing around the country. It was also pointed out that a number of NAM chapters have become "ingrown" and "inactive."

The convention failed to take a position on the 1972 elections. The individual chapters were left to do whatever they see fit.

During one plenary session, members of New York's West Side NAM chapter submitted a resolution calling for "no support to the Democratic and Republican parties in the 1972 elections." The resolution specified that "no NAM chapter, in the name of NAM, shall carry out activity in support of one or another capitalist candidate."

Steve Max, a national leader of NAM recently active in Bella Abzug's congressional primary campaign in New York, strongly opposed the resolution. After Max's comments, the NAM leadership was able to get the resolution tabled—never to be brought back onto the floor.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley distributed an "Open Letter" calling for the NAM convention to endorse the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential slate of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

"The NAM convention," the letter stated in part, "by endorsing a socialist alternative, will make it unmistakably clear that it is not sucked in by McGovern's rhetoric. Absention will leave NAM wide open . . . to the pressure of lesser evilism and 'practical' politics as election day approaches. . . . The Jenness-Pulley ticket gives NAM a chance to campaign for a socialist America in 1972."

During the course of the convention 17 people endorsed the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

At the convention, one of the major critics of the NAM leadership around Weinstein was Michael Lerner, a founding member of NAM. A pamphlet of the United National Action Caucus—the caucus Lerner is associated with—says that NAM has failed to carry out the basic strategy it originally projected: "to launch mass, public programs around issues that spoke to the needs of working people."

"The programs passed at the Davenport Conference," the pamphlet states, "were almost completely ignored. Almost no one who already didn't have previously established lines of contact with the left was recruited into NAM through NAM's work on programs . . . there was no significant national presence created by NAM. . . ."

The pamphlet also refers to the "inwardness" of NAM's orientation: "NAM has become, just as many people warned us, a comfortable sanctuary for New Lefters only."

Trade unionists back McGovern

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO, July 2—Almost 300 delegates and about 100 observers gathered in Chicago on July 1-2 for the second national convention of the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD). More than 700 attended the first TUAD conference in 1970.

The main slogan of the convention

was "Build labor's independent political power—no candidate, no labor leader, has the rank-and-file vote in his pocket."

But from the very beginning of the meeting, a tone was set of support to capitalist politics. Fred Gaboury, TUAD national field organizer, justified support to McGovern in his keynote address. He said that for working people the top priority in the 1972 elections is "the defeat of Nixon and the ending of the war."

Gaboury referred to the McGovern campaign as the "McGovern miracle." He said, "McGovern is only trying to keep up with the people; it was the rank and filers independent of the Democratic machine that have raised to a viable possibility the McGovern candidacy."

The convention passed a resolution to send a delegation to the Democratic Party convention to influence delegates to nominate McGovern. It urged that pressure be put on McGovern to prevent him from "moderating his progressive positions."

Besides going to the Democratic convention, TUAD's strategy calls for putting pressure on the AFL-CIO national executive committee to formally endorse McGovern if he gets the nomination. The Communist Party, which is vigorously promoting the McGovern campaign, is a leading influence in TUAD.

At several points during the conference, the TUAD leadership had to answer a proposal calling for the formation of an independent labor party. The proposal was put forward by the Workers League, a small sect claiming to be Trotskyist.

Ernest DeMaio, vice-president of the United Electrical Workers, agreed that at some point in the future such a party would be necessary. But now, he said, "We must mobilize and fight for progressive programs. McGovern must be made to realize that without the support of workers he cannot win."

A panel on the Vietnam war adopted a proposal to endorse the antiwar actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Japanese

Congress on A and H Bombs for Aug. 5-9. The report from the panel encouraged trade unionists "to participate in all peace activities around the country, including Hiroshima Day."

About 70 delegates, most of whom were from the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) and the Spartacist League, were forcibly ejected from the convention when they objected to the exclusion of 100 of their members.

Also excluded from the conference were representatives of the Chicago Peace Action Coalition (CPAC) and the Illinois Women's Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

TUAD representatives told CPAC coordinator Steve Clark that he was being excluded because TUAD was affiliated with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Pat Grogan, representing Illinois WONAAC, was told that "no political groups were wanted" and that "they could organize their own organization."

YSA leaders assess student movement; set convention date

By MARK UGOLINI

NEW YORK CITY—The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) National Committee plenum held here June 15-18 planned a major expansion of the YSA's activities, including intensified efforts to build the socialist campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

This leadership meeting—the largest in the YSA's 12-year history—was attended by local and regional YSA organizers, as well as by members of the YSA National Committee. Observers from the Socialist Workers

a bold approach to building the YSA.

Mirelowitz explained that through consistent activity in building socialist election campaigns, the women's liberation and antiwar movements, and the struggles for Black and Chicano liberation, the YSA has gained respect and influence within the student movement. The YSA is still small, he said, compared with what it aspires to become—a mass revolutionary-socialist youth organization.

The plenum also heard an election campaign report by Laura Miller, a

struggle on the National Black Political Convention, held in Gary, Ind., last March and the African Liberation Day demonstrations that took place in May.

"The Gary convention," Miah said, "reflected the new political consciousness on the part of masses of Black people. It represented a crack in the lull that has existed in the Black liberation movement."

"The mere presence of over 8,000 Black people at a conference to discuss a program for Black people to



Militant/ Dave Wulp



Militant/Brian Shannon



Militant/Mark Satinoff

National officers of Young Socialist Alliance: National Chairman Andy Rose, National Secretary Mirta Vidal, and National Organization Secretary Laura Miller.

Party and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the revolutionary-socialist youth organization in Canada, were also present.

After assessing recent developments in the student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements, and the struggles for Black and Chicano liberation, the plenum concluded that the YSA is entering an important new stage of development. In the next few months the YSA faces significant opportunities to increase in size and influence on campuses and in high schools across the country.

The plenum mapped a vigorous plan of action for the final months of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. This campaign mobilization will culminate with the twelfth national Young Socialist Alliance convention, to be held Thanksgiving weekend in the Midwest.

In the political report to the plenum, Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, analyzed developments in the student movement since 1970. He pointed out that following the massive student antiwar upsurge in May 1970 there was a lull of activity on the campuses. However, Mirelowitz said, events since May 1970 have indicated a continued deepening of the youth radicalization.

The political report assessed this spring's student upsurge protesting the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong and the mining of North Vietnamese ports. "This was the most significant activity in the student movement since the May [1970] events," Mirelowitz said. "And while it was not as widespread geographically as the events in May 1970, it did involve large sections of the student movement in most areas of the country."

Mirelowitz also reported on important developments in the Chicano movement. He cited in particular the growth of the antideportation movement and the efforts of the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest to provide an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Building the YSA

A major section of the political report dealt with the need for the YSA to take maximum advantage of the opportunities before it by adopting

national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the YSA national organization secretary. Miller announced that more than 11,000 young people have already endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

This fall, Miller said, teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will tour the country in an effort to reach thousands of young people with the socialist alternative. A major part of these tours will be to bring campaign supporters to the YSA convention, where they will have an opportunity to discuss postelection activities.

YSA Black liberation director Malik Miah centered his report on the Black

act upon posed many serious questions. . . . it pointed out the strength of Black people as Black people when organized."

Miah pointed to the significance of tens of thousands of Black people joining the African Liberation Day actions in the western hemisphere. It reflected, he said, a deep Black nationalist consciousness in this country and a desire to support the freedom struggles on the African continent.

The YSA will continue to support such actions and will help organize rallies and teach-ins on campuses and in high schools. A central focus of

Continued on page 22

The Militant gets around...

REGRETS HE DIDN'T START SELLING SOONER: Our salesman in Fort Worth, Texas, sent us the following report: "I've been selling *The Militant* now for five weeks and have come to the conclusion that it is the headlines that sell the paper. I admit that I am not one of the world's greatest salesmen (I'm probably one of the worst), but I do try to sell as many as possible so as to present the ideas of socialism to as many people as possible. . . . I only regret that I did not start selling earlier and that in two and a half months I will be leaving for college. (I do plan once I get settled to start selling again.)"

JULY-AUGUST ISR EXPANDED ISSUE: The current *International Socialist Review* is an expanded issue of 64 pages and features an article by Timothy F. Harding on labor in Brazil. Harding, an assistant professor of history at California State College at Los Angeles, has written widely on Latin America. He recently spent a year in Brazil studying the labor movement there.

Also in this issue is "Georg Lukacs—An Exchange" consisting of a criticism by Etienne Abrahamovici of George Novack's article on Lukacs, (which appeared in the January *ISR*), and Novack's answer.

Other articles include "The Crisis of British Capitalism" by Tony Hodges; "The Challenge of Independent Political Action in 1972" by Fred Halstead; and "Who Has the Right to Self-Determination in Palestine? A Debate" (an article by Benjamin Neuberger and one by Peter Buch).

The regular feature "Our Revolutionary Heritage" is an interview with Leon Trotsky on "proletarian literature."

Single copies of the current *ISR* and back issues can be ordered for 50 cents each from the *ISR* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

SUBSCRIBERS' RESPONSES: A subscriber in Cambridge, Mass., writes, "I am renewing because I find *The Militant* to be an excellent source of news. (Would like to see you cover more in matters of ecology.) I feel that I can trust what I read in the paper."

And with a subscription for a friend, two subscribers in the Catskills included the following comment: "Hope to be selling *The Militant* in Woodstock soon, so be ready for a weekly bundle from us. The new supplement (*World Outlook*) is a great idea. You put out an incredible newspaper. Keep it up."

—NANCY COLE

Who's joining the Young Socialist Alliance?

Recently five members of the East Bloomington Labor Library, a radical collective, decided to join the YSA. The major reasons they gave for joining were the YSA's active role in building the antiwar, women's liberation, and other independent movements, as well as the YSA's support to the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

When asked if he would encourage other people to join the YSA, Ike Nahem of the Bloomington collective stated, "Definitely. From my experience from being in various collectives, from reformist to ultraleft, I can say they're all dead ends. A sincere revolutionary has to be in an organized group with a coherent program."

Join now!

☐ I want to join the YSA. ☐ I would like more information.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for National Committee plenum reports.

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

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Calif. Communist Party leader criticizes Moscow bureaucrats' welcome of Nixon

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—There is continuing evidence that the Communist Party is having serious problems with party members and supporters who are justifiably apprehensive about the Nixon-Brezhnev meeting. They fear Moscow made a deal to sacrifice the Vietnamese liberation struggle for the sake of an accommodation with Washington.

An indication of the extent of such concern in CP circles came when Dorothy Healy, a longtime California CP spokeswoman, publicly disputed the party's dogmatic defense of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting.

Healy, who enjoys a carefully cultivated reputation as a party "maverick," has a weekly hour-long program on Pacifica's Los Angeles station, KPFK. She used her June 10 broadcast to dissociate herself from an editorial written by top party leaders apologizing for the Nixon-Brezhnev meeting. (She gave her program "balance," however, by attacking the Socialist Workers Party and others on the left who refused to support George McGovern.)

The editorial to which Healy took exception appeared in the June 10 *World Magazine*, a supplement that appears in the CP's national voice, the *Daily World*, and the west coast *People's World*.

It was no big job for Healy to point out some of the stupidities of the editorial. She quoted its key part:

"But still, for many people the nag-

ging question remains: Did the summit, in any way, harm the cause of the struggle for liberation in Indochina? The answer is No. In fact, it aided that struggle. It weakened the position of the man who mined the harbors of North Vietnam. It reduced his ability to justify continuation of the war based upon alleged intransigence of the Soviet Union. The summit helped the struggle for world peace because that struggle is global and indivisible. In the long run a relaxation of world tensions helps the cause of the liberation forces because it weakens the cause of imperialism.

"This is not to say," the editorial continued, "that the Nixon administration and its backers will easily forego their brutal, genocidal path in Southeast Asia. But it means that the chances of forcing a halt are greatly enhanced—as they would have been greatly harmed had the Soviet Union responded to the provocation of bombing and mining the DRV harbors."

Challenging the editorial's assertion that the summit aided the cause of Indochinese liberation, Healy stated, in part:

"They don't mention the fact of what I know it did, and what other observers know it did, as far as the peace movement is concerned—of the illusions it created, just as the trip to Peking did at a point when the seven-point program Madame Binh had presented was the main question in the Senate, among the commentators and publications all over. . . ."

Responding to the estimate that the summit "weakened the position of the man who mined the harbors of North Vietnam," Healy stated:

"Where did it weaken his position? In what country? Did it weaken it in the United States, where following his return he got the highest poll that has ever been taken of confidence of the people. . . ."

"Did it weaken his position," she continued, "as far as the bombing of Indochina is concerned? And here I must say I really don't understand what logic is present at all. Anyone who has seen the last three weeks knows that both while he was there [in Moscow] and since he's returned, the intensification of the bombing—north and south—has been so incredible that there really aren't comparisons that the human mind can reckon with. . . ."

Then, sounding almost like a revolutionary instead of the reformist that she is, Healy said:

"Then it [the editorial] says, 'In the long run a relaxation of world tension helps the liberation forces because it weakens the cause of imperialism.' Well, let me say that the real emphasis should go that the real way in which imperialism is weakened is by the victory of the liberation forces. That is the effective, decisive way in which imperialism is weakened."

"And what is totally lacking here," she continued, "is what is known as socialist internationalism. . . . which

puts the priority above all on the needs of those struggling under the guns and bombs of U.S. imperialism, to guarantee that those people will be victorious. . . ."

"I'm always for putting the priority where it belongs, and when a socialist country is being bombed, and while the people are being bombed who are fighting for national liberation in South Vietnam, that to me is the priority."

"And when the term peaceful coexistence is used as it is in the editorial," she added, "that is not the kind of peaceful coexistence I would fight for."

Healy's political record shows that she has supported and still supports "the kind of peaceful coexistence" that means subordinating national liberation movements and other revolutionary struggles to the narrow interests of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

In a sense this gives added significance to her present attack on her party's justification of the blows struck by Moscow at the Vietnamese liberation forces. Coupled with the party's vehement denial of a sellout at the summit, it helps confirm reports that a good number of CP members and supporters are deeply troubled by the present events.

It is worthwhile to consider why and how someone like Healy is able to play the kind of role she does in a bureaucratized Communist Party. We propose to discuss this question in a subsequent article.

Daily World writer bugged by dashikis

Black separatism is reactionary, says CP

By DOUG JENNESS

Of several recent attacks leveled against the Socialist Workers Party by the Communist Party, one of the most slanderous appeared in a June 10 article in the *Daily World*. Written by Robert Phillipoff, it is entitled "The Trotskyites vs. the people."

The reader only learns that Phillipoff's target is the SWP by his reference to the "Trotskyite [Socialist Workers Party] candidate for vice-president Andrew Pulley." One would certainly not guess it from the political views attributed to Trotskyists in the article.

A close reading shows that some of these are positions held by small sects that call themselves Trotskyist. Phillipoff never mentions these groups by

name, so the unsuspecting reader would assume all these so-called "Trotskyist" positions are those of the SWP.

Phillipoff also makes the slanderous charge that Trotskyists promoted police provocations at the May 21-22 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C. As is the custom with professional liars like the Communist Party, no evidence is offered to substantiate this absurd accusation.

I don't intend to answer the entire hodge-podge of distortions but will take up only one point.

Phillipoff writes, "The Black nationalist garb of Trotskyite candidate for vice-president Andrew Pulley, a speaker at the Washington demonstration [May 21], was a thinly-disguised ap-

peal for Black separatism as the way ahead for Afro-Americans—not Black and white united struggle against the common class enemy." Apparently "nationalist garb" refers to the dashiki Pulley wore that day.

Assuming that Phillipoff isn't a visitor from outer space, unfamiliar with what's going on here, he should know very well that dashikis and other forms of African dress are not worn just by separatists. They are common attire for a broad spectrum of Afro-Americans expressing pride in being Black or identifying with their African heritage. This includes Black revolutionary socialists, Black Democrats, Pan-Africanists, and Black members of the Young Workers Liberation League (youth group associated with the Communist Party). Is Phillipoff's arrogant attack then a signal to Black YWLL members to either cease and desist from wearing nationalist dress or be branded as "separatists"?

The CP's frenzied opposition to separatism and their equation of Black nationalism with separatism demonstrate their hostility to the trend toward Black independent struggle.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance view Black nationalism as a revolutionary force in the struggle against capitalist rule. They unconditionally support the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination, including the right to establish a separate state.

If the masses of an oppressed nationality determine for themselves that they want to break all political ties with the oppressor state and demand their own separate state with definite geographic boundaries, Marxists will champion that demand.

At this time only a relatively small number of organizations have raised the demand for a separate state, and it is not a position supported by a majority in the Black community now. This does not rule out the possibility that the majority of Afro-Americans will support it at some future point in their struggle.

If they do, this will not indicate a step backward for the Black liberation movement or the struggle against capitalism, as Phillipoff believes. On the contrary, it will signify a sweeping revolutionary break with the imperialist oppressor state. And it is guaranteed that the capitalist rulers will not give up a portion of their holy property without fierce resistance.

If the Black masses demand a separate state, revolutionary socialists must be among the best fighters for that goal.

In its "Main Political Resolution" adopted at a national convention last February, the Communist Party asserts that "In all its forms, Black separatism is divisive. Black Americans cannot solve the problem of their oppression on their own. Such expressions of reactionary nationalism must therefore be opposed."

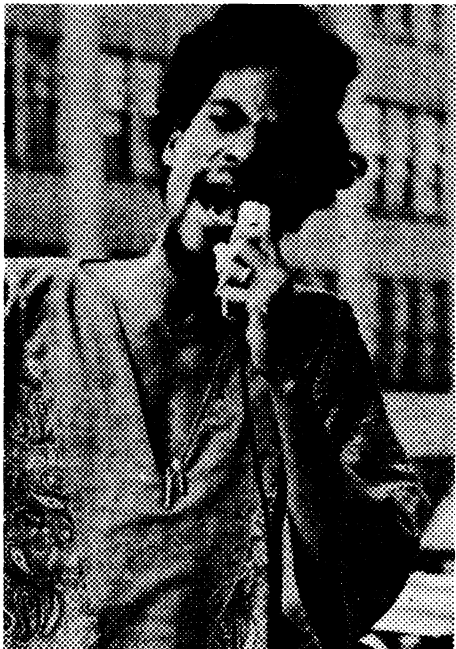
This statement distorts the revolutionary view of separatism. Marxists recognize that it is not possible for Afro-Americans, who constitute about 10 percent of the population, to topple the capitalist state by themselves. This will require the united effort of the entire working class.

However, today, when Black people are more radical and combative than white workers, it is treachery to demand, under the guise of establishing unity, that they hold back their

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Militant/Flax Hermes



Daily World

Daily World writer attacks Andrew Pulley (l), SWP candidate for vice-president, for wearing 'nationalist garb' at antiwar rally. What does he think about dashiki worn by Jose Stevens, CP candidate from Harlem?

Harlem 4 ordered to face trial fourth time

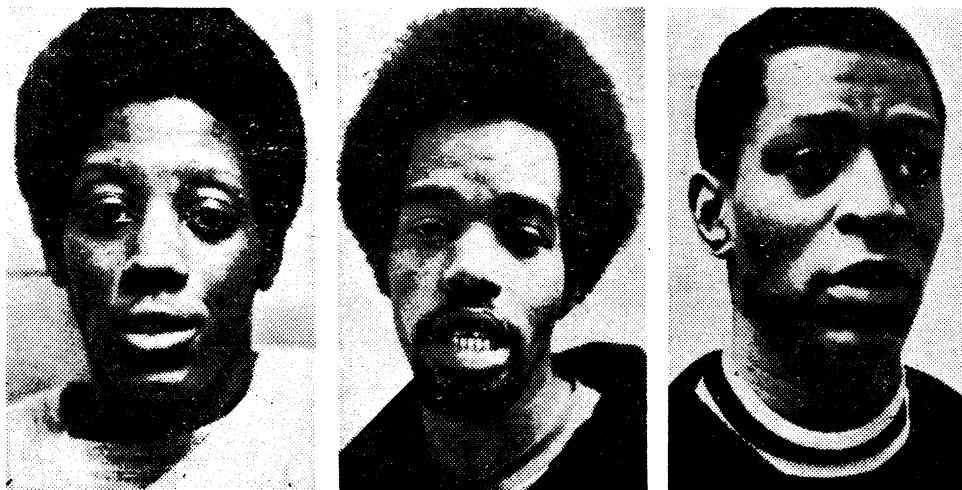
By STACEY JOSLIN

NEW YORK—On June 28, a New York judge ruled that four young Black men, known as the "Harlem Four," must face a fourth trial on the charge of murder.

Judge Joseph R. Martinis held that despite two hung juries and one conviction that was overturned on appeal, Ronald Felder, William Craig, Wallace Baker, and Walter Thomas must go to trial a fourth time in connection with the 1964 slaying of a

derers" and "white-haters."

The Harlem Four were initially convicted of the murder, but their conviction was overturned on appeal. At their second trial, one juror held out for acquittal. By their third trial, which was held early this year, they had a team of defense attorneys that included Conrad Lynn, William Kunstler, Lewis Steele, and Edward Leopold. The defense convinced seven of the 12 jurors that the four were not guilty.



Above, left to right, are Ronald Felder, William Craig, and Walter Thomas, three of the Harlem Four.

Harlem shopkeeper. The four have already spent eight years in prison as a result of being denied bail from 1964 to March 31, 1972.

Judge Martinis's inhuman decision makes a mockery of trial by jury and of the judicial concept of "guilt beyond a reasonable doubt." It promises to spur a massive defense effort for the men when their trial begins this fall. Following the victories of Angela Davis, the Harrisburg Seven, and others, the case has the potential to draw national and even international attention.

Three of the Harlem Four spoke about their case at the Upper West Side Militant Forum here on June 23. Felder and Thomas, 26, and Baker, 27, all expected a fourth trial. Thomas outlined the background of their case.

Harlem in 1964, Thomas said, was under the influence of Malcolm X and the Muslims. The youths later to be arrested had banded together with no worked-out ideology but with a strong feeling that "the people should have a voice in the community." They were anti-dope and anti-police.

The cops had their sights set on the group, especially after the "fruit stand riot" of April 17, 1964. On that day some barrels of fruit were tipped over near 128th Street. When the police rushed over to club school children running after the fruit, Craig, Felder, Thomas, Baker, and others defended the youngsters from the police. A full-scale police riot soon broke out.

Ten days later six members of the group were arrested for the murder of Margit Sugar. (One defendant has since been convicted in a separate trial, the second confessed to manslaughter.) The police told the six they knew they were innocent but said that they would be charged with the crime if they did not say who *did* murder Sugar.

Press coverage at the time described the youths as "racially motivated mur-

Martinis's ruling for a fourth trial came after hearings in which defense attorneys submitted new evidence that clearly proves the innocence of the men.

These hearings were held when prosecution witness Ollie Roe confessed to his probation officer, Herman Joseph, that he had lied when he testified that he had seen all of the defendants at the scene of the murder. In fact, the only person Roe saw was another prosecution witness, Robert Barnes. The prosecution's case rests on the testimony of these two witnesses.

Joseph told defense attorney Conrad Lynn about Roe's confession. He said, however, that he would deny the story if Lynn forced him to testify because he was afraid he would lose his job. Joseph did deny his statement on the stand at first, but admitted it after two days of cross-examination by the defense.

Martinis's decision completely ignores Herman Joseph's testimony.

The defense contends that the call for a fourth trial is "an outrageous exercise in judicial power" and constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment."

Aside from their own case, the defendants expressed solidarity with other prisoners. Felder used his presentation to urge the audience to attend the trials of the "Tombs Seven," a group of inmates now facing scores of charges stemming from the October 1970 uprising in the Manhattan House of Detention (the "Tombs").

While legal actions to halt the new trial for the Harlem Four are underway, a broad-based public defense campaign is being waged to bring the facts of the case before the entire world. Those who wish to contribute funds to the defense or to become active in the defense campaign can contact the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, P. O. Box 346, Cathedral Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10025.

Tombs inmates tried for role in rebellion

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

The trial of the Tombs Three is currently in session in New York City.

The 72 counts of kidnapping, assault, riot, and destruction of property that have been leveled against the defendants stem from the 1970 uprisings in the Manhattan House of Detention for Men. During the rebellion in this jail, generally known as the Tombs, a group of correction officers was held hostage as close to 300 prisoners protested overcrowded conditions and the interminable waits they must endure before coming to trial.

The three defendants in this case—Ricardo DeLeon, Curtis Brown, and Nathaniel Ragsdale—all are Black and have been described by District Attorney Frank Hogan's office as "the generals and commanding officers" of the Tombs rebellion.

Four additional inmates have been indicted and await trial. This group includes Herbert X Blyden, who was later a leader of the 1971 Attica uprising. These four other defendants were separated from the three currently on trial because the district attorney's office wanted a "manageable trial."

The trial opened last April 12. The defense team pushed for what is known as a "justification defense." They cited Section 35.05 of the New York State Penal Code, which asserts that in certain "emergency" situations "developed through no fault of the actor," and in order to prevent "public and private injury," people may be legally justified in committing acts that would otherwise be deemed criminal.

In motivating such an approach, defense attorney Henry diSuviero pointed to the physical beatings, poor medical care, inadequate food rations, and general degradation that characterize life in the Tombs. He mentioned that suicide by hanging is such a prevalent response to conditions that the guards are required to carry pocket knives to cut prisoners down.

DiSuviero concluded that "the reign of terror" that "controls and dehuman-

izes" life in the Tombs gave the inmates "no other means of redress than to do what they did in those days of October, 1970."

On May 19, however, Judge Harold Birns ruled that the defense cannot enter as evidence the conditions they assert justified the uprising. "There can be no doubt that conditions in penal institutions require reform," Birns admitted, "but the courts may not be used as legislative forums, and the power to change lies with the legislators and representatives of the people."

This decision totally disregarded the fact that long before the rebellion, inmates had submitted to jail authorities a list of grievances—a gesture that drew only stony silence.

So far in the trial, five of the 13 hostages have been examined in an attempt to provide evidence that the hostages were terrorized by the defendants.

The Tombs Three jury includes seven Blacks, one Chinese-American, one Puerto Rican, and three whites. The prosecuting team, however, is more typical of the average political trial. DiSuviero refers to Assistant District Attorney Jonn Fine (who just finished prosecuting the Carlos Feliciano case) as "their political prosecutor."

A former missionary in Africa, Fine indicated his attitude toward the oppressed of this world in a statement opposing the defense's approach. "During the Depression," Fine said, "people had to steal food to eat and to live, but that didn't make them any less guilty of the crime of stealing." When asked why he felt the Tombs prisoners had been led to rebel, he replied, "Ego!"

The state is expected to take another three to six weeks in presenting their case. The defense has not yet decided what, if any, case it will make. The trial, which is open to the public, takes place Monday through Thursday from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 to 4 p.m. on the eleventh floor of the Manhattan Criminal Courts Building.

L.A. Teamster gets support after attack

LOS ANGELES—John T. Williams, who narrowly escaped an attempt on his life was released from the hospital June 28. A candidate for business agent and president of Teamsters Local 208 and a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, Williams escaped from his car seconds before it was destroyed by a fire bomb June 20.

He will require out-patient treatment for neck and back injuries sustained in getting out of the car, but apparently there were no permanent injuries. Police have given no indication of any serious effort to apprehend those responsible for the murder attempt.

A June 21 meeting of NPAC-West declared its solidarity with Williams, stating the violence directed against him, "no matter what its source, is an act against the democratic rights of all movements for social change, and all persons who participate in these movements."

Although not fully recovered, Williams is already plunging back into his union and antiwar activities, with particular focus on building labor representation at the NPAC-sponsored national antiwar conference to be held here July 21-23.

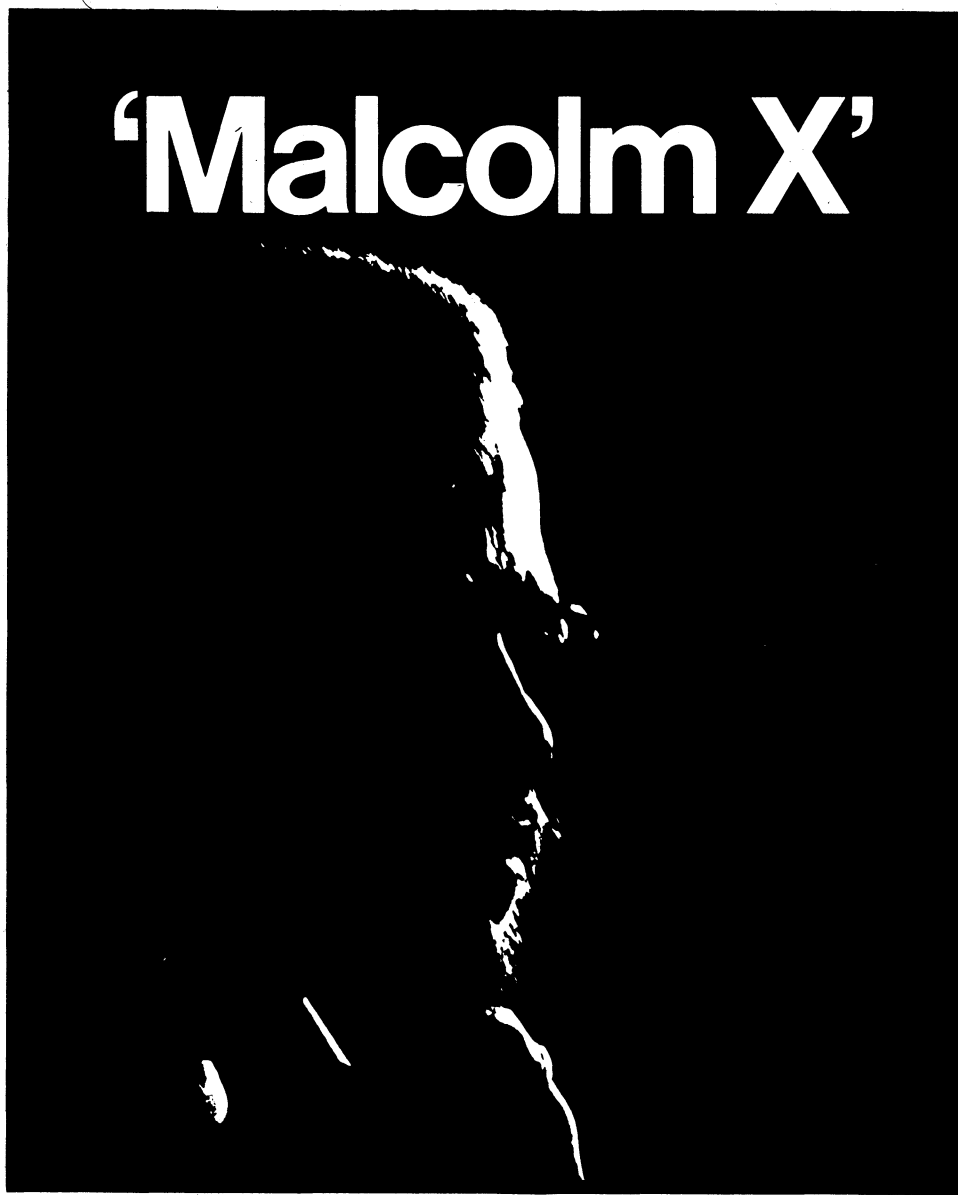


John T. Williams

Militant/John Gray

In Review

Film



Malcolm X. Produced by Arnold Perl and Marvin Worth. A Warner Brothers presentation in association with Betty Shabazz.

"Niggers are scared of revolution," a poem performed by the Last Poets, opens the film *Malcolm X*, now making a nationwide showing. The film, however, is definitely not about a nigger who is scared of revolution, but about a Black man who came to realize during his 39 years that *only a revolution* could save America's 22 million Black people from continued oppression and exploitation.

Malcolm X was not only willing to put his life on the line to organize

Black people; he possessed the rare quality—one that is necessary for a revolutionary leader—of political courage.

This is a different sort of thing than personal courage, which Malcolm also had plenty of, as the movie shows. Malcolm looked reality straight in the face and drew his own conclusions—no matter how sharp his attack upon American society would become or how much hot water he would get into with America's rulers.

I had wondered if any film could capture Malcolm's qualities. Would this first full-length attempt do justice to the most dynamic Afro-American spokesman and organizer of our time? Fortunately, the film consists mostly

of film clippings from Malcolm's own interviews and speeches. You see Malcolm addressing rallies, speaking at a news conference, traveling to Africa. By the time the movie is over you feel you have begun to know Malcolm X.

The film inspires the viewer—just as Malcolm X inspired audiences in his day. One hears firsthand Malcolm's views on such subjects as self-defense, racial pride, internationalism, and Pan-Africanism. The film also depicts Malcolm's life, from birth to death, in racist, capitalist America.

The film opens with some of Malcolm's earliest memories. Taken from Malcolm's *Autobiography* and narrated by James Earl Jones, the episodes are seen in a filmed background of similar real-life situations. His school teacher is heard cautioning Malcolm to be "realistic" about his goals in life while pictures of porters, janitors, shoeshiners, waiters, and other attendants are projected on the screen.

The interplay of Malcolm's voice with contemporary footage is used frequently in the film and it adds a profound reality to Malcolm's ideas. The viewer sees how prophetic Malcolm often was.

A reporter questions Malcolm, upon his return from Africa, about his new beard. Malcolm replies that the rising consciousness of the oppressed will lead to casting off the stereotypes and mental shackles of slavery. Pictures of Blacks with the natural hairstyles popular today are then projected on the screen.

Another example of Malcolm's prophetic vision shown in the film was his reference to the inevitability of Black uprisings in the ghettos of America's cities. "You'll see it—you'll see terrorism that will terrify you. And if you don't think you'll see it you're trying to blind yourself to the historic development of everything that has taken place on this earth today."

A recurring theme of the movie is Malcolm's uncompromising commitment: "Today we're living in an era of revolution . . . where people who are oppressed want a change . . . and are prepared to bring it into existence by any means necessary."

Malcolm often scored the federal government for its refusal to take decisive action to halt racist attacks or improve the living conditions in the

Black community. The film captures his feelings in one remark: "Don't blame a cracker in Georgia for the problems you face; the government is responsible for the injustices."

The film shows how Malcolm identified with liberation struggles around the world. He infused his followers with optimism when he told them they were part of "a worldwide majority" fighting against "the international power structure" centered in the United States.

Malcolm spoke out against the criminal role of the U.S. in Vietnam. He worked to establish ties with Africans on the continent. Malcolm called his second trip to Africa an attempt to "build bridges of understanding with our African brothers."

Since Malcolm was killed in 1965 we have seen the growth of a mass movement against U.S. aggression in Indochina and the rebirth of Pan-Africanism. Malcolm would have welcomed and worked to further both of these developments.

The film is not complete in every respect, nor could this be expected. For example, it does not show how Malcolm frequently exposed the trickery and deceit of the Democratic Party designed to perpetuate the exploitation of Black people. These thoughts have special meaning today because of the efforts of Black Democrats to keep Black people in the jaws of the Democratic Party.

Also, Malcolm had begun to condemn capitalism as being responsible for racial oppression and to incorporate favorable remarks about socialism in his speeches.

Malcolm's ideas on these and other topics can be read in *Malcolm X Speaks* (Grove Press, 1966) and *By Any Means Necessary* (Pathfinder Press, 1970). These works show that Malcolm was a deep political thinker whose ideas can be taken as guides for the Black liberation movement today.

The movie shows how Malcolm popularized radical, Black nationalist ideas, how he put the system on the spot and held it responsible for its many crimes against Black people. The film can serve as a tool in the education of a whole new generation of activists about who Malcolm was and what he was attempting to do.

—BAXTER SMITH

Books

Freeing ourselves?

Free Ourselves: Forgotten Goals of the Revolution by Arthur Aron. Illustrations by Elaine N. Blesi. Times Change Press. 1972. 64 pp. \$1.35 paper.

Free Ourselves contends that changing oneself is more important than changing society, which is what I would call an unnecessary counterposition. The thesis of *Free Ourselves* rests heavily on the notion that "Personal change is more important than social change, but one can not be achieved without the other."

It follows from this that for Aron activities such as living in a rural

commune have an intrinsic revolutionary content, since by doing so one is personally changing and at the same time setting an example that would transform society if followed by everyone.

So far this is the argument, essentially, of Theodore Roszak's *The Making of a Counter Culture* and Charles Reich's *The Greening of America*. What separates Aron from Roszak and Reich is not much more than impatience.

Because of this impatience, Aron argues, one must engage in political activity:

"Perhaps, with enough time, the old generation would die off and a new life would come with simple evolution of consciousness among the young. But we are not able—ecologically—or willing—in terms of freedom in our daily lives—to endure the old system that long."

Aron has no understanding of the

importance of institutional power, and that is his essential flaw as a theoretician. He views society as good guys and bad guys. If one can make all the bad guys into good guys then the revolution will be accomplished. Thus he can write:

"Changing values is more important than changing institutions."

Aron does not understand that the ruling ideas of any society are the ideas of the class that rules—except in unusual circumstances and then only for brief moments in history. Institutional control means control of the principal means of education, information, and coercion.

The purpose of a real revolutionary, not the self-deluded "life-style revolutionary" that *Free Ourselves* extols, is to prepare for those moments in history when the great mass of the people—the working people most essentially—have had their illusions shattered and are ready to strike out

on their own. The participation of revolutionary socialists in building the antiwar movement is a prominent example of this kind of preparation.

Aron, on the other hand, finds mass demonstrations alienating. There are too many people for him, and marshals keep trying to maintain the disciplined direction of the action. Small-group actions (with friends) are something Aron likes better.

While Aron says mass actions are alienating, other ultralefts think they are too convivial. They argue that this or that demonstration "was like a picnic," as if it were bad for people to feel elated at participating in a strong show of solidarity in a fight against oppression.

But Aron has projected his personal sense of despair onto the rest of us—an example of the error in logic called "subjectivism." Subjectivism is almost all-pervasive in *Free Ourselves*.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Warm response to Brazil appeal in New York

By JUDY WHITE

The crowd at the Angela Davis victory celebration in Madison Square Garden June 29 responded enthusiastically to an appeal to help stop the torture of political prisoners in Brazil. Activists from the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) distributed leaflets at the Davis rally and got a warm reception from the thousands who attended.

The leaflet called attention to an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act that was scheduled for a vote in the U. S. Senate June 30.

The amendment calls for cutting off military aid and sales to Brazil until President Nixon has reported to the Congress that the Brazilian government is no longer torturing political prisoners.

In conjunction with the Committee Against Repression in Brazil (CARIB), USLA urged citizens to send telegrams to senators asking them to support the amendment.

Proposed military assistance to Brazil during fiscal year 1973 totals \$20,-988,000.

Documentation on the prevalence of torture in Brazilian prisons is so widespread that even the Organization of American States (OAS) was recently forced to acknowledge "the persuasive presumption that in Brazil serious cases of torture, abuse and maltreatment have occurred to persons of both sexes while they were deprived of their liberty."

The OAS went even further, urging the Brazilian government to investigate this "persuasive presumption" and "punish, to the full extent of the law, those persons that the evidence proves to have been responsible for violations of human rights."

The OAS's admission of this situation indicates the extent of torture in Brazil.

Trial of 7 L.A. antiwar activists begins

By TYBIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES—Trial began at the end of June for seven persons charged with "blocking traffic" during a series of antiwar protests staged here last month in front of Nixon's campaign headquarters.

The seven defendants are alleged to have participated in a May 8-12 "lie-in," following the announced blockade of North Vietnam. They are charged with blocking entrance to the campaign building by lying across the doorway.

Defendants include Herb Magidson, a local businessman and leading antiwar activist; playwright Don Freed; Marge Buckley, former Peace and Freedom Party candidate for district attorney; and Pat Arnold, chairwoman of the Valley Peace Center.

Others currently under indictment are Ron Kovic, a Vietnam veteran active in the antiwar movement; Deacon Alexander, formerly of the Angela Davis Defense Committee; and Rafael Hunt.

Kovic, who is paralyzed from the waist down, was the victim of a brutal police assault during the four-day protests. Five more persons are scheduled to be brought to trial in July on charges stemming from their attempts to defend the veteran. One of these, Rick Woolman, is charged with felonious assault on a plainclothes officer.

Los Angeles *Free Press* reporter Ron Ridenour, who was covering the anti-Nixon demonstrations, is also among those to be tried for their alleged role in the Kovic incident. He was arrested while photographing the beating of Kovic.

...Ohio

Continued from page 9

about," Jenness told reporters, "is the right of younger people not only to vote but to run for office and to be

able to vote for their peers. There's nothing in the U. S. Constitution or in the laws of Ohio that prevents people under 35 from running for president or vice-president.

"If the majority of the American people elected Andrew Pulley and myself in November, I'm sure they would see to it that the laws were changed before inauguration day. This could be done by a constitutional amendment, by Congress, or by the courts.

"Ted Brown has absolutely no legal or political right to prejudge this issue and to disenfranchise the 10,000 Ohio voters who signed our nominating petitions and other citizens of the state who want to vote socialist in November."

Under the law, voters actually vote for presidential electors, who in turn select the president and vice-president. All of the 25 electors pledged to vote for Jenness and Pulley are fully qualified to hold the office of presidential elector.

In her meeting with the governor's chief of staff, Jenness expressed her hope that Governor Gilligan would "put his influence and the authority of his office on the side of the fair ballot and rights of youth to full participation in the electoral process."

Brown, a Republican, and Gilligan, a Democrat, have frequently been at odds. Gilligan recently attacked Brown for his bungling of the primary elections. "I can assure you," Hansen told Jenness, "we need another election controversy like we need a hole in the head."

"Well," Jenness retorted, "you've got one!"

Hansen said that the governor is "in favor of electoral reform" and indicated that he might support Jenness's call for a constitutional amendment to lower the age requirement. However, he said the governor would be inclined to "let the courts decide" the controversy and would "probably duck" the confrontation with Brown.

Support for Jenness's position is growing rapidly. Thomas Buckley Jr., associate dean at Marshall Law School, said in a letter to Brown, "Your denial of a place on the ballot to Linda Jenness is arbitrary; it has no basis in law; it denies to me and to all other voters in Ohio the right to select presidential electors of our own choosing."

James Dixon, president of Antioch College (Jenness's alma mater) told Brown, "There is no legal justification for denying ballot status to Linda Jenness and her running mate, Andrew Pulley. On the other hand, the right of citizens in a democracy to hear all points of view is a strong

argument in favor of putting them on the ballot."

Others who have publicly expressed their opposition to Brown's move include Carroll Sierk, assistant dean, Marshall Law School; Lois Adams, president, Cleveland National Organization for Women; and Holmes Bowden, secretary, Lake County AFL-CIO.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws has decided to launch a coast-to-coast protest campaign. It urges that telegrams and letters of protest be sent immediately to Ted Brown, c/o Secretary of State's Office, Columbus, Ohio 43216. Copies should be sent to Governor John Gilligan, c/o State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio 43215; and to CoDEL, c/o P. O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

...dashiki

Continued from page 18

struggle or refrain from establishing independent organizations.

This is not unity based on struggle against the capitalist rulers. It is subordination to the backward prejudices of white workers and to a policy of collaboration with the Democratic Party. Effective unity will only be forged when white workers show in action that they support the right of Black people to control their own affairs.

It's not by chance that Phillipoff selected Andrew Pulley as his target for attacking Black nationalism. As a part of the SWP's presidential ticket, Pulley has spoken to thousands of Blacks, mostly youth, throughout the country. He has vigorously campaigned for the formation of an independent Black party to fight against the miserable conditions in the Black community. He has supported all struggles against the oppression of Blacks and all those that lead to greater control of Afro-Americans over their lives.

Pulley's message is clear: if their struggle is to be effective, Blacks must organize independently of the capitalist rulers and their two parties.

Pulley is getting a hearing from militant Black youth who agree with these ideas, and this is part of the reason why Phillipoff tries to smear him. But these attempts will backfire. Articles like Phillipoff's will only make revolutionary-minded Black youth want to meet the revolutionary socialist and Black nationalist vice-presidential candidate.

¡La Raza en Acción!



CHICANOS SCORED A VICTORY against exploiters of the community when owners and operators of the Million Dollar Theater signed an agreement June 13 acceding to a number of demands.

The agreement was won after Casa-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores [General Brotherhood of Workers], the Chávez-Ortiz Defense Committee, and La Raza Unida Party activists organized an effective boycott of the theater.

The Million Dollar Theater, located in downtown Los Angeles, features Mexican movies and stage shows with Mexican artists. It is heavily patronized by *mexicanos*, and its name accurately describes the level of its income.

The reason the Million Dollar makes huge profits is not simply that it shows popular films. The owners also never spend any money on upkeep. Admission prices are comparable with those of the best theaters in Hollywood. But the Million Dollar is full of broken seats and is infested with rats and roaches. There is no air conditioning. Refreshments are often stale.

The Million Dollar is not run by small-time

operators. Nacho Uribe of Casa pointed out that the owner also owns KMEX, a Spanish-language TV station in Los Angeles, and stations in San Diego, Miami, and San Antonio.

The boycott was touched off after the Chávez-Ortiz Defense Committee approached the owners of the theater with the prospect of doing a benefit performance. Ricardo Chávez-Ortiz is the Chicano now facing trial for skyjacking a plane to publicize the grievances of the Chicano people. There is widespread sympathy for him in the community.

The theater owners flatly rejected the proposal for a Chávez-Ortiz benefit. For many Chicanos this was the last straw, and a picket line was set up at the theater.

The owners' representatives responded to charges of neglecting upkeep with the racist assertion, "Chicanos are used to living that way all the time."

They hired right-wing thugs—dubbed *halcones* [hawks] after the ultraright gangs in Mexico—to intimidate the picketers. Police cooperated by arresting demonstrators who refused to leave. Raul Ruiz, Raza Unida Party candidate in California's 40th assembly district, was among those arrested.

The operators screamed "extortion" and distributed scare propaganda accusing picketers of being "paid communists." Bert Corona, a leader of Casa active in the boycott, was accused of being a "communist troublemaker." Casa leaders rejected the charge, reiterating "anyone who wants to work with us is welcome."

The boycott had strong public support, and in a few weeks the racist theater operators were brought to their knees. Business was so poor they could not function. They admit to losing \$75,000; boycotters estimate the loss at more than \$100,000.

The theater agreed to do the following: repair and renovate the theater; fumigate regularly; install a \$50,000 air-conditioning system; do a yearly benefit performance for the Chicano community (the first one will be for Chávez-Ortiz); drop all charges against picketers; pay all legal costs; start serving fresh popcorn and other refreshments.

Uribe, Ruiz, and attorney Antonio Rodriguez conducted the negotiations. They describe the outcome as a victory for the Chicano community.

—MIGUEL PENDAS

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 10: Leninist Party Organization.
Thurs., July 13: Stalinism.

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 611 W. 29th. For more information, call (512) 478-8602.

Mon., July 10: Fascism: What It Is, How To Fight It.
Thurs., July 13: United Front vs. Popular Front.

BOSTON

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

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 11: Internationalism and Socialism in One Country. Teacher: Dan Rosenshine, staff writer for *The Militant*.

Wed., July 12: Foreign Policy of the Stalinist Bureaucracy. Teacher: Marilyn Vogt.

CHICAGO

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. 50c per class. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

Mon., July 10, and Thurs., July 13: Classes on Principles of Leninist Party Organization.

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.

Mon., July 10: United Front vs. the Popular Front.
Wed., July 12: Popular Front: Spain, India, Ceylon.

DENVER

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.
Tues., July 11: History of the Russian Revolution.
Thurs., July 13: The Transitional Program (Part 2).
Sun., July 16: History of the SWP: 1941-1945.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m., through 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 United Front vs. the Popular Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

Thurs., July 13: Defending the Revolutionary Party and its Perspectives.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featuring Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, and other speakers. Fri., July 14, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western (near Santa Monica Blvd.). Donation: \$2. For more information, call (213) 461-8131.

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. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 12: The Burnham-Shachtman Fight (Part 2). Teacher: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*.

CAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BE REFORMED? Speakers: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for N.Y.'s 18th C.D.; representatives have been invited from the campaigns of George McGovern, Shirley Chisholm, Edward Koch, and John Murphy. Fri., July 14, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.) Donations: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Dinner at 6 p.m., \$1.25. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

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. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

Tues., July 11, 7 p.m.: Building the Revolutionary Party in the 1930s (Part I).

Wed., July 12, 8 p.m.: Building the Revolutionary Party in the 1930s (Part II). Teacher for both classes: Peter Seidman.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. 50c per class. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

Thurs., July 13: The Leninist Conception of the United Front. Teacher: Linda Thompson.

Mon., July 17: United Front vs. the Popular Front: Spain. Teacher: Bill Massey.

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). 50c per class. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

PORTLAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201. 50c per class. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

Tues., July 11, 8 p.m.: Why Stalinism Triumphed in the USSR.

Thurs., July 13, 6 p.m.: Internationalism or Socialism in One Country?

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND ON UNITED FRONT VS. POPULAR FRONT. Classes on Sat., July 15, and Sun., July 16. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

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.

Mon., July 10, and Thurs., July 13: History of the Russian Revolution.

THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, a National Peace Action Coalition national coordinator. Fri., July 14, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

tant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at University of Washington HUB (room will be posted). 50c per class. For more information, call (206) 523-2555.

Mon., July 10, and Tues., July 11, 8 p.m.: Early History of American Trotskyism. Teacher: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, *The Militant*.

Mon., July 17, 8 p.m.: United Front vs. Popular Front. Teacher: Lenny Goodman.

GAYS AND THE '72 ELECTIONS—WHICH WAY? Speakers: Val Valrejean, longtime activist in the gay liberation movement; and Ann Montague, SWP candidate for secretary of state. Fri., July 14, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

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. 50c per class. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

Thurs., July 13, and Mon., July 17: Classes on The Transitional Program Today.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. 75c per class. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Wed., July 12, 8 p.m.: Organization, Development, and Degeneration of the U.S. Communist Party.

Fri., July 14, 8 p.m.: The Worldwide Youth Radicalization.

...McGov

Continued from page 10

gle for self-determination is testimony to this.

McGovern has made no promises on the above tactical questions relating to Southeast Asia. But he could be expected to work out his answers on the same basis Nixon, Johnson, and Kennedy did. He would do whatever he thought necessary to help preserve capitalist rule there as long as possible. His approach may differ somewhat from theirs, but the basic goals would be the same. This would scarcely be the "stinging defeat" to the policies of Nixon, Humphrey, and Muskie that Rubin hopes.

Many McGovern supporters have unfortunately substituted reliance on an individual politician for building an effective, mass antiwar movement. But whether Nixon, McGovern, Humphrey, Wallace, Muskie, or Kennedy is the next president, the most effective way to fight against the war is still to mobilize mass actions in the streets

now, demanding that the U.S. get out and stay out of Southeast Asia.

...YSA

Continued from page 17

such activities will be to expose the reactionary role played by the U.S. government and corporations in Africa.

Andy Rose, YSA national chairman, presented the international report. Rose described the growth of the world Trotskyist movement and the political discussion now taking place in preparation for the tenth world congress of the Fourth International.

Rose discussed the significant role the YSA has played through its activities in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and its work in support of Latin American political prisoners.

Mirta Vidal, YSA national secretary, gave the organization report. She pointed out how the recent antiwar upsurge had confirmed the key role of the student antiwar movement and the need for the YSA to strengthen its campus base.

Following the report on the antiwar movement, presented by Fred Lovgren, leading YSAers commented on their experiences this spring on the campuses and in high schools. Lovgren, a YSA National Committee member, placed special emphasis on the leadership role the Student Mobilization Committee played in responding to Nixon's escalation of the war. (Lovgren is a national coordinator of the SMC.)

The women's liberation report was presented by Delpine Welch, YSA women's liberation director. Welch explained the importance of the national abortion conference scheduled for New York on July 15-16. Sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), this conference will discuss how to build the abortion law repeal movement and how to answer the offensive being launched by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and other anti-abortion forces.

The plenum concluded by reelecting Andy Rose, Mirta Vidal, and Laura Miller as national chairman, national secretary, and national organization secretary.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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.

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LOS ANGELES

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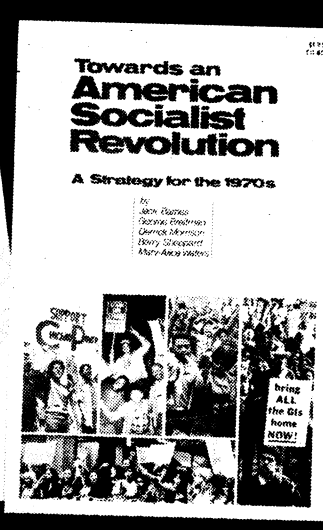
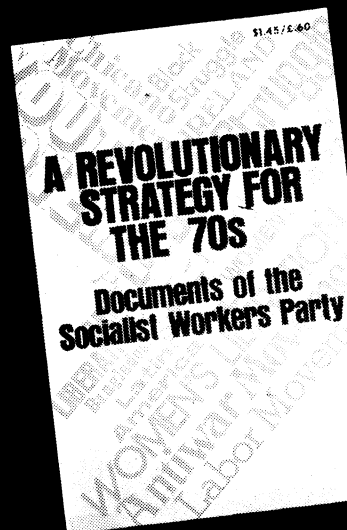
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THE MILITANT

Supreme Court upholds ban on Mandel

From Intercontinental Press

By a 6-3 decision handed down June 29, the United States Supreme Court upheld the Nixon administration's refusal to grant a visa to Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel.

The decision came on an appeal by the government of a March 11, 1971, ruling by a federal court in Brooklyn, New York, that declared unconstitutional sections of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act used as the pretext to ban the Marxist scholar. The lower court ruling was made in a suit brought by eight American scholars who contended that the government's refusal to grant Mandel a visa violated their First Amendment right to hear Mandel's views.

When Mandel was first refused entry in 1969, the decision was widely protested. Yielding to the outcry, the State Department recommended lifting the ban, but Attorney General John Mit-

chell refused, a decision that the *New York Times* described in an editorial as "an incredible example of autocratic insensitivity."

In overturning the Brooklyn federal court's decision, the Supreme Court majority declared that "Mandel personally, as an unadmitted and non-resident alien, had no constitutional right of entry to this country." The argument based on the First Amendment was dismissed as attempting to "prove too much."

In a dissenting opinion joined by Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan Jr., Justice William O. Douglas wrote: "Congress never undertook to entrust the Attorney General with the discretion to pick and choose among the ideological offerings which alien lecturers tender from our platforms, allowing those palatable to him and disallowing others."



Labor Challenge/Arnie Mintz

Ernest Mandel speaking in Toronto, Canada, December 1971

Pentagon papers trial to open July 10

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Pretrial hearings are continuing in the Pentagon papers case, and the trial is now slated for July 10. Defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo were indicted for alleged violation of the Espionage Act and related offenses. The indictment came after concealed facts about the Vietnam war were publicly exposed in the so-called Pentagon papers.

Meanwhile, on June 26 the Supreme Court rejected an appeal by Anthony Russo for a writ quashing the indictment against him on grounds that he

previously had been granted immunity from prosecution by a grand jury.

In the pretrial hearings, Judge Matt Byrne rejected a defense motion for dismissal of the indictments on grounds that the grand jury that indicted Ellsberg and Russo was neither properly selected nor representative of the community.

In four days of hearings the defense presented a mass of evidence demonstrating that many prospective jurors had been improperly excused by the jury clerk, instead of by the chief judge as is required by law. Byrne

ruled that there was no "substantial" violation of the law.

In continuing pretrial hearings the defense will present evidence that Ellsberg and Russo are victims of selective, discriminatory prosecution. Journalists and former government officials are prepared to testify that leaks of such "secret" documents are a common practice. The defense contends Ellsberg and Russo were singled out for prosecution because the material in the Pentagon papers proved to be an embarrassing exposure of government deceit regarding the war.

The court will also consider a government request for an inquiry into its charge that the defense has leaked new material from the Pentagon papers to columnist Jack Anderson. The government has charged that such a leak was made in direct violation of a court order. The defense has denied this charge.

Judge Byrne also rejected the defense contention that the trials of Ellsberg and Russo should be separated on grounds that post-indictment statements by one could be used against the other.

15,000 at New York Angela Davis rally

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—More than 15,000 people, predominantly Black, attended a victory celebration here for Angela Davis at Madison Square Garden on June 29.

Ossie Davis, actor and film director, was the master of ceremonies. Entertainment for the evening was provided by the Voices of East Harlem, Ray Barretto and band, blues singer Jimmy Witherspoon, folk singer Pete Seeger, and rhythm-and-blues artist Jerry Butler.

Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party, introduced Angela Davis. After receiving a thunderous standing ovation, Davis addressed the crowd from behind a bulletproof

shield. "Sisters and brothers," she said, "this is really a beautiful, beautiful moment. It's not my victory we're celebrating tonight, not simply the fact that I'm free to walk in the streets. It's our ability to force an unmistakable defeat upon the rulers of this country."

She said that the Angela Davis defense committees would not be dismantled and would continue the fight to free all political prisoners. However, she presented no concrete plans for further activity.

She attacked the view touted by the capitalist news media that her acquittal on the frame-up charges of murder, conspiracy, and kidnapping vindicated the judicial system. She recounted the brutality she was subjected

to by the prisons and courts and cited the continuing plight of other political prisoners.

The rally was sponsored by the Angela Davis Legal Defense Fund. Its aim was to raise money for the costs of building the defense campaign. The price of admission ranged from \$3 to \$50, and the rally reportedly raised \$100,000.

Earlier in the week Davis had been scheduled to appear on the Dick Cavett TV show. The American Broadcasting Company, however, demanded that a right-winger be added to "balance" Davis's Communist viewpoint. Davis rejected this arrangement. Cavett himself called ABC's demands "excessive" and canceled the show.



Militant/B. R. Washington

Angela Davis at N. Y. rally

65,000 N.Y. hardhats strike

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, July 5—About 65,000 workers in 12 building trades unions went on strike here July 1. The walk-out was sparked by the employers' attempts to hold wage increases down to a 5.5 percent limit.

Also at issue is the employers' attempt to introduce automated equipment and to change rules to institute speedup. Both measures would result in further layoffs in an industry in which employment is seasonal at best.

The New York strike comes at a time of increasing militancy among

construction workers. On June 22 more than 35,000 construction workers marched in Norristown, Pa., to affirm their right to picket projects using scab labor. Strikes have occurred in Atlanta and Minneapolis in the last two weeks. In Boston, on June 28, about 20,000 construction workers demonstrated for jobs, booing Massachusetts Governor Francis Sargent and throwing hard hats at him.

Although the building trades do not fall under the jurisdiction of the government's Pay Board, the unions participate in the Construction Industry

Stabilization Committee, along with representatives of management and "the public."

This antilabor committee, the July 2 *New York Times* explains, was "set up early last year to attempt to reduce the rate of increase in wages, which many builders had contended had become excessive."

While the unions are demanding wage increases of 10 to 15 percent, the Building Trades Employers Association is insisting on restricting wage increases to the 5.5 percent guideline proposed by the Stabilization Committee.