

THE MILITANT

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

Antiwar convention calls Oct.-Nov. actions



Militant/Dave Warren

Nearly 700 attended national antiwar convention in L.A. Protests against bombing of dikes set for Aug. 5-9.

By **NORTON SANDLER**
and **HARRY RING**

LOS ANGELES—The national antiwar conference held here July 21-23 voted to organize nationwide demonstrations against the Vietnam war on Oct. 26 and Nov. 18. The convention, called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), also ratified plans for making the Aug. 5-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki commemorative demonstrations emergency actions against the U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese dikes.

Nearly 700 people participated in the two-day convention, which was held at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Several hundred more attended a rally on the eve of the gathering. Most people came

from the West Coast, but there were individuals and delegations from 23 states.

Convention organizers viewed the gathering as a major gain for antiwar forces. They regarded the attendance as very good for the first national antiwar conference to be held on the West Coast, particularly since it took place in midsummer. It also came within two weeks of the Democratic Party convention, which had been a focal point for many antiwar activists.

The question of how the antiwar movement should relate to the presidential elections was a center of debate for the convention.

The action proposal introduced by NPAC's national coordinators, and

approved by the overwhelming majority of the gathering, recommended that NPAC maintain its nonpartisan stand toward the elections. This stand is essential, the proposal declared, if NPAC is to continue to organize massive street demonstrations against the war.

The proposal recognized that NPAC embraces a broad range of political views. For that reason, it stated, endorsing any particular candidate would only serve to destroy NPAC's character as a coalition and render it ineffective as a unifying force for opponents of the war. The proposal calls for picket lines at federal buildings Oct. 26 as a springboard for demonstrations in major cities Nov. 18.

An effort by some McGovern supporters to have the conference commit itself to supporting McGovern's presidential bid sparked heated debate on NPAC's nonpartisan electoral stand.

Originally, some McGovern supporters considered presenting a resolution calling for the conference to endorse their candidate. Recognizing there was scant prospect that such a resolution would be adopted, they modified it by stages. On the final morning of the conference they presented a resolution calling on the gathering to endorse a "defeat Nixon" strategy.

This resolution was introduced after the principal action proposal, which clearly stated NPAC's nonpartisan

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"I COME TO VIETNAM AS A COMRADE": Actress Jane Fonda arrived in Hanoi on July 8 at the invitation of a North Vietnamese peace committee and greeted her hosts with the above declaration. After she broadcast her solidarity with the Vietnamese to U.S. servicemen, Georgia Representative Fletcher Thompson called on the U.S. attorney general to bring charges of treason against her.

The antiwar activist responded that the real traitors were those like Nixon, "who is committing the most heinous crimes I think have ever been committed."

Fonda told the Vietnamese: "My life has changed over the past few years because of my recognizing the hypoc-



Jane Fonda

ris and criminality of a succession of U.S. governments, particularly with regard to Vietnam. Along with tens of thousands of other Americans of all ages and classes, this new consciousness was awakened by the Vietnamese people. Your struggle, courage, culture have forced us to recognize certain truths about our country and what will be necessary to change it."

VIETNAM STILL BIGGEST ISSUE AMONG U.S. STUDENTS: According to the latest Campus Opinion poll, taken in June, 29 percent of those questioned cited Vietnam as their greatest concern. This compares with 24 percent in October 1971. The environment was the second greatest area of concern, with 17 percent.

ORLANDO, FLA., GETS IT TOGETHER: Militant reader Mark Shafraski reports that the newly formed Orlando Peace Action Coalition sponsored a teach-in on July 4 that was attended by more than 600 people. It was the first organized antiwar action in Orlando in three years. Another teach-in is planned for Aug. 5. Hiroshima-Nagasaki memorial actions are scheduled for Aug. 6, 7, 8, and 9, including a picket of Cape Kennedy on Aug. 6.

HEALTH OFFICIALS HAVE 'SERIOUS DOUBTS'—40 YEARS TOO LATE: On July 25 it was revealed that the U.S. Public Health Service has used a group of 400 Black men as human guinea pigs for 40 years. The 400 men, all from Tuskegee, Ala., and all suffering from syphilis, were given no medical treatment at all, even after penicillin became widely available.

Syphilis can cause bone and dental deformations, deafness, blindness, heart disease, and deterioration of the central nervous system, often leading to insanity. The study was conducted to determine from autopsies what the disease does to the human body.

"As incentives to enter the program," the July 26 *New York Times* relates, "the men were promised free transportation to and from hospitals, free hot lunches, free medicine for any disease other than syphilis and free burial after autopsies were performed."

Dr. J.D. Millar, who is in charge of the "study" of the 74 men still alive out of the original 400, was quoted in the *Times* as saying that "a serious moral problem" arose when an adequate treatment for the disease became available. But, "Patients were not denied drugs," Dr. Millar stressed. "Rather," says the *Times*, "they were not offered drugs."

The officials of the U.S. Public Health Service did not comment on the effect their failure to treat these men had on causing syphilis to be spread to others. Perhaps they assumed that the victims would all be Black, and therefore they didn't care.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS WIN RELEASE FROM ALTERNATE SERVICE: Several adverse court rulings have forced the Selective Service System to release more than 2,000 conscientious objectors from any obligation to perform alternative service.

The American Civil Liberties Union successfully argued that under Selective Service regulations, conscientious objectors could only be called for duty when other men are being drafted.

The decision affects all objectors who were ordered to report for work from the middle of last November until the end of March this year, a period when no draftees were ordered to report for military duty.

HERE'S TO YOUR HEALTH: A recent suit by the American Public Health Association sought to force the U.S. government to drop its "U.S. Inspected for Wholesomeness" seal on fresh meat and to substitute warnings that the meat might contain harmful germs.

A *New England Journal of Medicine* study found salmonella germs, the leading cause of food poisoning, in 50.8 percent of government-inspected poultry they checked. The U.S. Agricultural Department ranks food poisoning as second only to the common cold as the most frequent cause of illness in this country. It is estimated that 2 million Americans are stricken with it every year. Most recover quickly. The aged and the very young can die.

ARGENTINA 72: OPPRESSION, REPRESSION, TORTURE: This pamphlet reveals the conditions in which preparations are being made for the 1973 elections called by the Lanusse regime in Argentina. It contains testimony, news summaries, letters from prison, and articles on other Latin American countries, including Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

The pamphlet is published in French by the Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners, c/o Marguerite Duras, 15 impasse de Mont Tonnerre, Paris 15, France. Price: \$1.25 postpaid. The committee also publishes an information bulletin that can be ordered for 25 cents from the same address.

ACLU BLASTS MAYDAY ARRESTS: The U.S. government and Washington, D.C., police acted to suspend certain provisions of the Constitution during the Mayday antiwar protests in May 1971, says the American Civil Liberties Union. An 81-page report prepared by the ACLU charges that most of the 13,000 people ar-



A Washington cop using mace on demonstrators during Mayday protests.

rested during the protests "were illegally detained, illegally charged, and deprived of their constitutional rights to due process, fair trial and assistance of counsel."

The report pointed out the courts' role in enabling those arrested to be held despite lack of evidence against them. It also cited the role of the newspapers, which at first failed to print news about the arrest of bystanders and charges of brutality.

District of Columbia Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson has in the past defended the use of mass arrests. The July 24 *New York Times* reports that Wilson viewed as "time-consuming and impractical" procedures that would have guaranteed the rights of those arrested.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: Residents of the islands in Casco Bay in Maine were recently victimized by a 40,000 gallon oil spill that fouled beaches, boats, and waterfowl. They organized a protest, standing on their beaches with signs. One said: "Texaco, you promised this would never happen."

—DAVE FRANKEL

Threat of general strike in Great Britain frees five imprisoned longshore leaders

JULY 27—The threat of a general strike in Great Britain has forced the release of five longshore leaders who were imprisoned July 21. This is a massive blow against Britain's new antilabor National Industrial Relations Court.

The five dockers were jailed in an attempt to punish them for staging unauthorized picketing in the ports. "What do we want?"

"ALL OUT!" tens of thousands of British workers shouted as they marched off their jobs across the nation. A general strike would have been the first in Great Britain since 1926.

The following article was written as the strike was developing.

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 25—"Industrial chaos spread across Britain today" wrote the London correspondent for the *New York Times* July 24. "... thousands of workers walked off their jobs. ...

"All major ports and all of London's newspapers were shut. Many miners joined in unofficial strikes, as did automobile parts workers, truck drivers and aircraft workers." It has been reported that French dockers at Le Havre across the English Channel are staging a sympathy protest.

The national outcry of British workers erupted July 21 within hours of the imprisonment of five British dockers under the Industrial Relations Act.

This law, enacted in August 1971, empowers the National Industrial Relations Court to impose penalties on workers who refuse to comply with its contract-dispute settlements. Heralded in the financial press as the British version of the U.S. Taft-Hartley Act, financiers viewed the act as a significant step toward curbing the rising tide of labor militancy in Britain. It hasn't worked out that way.

The present nationwide strike, threatening to become a general strike, was the British workers' response to the first use of this act to imprison fellow laborers.

The dispute at issue was unauthorized picketing by the dockers against increasing containerization. The threat containerization poses to jobs on the docks is well known in ports the world over. In London, the dockers had been conducting sporadic picketing to prevent truck drivers from delivering goods for containerized cargo.

On July 7 the National Industrial Relations Court ordered the dockers to stop "blacking" the London container firm of Midland Cold Storage. When the dockers refused to comply with this order—and in fact spread the picketing elsewhere—Midland brought suit against the picketers. It was this suit that ultimately resulted in the July 21 arrest and jailing of the five dockers.

Apparently, British rulers hoped that friction between the dockers and the truck drivers they were keeping out of ports would undercut labor militancy, as the five strikers were thrown into Pentonville Prison. "But [the truck drivers'] hostility to the dockers evaporated as soon as they heard of the prison sentences," *The Financial Times* of London reported July 22.

The truck drivers immediately supported the imprisoned dock workers. A leader of the drivers, Eric Rechnitz, stated that the arrests were "an interference with trade unionism and, as trade unionists, we must fight against the Industrial Relations Act

together," according to the *Financial Times*. This was the last issue of the *Financial Times* before it was closed down by the spreading strike.

The five jailed dockers were Derek Watkins, Cornelius Clancy, Anthony Merrick, Vic Turner, and Bernie Steer. The first three were arrested on the picket lines. Steer is secretary of the London dock shop stewards committee and Turner is chairman of the shop stewards committee. The stewards had initiated the dock picketing over the objections of the Transport and General Workers Union leadership.

The massive strike is part of a stepped-up series of struggles against the conditions of high unemployment and rapid inflation in Great Britain. Unemployment has hovered around 1 million in Britain for months, a rate of about 3.8 percent. This is an exceedingly high rate for England, where "normal" unemployment is around 1 percent. On top of this the Tory government has attempted to impose a limit on wage increases of 8 percent—despite an inflation rate in April of 12 percent.

Just last month, a threatened simultaneous slowdown on the rails, a construction-site walkout, and dockworkers' strike precipitated a financial crisis resulting in the June 23 floating of the British pound.

The high point of struggle before that was the six-week coal miners' strike. Leaving their jobs on Jan. 9, the low-paid miners, 280,000 strong, used "flying picket squads" across the country to mobilize mass support for their fight.

Transport workers and railwaymen

refused to cross picket lines. Students helped on the lines and staged support rallies. Employers ultimately locked 1.6 million workers out of jobs in an attempt to bludgeon the miners back to work. But the miners gained a 20 percent wage increase, smashing through the 8 percent limit.

The increase of strike action in Britain is vividly illustrated by the following statistics reported in *New*

JULY 26—With Britain rapidly moving toward its first general strike since 1926, a telegram of solidarity with the striking British dockworkers was issued by the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

"... we are firmly in support of your struggles," the ILWU telegram declared. "The membership of the ILWU, representing longshoremen and warehousemen on the Pacific Coast of the U.S., Canada, Hawaii and Alaska, are ready to assist you in any way in your struggle to maintain your union. Please advise us if there are any specific solidarity actions which you want us to take." The telegram was signed by ILWU president Harry Bridges and treasurer Louis Goldblatt.

York's financial daily, the *Wall Street Journal*, May 17. In 1967, there were 2.8 million working days "lost

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Floods and firestorms

World anxiety mounts over U.S. bombing

By ED SMITH

JULY 26—Despite pressure from Washington, United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has so far refused to back down from his charges that the United States is bombing dikes in North Vietnam.

Waldheim's stand reflects mounting international anxiety that President Nixon is deliberately bombing the dikes in order to flood the most populous areas of North Vietnam later this summer. The whole previous history of U.S. bombing throughout Indochina justifies such fears.

In Geneva, Switzerland, July 20, it was announced that Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, secretary general of the World Council of Churches, had also delivered an urgent appeal to President Nixon to stop the bombing.

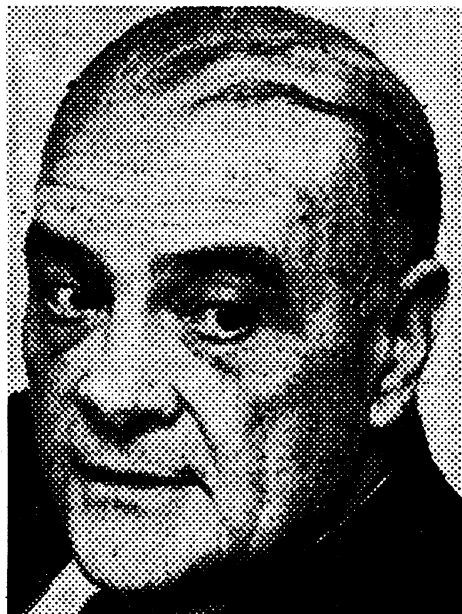
Both Blake and Waldheim received arrogant threats from Washington. Secretary of State Rogers bluntly dismissed Waldheim's appeal. "We cannot consider helpful any public statements giving further currency to these reports," Rogers stated July 25.

At the same time, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, George Bush, was rushed to New York to attempt to silence Waldheim. But even before Bush met Waldheim, the UN secretary general released a second statement saying that he was "concerned by the continued heavy bombing of North Vietnam and in particular by numerous reports, from different sources, concerning its effects on the dikes."

Following the hour-long meeting with Waldheim, Bush was pressed by reporters: Did Bush deny that the U.S. was hitting the dikes inadvertently?

"I stand by the official statements," Bush responded. "I deny that they've been targeted."

This is an admission that the U.S. bombs are hitting the dikes. The "official version" is that the dikes are



Dr. Eugene Carson Blake

not "targets," but if "targets" happen to be on dikes, they get bombed. For example, war secretary Melvin Laird declared on July 6, "Some of the dikes and dams may be on roadways that are being used or they may be in a position where antiaircraft weaponry is placed, and of course, our pilots are given the opportunity and they should have this capability to attack North Vietnamese gun emplacements."

Bush's contempt for Waldheim was hardly disguised by his assertion, "I

respect the secretary general as a man who's got this restless quest for peace motivating him."

Later in the day (July 25) the White House issued the statement that reports of damage to dikes and dams was "without question a propaganda effort and it's an effort [the North Vietnamese] are working very hard for obvious reasons."

Bombing Hanoi

U.S. military headquarters in Saigon announced on July 24 that U.S. fighter bombers had inflicted "considerable damage" on Hanoi in strikes Saturday, July 22.

Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoraval, whose news releases about U.S. bombing of the dikes sparked the world furor against Washington, wrote from Hanoi July 23: "American air raids over Hanoi reached a peak this weekend and, according to an official communiqué, left many dead and wounded throughout the city."

"Whereas the Government often appears to minimize the damage caused by United States raids here, the communiqué today said that at least 20 sections of the city and its suburbs were hit in two raids between Friday night and 5 P.M. today."

"Air-raid sirens sounded almost continuously. Apart from 10 alarms in the city center alone, journalists gave up trying to count the number of times the sirens signaled United States planes within a 30-mile radius of the capital."

A new weapon in the U.S. arsenal

of technological-ecocidal warfare has been disclosed in Washington. During 1965-67, U.S. military experts attempted—apparently without the success they wanted—to create firestorms in South Vietnam.

Firestorms resemble cyclones. They are set off when a fire begins to suck in air, creating a whirlwind powerful enough to rip out bridges and 300-foot trees. They suck up so much air that people in the area perish from asphyxiation. In World War II, U.S. firebombings of Dresden, Hamburg, and Tokyo killed more people than the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Dubbed "Sherwood Forest" and "Pink Rose," the Vietnam firestorm attempts were apparently unsuccessful because of the dampness of the South Vietnamese jungles.

According to *New York Times* reporter Robert Reinhold, "The targets were areas of thick tropical rain forests north and northwest of Saigon. They were first chemically defoliated, in the hope of creating dry fuel, and then bombarded with World War II magnesium fire bombs."

A U.S. military official questioned about the firestorm attempt told Reinhold, "Of course the goal was laudatory—we were trying to deny the enemy a base camp. Do you want to save trees or lives?"

While you are trying to figure that one out, also try Pentagon spokesman, Jerry Friedheim's comment: "In no sense was it an attempt to destroy all the forest. It was an attempt to clear the foliage, to clear the leaves from the trees."

...antiwar convention calls Oct.-Nov. protests

Continued from page 1

electoral stand, had been passed. A countermotion to the "defeat Nixon" resolution reiterated the essential point of the approved action proposal. After further debate, the countermotion was approved by a great majority.

A big majority of the McGovern supporters at the conference recognized the need for the antiwar movement to maintain such a nonpartisan policy. At one point, members of the McGovern caucus introduced a motion that would have had the convention express a sympathetic attitude toward McGovern. After extensive discussion within the caucus and with other convention participants, the caucus members withdrew the resolution.

In explaining this to the gathering, Carlos Valdez, a recently elected business agent of Los Angeles Teamsters

adopted with only some 50 votes in opposition.

The "defeat Nixon" resolution, debated in the final hours of the conference, was presented by Donald Kalish, head of the UCLA philosophy department and a peace activist. He said he favored mass demonstrations but considered working for McGovern a top priority. "Demonstrations change consciousness," he asserted, "but votes change government policy."

Apparently piqued that his resolution had failed to change NPAC policy, Professor Kalish and some 20 supporters staged a walk-out as the conference was preparing to adjourn. Apparently also disappointed that their views had gained virtually no support after two days of debate, about a dozen members of Progressive Labor Party and Students for a

officials of locals of the Longshoremen's union, the Teamsters, the California Federation of Teachers, the Social Workers, and others. Ron Borges, a St. Louis Teamster official and an initiator of the recent Labor for Peace conference, participated in the workshop.

A workshop was held on why the U.S. peace movement should make its central demand support of the seven-point peace plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam instead of the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Irving Sarnoff, secretary of the Peace Action Council (PAC), the local affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, participated in this workshop along with other PAC supporters. Its proposal to support the seven points instead of "Out Now" seemed to have virtually no support at the conference and was not brought to the plenary session.

Los Angeles Free Press staff writer Ron Ridenour proposed in the plenary session that NPAC make the text of the PRG seven-point program available to constituencies. This was unanimously approved.

In the workshop discussions, a number of speakers emphasized that the Vietnamese people, who are suffering such terrible destruction from U.S. bombing, have the full right to seek a negotiated end to the war. But the American people, they pointed out, have the responsibility to demand unqualified self-determination for the Vietnamese and to insist that the only "right" the U.S. has in Vietnam is to get out.

Unfortunately, the Peace Action Council limited itself to participating in several workshops and to observing the general proceedings. NPAC urged PAC to participate fully in the conference. PAC refused to do so, however, claiming that it would be inconsistent with its focus on the seven points and its insistence that there is no meaningful role for an antiwar coalition. It argued instead that equal efforts must be devoted to organizing programs to combat racism, repression, and a variety of social evils.

At one time PAC was the principal antiwar force in the Los Angeles area. But its efforts to transform itself into a multi-issue social movement have significantly reduced its activity and

its status within the antiwar movement. For example, it held a conference devoted to the seven-point PRG program the week before the NPAC convention. Only 60 people attended.

The NPAC convention stressed the need for concerted international actions against the war. Ruth Gage-Colby, a national coordinator of NPAC and an internationally respected peace activist, gave a special report to the convention. A number of countries, she said, will be holding simultaneous demonstrations in solidarity with those held by NPAC.

Many messages of solidarity were received from abroad, as well as greetings from a representative of the Indochina Solidarity Front (Front Solidarité Indochine—FSI) of France.

The conference reelected NPAC coordinators Ruth Gage-Colby, Jerry

LOS ANGELES—A wide variety of political literature was available in a large room adjacent to the NPAC convention hall. Groups with tables included the campaign committees for Socialist Workers Party nominees Jenness and Pulley, and Communist Party candidates Hall and Tyner. The Los Angeles Raza Unida Party also had a table.

The African liberation movement was represented, as was the Palestinian resistance movement.

A number of defense groups had tables, including the Chavez-Ortiz Defense Committee. Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz, then waiting for the verdict from the jury that convicted him of skyjacking, was present at the table for a period of time.

Gordon, James Lafferty, Fred Lovgren, Katherine Sojourner, and John T. Williams. Stephanie Coontz declined renomination because of other commitments.

As the convention adjourned, the NPAC staff was already at work preparing for the Aug. 5-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki demonstrations around the slogan "No more Hiroshimas! No more Nagasakis! U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!"



National Peace Action Coalition coordinators John T. Williams and Ruth Gage-Colby; and Ron Borges, who represented Harold Gibbons, a Teamster international vice-president, at NPAC convention.

Local 208, said, "We McGovern people have come to build an antiwar convention. We respect the right of NPAC as being nonexclusionary and em-

LOS ANGELES—Some 700 people attended the preconvention rally held by NPAC in the UCLA Grand Ballroom. An impressive array of speakers represented a broad range of antiwar constituencies.

Among them was Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party; Ron Borges, representing Harold Gibbons, a Teamster International vice-president; Chicano leader Bert Corona; feminist Lana Clarke Phelan; author Dalton Trumbo; and Wilson Edwards, student-body president at UCLA.

Bobby Seale received a standing ovation when he urged the antiwar movement to stay in the streets until every last U.S. troop and gun is out of Vietnam.

Entertainment was provided by Harrison and Tyler, a feminist comedy team that is becoming popular in night clubs and on campuses.

bracing all ideologies. If you are against the war, you are welcome here. We are not here to support our candidate, so we withdraw our proposal."

It was shortly after Valdez spoke that the conference voted on the various proposals that had been introduced and debated. The action proposal of the NPAC coordinators was

Democratic Society departed with the Kalish group.

Many of the West Coast antiwar activists were attending their first antiwar conference. They seemed particularly impressed by the completely democratic way in which the convention proceeded. The plenary sessions and workshops heard and debated any and all points of view. The conference provided facilities for presenting copies of resolutions, statements, and position papers to all participants. All conference decisions were made by majority vote.

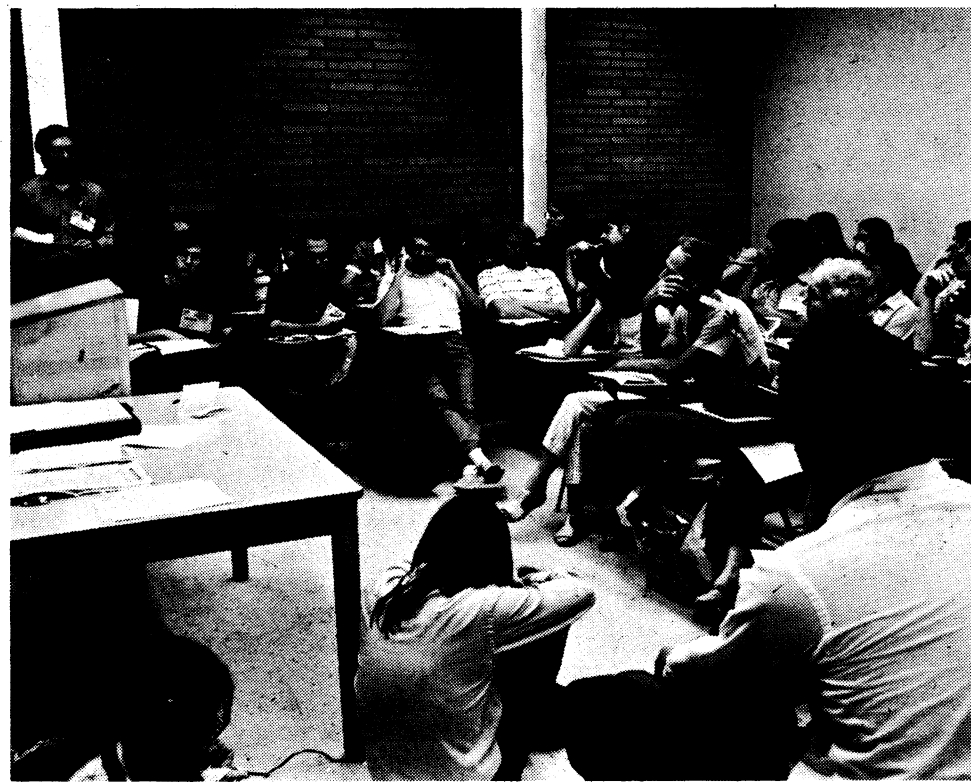
In addition to the action proposal of the NPAC coordinators, nearly 30 other proposals were presented as "main resolutions." A substantial number of these expressed the pet political crotchets of various left-wing sects and had little relation to political reality.

One proposal would have had NPAC declare a nationwide general strike. Another would have had it devote its energy to demanding that the trade-union bureaucracy organize a labor party to participate in the 1972 presidential election. These and other, more relevant, proposals were presented to the body, and there was full opportunity to motivate and defend them during the floor debate and in the workshops.

After an initial plenary session, the conference broke down into smaller workshops that provided an opportunity for fuller, more informal discussion of the various proposals before the gathering.

Workshops embracing 32 constituencies that relate to the antiwar movement came next. These included Raza, Asian, Black, trade-union, women, gay, GIs, and vets workshops.

The trade-union workshop included



One of the workshop sessions during antiwar convention

Militant/Dave Warren

Deportation threatened

Argentine authorities arrest Hugo Blanco

From Intercontinental Press
By DAVID THORSTAD

JULY 24—On July 12, exactly one month after he arrived in Buenos Aires, the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco was arrested and imprisoned. No charges were made, but he was held under the general jurisdiction of the government. Both his lawyer, Enrique Broquen, and a friend were able to visit Blanco in prison. They report that he was not maltreated.

A decree of deportation was served on Blanco on July 19. He expected to be deported either July 24 or 25. Blanco stated that he preferred to remain in Argentina, but that if that was not possible, he chose to go to Chile. So far no obstacle to this has been raised by the Chilean authorities.

A large defense effort on behalf of the Peruvian peasant leader was initiated by the Partido Socialista Argentina (PSA—Argentine Socialist party) and other groups. Posters protesting the arrest of Blanco have been put up around Buenos Aires. A news conference resulted in articles being published in four major dailies, *La Nación*, *La Prensa*, *La Razón*, and *Clarín*. A number of prominent figures have protested his arrest to the Lanusse dictatorship.

Blanco entered Argentina from Mexico, his former place of exile, on June 12. His exile in Mexico City had lasted nine months, beginning with his deportation from Peru by the military regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado on September 14, 1971. The deportation was carried out with as much stealth and secrecy as appears to surround the current incident in Buenos Aires.

It began the day before, September 13, when two policemen took him to the headquarters of the state security police in Lima. There he was questioned for several hours about his political position with regard to the Velasco government and why he remained in opposition to it.

The following evening, he was taken to the airport and, without any explanation, placed on board a Braniff plane headed for Panama City. In Panama he was placed on a Pan American plane bound for Mexico. Even after arriving in Mexico City, however, Blanco did not know whether it was to be his ultimate destination. Then, on September 18, he was informed that the Mexican government had decided to grant him the status of a "visitante" (visitor) and to give him a work permit.

The Peruvian peasant leader had been released from jail on December 22, 1970, in an amnesty—seven and a half years after his arrest in May 1963. He was serving a twenty-five year prison term for his role in organizing landless peasants in the valley of La Convención in the Cuzco region into unions to defend their rights against the *hacendados* (big landowners).

In the winter of 1962 and spring of 1963, the revolutionary peasant unions led by Blanco engaged in large-scale take-overs of lands illegally held by the *hacendados*. The landowners responded by calling in the army and the police. In the battles that ensued, several soldiers were killed. Blanco became the object of a military manhunt, but he was successfully hidden by the peasants for

months until he was finally captured.

In a recent interview published in the July 13, 1972, issue of the Buenos Aires weekly magazine *Panorama*, Blanco discussed this experience and pointed to the absence of a strong revolutionary party as the reason why the peasant land movement was unable to culminate in the social revolution. "I must point out that I have been a guerrilla," he said. "But the guerrilla movement that I led grew out of the agricultural unions, which decided to attack the lands of the big landowners. The guerrilla movement arose out of the repression directed at the agricultural unions and not as a result of mobilizing groups isolated from the masses. Unfortunately, what was missing was a party capable of leading the struggle begun at that time to a victorious conclusion."

Following his capture, Blanco was held for more than three years in Arequipa in solitary confinement. Then, on August 30, 1966, he and twenty-eight other peasant organizers were put on trial before a military court in the tiny, isolated village of Tacna. Blanco's supporters throughout the world awakened public opinion to the danger—already reported in the newspapers prior to the trial—that Blanco would be sentenced to death. The military judges decided to reject the recommendation of their legal adviser that Blanco be given the death penalty and instead sentenced him to twenty-five years' confinement on the prison island of El Frontón, notorious for its brutal conditions.

In November of that year, the Peruvian regime again tried to get the court to order Blanco's execution. For



Hugo Blanco

Militant/Ben Atwood

almost a year, the peasant leader's life depended on an international campaign in his defense. Civil-liberties and trade-union groups throughout the world issued statements of support. Demonstrations, resolutions, and appeals were undertaken in all corners of the world.

In October 1967, the Supreme Military Court confirmed Blanco's original sentence, and the international campaign continued for his release. Today a campaign demanding his return is being waged in Peru.

3 L.A. antiwar activists convicted

By MARC BEDNER

LOS ANGELES, July 17—Three persons, including a disabled Vietnam veteran, were found guilty July 6 of blocking traffic during an antiwar demonstration in front of Nixon's campaign headquarters here. Sentencing will take place in August.

The demonstration, which took place during the week of May 9, was one of the focal points of protest against the mining of Haiphong harbor and the escalation of the air war.

Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic, Deacon Alexander of the Angela Davis Defense Committee, and Leigh Hunt had been arrested, along with 28 others, on May 10 and 11. At their

trial, Kovic and Hunt admitted to blocking traffic but contended the only criminals involved in any blocking action were Nixon and others responsible for the blockading and destruction of Vietnam.

Kovic's attorney, Mike Kogan, emphasized that the real issue at hand was the harassment of demonstrators by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

Kogan produced photographs and testimony showing that Kovic was badly beaten by LAPD officers during the demonstration. The beating was particularly brutal, said Kogan, since Kovic is paralyzed from the waist

down because of a battle injury.

Despite this, the court ruled that instances of police brutality were irrelevant to the charge of blocking traffic, a ruling the jury apparently accepted. The city attorney even argued that failure to convict the defendants would result in "anarchy in the streets."

In his summation speech, Kogan said the real intention of the demonstrators was "not to block, but to allow life to flow freely, to allow the Vietnamese people to live once again; to communicate to the people of this city and the citizens of this country that the war in Vietnam is a crime against humanity."

New York women's march called for Aug. 25

By BARBARA PETERSON

NEW YORK—"Women: our rights and nothing less!" is the theme of the women's liberation action planned here for Aug. 25. Called to commemorate the fifty-second anniversary of the winning of women's suffrage on Aug. 26, 1920, this year's action will include a march down Fifth Avenue to Bryant Park. Following the demonstration, a rally and women's festival will take place in the park.

Aug. 26 actions have taken place in New York and around the country for the last two years. This year an ad hoc committee of women's groups decided to call for a demonstration on the afternoon of Aug. 25, a Friday, to involve women who work in the city's office buildings and shopping districts.

Among the groups involved in building the action are the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), Radical Feminists, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Women's Center, and several gay organizations.

There are two sets of demands for the action. "We demand the right to control our own bodies—remove all abortion laws; no forced sterilization; the right to contraceptives; remove all prostitution laws; freedom of sexual expression."

And, "We demand the right to control our lives—the right to political power; equality under the law; the right to equal education and employment; the right to child-care centers; no oppressive marriage and divorce laws."

The New York Aug. 25/26 ad hoc

committee is in the process of getting out leaflets, stickers, and posters to publicize the action as widely as possible. Planning meetings for the action are open to all women. They take place at 7 p.m. every Tuesday night at the General Theological Seminary on Ninth Avenue, between 21st and 22nd streets. For further information, contact the ad hoc committee at 250 W. 57 St., Room 1318, New York, N.Y. Telephone: (212) 799-8564.

Women's liberation groups in other cities are planning similar activities for Aug. 25-26.



Aug. 26, 1971

Militant/Brian Shannon

In Our Opinion

Threat to free press

On July 6, second-class postal rates were increased by an average of 127 percent. The rates are scheduled to rise a total of 142 percent over the next five years. However, the rate increase proposed for third-class mail (much of it is advertising circulars and other "junk mail") is only 25 percent over five years.

These rate increases will mean severe hardships for *The Militant*, as well as for all other relatively small, subscription-based publications that are not financed by substantial advertising.

As columnist Tom Wicker put it in the July 18 *New York Times*, the effect of these second-class postal rate increases will be one of "pricing ideas out of the market." Wicker points out that the smaller, less-profitable publications are generally the source of new and controversial ideas. But it is these publications that will be hardest hit by the rate increases.

They are hardest hit because: 1) they have limited access to newsstands, and thus depend more on subscriptions; 2) they have a relatively low weight because of lack of advertising, so the per-piece increase is proportionately higher; and 3) they have a higher percentage of editorial content (articles) as opposed to advertising content, and the rates per pound rise as the percentage of editorial content increases.

This move is not only a huge rate increase. It also infringes upon freedom of the press by penalizing smaller publications. It follows on the heels of more obvious government attacks on this First Amendment right, such as the victimization of Daniel Ellsberg for releasing the Pentagon papers and the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision denying reporters the right to keep confidential their sources of information.

It is in the interests of all radical, underground, cultural, and labor publications to unite in protest against these postal rate increases. One organization has already been formed for that purpose, the Committee for the Diversity of the Press. It includes representatives of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *Commonweal*, *Harper's*, *New York Review*, *Scientific American*, and others.

The committee has been building support for a bill introduced by Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) on June 28. This bill would freeze second-class postal rates at the level of June 1, 1972, for the first 250,000 copies of each issue, and stretch out future increases over a 10-year period instead of a five-year period. It would also prohibit "per-piece" surcharges (as opposed to rates by the pound). These charges penalize small, lightweight publications like *The Militant*.

Although much greater steps are needed to rectify the deteriorating service and discriminatory policies of the postal system in this country, the Nelson bill would at least help in the short run to alleviate the severe burden of the proposed rate increases.

No gains for workers

According to a July 17 report of the U.S. Census Bureau, figures for 1971 show no improvement in median family income, or in the gap between Black and white income and between male and female workers.

Median family income before taxes rose in 1971 from \$9,867 to \$10,285. But this increase was wiped out by inflation, so there was no increase in purchasing power.

The report showed that Black families earned a median income of \$6,440—only 60 percent of the white family median income of \$10,670. This is the same percentage found in 1970.

Among full-time, all-year workers, the median income of males was \$9,630. Women earned only 59 percent of this, or \$5,700. Again, the ratio was unchanged from that of 1970.

The percentage of people living below the poverty line—officially set at the very low level of \$4,137 for a family of four—likewise remained unchanged at 13 percent. While about 10 percent of whites live in poverty, one-third of the 23 million Afro-Americans live in poverty. Fifty-six percent of the Black poor live in families headed by women.

The Census Bureau reported that in 1971 female-headed households made up 40 percent of all families living in poverty—an increase from 37 percent in 1970.

These figures underline the inability of U.S. capitalist society to grant economic equality to Black workers and to women workers. Even after the sustained boom of the 1960s, women, Blacks—and presumably Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities—found themselves no better off in relation to white and male workers.

In addition, there was no improvement in the living standards of American working people as a whole between 1970 and 1971. Their income was frozen by the effects of war-stimulated inflation, Nixon's recession-inducing measures, and the wage controls. And these figures are from 1971, when wage controls were in effect for less than half the year. Thus, it can be predicted that workers will have an even harder time defending themselves against the effects of inflation this year, under year-round controls.

These statistics underscore the need for the union movement to unite behind demands for an end to discriminatory hiring policies against Black people; equal pay for women workers; an end to the wage controls and infringements on the right to strike; and an end to the inflation-producing war in Vietnam.

Letters

Environment

I am an independent and have joined no political clubs or parties, mostly because I see factionalism destroying the movement everywhere before the movement has accomplished anything. Perhaps we should make clear our differences but also work together on our common goals.

The Jenness-Pulley campaign is right on. We must build independent power bases from which to work. George McGovern is not the candidate of the oppressed people.

Could you please write more on radical perspectives of the environmental crisis? Right now it is a pressing issue, and radicals should attempt to make clear the relationship between the destruction of the environment and the profit-making corporate structure.

W.P.C.

Arcata, Calif.

McGovern

Although I have enough disagreements with the Socialist Workers Party to preclude my joining, I do appreciate much of the information and analysis contained in *The Militant*. And now that George McGovern has succeeded in using a mass movement to advance the interests of what may be called "Social Imperialism" or "Avant-Garde Corporate Liberalism," I am grateful that *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* early in the campaign told the movement of the dangers of McGovern.

My only hope is that McGovern be elected and that many of the people—including more than a few working people—who support him will see the failure of capitalist reformism to solve our problems and will be radicalized. The logic of this hope, of course, dictates that socialists, instead of supporting McGovern even grudgingly, should explain and warn of him.

D. Z.

Corona del Mar, Calif.

Intends to subscribe

Before I came to prison I had never heard of *The Militant*. I want to let you know that I intend to subscribe once I get back to society, and I will introduce it to my family also. I have already informed my brothers about it, so I hope they have put in for a subscription.

We are still holding P.E. (Political Education) classes here in the big yard.

A prisoner
California

Prison censorship

Your readers may be interested in what is happening inside the walls here. At this time there are approximately 30 people in segregation for trying to initiate programs beneficial to the inmate population. Some men have been locked in segregation for writing letters to senators and congressmen complaining of the present conditions.

The attitude of the administration is typical of all tyrannical people. They censor all publications, and many times we do not receive copies of some of our publications. I've asked why I did not receive *The Militant* on numerous occasions and was informed "they" did not feel I

should read this or that particular article.

We feel these oppressive acts by the administration are an indication of how up-tight they really are.

A prisoner
Kansas

'World Outlook'

Sales are going well here. I enjoy "World Outlook," the new addition to *The Militant*. How about having copies of "World Outlook" for distribution separate from *The Militant*? S.B.

Newburgh, Ind.

Meat prices

Nixon's executive order increasing the meat import quota, ostensibly designed to lower meat prices, will be as self-defeating as was the so-called price freeze. Even the administration expects retail meat prices to advance beyond the present level. This will, of course, greatly increase profits for the monopolized food industry.

The advance in real wages in other sectors of the capitalist world has a real bearing on the present world meat supply. The American Cattle-men's Association, according to the Associated Press, "suggested the lifting of quota restrictions by President Nixon could hike meat prices even higher."

Nixon aide Peter G. Peterson prepared figures (quoted by Dick Roberts in the Feb. 4 *Militant*) showing that real wages in other advanced capitalist nations have risen in the last 10 years by the following percentages: Japan, 103 percent; Italy, 82 percent; West Germany, 73 percent; France, 46 percent; Canada, 37 percent; and the United Kingdom, 35 percent.

This increase in real wages has led to an increased demand for meat in the diet of workers in advanced capitalist nations.

What has actually been going on, especially during the past 10 years, is that the world's meat supply has been eaten up as fast as it has been produced. In addition to this, the demand for meat has risen in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. So prospects for acquiring more imports seem very remote. Unquestionably the prediction of the American Cattle-men's Association will come to pass.

John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minn.

Conflict of interest?

In a recent letter in this column I reported that Boston Communist Party leader Joel Kugelmass, in addition to being slated as an elector if the CP gets on the ballot here, also had an official role in both the Chisholm and McGovern primary campaigns. Kugelmass was elected as an alternate delegate to the Democratic Party convention in the Massachusetts primary.

Since then, the McGovern campaign coordinator for Massachusetts, David Harrison, tried to force Kugelmass to resign as an alternate delegate. Harrison thought there was a conflict between being a Democrat and a CPer. Unfortunately, there is actually very little conflict between the two.

Kugelmass explained that he, as a Democrat, agreed to serve as an

The Great Society

elector for the CP "because all progressive minority parties should have a right to be on the ballot." However, to my knowledge Kugelmass has not yet explained why he, as a Communist, is involved in the Democratic Party. (Is it also a "progressive minority party"?)

On the brighter side, Kugelmass signed the Socialist Workers Party petition for ballot status here. This is a departure from the traditions of the CP, which during World War Two even supported Roosevelt's jailing of SWP leaders for opposing the war and criticizing American capitalism.

Bob Geb
Boston, Mass.

Right to breathe

As an outsider who is interested in learning more about the Socialist Workers Party, I attended my first political rally. The speeches were excellent and I was impressed with the SWP's championship of the minorities and oppressed, of a woman's right to control her body, and its resistance to the pressures of the capitalists. But the actions of many in the room belied their words, for they were smoking.

Do I not have the right to breathe unpolluted air? How can I be in control of my lungs when the majority in the room are puffing cigarette smoke into every nook and cranny?

The smokers were willing to hand over to the profit-hungry tobacco companies 30, 40, or 50 cents a day. Think how your campaign coffers would swell if the money were channeled to the SWP. Also consider how your ranks will grow if you do not die of lung and throat cancer while the capitalists do.

E. M. S.
Rensselaer, Ind.

Size of demonstration

At a mass meeting of union construction workers here July 16, Thomas Magrann, head of the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council, sharply attacked the news media for playing down the number of union members who marched in the great demonstration past the Norristown, Pa., courthouse June 22. The demonstration was called to protest a court injunction against picketing a nonunion construction site.

Magrann said 50,000 union members took part in the demonstration. Media reports ranged from 16,000 to 35,000. The most truthful account was *The Militant's*, which reported well over 35,000.

My personal opinion is that *The Militant* fell short on this one. I was on the demonstration and I'll go along with Magrann's 50,000.

A construction worker
Philadelphia, Pa.

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.

How about one to run the Vietnam blockade?—"Soviets devise a craft to explore ocean bottom."—Headline in the *Daily World*.

Too heavy an issue—People used to ask, "Under socialism, who will pick up the garbage?" Under capitalism, the problem seems to be dog feces. For instance, the New York City Council has pigeonholed a controversial bill requiring dog owners to pick up after Fido. A leaflet issued last spring by POPA (Pet Owners Protective Association) charged a "plot to ram a 'feces pick-up law' down our throats." It urged "an alternative to fingering feces," and demanded: "Make the sanitation man do the job we expect."

Unfair?—Some of the best brains in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are trying to come up with a new word for welfare that would help promote public appreciation of the president's welfare program. Some of those being considered include Americaid, Amerishare, Americare, yourshare, fairshare, faircare, and shairfare. We hope such obvious choices as half fare, warfare, and carfare were not excluded.

U.S. gov't under surveillance?—Acting FBI director L. Patrick Gray III says his organization is only concerned with those who advocate violence and back it up with action. "We know who they are," he confided, "and we keep track of them."

Cheap at half the price—A half million Vegas were recalled recently for a safety defect that could lead to a rear axle and wheel falling off. It was their third recall this year. GM advertising says it's "the finest car ever built in America at any price."

To wash the hot dogs?—Health officials in Olean, N. Y., have ordered Michael Donavon, an unemployed Vietnam veteran, to shut down his hot-dog stand because it does not have a washroom. Donavon said he will defy the edict.

Antialienation move—The Vatican has banned the growing practice of group absolution. Excepting such circumstances as impending mass death or a dire shortage of priests, confession of transgression must be made to a priest in private by the individual sinner. Where mass absolution is

granted, a follow-up private session is required. Future absolution is out for those who skip the private purge. Those who die in between are apparently in the clear.

It's probably just a lunch job, too—We reported about the San Francisco waiter, age 105, who jogs five miles before going to work every day. Now we hear it's a put-on. He is really only 95.

The march of civilization—Delaware has abolished the whipping post. It was the last state to use the lash as punishment for a variety of offenses.

— HARRY RING



"Could you let me have \$36,000 till payday?"

By Any Means Necessary

BLACK PANTHERS WIN ANTIPOVERTY ELECTIONS; ENTER CITY ELECTIONS. According to the June 10 *Black Panther*, four members of the Black Panther Party were elected to the board of directors of the Berkeley, Calif., Community Development Council (BCDC) on May 24.

The four include Ericka Huggins, Herman Smith, William Roberts, and Audrea Jones. Last year Huggins, along with Panther Chairman Bobby Seale, won a sensational acquittal on the frame-up charge of murder in New Haven, Conn.

The Panthers had supported a slate for all nine of the positions open on the 24-member board. The other member of the slate who won was Rick D'Golia, a white student and supporter of the party.

The *Black Panther* related, "The U.S. government has been (since Johnson's alleged 'War on Poverty'), each year, reluctantly sending poverty funds into the low and no income areas of Berkeley, California. The function of the B. C. D. C. Board of Directors (who are elected yearly by the community) is to funnel these federal funds into meaningful programs for the poor.

"In the past, this task has seemed too much for the basically reactionary Board members of the B. C. D. C. to carry out, as the poor of Berkeley have rarely been on the receiving end of these funds. With this in mind, the Black Panther Party decided to run our own Party members to hold positions on the B. C. D. C. Board, as well as support other progressive candidates."

The BCDC is a multimillion dollar program, and the idea of Panthers deciding how some of this money would be distributed was a cause for alarm in some quarters. One of Huggins's opponents, Eric Morton, called the Panther candidacies a "rude intrusion."

On the day of the election, according to the *Black Panther*, there were continual broadcasts of "bomb threats" at BCDC polling places by KDIA, a local radio station that is Black-oriented but white-owned. Moreover, one

polling place was actually shot up by Berkeley police.

In spite of these efforts to keep voters away from the polls, the turnout was heavy, thus giving victory to four of the six Panthers running.

On May 13, several days before the antipoverty-program election, the Black Panther Party held a massive rally of 4,000 Black people in Oakland's Bobby Hutton Memorial Park (named after a 17-year-old Panther killed by Oakland police in 1968) as part of a Black Community Survival Conference.

At this rally—where 2,000 free full bags of groceries, each containing a dozen grade AA eggs, were given away—Seale and Elaine Brown, minister of information of the party, announced their candidacies for mayor and city councilwoman of Oakland.

However, at an Antiwar, African Liberation, Voter Registration, Survival Conference held by the Panthers on June 24 in the Oakland Auditorium, only Seale's candidacy for mayor in the April 1973 elections was announced.

At this conference, according to the July 1 *Black Panther*, several thousand Blacks gathered and received 10,000 bags of free groceries with a dozen grade AA eggs in every bag, 10,000 free sickle cell anemia tests, and 2,500 free pairs of brand new women's shoes. The conference speakers included Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.).

Seale talked about "taking over the whole city of Oakland," "kicking every racist out of the Police Department," and "moving on every businessman that sells us rotten meat."

In light of the formally antinationalist position of the Panther Party and its support to candidates of the capitalist Democratic Party, this declared intention to run in their own name in the 1973 municipal elections and their talk about Black community control is testimony to the strength of nationalist sentiments within the Black community.

— DERRICK MORRISON



June 24 Black Panther rally in Oakland

Black Panther

Berkeley city workers strike for more pay

By RUSSELL BLOCK

BERKELEY, Calif., July 26—Five hundred public service employees and their supporters gathered at the Berkeley City Council meeting last night to demand open hearings on strike issues and resumption of negotiations in the 14-day-old city employees strike here. The strike, begun by United Public Employees Union Local 390, later spread to include Social Services Union Local 535, Library Employees Local 2077, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245.

Cornelius Moore, a member of the negotiating committee for the four unions, refuted claims by council members Ira Simmons and D'Army Bailey that the council had been attempting to negotiate with the striking workers. "I've been on call 24 hours a day for the last month," Moore said. "Neither Bailey, nor Simmons, nor anyone else has offered to negotiate. Let them come out here and tell me I'm a liar to my face."

A motion by Councilwoman Ilona Hancock to move the meeting to a larger room and hold an open hearing on the strike demands was defeated for lack of a second, and the council withdrew into a private executive session. Hancock is the only member of the April Coalition elected last year who has publicly opposed the use of an injunction to force the strikers back to work.

After a one-and-a-half-hour meeting behind closed doors, during which time the spirited rally continued, the council emerged with a new offer. It amounted to about a 4 percent across-the-board pay increase over 18 months. Their original offer was \$22

a month over the next 18 months, which would have amounted to a 2.5 to 3 percent increase. Both fall short of the 6.2 percent increase over a year demanded by the unions.

The unions are also demanding grievance procedures, an agency shop, and a fully paid health-care plan for employees and their families.

Paul Varacalli, executive secretary of United Public Employees Union Local 390, immediately challenged the new offer. "Is this a proposal or is this a final offer?" he asked Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener. When Widener refused to answer, Varacalli told him, "If this is your final offer, I'm going to tell you guys to go back into that room and come up with something better."

After 10 minutes of further deliberation, Widener returned and told the assembled strikers and their supporters that the city's position was "flexible." Negotiations were slated to begin this morning.

BERKELEY, Calif., July 19—No negotiations were in sight here between city officials and two public-employees unions as non-uniformed city employees entered the seventh day of a strike.

The strike began after midnight on July 12 when United Public Employees Union Local 390 walked off the job after contract negotiations with the city broke down. The strike quickly spread to include Social Services Union Local 535.

Local 390 represents some 250 city trash collectors, meter maids, construction equipment operators, maintenance men, sewer workers, mechanics, marina attendants, and tree trim-

mers. Local 535 represents about 100 employees of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the city social planning department, and the city health department. Firemen, police, and administrative officials make up the bulk of the rest of the 1,000 city employees.

Negotiations broke down when city officials rejected Local 390's demand for a 6.2 percent across-the-board pay increase.

The strike is a test for the "radical" members of the Berkeley City Council elected last year on the April Coalition slate. When University of California at Berkeley employees went on strike in May, the city council "radicals" criticized university officials for using court injunctions and other strikebreaking measures against them. Now the city council is using the same tactics against its own striking workers.

At closed-door sessions last week the city council approved a motion to seek a court injunction against the work stoppage under a California law that makes strikes of public employees illegal. The injunction, imposed July 17, has not forced the strikers back to work.

Paul Varacalli, executive secretary of Public Employees Local 390, told the city council, "I will be the first in line to go to the Berkeley jail if that is what it will take to end the strike. An injunction will not settle this strike. The workers will not go back without a negotiated settlement."

Of the city council "radicals," only Ilona Hancock has publicly opposed the injunction. Calling for immediate "good faith negotiations" with the strikers, Hancock stated that she "supported without reservation the right of

city employees to organize and when necessary to strike for their needs." She added, however, that her opposition to the injunction does not mean support to the strikers' demands.

D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, the two other April Coalition members of the city council, have not spoken out on the strike. A representative from their office informed *The Militant* that they were privately opposed to the injunction. According to this person, Bailey had considered entering a motion against it in the city council closed session. But now that the court had imposed the injunction, the representative said, there was little Bailey could do about it. No information is available as to whether Bailey or Simmons support the strike demands.

Mayor Warren Widener, who was also supported by the April Coalition, has been similarly reticent in stating his views on the strike. His office informed *The Militant* July 18 that he had made no public statement on the strike demands or the injunction and would not be making one until he had had time "to meet with all parties to the dispute."

Socialist Workers Party congressional candidates Kenneth Milner and Dorothy Dillon are supporting the striking city employees. They pointed out in a statement issued here that "far from being unreasonable, the 6.2 percent wage increase demanded by the unions [would] barely compensate for the lost buying power caused by the last year of runaway inflation."

"We give our unconditional support to the right of all public employees to strike to defend their standard of living," they added.

Fireman agreement victory for rail bosses

By LEE SMITH

A dispute that raged between railroad bosses and rail workers for 35 years was settled last month on terms that represent a clear victory for the bosses. On July 20, spokesmen for the companies and for the United Transportation Union (UTU) jointly announced an agreement to eliminate the job of fireman on freight locomotives.

In announcing the agreement, the employers' representatives hinted, according to the July 21 *New York Times*, "that they would seek to eliminate firemen on passenger trains at some future time."

The current agreement provides for eliminating freight locomotive firemen by attrition. That is, while no one who currently holds a job as fireman will be laid off, when firemen retire or move into other jobs, no one will be hired to replace them.

Railroad spokesmen, the *Times* reported, said "they expected the attrition of firemen to begin almost immediately." Not only does the agreement provide for compulsory retirement at 65, but it gives firemen seniority to bid on other job openings. Firemen awaiting promotion to engineer can be asked to fill a brakeman's or other crewman's job while they wait.

Al H. Chesser, the UTU president, hailed the agreement "as the dawning of a new era in labor-management relations." A brakeman quoted in the July 23 *New York Times* offered a more realistic assessment. Interviewed in a bar near the Penn Central yards in Detroit, brakeman Bob Polak asked, "How about the unborn or the kids? Ten years from now what kind of jobs are they going to find? Jobs are just disappearing. There are fewer rail jobs, fewer dock jobs, fewer factory jobs. . . . I'm talking about

meaningful work. What's coming to the front now is that bureaucratic work—pushing papers."

Polak sees the real meaning of the agreement: the ultimate elimination of some 18,000 rail jobs.

Chesser's enthusiasm for the rail agreement, although not shared by the UTU members, was matched by the delight of the rail bosses and the rest of the employing class.

In a July 22 editorial titled "Good-bye to Featherbed," the *New York Times* editors, while begrudging even the temporary continuation of any firemen's jobs, said: "The nation can be happy at removal of the recurrent threat of nationwide rail strikes over union insistence on perpetuating useless jobs. . . ."

The headline on an article in the July 24 *Times* read: "Builders Praise Rail Labor Pact/ See Antifeatherbedding Rule Applicable to Their Industry." The article quoted spokesmen for the New York Building Trades Employers Association, and for the Building Contractors Association of New Jersey. These construction bosses seek to remove work rules in their industry that protect workers from being forced to perform several jobs and that ensure all jobs connected with a given project are performed by union labor. They hope the rail agreement can be used as a precedent in their industry.

James Hodgson, secretary of the U.S. Labor Department, called the rail agreement "one of the great public service achievements of collective bargaining history."

The effect on the employers of their victory in getting rid of freight locomotive firemen is to whet their appetites for further incursions against the rights of rail workers. *Militant* correspondent Guy Miller reports from Chicago on the deterioration of working

conditions in the Chicago Terminal since the signing last summer of a two-year contract between the UTU and the major roads.

"That contract," Miller writes, "contained a 42 percent wage increase spread over a 42-month period. . . . But coupled with the pay increase was a set of work-rule changes aimed directly at the jobs of close to 200,000 operating employees."

Rail management has been emboldened in its campaign of speedup, Miller says, by the contract's surrender on work-rule changes. The firemen agreement will serve to embolden management that much more.

Below are some incidents Miller cites to document the employers' offensive against rail workers in the Chicago yards.

● The Milwaukee Road has been suspending and dismissing switchmen who played a leading role in a "work

to rule" campaign last year. The campaign was conducted in sympathy with a selective strike against suspension of important contract protections.

● Erie Lackawanna has been ignoring the provisions of a merger agreement made several years ago. The agreement guaranteed workers from the merged companies a base earning computed from their income before the merger (with Norfolk and Western).

After a demonstration by wives of the cheated workers won payment of the more than \$25,000 in guaranteed pay that had been held back, Erie Lackawanna began proceedings against the local UTU chairman. He is charged with defaming the company's public image and with organizing a demonstration that interfered with the company's business.

Following the precedent set by Penn Central, Erie Lackawanna has begun bankruptcy hearings as a means to avoid paying their employees what they are owed under the terms of negotiated settlements.

● Chicago and Northwestern (C&NW), whose speedup campaign has cost Chicago Terminal employees their arms and legs in a rash of "accidents," is continuing to put speed ahead of safety. As a consequence, an 18-year-old Black switchman needlessly lost his life July 10.

The C&NW has been a pacesetter in replacing three-man crews with two-man crews. Conductors are now forced to do the work previously done by the rear brakeman in addition to their own jobs.

The C&NW management recently bought up a controlling interest in the company's stock and became its owners as well as its executives. Their first act was voting themselves salary increases way beyond the 5.5 percent guideline laid down for workers by Nixon's Pay Board.



Encouraged by elimination of freight firemen, employers are aiming at size of yard crews.

National Picket Line

MORE THAN COURT ORDERS NEEDED TO DEFEAT TEXTILE COMPANY: For many years the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) has fought a losing battle against the textile industry, especially the J. P. Stevens company.

This company spreads like a spider web across the entire South. Its labor practices are reminiscent of slavery—low wages, long hours, no union sentiments, company stores, and even company towns.

In seven rulings since 1966, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has held that the company engages in unfair labor practices. Five of these rulings have been upheld by federal appeals courts. Two of them were denied review by the Supreme Court.

On July 18 the Second Circuit Federal Court of Appeals held the company and six of its supervisory personnel in contempt for failing to comply with previous court orders involving corrections of unfair labor practices.

A three-judge panel, headed by Chief Judge Henry Friendly, ruled that the large textile and apparel firm was guilty of "flagrantly contemptuous conduct" in continuing to "attempt to dissuade employees from joining the Textile Workers Union of America . . . despite our previous orders." It said the firm and its management personnel had resorted "to such unlawful tactics as engaging in surveillance of organizing activities, interrogating employees about their union inclinations, threatening pro-union employees with discharge and other reprisals . . . and discharging them because of their union sympathies."

The court ordered J. P. Stevens to reinstate with full back pay those workers who have been unlawfully discharged. The company is ordered "to post a notice of the court ruling in company plants in North and South Carolina" and pay all the court expenses incurred by the NLRB that brought the suit.

A spokesman for J. P. Stevens expressed the company's shock at the ruling. He charged the court's decision "doesn't present any of the strong and thorough testimony and documentary evidence which the company brought forth." He also announced the company is considering appealing the decision to the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, during the past nine years, the TWUA, one of the unions that helped found the CIO in 1935, has shrunk from a membership of 380,000 to about 140,000. According to the newly elected president, Sol Stetin, this is because of the "four horsemen"—automation, migration, imports, and liquidations. Stetin announced plans for a huge organizing drive in the South and in other areas.

He also said he strongly favors a merger with the United Textile Workers of America, a rival AFL-CIO union that has about 52,000 members.

In an interview given to the *New York Times* at the TWUA office in New York City, Stetin stressed that he does not intend to be tied to the past. He noted that today many younger workers were entering the field in greater numbers than ever before. They are "understandably impatient in their desire to find new solutions to old problems, as well as to new problems," he said.

"In facing up to the challenges," Stetin further stated, "... we must mobilize the best that our membership has to offer—be they young or old, white or Black, in Canada and in the United States. But I'm optimistic. I sense a new spirit developing in our union—an enthusiasm greater than at any time since 1939."

Stetin hailed the latest contempt citations against J. P. Stevens & Co. and said that for the first time the court ruling "puts sharp teeth in the government's effort to bring about compliance with the law."

It would seem that the Textile Workers union has already placed too much reliance on the NLRB. It has "won" at least seven cases, yet J. P. Stevens goes its merry way, defying the law, terrorizing its employees, and keeping the union out.

If Stetin is really serious about a massive organizing drive, he will have to rely on that new spirit in the membership to beat not only the Stevens company but all the other huge textile-manufacturing plants in the country. NLRB "victories" may sound good, but so far they have done very little to improve the conditions of these miserably underpaid and overworked men and women, who have to exist under the heels of the profit-mad industry owners.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Militant demonstrations mark Texas Dow Chemical strike

By JANA PELLUSCH

HOUSTON, July 18—As the strike by 3,400 workers against Dow Chemical at its Freeport plant approaches its fourth week, it has already developed into a major confrontation.

The striking workers, who belong to eight AFL-CIO unions, went out June 23. These unions are the Operating Engineers, Machinists, Painters, Boilermakers, Brickmasons, Electricians, Insulators, and Pipe Fitters. T. B. Crow, business agent of the International Union of Operating Engineers, told *The Militant* July 15 that the central issue in the strike is job security.

in and out of the plant for several minutes before opening their ranks slightly and allowing the cars to edge past them.

While the majority of women demonstrating were in their late twenties and early thirties, there were also a number of high school women present. Three high school women demonstrated on horseback. One carried a sign reading: "Dow—We're not horsing around!"

Two days after the UWOL action, Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, sent a letter of solidarity to O. D. Kennemore, metal trades council president. In her



July 7 march organized by United Wives for Organized Labor

Sonny Forman

The strike was provoked by Dow's attempt to break the unions at the plant. Management began herding scabs as soon as the strike began, bringing some from as far away as Missouri.

Soon after the plant was struck, wives of the strikers and other women supporting the strike organized the United Wives for Organized Labor (UWOL). The women demonstrated against Dow's scab-herding in front of the plant on June 28 and 29, with as many as 900 participating. After that the company broke off all negotiations. Bargaining is scheduled to resume on July 20, it was announced today.

The plant, which normally employs 6,500 workers, is now operating with 3,200 scabs. Production is reported to be lagging, and there is a high rate of turnover among the scabs, according to Crow. He said many of the strikebreakers leave after two or three days, once they have sized up the situation in the plant.

The unions are maintaining 24-hour picket lines around the plant, including boat pickets in the Gulf of Mexico to prevent the unloading of supplies by sea. Maritime, rail, and trucking unions have responded favorably to appeals from the Dow workers to honor their lines, Crow said.

There have been 12 reported incidents of scabs ramming pickets with their cars and causing injury. The local courts have refused, however, to consider assault charges. On July 14, Texas AFL-CIO President Roy Evans protested this inaction. He threatened "drastic legal action" if government authorities continue to refuse to protect strikers who "are in danger while they carry on a legal strike for justice in working conditions."

The news media has hinted that Governor Preston Smith may call in Texas Rangers to enforce "law and order" at the plant. As a Chicano striker pointed out to this reporter, the rangers are notorious for strikebreaking.

The actions carried out by the women supporters have received extensive publicity locally. On July 15, as shifts were changing at the plant, about 200 women organized by UWOL marched down the road to the main gate, chanting and carrying signs. Some of the signs read: "Is safety first at Dow now?" "Danger—Dow Chemical," and "In with the unions—Out with the rats!"

They blocked the cars of scabs on their way

letter Leonard, a former active member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, stated: "I am well aware of the problems you face taking on a major corporation like Dow Chemical, which is obviously out to destroy the union and drive down wages of working people in Freeport."

Leonard linked Dow's union-busting attempt to the nationwide pattern of big business assaults on labor, spurred by Nixon's wage-control policies. "During the course of my campaign as a socialist candidate for governor of Texas," she wrote, "I intend to utilize every opportunity to expose this union-busting assault on American workers."

Crow told *The Militant* that the strikers realize what they are up against. "We are preparing for a long strike," Crow said. "We would not have gone out if we had not been determined to stick it out." Messages of support or financial contributions to the strikers can be sent to General Strike Fund, Box 745, Freeport, Texas 77541.



Debby Leonard

Militant/Ellen Lemisch

U.S. dollar problems continue to shake international finance

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 24—Do you want to invest money in one of those famous Swiss banks? All you have to do is pay 8 percent interest a year. That's right. Beginning this month Switzerland has instituted a *negative interest rate*—8 percent per year—on foreign bank deposits.

It is part of the mushrooming of controls on foreign investments that have erupted since Nixon instituted the "New Economic Policy" last Aug. 15. Switzerland is the most extreme example, but all the major European powers and Japan now have some form of controls to ward off unwanted foreign investments.

The process took a new leap forward last month, initiated by Britain's June 23 decision to float the pound, that is, to allow its exchange rate to be determined by supply and demand.

It is difficult to overstate the significance of these financial developments. Leonard Silk, an editorial board member and financial expert for the *New York Times*, wrote on July 19: "Just about the most serious issue facing financial markets and governments throughout the Western world is whether a new and more severe crisis will rip apart the international monetary system and wreck the prosperity and development the non-Communist world has enjoyed through most of the postwar period."

The main force that threatens to "rip apart" world finance is the inflated dollar. Throughout the postwar period, U.S. imperialism has built up its international monopolies and world police network through massive spending of dollars abroad. Today, close to \$70-billion is held in foreign countries, \$50-billion of this by foreign central banks.

The problem is that steady inflation in the United States undermines the value of the dollar. Nixon's new escalation in Vietnam, coupled with the announcements of historic U.S. government deficits to finance the federal budget, have increased fears of further inflation in this country and further undermining of the dollar. The central question in international finance, consequently, is how to get away from depending on the inflated dollars held abroad.

Every shake-up in world economics provokes massive flights from the dollar. When Britain devalued the pound a month ago, the major foreign exchange markets of the European continent had to be closed down within two hours because of the deluge of unwanted dollars.

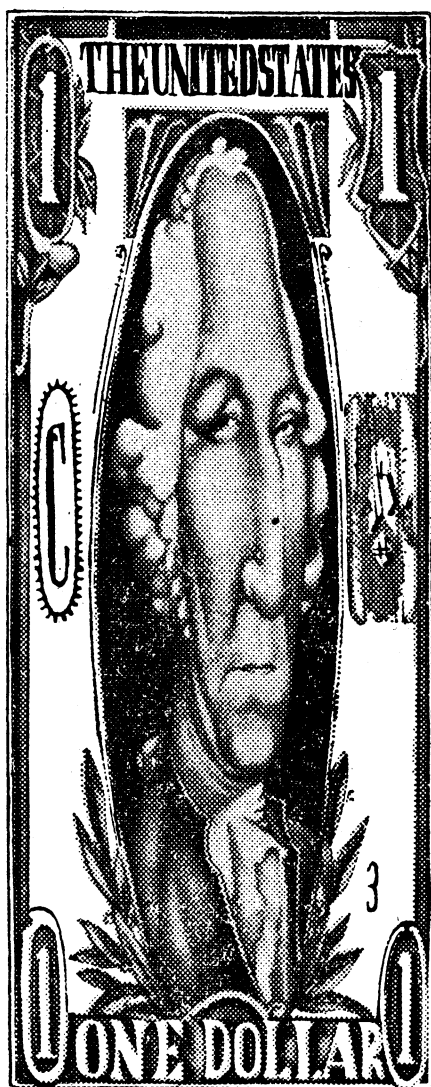
Before the money markets reopened, European nations took a variety of measures to keep out dollars. The negative interest of the Swiss banks was the sharpest move. France earlier, and now Belgium, adopted a "two-tier" currency system whereby trade is conducted in francs that exchange with dollars at fixed rates. This allows traders to conduct their business more or less smoothly. But foreign investment must take place in floating francs, that is, with francs that are purchased on a money market, where their value is higher. This makes foreign investment more expensive.

Increasing such controls restricts investment and contains the seeds of deepened world economic crisis. "Indeed," Leonard Silk wrote July 24,

"there are growing dangers throughout the Western world that capital controls will evolve into trade controls, and that the non-Communist world will split into hostile blocs."

Currency controls cannot eliminate the problem of the mass of inflated dollars already in circulation. A new and bigger flight from the dollar erupted July 13 and 14. On the first day European central banks were forced to purchase \$850-million worth of American greenbacks and the following day, \$1.5-billion worth. This ultimately triggered a significant retreat on the part of the Nixon administration. On July 19, for the first time since Aug. 15, the New York Federal Reserve Bank intervened in currency markets to buy dollars.

To understand the significance of this move, which involves "swap" arrangements of foreign currencies, it



is necessary to backtrack a little.

While \$70-billion is held abroad, United States reserves of gold and other currencies stand at less than \$15-billion. This means the U.S. could not meet any sudden demand to convert all foreign-held dollars into gold or other currencies. It was when the total U.S. gold reserves threatened to go below the \$10-billion level last August that Nixon slammed down the gold window and declared his "New Economic Policy."

This made foreign-held dollars *inconvertible*. That is, they could not be exchanged for the U.S.-held gold or other currencies. In effect, Nixon told foreign capitalist powers to take the inflated dollar, like it or not.

It was under these circumstances that the exchange rate of the dollar fell to a new devalued level, fixed by the Smithsonian Accords last November. But any fixed exchange rates can only be temporary.

On one side, the dollar continues

to inflate, which presses it toward lower exchange rates. On the other side, foreign governments resist continuous devaluation of the dollar because it makes U.S. goods more competitive in world trade and it erodes their own dollar reserves. Nixon's policy of "benign neglect" in international finance said to foreign capitalist powers, "Foreign-held dollars are *your problem*."

Washington essentially forced the Europeans to buy up massive amounts of unwanted dollars to maintain exchange rates that would keep European goods competitive.

But the imposition of foreign controls on capital investment is a different matter entirely. In this action the foreign powers say to Washington, "Unless you solve the world dollar crisis—by dampening the U.S. inflation—we will cut back your ability to make investments." This is a major threat to the multinational U.S. monopolies. Overseas investments are the central driving force of imperialist investment to begin with!

In the "swap" arrangement, the United States, rather than the foreign central banks, intervened to protect the dollar. The U.S. had to borrow foreign currencies to buy dollars. The agreement July 19, for example, was to purchase \$50-million with borrowed marks. The marks will eventually have to be repaid, with interest, of course. In order for this circular process to work, the United States will have to acquire the given amount of marks plus interest at a future date.

The "swap" system is based on the hope of reversing the process that brought about the dollar deficits to begin with. That is, it is based on the hope of acquiring a surplus of foreign currencies in the U.S. at some future point. Otherwise it will further deplete U.S. reserves.

"... nobody thinks that swaps alone is the answer to restoring stability to the international foreign-exchange markets," *Times* expert Silk admitted July 19. "As chairman [of the Federal Reserve Arthur] Burns made clear in his Montreal speech [last May], he believes that international stability depends first and foremost on curbing domestic inflation."

Thus the problem of the dollar in world finance comes back to "curbing domestic inflation"—the avowed goal of Nixon's wage-freeze attack on American workers Aug. 15. Federal Reserve Chairman Burns has a few additional twists.

For example, according to Silk, Burns wants to offer "taxpayers government securities, with a bonus rate of interest, instead of cash. He doesn't know how much he can soak up that way, but he feels that every little bit is likely to help next Spring."

But that's not all. "More fundamentally, however, sources close to the Fed Chairman say he is alarmed about the over-all condition of the budget, wants expenditure cuts, but—if he should be frustrated on that score—thinks that tax increases must be voted."

Wage freeze, wage controls, and now increased taxes—all are aimed at stabilizing the dollar in world finance.

There is a quicker way to stabilize the dollar, and it does not depend on freezing workers' incomes or increasing taxes: *It is to end the inflationary war-expenditures of the government.*

Raza Unida Party formed in New Mexico

By LEV WINTERS

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M., July 26—Chicano activists announced the formation today of the Raza Unida Party in New Mexico. Santiago Maestes, the chairman of the new party's state central committee, told a news conference at the Albuquerque Press Club, "The New Mexico Raza Unida Party recognizes that the two major political parties of this state have failed to protect and defend our people's interests."

Maestes said the Chicano party "has been created out of the need for a truly representative political force to protect and further the human rights, education, and economic interest of our people."

In an interview with *The Militant* the following discussion took place.

Question. Santiago, can you foresee a future for the LRUP in New Mexico?

Answer. "Yes. The *partido's* objective is to reestablish the idea that the natural resources of this state belong to the people of this state... and the people are entitled to wages and working conditions that will support them in a decent and just manner."

Q. Will the New Mexico RUP be on the ballot in November?

A. "I think so. We need 10,000 signatures by next September, and already we have more than 1,000. Our petitioning drive has just started; our community is very responsive."

Q. Will your campaign be carried into other areas of the state besides Albuquerque?

A. "Certainly. In the past several weeks we have quietly set up *partido* chapters in seven counties. In fact, we are planning to hold county conventions on Aug. 5, the weekend preceding our state convention in Albuquerque."

Q. In September at the LRUP's national convention in El Paso, how will New Mexico lean... insofar as a presidential candidate is concerned?

A. "That very issue will create a major battle at our state convention. Many would like the *partido* to support George McGovern; others would prefer that we nominate our own candidate, a Chicano."

Q. How do you stand? Will you endorse McGovern?

A. "No."

Q. Will you elaborate?

A. "McGovern went to the barrio of East Los Angeles to listen to the people's complaints. His answer was, 'We need more government programs.'"

"What I want to know is... how many more do we need?"

"To answer your question, I think we need our own candidate. Such a candidate—a La Raza candidate—will unify Chicanos in our state."

Militant index: a useful research guide

The Militant Index: 1971. Vol. 35, Numbers 1-47. 64 pp. 25 cents.

Some people may think it strange to review the index for one year of *The Militant*. But those who have leafed page by page through the bound volumes of the previous 42 years of the paper know the value of this first index.

The lack of an index for the earlier years has meant that this great treasure-house of factual information and analyses from a revolutionary-socialist viewpoint has been underutilized. For example, back volumes of the *International Socialist Review*, a revolutionary-Marxist magazine that is indexed back to 1940, are far more used than those of *The Militant*.

The huge effort to prepare and publish the first index to *The Militant* and the commitment to publish indexes each year from now on will make the rich legacy of the revolutionary-socialist movement in this country far more accessible to hun-

dreds of young revolutionists joining the socialist movement today. Historians of the radical movement will also find it of great value.

The 64-page index for 1971 is organized by subject, author, and country. It is cross-referenced so that if one person knows only the topic of an article and another person only the author, they both can find a listing for it.

Among the topics in the 1971 bound volumes that will be of special interest to many *Militant* readers are: the launching of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign; debates over the April 24 and Mayday anti-war actions; the firsthand reports and analyses of the Attica massacre; a series of articles analyzing the meaning of the Pentagon papers; analysis of the workers' revolt in Poland; and an assessment of the wage controls Nixon imposed in August 1971.

The Militant's consistent coverage of the Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and Soledad Brothers trials will be of

use to anyone interested in reviewing the history of these cases. Also, there are few places that have as much material on the emergence of women's liberation movements in other countries. Articles on the Vietnam war that appeared almost every week provide a history of the war during 1971.

Although the *Militant* has taken the important step of regularly publishing an index, the bound volumes from 1928 to 1970 are still not indexed. These volumes include a week-to-week account of the rise of the CIO and a revolutionary-Marxist assessment of the depression of the 1930s; World War II; the origins of the cold war; the Korean war; the rise of the civil rights movement and Black nationalism; the Cuban, Chinese, and Algerian revolutions; the Hungarian revolution; the rise of the movement against the Vietnam war; and the history of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

No where else does there exist such an extensive literature from a Marxist

viewpoint on these and many other topics. To have this material at our fingertips would add greatly to the educational material available to the socialist movement. Unfortunately, it is impossible for *The Militant* staff to take on this project now. But this task is worthy of the great effort it would require, and we would gladly welcome any volunteers to undertake the job.

—DAVID JAMES

1971 Militant Bound Volume & Index

\$15. Index alone (64 pp.), 25 cents. 14 Charles Lane, N.Y. 10014.

Building trades fight open-shop in Philly

By HOWARD ZUCKER

PHILADELPHIA, July 22 — What can become a serious and sustained drive by the building-trades unions of this area to fight off nonunion contractors is underway here. It began with the giant demonstration of 50,000 construction workers on the outskirts of this city one month ago.

The fact that the conservative bureaucrats of the building-trades unions are trying to organize this campaign is a sure sign of the open-shop danger. The nonunion section of the industry is penetrating new construction on a big scale for the first time.

be in danger.

At this stage, the defense of union wages, conditions, and job control centers on the attempt to organize the largest open-shop contractor, Altemose Construction Company.

A meeting of Philadelphia building tradesmen was called at the Spectrum, a huge arena here, on Saturday, July 15, to hear a progress report on the Altemose organizing drive. Attendance was poor—only 5,000 of an expected 15,000 workers came.

Bernard Katz, union attorney, explained that the meeting was called too quickly, with little advance pub-

ning, Thursday, Sept. 14.

The organizational ineptness of the union officials shows in their neglect of details. For example, they were completely surprised by the tremendous size and militancy of the June 22 demonstration and had not even thought of the need for mobile toilets on the six-mile line of march. This oversight is the one most talked about now. But nothing else was planned either.

The follow-up meeting at The Spectrum, which should have sustained the momentum of the demonstration and carried the organizing drive a step further, seemed more like an afterthought.

The Building Trades Council is concerned primarily with the legal fight against a court injunction that prohibits picketing within one mile of Altemose construction sites. The \$200,000 war chest that is being raised may go down the drain of futile court procedures.

The second major activity is a union boycott of the First Pennsylvania Bank and all Sheraton hotels and motels. The bank handles Altemose financing, and Sheraton has given Altemose major contracts.

The most encouraging development so far has been the refusal of truck drivers to deliver cement to Altemose building sites. This kind of solidarity is what will stop the open-shoppers, but it must be extended throughout the industry. This requires the active participation of the union membership in all phases of planning and action—something sadly lacking except for the June 22 demonstration.

This organizing drive needs to raise some of the popular demands that construction workers here are talking about every day on the job. The right to full employment for all workers—and this must include workers not yet in the unions—is one of the most important demands.

Unemployment is a threat to building tradesmen. A shorter workweek with no reduction in take-home pay is the basic answer to unemployment.

It would also help the organizing drive to point out the terrible waste of war spending abroad while government money for badly needed schools and other useful public buildings, and houses for the poor is lacking here at home.

Judges who hand down injunctions against unions ought to be exposed as puppets of the contractors; court appeals should be backed up by strike action in defiance of these arbitrary injunctions.

Everything that happens now confirms the fact that working men and women must organize and rely only on their own independent strength, otherwise even their misfortunes are turned to profits for the employers.

A full-page advertisement sponsored by the Wyoming Valley Building Trades Council announces that workers from out of the locality are being imported for work on restoration projects, although local union men are without work.

This is typical of the injustice that prods many building tradesmen to look for ways to take a hand in the union organizing drive against the open-shop, low-wage contractors.



June 22 construction workers march.

The Association of Building Contractors (ABC) was formed eight years ago and now includes more than 275 open-shop contractors. If ABC is allowed to go unchecked, it could threaten the very existence of the building-trades unions. The jobs of the union officials themselves may

licity. Notices to union members came late, or not at all. The timing of the meeting was bad—a weekend, when most construction workers try to get away from the city.

These mistakes will be corrected, they say. The next big meeting is tentatively planned for a weekday eve-

Indians protest gov't hiring-policy shift

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On July 19, three Indian leaders charged that Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton "has further narrowed the rights" of Indian employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The charge came after a new regulation was passed that would put further restrictions on the BIA policy of preferential hiring, promotion, and training of Native Americans.

William Youpee, president of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, Franklin Ducheneaux, legislative con-

sultant of the National Congress of American Indians, and Tillie Walker, executive director of the United Scholarship Service for Native American Students, asserted that "Once again, Indian people are frustrated in their attempt to acquire self-determination."

The new regulation requires an Indian applicant to be "highly qualified" to receive preference. The earlier policy only required an Indian applicant to meet "minimum" qualifications.

Native Americans won their demand for preferential hiring in 1934 as part of the struggle to receive some retribution for the genocide and oppression

inflicted upon them over the centuries by the white settlers. The demand of preferential hiring should, of course, be extended to all areas of work—to industry, to teaching positions, to construction, and to the service industries. Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans have raised similar demands.

But now, even the minimal concessions to the Indians' struggle come under attack within an institution that is supposedly designed to serve their interests. Fifty-one percent of the BIA employees were Native Americans in 1941. By 1969 this figure dropped to 48 percent. The majority of these are

now employed in the lower grades, while whites dominate the higher grades.

The bureaucrats controlling the BIA do not concern themselves with the plight of the Indian. In fact, the opposite is often true. As Tillie Walker pointed out, "In 1969 at the Plant Management Office of the BIA in Denver, Colo., \$11,400 was available for [technical] training. Only \$350 went to Indians for training. The remaining money was used to send two non-Indian engineers to Stanford University for courses."

By CAROLINE LUND

Florida Governor Reubin Askew stated in his keynote address to the Democratic national convention that the Democratic Party is out to construct "a new coalition of protest." This attempt to establish a new vote-catching coalition was the central meaning of the 1972 Democratic convention.

The end of the old Democratic Party coalition was symbolized by the exclusion of Chicago Mayor Richard

Association for the Advancement of Colored People, joined in the "labor-Democratic coalition."

But in the 1950s and 1960s major changes occurred that have largely destroyed the basis for the old Democratic coalition.

First, the big city Democratic machines are dying out. The Daley machine in Chicago represents one of the last holdouts of the classic machines. A major reason for the disintegration of the city machines is that their base — European ethnic groups — has large-

officials has become increasingly ossified and reactionary. This is reflected in George Meany's support for U.S. imperialist foreign policy, including the Vietnam war. Meany, I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers union, and other top AFL-CIO officials also opposed the Democratic Party reforms aimed at opening the party more to youth, women, and Blacks. Nor can they stomach the liberal rhetoric of George McGovern.

In addition, it has become more difficult for the labor fakers to de-

party politicians. In addition to this general dissatisfaction, the growth of the militant, independent movements — such as the antiwar movement, the Black liberation movement, the Chicano movement, and the women's movement — has legitimized dissent. These movements have encouraged militancy among all workers, not only Black and Chicano workers and women workers. And they have helped rekindle social concerns in young workers — concerns for an end to the war and militarism, for racial justice, for a healthier environment, and for an end to poverty and inequality.

In the face of these changes, both parties have attempted to repair their images and rescue their credibility. The Democratic Party, recognizing that the basis for the old coalition no longer exists, instituted reform guidelines in an attempt to bring the new, activist forces into the Democratic Party as a new vote-catching apparatus. An embryo of this new coalition has coalesced around George McGovern's campaign.

Although McGovern is trying to win back or at least neutralize George Meany, Richard Daley, the Southern Democrats, and Wallace, his strategy does not depend upon these forces of the old coalition.

New politics?

But can this new "coalition of protest" survive?

The concept behind the so-called new politics of the Democratic Party, in the minds of many McGovern supporters, is that the party should shed its conservative wing and become strictly a party of liberalism and reform.

But there is no basis for such a reformist capitalist party as a stable political formation. This is because the rulers of this country are not capable of granting sufficient concessions to satisfy the protest movements, feminist and nationalist movements that the Democratic Party is trying to co-opt. This is particularly true on questions of foreign policy.

The instability of the new coalition is perhaps best illustrated in the area of participation of Blacks and Chicanos. The support among Chicanos for the independent Raza Unida Parties — even though these new parties are still very small — has significantly deterred the Democrats from setting up pro-Democratic Party Chicano caucuses that could claim to speak for the barrios.

Many Black Democratic politicians are behind McGovern and the "reformed" Democratic Party, but they face pressure from growing numbers of Black activists who are looking for more militant, independent political action. At the Black political convention in Gary, Ind., for example, the idea of forming an independent Black party received a favorable response.

The Democratic Party won't be able to come through on its promises of reform because Democratic politicians are tied to the interests of the big industrialists and bankers in this country.

They can't solve the problems of bad housing and schools in the Black community. Nor will they permit Black control of schools, police, and other institutions in the Black communities. To do so would impinge on the profits and property of the rich.

The Democratic Party can't grant freedom to women because such necessary measures as granting equal pay for equal work and establishing quality child-care centers available to all cannot be financed without basic reallocation of the wealth of this country.

Despite McGovern's "peace" rhetoric, the Democratic Party will not solve

Continued on page 22

What's happening to the Democratic Party?

Daley from the convention and the AFL-CIO Executive Council's refusal, for the first time, to endorse the Democratic presidential nominee.

What happened to the traditional Democratic coalition? What are the prospects for the new coalition? And what meaning do these changes have for the future of the two-party system that has monopolized politics in this country for decades?

To understand why the traditional Democratic Party coalition has disintegrated it is necessary to recall how it arose in the first place.

Rooseveltian coalition

An informal "labor-Democratic coalition" was forged in 1935 by President Franklin Roosevelt with the aid of John L. Lewis, head of the newly formed CIO, in preparation for Roosevelt's 1936 reelection campaign. This was a departure from the AFL craft unions' previous policy of maneuvering for concessions from both parties. In return for patronage and concessions from the Democrats, Lewis and other CIO officials agreed to try to sell the Democratic Party to rank-and-file trade unionists as more of a "friend of labor" than the Republican Party.

Through this ploy, the Democrats succeeded in channeling the labor radicalization of the 1930s away from widespread sentiment for an independent labor party and into the pro-capitalist Democratic Party. The so-called labor-Democratic coalition was never a coalition involving the labor movement. The coalition was only between the Democratic Party and the bureaucratic labor officialdom. They corralled the workers' votes for the Democrats while subordinating the interests of rank-and-file labor.

Two other major elements in the original Rooseveltian coalition were the Southern Democrats — the Dixiecrats — and the big city political machines. All three sections were originally held together by their interests in aspects of the New Deal reforms. Roosevelt's social reform measures and federal economic outlays were utilized by the big city machines. Reforms affecting labor, as slight as they were, helped union officials convince workers to throw their support to the Democratic Party. The big Southern landowners received substantial farm subsidies and favorable price regulations on cotton and other agricultural products.

In the 1930s, under the leadership of the CIO, many Black workers shifted their support from the Republican to the Democratic Party. After World War II, increasing Black migration from the South created larger concentrations of Black voters in Northern cities. In addition, liberal Black organizations, such as the National

ly become assimilated and is no longer replenished by substantial immigration from Europe.

A new powerful voting bloc in most central cities is the Afro-American community. Some cities have large Chicano or Puerto Rican populations.

The new power of the Black vote has been reflected in the replacement of some old city machines by new Democratic coalitions appealing to Blacks. Examples include the victory of Black Newark, N.J., Mayor Kenneth Gibson over the machine of Hugh Addonizio, the election of Richard Hatcher as mayor of Gary, Ind., and the victory of Carl Stokes in the 1967 Cleveland mayoral race.

'Solid South'

Second, as the South has become more industrialized and urbanized, the "solid" Democratic South has increasingly become a two-party region.

liver the rank-and-file labor vote to the Democratic candidates. Working people, like other Americans, are becoming disenchanted with both parties and doubtful of whether they really offer a choice.

In an interview in the Dec. 14, 1971, *Washington Post*, Sig Arywitz of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO stated: "I don't think that people identify with a party as much as they used to. That includes our own members. I don't think they inherit the political loyalties the way they once did."

The number of independent voters has risen from six million in 1960 to 25 million in 1971. And whereas less than a fifth of voters voted a split ticket 20 years ago, now more than half do so.

This growing doubt about the Democratic and Republican parties is fed in many ways. One need only look at the results for workers of their sup-



Militant/Caroline Lund

Democratic national convention delegates give the antiwar 'V' sign. Democrats seek to build 'new coalition of protest' to replace old coalition.

For the past 10 years the Republicans have been winning congressional seats in the South. Now 27 of 109 representatives and six of 22 senators from the 11 Southern states are Republicans. The last time the Democrats carried most of the South in a presidential election was in 1960. In 1964 and 1968 Goldwater and Nixon made significant inroads in the South. George Wallace's American Independent Party won the popular vote in five Southern states in 1968.

Now that the Democratic Party cannot be sure of winning the South's electoral-college votes, the Southern Democrats have little leverage for demanding concessions as a part of the Democratic vote-catching coalition.

The third element in the traditional Democratic coalition — the labor bureaucrats — has also been undermined. For one thing, the top layer of union

port for the Democratic Party. The main labor legislation passed since the war has been anti-labor: the Taft-Hartley Act, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, and the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 that paved the way for the current wage controls.

Democratic record

The record of the Democrats has been dismal in other ways, too. Paul Schrade of the Los Angeles United Auto Workers union told the *Washington Post* interviewer, "The Democratic Party is in decline because it's been mainly responsible, at least in the Sixties, for wars, for inflation and for creating disorder in this country."

The war in Vietnam, combined with the economic instability, has created a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust with the government run by both Democratic and Republican

World Outlook

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

AUGUST 4, 1972

U.S. Senate OKs military aid to Brazil, condones torture

An amendment by Senator John Tunney to the Foreign Assistance Act came up for a vote on June 27. The amendment would withhold some \$16,000,000 in military aid to Brazil "until such time as the President reports to the Congress that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has determined that the Government of Brazil is not engaging in the torture of political prisoners." The

Senate voted by sixty to thirty to table the amendment. This means that before it can be brought back onto the floor, its supporters will need around fifteen additional votes. Tunney has indicated, according to a July 9 statement by the U.S.-based Committee Against Repression in Brazil, that if these votes are lacking when Congress reconvenes on July 17, he will ask the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or its Western Hemisphere Subcommittee to hold hearings on the issue of U.S. aid and torture in Brazil.

The majority of the senators were not impressed with Tunney's arguments in favor of his amendment, although they seemed quite restrained. "I can think of nothing in the American tradition which would justify our providing military assistance to a regime which tortures its own citizens," he noted. "I cannot understand the rationale which would support the contention that torture should be overlooked by American policy makers; that the United States should continue to provide military support to a government which, using the excuse of anticommunism, abuses, mistreats, and represses its own citizens."

In their vote to table the amendment, the senators not only disregard-

ed Tunney's arguments, they disregarded the substantial amount of documentation of torture in Brazil that he read into the *Congressional Record*. These documents, submitted on June 26 and June 28 (the day after the vote), amounted to more than eight of the fine-print pages of the *Congressional Record*. They consisted not only of first-hand reports on torture by Brazilians on whom it has been used, but also reports from the bourgeois press, and fact sheets and statements by a number of international organizations, including the International Commission of Jurists, the National Council of Churches, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Even the latter group, which is part of the Organization of American States, pointed out that: "... the evidence collected in this case leads to 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."

In condemning torture in Brazil, the Latin America Department, Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A.,

noted, in a June 5, 1970, statement read into the *Record* by the senator:

"The people of the United States are deeply involved in the economic, military, cultural, religious and political affairs of Brazil. That nation is the third largest recipient of U. S. economic assistance in the world. Over 600 U. S. industries operate in Brazil as well as hundreds of other U. S. based institutions and agencies. Approximately 2,100 U. S. Protestant personnel representing 120 denominations and mission sending agencies and 700 U. S. Roman Catholic personnel representing 38 religious orders and lay agencies live and work in Brazil.

"In spite of the vast range of this involvement the people of the United States have not been apprised of the extensive information regarding the repression, terror and torture by which Brazil is governed today. The result is that both public and private funds appear to support and strengthen a military regime which, in the name of law and order and of anti-communism, crushes dissent and all advance toward a free and open society."

And that, apparently, is just the way the United States senators want to keep it. □

Pakistan

Troops fire on demonstrators demanding Sindhi language rights

The centrifugal tendencies locked up in the pseudo nation of Pakistan again burst to the surface July 7-11. As usual, the results were bloody—at least forty-seven persons were killed by police and army troops. The location of the latest troubles was of special significance. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's home province of Sind may yet prove to be the weakest link in the Pakistani chain.

Sind is one of Pakistan's three minority provinces. (The others are the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. The Punjab is the home of 60 percent of the country's

inhabitants.) The NWFP and Baluchistan have in the past been scenes of mass autonomy movements. While Sindhis constitute a distinct ethnic group, the composition of the province's population has attenuated that fact somewhat, but has made questions such as language especially thorny.

Just after the 1947 partition of the subcontinent, most Hindu Sindhis moved across the border to India. Non-Sindhi Muslims moved in the other direction, so that today only about 55 percent of the Sind population speaks Sindhi; the rest speak Urdu, a lingua franca that is the official language of Pakistan.

The post-partition immigrants are concentrated in the urban areas of Sind (such as Karachi, Pakistan's largest city), and have, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "a near-monopoly on trade, industry, the professions, and government jobs. The situation worsened during the military dictatorship when lands irrigated by newly-built dams passed on to the Punjabi and Pathan 'brass hats' and civil servants."

Sindhi resistance to being phased out of the life of their own province gave rise to struggles in defense of the Sindhi language. In the post-Bangladesh governmental reorganization, the NWFP and Baluchistan agreed to make Urdu the official provincial

language. The Punjab recognized Punjabi and Urdu as equal state languages. But in Sind, on July 7, the provincial assembly passed a law making Sindhi the sole official language of the province.

That very day, pro-Urdu demonstrators took to the streets, and in two days of clashes with the police, at least three persons were killed. On July 9 a twenty-four-hour curfew was clamped on four suburban areas of Karachi that were centers of the demonstrations. The same day, troops were called out in Hyderabad, another major town in Sind and Pakistan's second largest city.

Bhutto appealed for calm, but the protest marches continued. By July 9 sixteen were dead, and troops had moved into Karachi to bolster the police.

The July 11 *New York Times* reported that marchers had "erected roadblocks and set fire today [July 10] to a main Government building in Karachi. . . .

"Witnesses said that policemen had fired into a protest march in the industrial suburb of Korangi, killing four persons and wounding at least six others. At least two more persons were killed in a clash in Lair, another suburb, hospital authorities there reported." Deaths were also reported in Hyderabad, Hala, and Tando Allayhar.

On July 11, the situation in the province was said to be normal again. Whether or not that report was true remains unknown, since press censorship had been imposed on Sind the night before and the government was the only source of information.

On July 15, Bhutto announced in a nationwide radio speech (delivered in English) that an accord had been reached between Sindhi- and Urdu-speaking leaders after five days of negotiations in Rawalpindi. The Sindhi-only law would go through, but the Urdu-speaking section of the population would be given twelve years to learn Sindhi.

Bhutto's ability to give in to Sindhi demands but also to assuage the feelings of the Urdu-speaking group seems to have once again prevented a major explosion. But the deeper conflict remains. Symbolic of the underlying discord was the statement June 20 of G. M. Syed, one of the founders of the West Pakistan National Awami party, who now heads a Sindhi front. Recognition, he said, of a "Sindhi nation" was vital if "they" want "us" to stay in Pakistan. According to the July 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The chairman of the front's student wing threatened at a press conference a day earlier that a new *desh* (land) like Bangladesh would be born if Sindhis continue to get a raw deal." □

Yugoslavia

Belgrade students face trial for distributing leaflets

[M. Nikolic and P. Imsirovic, students in Belgrade, were arrested by the Yugoslav security police on January 7 on charges of having "organized against the people and the state" and of having distributed "enemy propaganda." At the time of the arrests, *Borba*, the newspaper of the Savez Komunista Jugoslavije (League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist party), reported that the "arrest came as a consequence of the distribution of leaflets and various materials whose contents were hostile to the state. . . . The group was linked to certain groups and organizations abroad."

[Since the arrests, the official press in Yugoslavia has sought to link these leftist students with the reactionary trends in the Croat nationalist movement. But there has been no trial as yet.

[The following article on the case has been translated from the July 1 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

It will soon be six months since M. Nikolic, P. Imsirovic, and Y. Klaic were imprisoned in Yugoslavia, and still none of the counts against them has been proved and there has been no trial. No doubt we can expect that the latter will, as if by accident, take place during summer vacations while the students are away. But such a procedure will not prevent full exposure of this trial and all its attendant slanders.

Here, we would like to give an illustration of the climate maintained by the official press, a climate that *Student* (the magazine published by the students in Belgrade) denounced in its April-May issue.

The tone was set by the articles the magazine *Svet* began to print in January 1972, just after the arrests. For example, the January 14 article: "Are there relations between the nationalists and the so-called new left?" Question: "Who are the students Nikolic and Imsirovic and why were they arrested? [The third arrest occurred somewhat later.] Who brought the Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel to Belgrade? The new party and the five-member cell, Revolutionary Combat."¹

Then, with no transition, the "journalist" goes on to the recent arrests of some Croat nationalists and recounts their more or less clear theses on the perspective of a third world war out of which they could draw some advantage. With no further explanation, the article goes on: "A little while after the jailing of the lawyer Subotic . . . we hear of the arrest of the two students," etc. What is the relation between these two facts? No one knows.

But further on it is stated, "More

1. Actually, Mandel was invited to Belgrade by the Student Cultural Center. He spoke to an open meeting attended by 200 people November 22, 1971, on the topic, "The Role of Trotskyism in the Contemporary Worldwide Liberation Movement."

clever, better armed 'theoretically,' the Trotskyist organization does not advocate outright a third world war (sic!) as do the backward documents unearthed in the 'Subotic affair.' But their aspirations are similar, if not identical [our emphasis—*Rouge*]." There! The amalgam is neatly made. And justified a few lines further on: "The Marxist critique and analysis of society has demonstrated right down to our day—although we have not sufficiently proclaimed this—that it has been able to unmask, at first glance, the subtle and paradoxical relations between different ideological currents and their attempts to discredit socialism, democracy, freedom, and self-management. . . ."

This "first glance" is really striking. It shows the same clairvoyance as marked those "Marxists" of yesterday who called Titoism "fascist."

We still wait, but in vain, for the "Marxist analysis" that will demonstrate that those same people who are accused of denouncing social inequalities in Yugoslavia and the "capitalist relations" developing in the factories, those who show the present limitations of the self-management system, those who proclaim their adherence to the working class and to socialism—those people are waging the same fight as the Croat reactionaries!

We know that their fight is contrary to the aspirations of the Croat nationalists. The latter seek to reintroduce into the factories social inequalities based on the nationality of the workers; they oppose any redistribution of income from rich Croatia to

aid the development of the poorest regions; their demands could only lead to strengthening the same inequalities that the "Trotskyists" denounce.

And this denunciation is not to our knowledge the work of a small minority hostile to socialism. It is the product of a social reality that is today so in crisis that the self-management congress itself broadly described these "centrifugal technocratic and financial pressures that usurp the rights of self-management." In 1968, when the unions and students of Yugoslavia denounced the development of capitalist relations in Yugoslavia, weren't they recognized as authentic defenders of socialism? And after these movements, didn't the government itself take measures to restrict the extension of the private sector and the development of the GRPs,² which were undermining the self-management system?

Our "journalist" ought to go down in history alongside his Stalinist colleagues who in their time (the Rajk trial is not so long ago!) knew how to heap slander on the Yugoslav revolution itself.

And just as we defended this revolution against Stalin with all our means, so will we defend those who fight for socialism and are today repressed in the purest Stalinist traditions. □

2. The GRPs are factories of groups of individuals, a camouflaged form of group, as opposed to state, property.

Soviet Union

Appeal for Pyotr Yakir by Human Rights group

The first protest statement has appeared in the Soviet Union against the arrest and threatened trial of oppositionist Pyotr Yakir.

The Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, a loosely knit body with which Yakir was active, is reported to be circulating in Moscow an appeal addressed to Soviet Prosecutor-General Rudenko. The appeal asks that Yakir be released on the recognizance of the seven signers. The protesters refer to the recent victory against repression in the United States in the Angela Davis case. Davis, they point out, was finally released on bail before her trial, even though murder charges were involved. They ask the Soviet judiciary to do as much for Yakir, who is apparently being charged only with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

The Initiative Group appeal emphasizes that Yakir has always adhered to lawful methods in his public activity and that his anti-Stalinism is closely linked with his work as a historian, his strong personal feelings against social injustice, and his own personal experience. The son of a Red Army general, Yona Yakir, who was shot



Pyotr Yakir

by Stalin in the 1937 purges, Pyotr was held in prison and camps for seventeen years as the son of an "enemy of the people." Both father and

son were cleared of all charges in 1956.

As friends and associates of Pyotr Yakir, the signers of the appeal testified that they had never observed him to display hostility by word or deed toward either Soviet society or the Soviet system.

Signing the statement were the seven Initiative Group members still free in the Soviet Union: Tatyana Velikanova, Aleksandr Lovut, Grigory Podypolsky, Tatyana Khodorovich, Anatoly Yakobson, Viktor Krasin, and Sergei Kovalyov. The eighth member who is still free, but no longer in Moscow, is Yuri Shtein, who signed the separate protest statement in Rome as an Initiative Group member.

According to earlier reports, Yakir is being held in Moscow's Lefertovo prison. Attempts by Valentina Savenkova (his wife) to see him have reportedly been unsuccessful.

The arrest and possible trial of Yakir is aimed largely at suppressing the nascent civil-rights organization that the Initiative Group represents. The bureaucracy, through its secret police, has recently put renewed pres-

sure on the other nongovernmental civil-right organization, the Human Rights Committee, whose most prominent member is Academician Sakharov.

On July 6, Valery Chalidze, like Sakharov a physicist and a political moderate, was summoned to KGB headquarters in Moscow and reportedly warned again to stop his activities.

Chalidze was accused in *Izvestia* last January of passing "anti-Soviet slander" to a visiting U.S. congressman, a charge that he has denied. He was also attacked in the official press in 1971 in connection with a visitor he received in March of that year, a Belgian named Hugo Sebreghs, who claimed to be with a Flemish civil-rights committee. The Sebreghs incident became one of the bases for the framing of Vladimir Bukovsky last January.

Up to this point, however, Chalidze himself, as a prominent scientist, has not been subjected to anything more than police and press harassment. But as the regime grows more desperate, the time of trials may come for the Chalidzes and Sakharovs as well. □

Soviet Union

'Samizdat' writers protest trial of Bukovsky, challenge gov't repression

[The unofficial transcript of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky referred to in the following article was published in the issues of *Intercontinental Press* dated May 22 through June 26. Bukovsky's final statement to the court was published in the Jan. 21 *Intercontinental Press*. These seven issues can be ordered by sending \$3.50 to *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

By George Saunders

Recently *Intercontinental Press* has run the full text, in translation, of the transcript of a political trial staged in Moscow this past January 5, the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky.

What is the significance of a transcript like this? What does it mean for the Marxist revolutionary movement, and for the worldwide struggle for socialism?

In his biography of *The Young Lenin* Trotsky describes how the spark of anger against the cruelties of the czarist regime was constantly reignited among the critical intelligentsia of old Russia in the 1870s and 1880s: Unauthorized transcripts of political trials and texts of protest statements by victims of czarist oppression circulated clandestinely, helping to build the revulsion against the status quo that ultimately took the form of a mass revolutionary movement.

Today in the Soviet Union that tradition has been revived under different conditions. The privately circulated documentation of unjustified repression has acquired a name appropriate to the changed circumstances. *Samizdat* is a play on the acronyms used in Soviet Russia for the publicly owned, postcapitalist publishing houses (for example, *Gosizdat* means State Publishing House). But the official publishing agencies do not serve the needs of the population, or do so only in distorted form, while the primary interests they serve are those of a privileged upper layer of bureaucrats analogous to conservative labor officialdom in the capitalist world.

Under these conditions, *samizdat* (or Self-Publishing House) functions as a noncapitalist means of producing and distributing information that serves the needs and expresses the wide variety of ideas and interests of the mass of the Soviet population, through its more conscious layers.

The Soviet bureaucracy is frightened by this growing expression of uncensored opinion. It is conducting a harsh campaign against *samizdat*. Anyone caught possessing or circulating such material can face severe prison sentences, as the Bukovsky case, among many others, shows.

The New York *Daily World*, which expresses the views of the pro-Kremlin Communist party U.S.A., has joined in the international campaign meant to justify the drive against dissidence in the Soviet Union. For example, the July 1 *Daily World* has an article by Erik Bert, who has been doing a whole series attacking Soviet dissenters. Bert describes *samizdat* as "the arsenal of Radio Liberty [a U.S. government-sponsored anti-Soviet station broadcasting to the USSR in Russian and other languages], prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, for suborning treason in the Soviet Union, for preparing the overthrow

of the Socialist Soviet system."

The truth is that by documenting the crimes, arbitrariness, and violation of civil, social, and national rights by the privileged bureaucracy, *samizdat* is helping build a revulsion against the status quo, not of socialism, but of *Stalinism*. The mass revolutionary movement that will develop out of this expression of autonomous protest will not aim at restoring czarism, landlordism, or capitalism. Those are gone forever. Its goal will be to restore the soviets as organs of workers' control and workers' democracy as in the early years of the revolution. It will carry out, not a social, but a *political* revolution, abolishing the monopoly on government and management held by the privileged bureaucratic caste. Brezhnev will no longer be able to expand his private automobile collection, for example; he may even have to go to work.

The transcript of the Bukovsky trial, then, was like much else that appears in *samizdat*, that is, the fruit of an effort by Soviet citizens to make known the truth about the regime's violations of "socialist legality." What the regime wanted the Soviet people to know about that trial was considerably different.

Only one newspaper story on the Bukovsky trial appeared in the Russian-language Soviet press. This was an article entitled "From the Courtroom: A Life of Shame and Villainy," signed by A. Yurov and L. Kolesov. It appeared in the Jan. 6, 1972, issue of the Moscow newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva*.

Some further information about both the *samizdat* transcript and the sole official news story has become available from the most recent issue of the leading *samizdat* newsletter, the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

The *Chronicle* issue No. 24, dated March 5, 1972, devotes first place to news on the Bukovsky case, including the following passage:

"The only official source of information about the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky for Soviet readers was the article 'A Life of Shame and Villainy' [Biografiya Podlosti] by A. Yurov and L. Kolesov in the newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva* for January 6. The nature of this article is indicated sufficiently by the fact that it failed even to report the verdict in full—the parts of the verdict concerning the term in prison and the payment of court costs were left out."

(The *samizdat* transcript gave the verdict as follows: "... seven years of confinement, with the first two years to be spent in prison and the last five in a corrective labor colony; this sentence to be followed by five years in exile. The court also orders Bukovsky to pay court expenses in the sum of 100 rubles.")

(By contrast, the *Vechernyaya Moskva* article reported only that Bukovsky "was sentenced to a term of seven years of imprisonment in a corrective labor colony of strict regime, and to five years in exile after that." Even the *Daily World's* coverage was more accurate. In its brief report on January 7, it included mention of the two-year prison stipulation, though it too left out the fact that the victim had to pay court costs.)

Commenting further on the *Vechernyaya Moskva* story, the *Chronicle* cites another example of factual dis-

tortion: "The article states that 'Bukovsky went so far as to commit a criminal offense—and was sentenced by a people's court to three years of imprisonment for disturbing the peace,' without indicating that the 'disturbance of the peace' was a demonstration organized by Bukovsky to protest the arrests [in January 1967] of Yu. Galanskov, V. Lashkova, and others."

The March 5 *Chronicle* also described numerous protests in Bukovsky's behalf, both within the Soviet Union and beyond its borders. One of these was an open letter replying to the *Vechernyaya Moskva* article. The authors of that open letter, which is circulating in *samizdat*, are T. Khodorovich and S. Khodorovich, dissidents long associated with the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. The text of their rebuttal has not yet become available outside the Soviet Union.

This most recent issue of the *Chronicle* to reach us also has some interesting information about the trial transcript itself:

"A detailed transcript of the trial of V. Bukovsky has appeared in *samizdat*. The compilers of this transcript state in a foreword: '... The responsibility for the fact that this is not a word-for-word reconstruction of the proceedings rests not with those who have done everything in their power to establish the truth but with those who would not allow friends of the defendant into the courtroom... denying them the opportunity to openly make a stenographic record or to use a portable recording apparatus.'

"Those who compiled the transcript have subsequently noticed three inaccuracies that crept into the document and would like to call them to the attention of readers of the *Chronicle*. First, the transcript states that issue No. 17 of the *Chronicle* was confiscated from Sebreghs, i.e., the same issue of the *Chronicle* that was confiscated at Bukovsky's apartment on March 29, 1971, when he was arrested. In fact, according to the official records on the search of Bukovsky's apartment and on the interrogation of Sebreghs, it was issue No. 18 of the *Chronicle* that was taken from Sebreghs and No. 17 that was found at Bukovsky's."

"Second, in the last part of the verdict, before the words 'V. K. Bukovsky is guilty of having carried out criminal activity in violation of Article 70...,' the following sentence was omitted: 'The court considers it proven that Bukovsky pursued the aim of subverting and weakening Soviet power.'

"Third, Nikitinsky's name is Arnold Yosifovich, not Arnold Eduardovich."

It is interesting that the *Chronicle* refers in the plural to the unnamed compilers of this document. A young Soviet dissident, Aleksei Tumerman, has openly taken responsibility for compiling it and supplying it to Western newsmen and to the International Association of Jurists. He has since been forcibly confined in a Soviet psychiatric hospital. The text that Tumerman sent out contains the same errors cited by the unnamed compilers in this statement in the *Chronicle*. Thus, apparently theirs is the same text, and Tumerman presumably took full responsibility for it with the aim of protecting others from the police reprisals sure to follow. □

Uruguayan military to try 'subversives'

The Uruguayan government lifted the "state of internal war" against Tupamaro guerrillas July 11. The state of war had been in effect since April. Suspension of individual rights—permitting searches without warrants and arrest on "suspicion"—will be continued until September 30.

The "internal war" was canceled by a new law that empowers military courts to try suspected "subversives." These courts will be allowed to impose sentences of up to thirty years in prison.

According to a July 11 United Press International dispatch from Montevideo, there are some 500 suspected Tupamaros who have been jailed since April. Seventeen Tupamaros are reported to have been killed in the same period. □

Philippine troops hunt guerrillas

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos ordered a full-scale military assault by the army, navy, and air force against guerrillas in the north of the country on July 9. "A small force of policemen and troops has been battling the rebels for the last four days after intercepting a ship believed to be about 100 tons and of North Korean origin, smuggling arms to a group called the New People's Army, identified as the military arm of the outlawed Philippine Communist party," according to a Reuters dispatch from Manila July 9.

The military attacks on the guerrillas began at dawn on Diguyo Point, in the Palanan Bay area, where the rebels were reported to have a big ammunition and supply dump. The following day both air and naval units of the armed forces began the bombing of suspected guerrilla positions. In addition, General Romeo Espino, the armed forces chief of staff, announced that a navy gunboat had been sent to attempt to tow the ship, which the Maoist-oriented guerrillas are fighting to recapture. □

Peru, Cuba, to resume ties

Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado announced July 5 that Peru would reestablish diplomatic relations with Cuba by the end of the month. Peru withdrew diplomatic recognition of Cuba in 1964, when at the behest of the U.S. government all members of the Organization of American States (OAS) except Mexico broke relations with the Castro government.

At the June meeting of the OAS in Washington, the Velasco regime formally proposed lifting all diplomatic and other sanctions against Cuba. The resolution was defeated thirteen votes to seven, with three abstentions. □

An interview with four Brazilian Trotskyists

[The following are excerpts from an interview granted to an American member of the Socialist Workers Party by four members of the Bolshevik-Trotskyist Faction of Brazil last February. The interview took place in an adjoining country.]

Question. When did your group begin?

Answer. The Faction began in the south of Brazil in 1968. It started with workers and students who broke away from the Posadistas.*

At first we were regional groups. We attempted to organize various national conferences to discuss what our line should be. But our discussions and attempts to clarify our political line were interrupted in April and May of 1970 because of the violent repression against us. Almost our entire Central Committee was imprisoned.

Information received as of July 21 indicates that a number of members of the Bolshevik-Trotskyist Faction, including some of those interviewed, have recently been imprisoned by the Brazilian dictatorship.

In spite of these difficulties we continued to define our positions and to reorganize. All our discussions centered around the problem of how to build a Trotskyist party in Brazil.

Today we are in the process of forming a Trotskyist party, uniting with another Trotskyist current that exists inside Brazil and other groups that are moving towards Trotskyism.

Q. Are the majority of your members inside Brazil?

A. Almost all our members are inside Brazil. Our position on this is that our members must stay in Brazil except for extreme situations.

Q. Do you have any members in prison today?

A. Yes. Some of our central leaders are in prison. Many others have been captured. Actually, most of our members are being sought by the police, that is, they are on the wanted list. Nevertheless, all these comrades are continuing to function on a daily basis inside Brazil.

Q. In what areas of Brazil does your group exist?

A. We have functioning groups in various areas of the northeastern region of the country. Also in the heavily populated and industrialized areas in the central and southern coasts we are making headway, some of it rather good.

Q. What is your position on guerrilla warfare?

A. We think it is incorrect if applied as a general strategy. We favor becoming rooted in the working-class and student movement in order to consolidate a revolutionary party.

Although we oppose guerrilla warfare as a strategy, we do not reject using it when the class struggle has

reached a certain stage. Guerrilla warfare is only one form of armed struggle which the masses may use in the process of the revolution. But guerrilla war as a strategy cannot build a vanguard of the working class that can lead the class struggle concretely day by day.

We are in favor of the Transitional Program as the approach for our movement.

We have had some very concrete and negative experiences with those who advocate guerrilla warfare. For example, we once succeeded in organizing a very strong group of thousands of agricultural workers in the sugar industry under extremely difficult conditions. We expected to win the trade union to a class-struggle line. Then one of these guerrilla groups, which had never done any work among the workers, decided to provoke an "uprising" by burning all the sugarcane. The authorities immediately accused us of having burned the sugarcane. The result was confusion among the masses and repression against the class-struggle wing of the trade union. The revolutionists working with the masses were imprisoned. The landowners were reimbursed by the government for their burned sugarcane and the trade-union elections in which the class-struggle wing would have won were suspended so that the union remained under bureaucratic control.

Naturally when guerrilla warfare is a product of mass struggles, that is different. But in Brazil all the guerrilla warfare people are from the petty bourgeoisie. They do not work and live with the masses. Actually, however, the proguerrilla warfare groups hardly exist anymore inside Brazil.

Q. But is it possible to carry out mass work in factories and among students under the present conditions of repression?

A. We are doing it. We are carrying out limited work inside the working class. Basically we are building factory committees in the plants. These committees have to be clandestine or semiclandestine, but they can then intervene more openly inside the trade unions.

In trade-union work it is necessary to build broad formations with minimal demands. We integrate ourselves in the semispontaneous opposition groupings in each factory to provide an orientation and political clarity. Also, of course, we recruit the best elements to the party.

In the student movement we have raised the slogan of an alliance between students and workers. Our major opponents among the students used to be those who were for an ultraleft guerrilla line. Today that current has disappeared and is no longer a major problem.

Q. What is the opinion of your group of the Fourth International?

A. We believe that the Fourth International is in the process of being built.

Formally, we have not yet made a decision and will be discussing and deciding our position on the Fourth International soon. Part of our problem is our isolation, owing to the repression in Brazil. It is very difficult for us to get information on what is happening internationally.

Q. What do you think of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban regimes?

A. Russia is a degenerated workers state. The leadership in Russia has nothing to do with a truly revolutionary movement. China is a workers state also with a bureaucracy, but we do not believe it is the same as Russia. In any case, we are for political revolution in both Russia and China. For us Cuba is also a workers state, but it does not have either a consolidated privileged bureaucracy or workers' democracy.

Q. What is your opinion of the Allende regime?

A. It is a bourgeois reformist government, in no way a workers state.



USLA Reporter

Q. What is your opinion of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia?

A. We have gone through a prolonged process of discussion on this. We have no formal position at this time due to the repression which interrupted our discussion.

Q. Do you believe that the repres-

sion will lessen in the future?

A. The repression is different in different areas of Brazil. A complicated process is going on within the ruling sectors today. There are growing differences within the ruling class and also an increase in the class struggle, especially in São Paulo. We do not believe that we should rule out the possibility of increased repression in the immediate period ahead.

Q. Is the repression aimed primarily at the guerrilla war groups?

A. No. It is aimed at all the groups. The difference is that they are more likely to kill those who participate in armed struggle. But worker leaders have also been killed. There are many cases of long imprisonment for working-class militants. As we have pointed out, today there are very few involved in armed struggle so that the repressive apparatus is orienting more towards the groups doing mass work in the factories and universities.

We might add that in some cases when prisoners have been named in protests outside of Brazil, they have been put in solitary confinement. In one such case we know of, a political prisoner has been in solitary confinement for two years now.

Q. Would you like to send a message to the revolutionary movement in the United States?

A. We are in full solidarity with the struggles there such as the anti-war movement, the workers and oppressed nationalities, and the women's liberation movement. The concrete struggles in the United States have directly helped our struggle in Brazil. In the future we hope to learn more about the revolutionary movement in the United States. □

Political prisoners in Brazil appeal to Jack Anderson

Columnist Jack Anderson reported July 3 that a group of Brazilian prisoners have sent him "a poignant message through a network of intermediaries" appealing for help. "They learned in early June that they would be split up and transferred from São Paulo's Carandiru [prison] to other prisons throughout Brazil. Because they had dared to protest against inhuman conditions in the prison, they feared they were being transferred to break up their group and to kill them quietly and individually," Anderson wrote.

Before turning to Anderson, the prisoners had appealed to the director of the prison and to Archbishop Paulo Evaristo Arns, who had protected them in the past. They also announced that they were going on a hunger strike. The military authorities who control the prison refused to allow the archbishop to talk with the prisoners.

"When this avenue failed," said Anderson, "they sent word to us that 'the survival of all prisoners' depended on help from those 'who love justice.'" □

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

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* The followers of Juan Posadas, a former leader of the Latin American Trotskyist movement, who broke from the Fourth International more than a decade ago.

Labor officials and McGovern

Meany fears Democratic Party reforms will encourage unrest among workers

By FRANK LOVELL

The AFL-CIO Executive Council's refusal by a 27-to-3 vote on July 19 to endorse the Democratic Party presidential ticket occurred behind closed doors. Most of the 30 high-ranking time servers who were present had no understanding of the social forces that prompted their action.

According to all reports, they had subdued feelings of anguish, anxiety, resentment, and also some embarrassment. Meany even mouthed rhetoric about considering a labor party.

Since the merger of the AFL craft unions with the CIO industrial unions in 1955, the AFL-CIO officialdom has officially supported all the presidential candidates of the Democratic Party.

The CIO officials—beginning in 1936 with Roosevelt's campaign for a second term—became an essential part of the Democratic Party's vote-catching coalition. But this "tradition" was broken before it really got started.

John L. Lewis, as president of the CIO, endorsed Republican candidate Wendell Wilkie in 1940. Other CIO leaders, including Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, continued to work for the Democrats. They supported the coalition of Black and union voters that, along with the Southern Dixiecrats, returned the Democrats to power in every election from 1936 until 1952.

The labor bureaucrats have always sought to maneuver for favors within the framework of the two-party system. Before the labor upsurge of the 1930s, however, they usually withheld official endorsement of presidential candidates.

The old AFL craft unions departed from this practice when they endorsed the La Follette-Wheeler ticket of the Progressive Party in 1924. Samuel Gompers, who was then president of the AFL, explained that they took this unusual action because "both the Republican and Democratic national party conventions flaunted the desires of labor. . . ."

Gompers emphasized that neither he nor the federation was in any way committed to other groups supporting La Follette—in this case, the Socialist Party, which then had some influence in the unions. Gompers also emphasized that endorsing La Follette did not mean the AFL favored the formation of a third party.

After the 1924 election, Gompers reminded the political bosses in the Democratic and Republican parties that the 5 million votes for La Follette ought to show them they couldn't ignore the modest requests of the trade-union bureaucrats in the future. But Gompers opposed the idea of a labor party and clung to the two-party system. The capitalist politicians ignored his impotent threats.

If there is any question of "tradition" in the latest political move of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, it must be recognized that this is a return to the tradition of Gompers and the old AFL. It marks no great change on Meany's part because he never departed from that tradition.

When Meany became AFL-CIO president with the 1955 merger, he simply went along with the CIO practice of endorsing the Democratic Party ticket. He agreed with Walter Reuther,

who headed the CIO at the time, that faced with Eisenhower's Republican administration, this was the best way to hold together what they both regarded as "labor's political coalition."

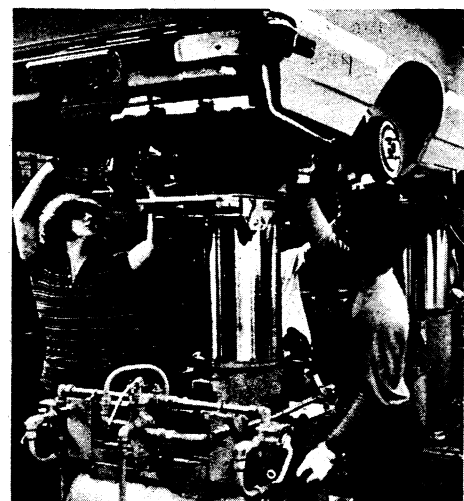
Old coalition disintegrates

Times have changed since 1955. The combined votes of the Black communities and labor succeeded in electing Kennedy in 1960. Johnson's landslide victory in 1964 resulted from a broader temporary coalition that was built in large part on antiwar sentiment and fear of a Goldwater victory. Behind this was the solid support major sections of the capitalist class gave Johnson.

Nixon won the 1968 election with a minority of the popular vote. This proved that the combined labor and Black vote, although essential to a Democratic victory, was no longer sufficient by itself to defeat the Republicans. Moreover, the Democrats can no longer count on the "solid South," which they depended on for their victories in the days of Roosevelt.

The present-day trade-union bureaucrats do not understand the fundamental social and economic changes that have occurred. But they know that for some reason the Democratic Party is not able to win elections as it once did. They like to pick winners, hoping that in this way a few favors will fall to them. The Meany gang does not think McGovern is a winner this year.

They have some other things in mind, too. In all the years it controlled the White House and the longer



Meany fears impact of antiwar movement, women's movement, and Black and Chicano movements on rank-and-file workers such as these.

time it has controlled the Congress, the Democratic Party has not delivered one significant piece of social legislation. It has not improved the economic condition of the working class or advanced the organizational aims of the union movement.

On the contrary, the Democrats share responsibility for enacting the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 and the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law in 1959. The Democrats were the authors of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, which enabled wage controls to be imposed.

Meany was right when he acknowledged that he is unable to influence the votes of workers. His record as an opponent of strikes and a friend

of the bosses does not endear him to working men and women. His political record as a war hawk does not recommend him either. The majority of workers who go to the polls will vote Democratic. But many will not do so enthusiastically because it has brought them no returns in the past.

The Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association has endorsed Nixon, as has the International Longshoremen's Association. These endorsements are most likely an exchange for some recent government ship-building contracts and some hints that more goods shipped from this country will be



Demonstrators in Miami Beach protest labor officials' convention role

An unspoken fear haunts Meany and the others, including those who have already endorsed McGovern. They fear those young workers who reject the traditional ways of the old union-management bargaining relations, oppose the war, demand living wages now, and think there ought to be jobs for everyone—the young workers McGovern appears to be trying to reach.

The old-line union officials are much more afraid of these union members than they are of Nixon. They are waiting for assurances that McGovern will in no way encourage this explosive element in the unions before they start pouring money into his campaign.

Their fears are largely ill-founded. McGovern's campaign managers are busy trying to convince union officials that his election will relieve some of the present pressure on the union movement and help defuse the possible explosion.

A large group of union officials is already pledged to McGovern. Another, smaller group has announced for Nixon. Those backing Nixon are victims of a form of political entrapment. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons is paying off his debt for Nixon's releasing James Hoffa, ex-president of the Teamsters union and Fitzsimmons's mentor, from jail.

Some officials of the New York building-trades unions are afraid they will be caught in the exposure of bribery scandals in the construction industry. They hope that endorsing the Republican Party will buy immunity.

Similarly, in the maritime unions the Justice Department recently failed to press charges of financial irregularity against President Paul Hall of the Seafarers' International Union. It will be no surprise if Hall, a former contributor to the Democratic Party, switches his political account to the Republicans.

carried in American ships.

Each of the capitalist parties already has its own "labor committee." This reflects only the narrow, self-serving interests of the union "leaders" in the camp of both the Democrats and Republicans.

By urging the "neutral" position of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Meany tries to create the impression that he is anxious to please both sides. But this is hardly his most important consideration, and in this he will not succeed either.

The present union bureaucracy, typified by Meany and Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, will not seriously consider or in any way aid in the formation of a labor party in this country.

Any loose talk of a possible labor party by Meany and his associates is no more than a half-hearted threat to the Democratic Party on the outside chance that it may serve to attract some attention and give Meany a little more weight in those councils.

In 1959, when the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill was under consideration, Meany began talking about a labor party. He thought the Democrats would listen. When the law was passed, Meany stopped all talk of a labor party. His threat served no purpose at all because every knowledgeable person inside and outside the government knew it was not serious. Meany dutifully endorsed Kennedy in the 1960 election.

The need for a labor party will certainly be the first point on the agenda when the union movement seriously considers political action. But this will come with the development of a left wing in the unions based on a class-struggle program.

The present union officialdom hopes to solve its problems by resurrecting the old AFL's traditional politics of rewarding labor's friends and punishing labor's enemies. It didn't work in the past, and it won't help them now.

Meets with Spanish Alliance members

Jenness condemns Boston police attack on Puerto Rican community celebration

By DAVE WULP

BOSTON, July 22—A Puerto Rican cultural festival held in Boston's South End was attacked by the police on July 16. More than 50 Puerto Ricans were arrested and many were injured and hospitalized when approximately 200 cops attacked the parade of 5,000 people with clubs, pistols, and police dogs. The police riot was followed by two days of rebellion in the South End, the Spanish-speaking community in Boston where 20,000 to 25,000 Puerto Ricans live.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness, who was touring the Boston area last week,

"One of the so-called community leaders called the cops. They were right there ready and they started hitting everyone. The people got very angry because the cops had no business hitting everybody just to stop a fight between two men."

Díaz said she saw "a police wagon with a whole bunch of dogs inside. They opened the doors and let the dogs out. There was a family, a family that belongs to the Pentecostal church. They were sitting on their steps and two dogs jumped on them. One person got bitten and was bleeding. Then an old woman who was sitting on the steps fell to the pave-

don't realize that we are expressing a much deeper anger and frustration."

On July 17 and 18, the police were still occupying the Puerto Rican community. A meeting was held July 17 to ask that the police involved in the brutality be suspended and that both the police and the mayor of Boston apologize to the community. Both of the requests were rejected.

Jenness learned that the state of Massachusetts has a contract with Puerto Rico to provide migrant farm labor. The Puerto Ricans come to do farm work during the summer and then move into Boston to try to get factory jobs. Because of this arrangement, over half of the Puerto Ricans in the South End speak little or no English. But only one cop on the entire police force speaks any Spanish.

Daisey Díaz, Edwin Quiles, and others interviewed by Jenness were very bitter toward the "community leaders," who are heads of government agencies in the South End.

"The people have courage but they have no program and no leadership. The so-called community leaders work with the mayor, the governor, and the cops, and they also deal in drugs. They try to pacify the community with priests, church services, and drugs.

"What we want are jobs, housing, food, and for the world to treat us with respect because we are a dignified people. We blame these leaders as much as anyone, for they are just out for themselves and get paid to pacify the community," Jenness was told.

Jenness issued a statement to the press after her fact-finding visit to the South End. "The attack by police on the Puerto Rican festival was completely unjustified," she said. "The real intent of that attack was not to stop an alleged fight in the crowd, but to remind Puerto Ricans of their 'place' in this city and this country and to keep them in it. . . . The Socialist Workers Party supports the Puerto Rican community's attempt to defend itself.

"Along with myself, Jeanne Lafferty, SWP candidate from the 9th congressional district, which includes the

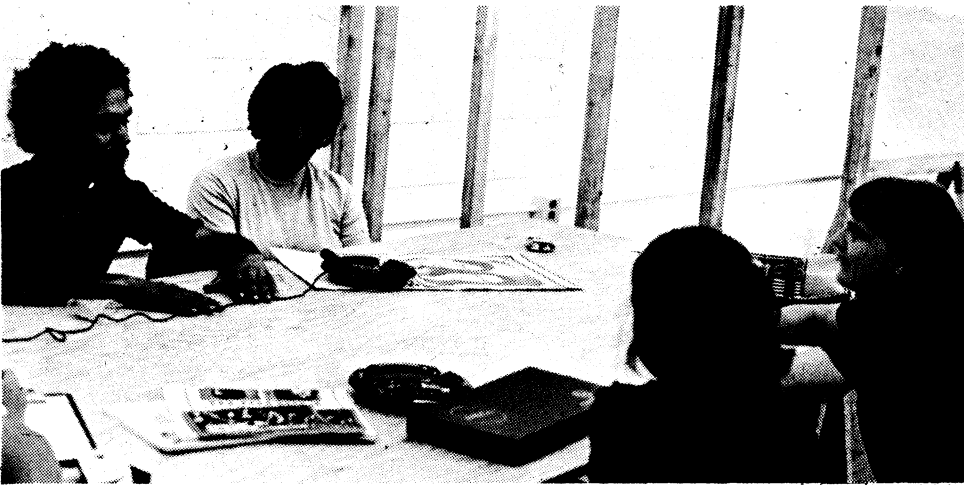
South End, is campaigning on a platform that includes full control by the Puerto Rican community of every aspect of its own life, including the police."

While in the New England area, Jenness also spoke at a meeting in Natick, Mass., attended by 50 antiwar and community activists, and at campaign meetings at Harvard and Northeastern universities. One hundred eighty people attended a campaign rally in Boston the evening of July 21 to hear Jenness speak on "Socialism: Can It Work?" the keynote speech kicking off a socialist campaign weekend.

In Providence, R. I., Jenness appeared at a news conference to launch the SWP's petitioning drive to place Pat DeTemple, candidate for U. S. Senate, and Jenness and Pulley on the Rhode Island ballot. Every major newspaper and television station in the Providence area attended.

In Massachusetts, where the SWP recently achieved ballot status, the news media were especially interested in Jenness's visit. In addition to receiving coverage in three Boston newspapers and having several radio interviews, Jenness appeared on WRKO-TV for a half-hour interview, which was seen by 75,000 people, and on a five-minute spot on WGBH-TV.

During Jenness's tour, 26 people signed cards endorsing the SWP campaign, and 10 people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Boston Spanish Alliance members describe police assault on Puerto Rican community to Linda Jenness.

went to the South End July 21 to interview people about the police attack. Jenness also taped a half-hour radio show in Spanish, released a news statement about the attack, met with four members of the Spanish Alliance, and taped a fifteen-minute radio interview for WLYN's Spanish-speaking audience.

Daisey Díaz, a working mother from the South End, described the attack to Jenness. "A fight broke out between two men because one of the men had asked the other man's wife to dance. Everybody was trying to get them to stop fighting because this was supposed to be our day, Puerto Rican Day.

ment. I got scared then and went the other way."

Apparently there is not yet an accurate count of how many people were injured or hospitalized. *The Boston Globe* puts the figure at somewhere between 25 and 50. But Daisey Díaz insisted it was much more.

"I went down to the Boston City Hospital," she said, "and there were a bunch of cops outside trying to keep people from getting into the hospital."

Edwin Quiles, a young Puerto Rican active in the community, told Jenness about the response in the community. "The government thinks we are angry just because we were beaten up. They



Jeanne Lafferty

Three more reasons why your 1972 campaign contributions should go to Jenness & Pulley.

1. "I am convinced that if we were to do what they (antiwar demonstrators) are advocating, a precipitate withdrawal before the South Vietnamese had a chance to prevent a Communist takeover, that would lead to a very dangerous situation in the Pacific."—Richard M. Nixon, quoted in the April 20, 1971 *New York Times*.

2. "I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know. But I've decided the best thing I can do now is run for the Presidency."—George McGovern, quoted in the April 20, 1971 *Ohio State University Lantern*.

3. "And together, we're telling Richard Nixon, and we're serving notice to all the politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, that nobody is going to stop our movement until we win the total and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia."—Linda Jenness at Nov. 6, 1971, antiwar demonstration in New York.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, unlike McGovern and Nixon, support and build the movement against the war. War contractors don't contribute to our campaign and have no voice in its program.

We need your help! Tens of thousands of dollars must be raised to continue the work of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Please contribute whatever you can afford.

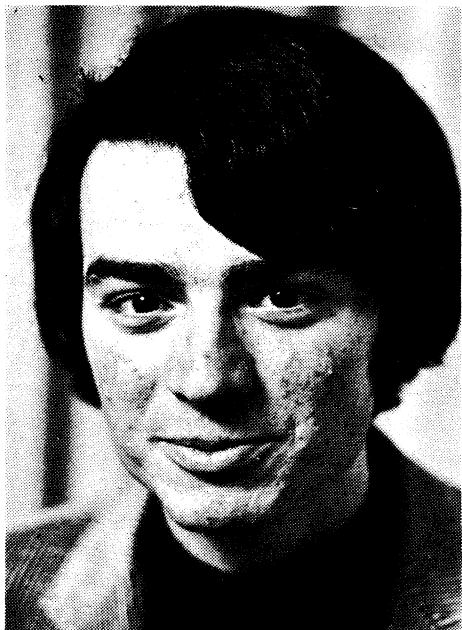
() I can contribute \$_____ to the Jenness-Pulley campaign.
() I can contribute \$_____ per month to the Jenness-Pulley campaign between now and November.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign Committee,
706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Fight against Wash. filing fees continues

By SCOTT BREEN

OLYMPIA, Wash., July 20 — Today in Thurston County Superior Court, Judge Robert Bryan ruled unfavorably in a class-action suit brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the Washington American Civil Liberties Union. The suit challenged Washington's filing-fee requirement for candidates. The fees, based on 1 percent of the salary of the office sought, range from \$35 to \$425.



Gary Johnson

Plaintiffs in the suit include three Socialist Workers Party candidates, Judy Moschetto (U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.), Ann Montague (secretary of state), and Gary Johnson (superintendent of public instruction).

CoDEL announced it would immediately appeal the decision to the State Supreme Court.

ACLU cooperating attorneys Barry Barnes and Eugene Moen argued that the fees discriminate against poor candidates and restrict the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly of poor candidates and poor voters alike.

Judge Bryan agreed with Assistant Attorney General Wayne Williams that

the fees were small enough that a "serious" candidate could raise money to pay them. Bryan claimed that the states have a right and an obligation to protect the ballot from "frivolous" candidates.

Bryan, whose annual salary is \$27,000, stated that "the question raised here presupposes that there are people who are poor, and asks that the court recognize a class of poor people." He said that "if there is such a class, people of that class have a right to get out of it. The guy who is broke today is not necessarily broke tomorrow."

Showing gross insensitivity to the condition of the great number of unemployed persons in Washington, Bryan went on to say that "with no fee, an unemployed person may be tempted to run for office just to get the salary for that office."

Two days prior to the court hearing, CoDEL announced new support for the suit. Present at a news conference to announce this development were Paul Disario, vice-president of the Washington Young Democrats and an aide to the gubernatorial campaign of Democratic front-runner State Senator Martin Durkan, and Ricardo Garcia, executive secretary of the Washington State Commission on Mexican-American Affairs.

Disario read a statement of support from Senator Durkan, which said in part, "I agree wholeheartedly with the committee's opposition to a large filing fee for candidates. Filing fees prevent poor people from seeking public office and prevent the voter from having a wide choice of candidates so necessary to our democratic process. Public office is rapidly becoming a place for the very rich and often unresponsive politician. One way to reverse this unfortunate trend is by the elimination of a large filing fee." Reports of this news conference were carried on two TV stations and major radio stations in the Seattle-Tacoma area.

Two days after the unfavorable ruling, Secretary of State A. Ludlow Kramer, the defendant in the CoDEL suit,

Continued on page 21

Denver Crusade for Justice hears Pulley

By JON HILLSON

DENVER, July 22 — Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, presented greetings to the weekly meeting of the Crusade for Justice during his recent tour of Denver. The Crusade is the Denver County organizing center for La Raza Unida Party.

Pulley, who was warmly received by the more than 60 Chicano activists present at the July 19 Crusade meeting, expressed his solidarity and that of the 1972 Socialist Workers campaign with the Chicano liberation struggle. He commended the Crusade for its powerful impact in the struggle for Chicano self-determination and stated his support for the independent Chicano parties developing in the Southwest.

Earlier in the day Pulley had met with Crusade founder and Colorado La Raza Unida Party Chairman Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales.

On July 18, Pulley was the keynote speaker at a campaign rally attended by 60 supporters. Pulley's speech was covered by the *Denver Post*, Colorado's most widely read newspaper. Campaign supporters cheered the an-

nouncement that the Colorado secretary of state had confirmed that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley would appear on the Colorado ballot. Nearly \$300 was raised for the SWP campaign.

As Pulley's tour ended, three campaign supporters decided to join the Denver Young Socialist Alliance.



Andrew Pulley

Militant/Walter Lippmann

Enters new legal evidence

Jenness tours Ohio in fight for ballot status

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, July 25 — Support increased for the right of Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, to be on the Ohio ballot during her recent tour here.

On July 24, Jenness, Benjamin Sheerer, Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) cooperating attorney, and CoDEL supporters held a news conference to announce the submission of new legal arguments in her case. CoDEL expects a decision soon on the suit it filed in federal district court to force Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to grant Jenness and her running mate, Andrew Pulley, a place on the Ohio ballot.

Brown ruled Jenness off the ballot on the grounds that she is "too young" to serve. He claims that placing her on the ballot would create a "constitutional crisis" in Ohio. According to the U.S. Constitution, a person must be 35 to serve as president. Jenness is 31.

The new legal arguments are based on the fact that both the U.S. Constitution and Congress have made provision for the case of the election of a candidate to the office of president who does not meet the requirements set down in the Constitution.

The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, popularly known as the "Lame-Duck Amendment," contains a little-noticed provision that "the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified."

As provided for in the Twentieth Amendment, Congress enacted the Presidential Succession Act in 1947 (amended in 1965 and 1966). This law provides that "If, by reason of death, resignation, removal from office, inability, or failure to qualify, there is neither a President nor Vice-President to discharge the powers and duties of the office of President, then

the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, upon his resignation as Speaker and as Representative in Congress, act as President."

The act provides that if the Speaker's "discharge, of the powers and duties of the office is founded in whole or in part on the failure of both the President-elect and the Vice-President-elect to qualify, then he shall act only until a President or Vice President qualifies."

These provisions make it clear that Brown's action is arbitrary and unconstitutional.

Appearing with Jenness at the July 24 news conference were Paul Olynik of Cleveland SANE, and Ron Weiner, Democratic Party precinct committeeman. Both read statements supporting Jenness's right to be on the ballot. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, several radio stations, and NBC-affiliate WKYC-TV covered the news conference.

Jenness's ballot fight continues to gain broad support. Recent endorsers of CoDEL include Edward Davis, president of the Akron City Council, and Carol Richardson, secretary of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 78.

Jenness's tour began here with a banquet attended by 70 people at Debs

Continued on page 22



Linda Jenness

Militant/Dave Wulp

SWP candidates protest

CP ruled off Pa. ballot

By HARVEY McARTHUR

PHILADELPHIA, July 24 — The attorney general of Pennsylvania has advised the secretary of state to refuse to certify the Communist Party's nominating petitions on the basis of the Communist Control Act of 1954. The Communist Party announced that the American Civil Liberties Union will go to court to seek a reversal of this blatantly unconstitutional decision.

The CP filed 40,000 signatures, 4,000 more than the required number, to put its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, on the ballot. Apparently, the state has not begun to check the validity of the signatures.

In a letter to the attorney general released today, three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Pennsylvania joined with the CP in denouncing this undemocratic decision.

"We feel that it is a basic democratic right that any party be allowed on the ballot to present its point of view in the election," the candidates stated.

"We feel it is significant that you have made this decision at a time when more and more Pennsylvanians are looking for an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and the policies they represent.

"We are sure that you are aware of the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, among others, that challenged the new petitioning requirement set by the state legislature. As you know, we won a major victory in federal court, extending the petitioning time until mid-August.

"We will conduct an equally vigorous campaign in support of the right of the Communist Party to be on the ballot, or in defense of any other party that you may choose to harass in the future."

The letter was signed by Nancy Strebe, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st C.D.; Harvey McArthur, SWP candidate for state treasurer; and Joseph Sanders, SWP candidate for state auditor general.

SWP petitioners in N.Y. collect more than 45,000 signatures in first week of drive

By PETER SEIDMAN

NEW YORK, July 25 — The campaign to place a slate of Socialist Workers Party candidates on the New York ballot got off to an unprecedented start here this week. In the first three days of petitioning, campaign supporters obtained the 20,000 signatures required to put a presidential ticket on the ballot.

An impressive total of 28,261 signatures has been collected to date on petitions nominating Evelyn Reed for president, Clifton DeBerry for vice-president, and a slate of presidential electors. Reed and DeBerry are being nominated as stand-in candidates for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, whose names may not appear on the New York ballot. By New York law, all candidates must be eligible to hold office in order to run. Jenness and Pulley are both under 35, the age set in the Constitution for holding the office of president.

In addition to the presidential slate, campaign supporters are petitioning to place six congressional candidates on the ballot. Including the signatures collected for the congressional candidates, a total of 45,268 signatures has been obtained in the first five days of the drive.

Thirty-five hundred signatures are required for congressional candidates. To date, signatures for the congressional candidates have reached these totals: Rebecca Finch (18th C. D.), 4,220; Hedda Garza (5th C. D.), 1,950; Joanna Misnik (20th C. D.), 2,772; B. R. Washington (19th C. D.), 2,383; James Mendieta (14th C. D.), 1,905; and John Hawkins (12th C. D.), 3,777.

"We're particularly pleased by the receptivity of the New York voters to socialist candidates," reported Helen Schiff, New York ballot coordinator. "Our signature totals go up when we

emphasize that we're petitioning for the Socialist Workers Party," agreed Joe Henry, Brooklyn's Socialist Workers Party organizer.

Petitioners have been canvassing in temperatures well over 90 degrees. In spite of the heat, they have brought in some impressive individual totals. Mark Friedman set a record for the number of signatures obtained in a single day in any 1972 SWP petition drive. Friedman brought home 667 signatures, surpassing the 619-signature record set by a petitioner in Illinois earlier this year. Friedman, working in largely Black and Puerto Rican East New York, used three petitioning boards at once.

Campaign supporters in small cities throughout New York, such as Allegany, Bellmore, and Ardsley, have also indicated that they will be petitioning in their cities for the SWP. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley chapters in Albany, Utica, and Binghamton are also adding to the signature total.

Coordinator Helen Schiff reported that petitioning for the presidential slate would continue until a comfortable margin of signatures over the requirement has been reached. SWP petitioners must also meet a distribution requirement of 100 signatures from half the state's congressional districts. Schiff indicated that by meeting these two goals, the SWP would be virtually assured a ballot spot in New York.

Campaign supporters who would like to help with petitioning or paper work should contact the New York City SWP petitioning headquarters at 706 Broadway (telephone: 982-6051) or at 2744 Broadway (telephone: 663-3000), or the Brooklyn headquarters at 136 Lawrence St. (telephone: 596-2917).

The Communist Party and the Soci-

alist Labor Party are also circulating petitions for ballot status in New York. The CP has announced that it will attempt to collect 110,000 signatures in six weeks' time. As of July 25, the CP campaign office here has made no public statement on how many signatures have been gathered so far.

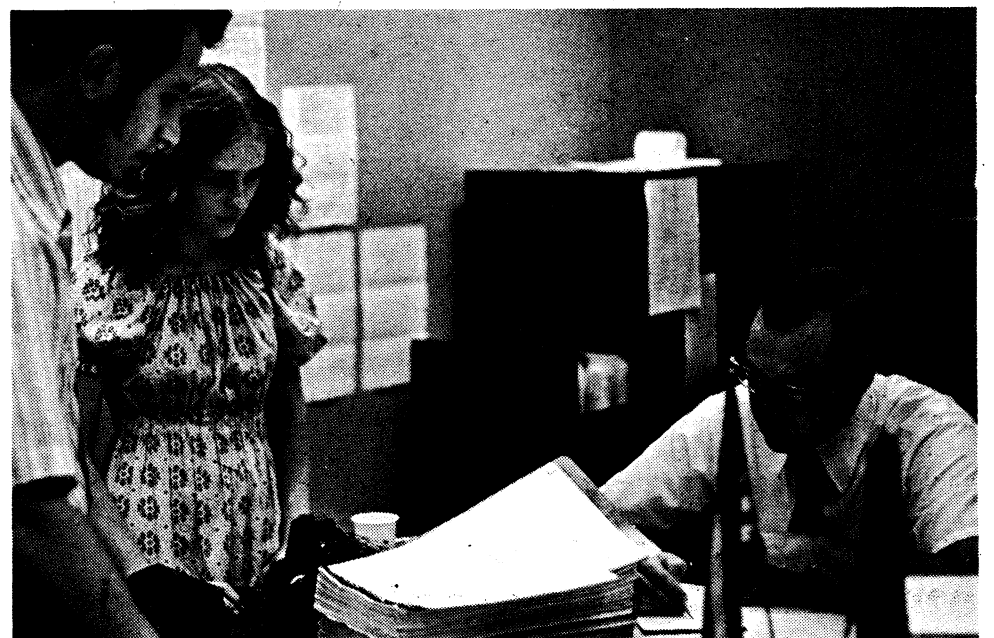
The Socialist Workers Party filed signatures with the governor's office in Indianapolis on July 19 to place its presidential ticket on the Indiana ballot. A total of 16,666 signatures from voters in 42 counties were filed and turned over to the state board of elections for certification.

Because of an Indiana law that requires candidates to be eligible to serve in order to run for office, Evelyn Reed and Clifton DeBerry were nomi-

nated in place of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Neither Jenness nor Pulley meets the age requirement of 35 for holding the office of president and vice-president.

In Bismark, N. D., Lucy Maluski, one of three presidential electors pledged to Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in North Dakota, filed 640 signatures on July 17, nominating the slate of electors. North Dakota requires 300 signatures to certify a presidential ticket for the November ballot.

Wisconsin supporters of the Socialist Workers Party have announced that they will begin petitioning on Aug. 1 to place the SWP candidates on the ballot. Three thousand signatures are required for ballot status. Those interested in helping with this effort should write to Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham, Madison, Wis. 53703. Telephone: (608) 257-2835.



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Midwest SWP ballot coordinator Barry David and Indiana campaign supporter Debra Porter file petitions in Indianapolis.

Black cops testify

Chicago police brutality scored at hearings

By ANDREA LAND

CHICAGO, July 24 — Howard Saffold, a Black police officer, revealed here today that Chicago police are awarded departmental points for the number of tickets they issue, arrests they make, and curfew violations they cite. His testimony came in a hearing on police brutality.

The hearing was attended by 125 people, most of whom were Black. It was the third hearing Illinois Congressman Ralph Metcalfe has convened as part of his campaign against the Chicago police department.

As head of the predominantly Black

coalition called Concerned Citizens for Police Reforms (CCPR), Metcalfe is demanding a substantial increase in the number of Black policemen and the establishment of civilian review boards to monitor the activities of the police department.

Saffold, who is president of Afro-American Patrolmen's League, pointed out that only 15 percent of Chicago's 13,000 police are Black, although more than one-third of Chicago's population is Black. He explained that awarding officers points on the basis of how many arrests they make gives them a strong in-

centive to stop and search people, no matter how flimsy the pretext.

Any gun found on a person searched, he reported, is immediately seized. If the officer finds that the weapon has not been stolen but legally acquired, he often keeps it for use later as a drop-gun.

A drop-gun, Saffold explained, is employed when a policeman has shot and killed an unarmed person. To make it seem like the officer's life was threatened, he places the extra pistol on or near the victim. This is just one of the ways the police get away with murder.

Saffold stressed that it was impossible for the police to monitor themselves. He felt that civilians were in the best position to perform this task.

He said the Afro-American Patrolmen's League was concerned about halting the growing polarization between Black and white cops and winning equal opportunity for Blacks on the force.

Sergeant Arthur Lindsay, a much older Black officer, testified after Saffold. Lindsay is a vice-president of the Guardians, another organization of Black police.

Lindsay supported the CCPR's demands but said he was hesitant about speaking out against the stop-and-frisk law. He talked about ridding the Black community of the "criminal el-

ement" so that "capital" might come back into the community. His conservative opinions drew outbursts of laughter from the audience.

Father Dennis Kendrick and Black policeman Robert Irvin had testified earlier. Father Kendrick is associate pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, which is located near the Cabrini-Green housing project. Nearly all of the 10,000 residents of the project are Black.

Kendrick reported an incident of police brutality that occurred the night of Sept. 26, 1970, while he was chaperoning a youth dance in the area. When the dance was over and the youths began to leave the hall, several squad cars suddenly pulled up in front. Police jumped out brandishing nightsticks and guns.

Earlier the police had received a call for help from another officer who claimed he had been shot at. But he was six blocks away. When the cops in the squad cars spotted the crowd of youths, they forgot all about the call for help and proceeded to attack the youths. Several of the youths were badly beaten; others were arrested. Because Robert Irvin objected to the verbal abuse the police subjected Father Kendrick to, he was later harassed by white cops.

The CCPR's final hearing is slated for July 31.



Congressman Ralph Metcalfe confronting Chicago police superintendent James Conlisk this spring with demands for citizen review board and more Black police.

Montreal celebrates national holiday

50,000 march for a 'French Quebec'

The following is from Labor Challenge, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly published in Toronto.

By PHIL COURNEYEUR

MONTREAL, June 25 — Well over 50,000 Québécois took to the streets last night in a huge unofficial celebration of their national holiday, Saint-Jean-Baptiste day. The celebration was "unofficial" because Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montréal (who spent the day in the United States) refused to give city support, accusing the organizers of representing no one but themselves.

The theme of the action—for a French Québec—was prominent everywhere at the festival. Slogans, banners, chanting, group singing, buttons, flags, coat lapels—in hundreds of ways the crowd affirmed their desire for a Québec free from foreign domination. One of the most popular items of the day was a sticker with the words "NOUS: On fête le Québec Français" (We celebrate French Québec) distributed by the Common Front of the three trade union bodies in Montréal.

Earlier in the day over 2,000 people walked through east Montréal in a "March for a French Québec" organized by the Front Commun pour la Défense de la Langue Française (FCDLF—Common Front for the Defence of the French Language). The march began in the pouring rain with some 400 people but gathered another 2,000 en route to Vieux Montréal. The march had the support of the trade union federations in Montréal and was announced as part of the Saint-Jean celebrations. Among its principal organizers were the Trotskyists of the



Mass celebration of St.-Jean-Baptiste Day in Montreal, June 24

Labor Challenge

Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The FCDLF leaflet, calling for the repeal of Bill 63 and for French as the language of work in Québec, denounced Drapeau's attack on the national holiday: "The attempt to suppress our national celebration is part and parcel of the daily suppression of our language going on in the schools and on the job."

Saint-Jean celebrations took place in dozens of other Québec cities and towns, including the capital. The theme—assertion of French language rights—was common across Québec.

In Montréal sales of the Québécois independentist and socialist paper *Libération* were more than brisk.

Thousands of leaflets, distributed by the Tribune Indépendantiste (Indepen-

dentist Forum, similar to the Vanguard Forum in English Canada) announced a follow up action for Confederation Day, July 1. On June 30 the Forum Indépendantiste will hold an "Assembly for a Free Québec against Confederation" with such speakers as Pierre Vallières, Manon Léger of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, a representative of the Parti Québécois, and others.

Interview with Michel Chartrand

The liberation struggle of Quebec workers

By TONY THOMAS

"The Québécois workers are doubly exploited and colonized as workers and as Québécois;

"The Québécois workers have the right to self-determination in order to create a completely new society where, thanks to a socialist mode of production . . . they will be responsible, free, and equal;

"The exploiters of the Québécois workers are the foreign capitalists, American and Canadian, and their Québécois valets;

"The liberation struggle of the Québécois workers is a national liberation struggle;

"This national liberation struggle is a political struggle, which has the aim of the seizure of power by the Québécois workers—of the political, economic and other powers held today by the valets of imperialism. . . ."

The above theses are excerpts from a resolution adopted recently by the Montréal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—CSN) of Québec. The CSN is one of Québec's two largest union federations with more than 200,000 members. The fact that both nationalist and socialist ideas of this type have been accepted by broad segments of the CSN is an important sign of the radicalization of the Québécois workers.

During the CSN's convention in Québec in June, I was able to interview Michel Chartrand, chairman of the Montréal Council of the CSN, on the new nationalist and socialist consciousness of the Québécois workers.

Chartrand has been one of the most militant and controversial labor leaders in Québec for years. A huge cross-country defense effort was built for him when the Canadian government attempted to frame him in 1970. The government's move came in the wake of their imposition of martial law in Québec.

I asked him why the Québécois workers need both independence and socialism. He responded that the two were completely related and you couldn't have one without the other.

"The only way to have socialism," he said, "is to have national independence because the powers are now between two governments [the Québec 'national' government and the Canadian government in Ottawa]. It's very good to have national independence, but we don't want to be like 19 states in Latin America that are under the dictatorship of the CIA and are exploited and controlled by the United States.

"That is why we say we want national independence in Québec—because we are a nation and we want to go along with the things we want to do, to have the kind of government we want, with our own philosophy. We want to be the master in our own country so we can plan the economy the way we see fit, not for the benefit of the American exploiters but the benefit of the people of Québec. So we need both independence and socialism."

Chartrand continued by saying that the language question was one of the most serious aspects of this oppression. "The workers are not working in their own language," he said,

pointing out that the bulk of the Québec economy is owned by U.S. corporations and the rest by English Canadians.

"If your language is not useful to earn your living," he continued, "it will soon become useless in the rest of your life. This is a very important question for us. We are five million in a North America of 300 million English-speakers. We have the right to fight to protect our own language, just as one has the right to protect his own body—with any means necessary."

Chartrand explained to me the role of U.S. imperialists in the oppression of the Québécois.

"Just like everywhere else, they're a bunch of international bandits. They're stealing our natural resources—most of them are owned by the U.S. investors in Québec. They control basic industry, business, trade, and commerce. They control the press, the TV, and the radio. They close down plants, send out thousands of workers, whenever they want to increase their profits. They're getting out of the country more than they're putting in, as in Latin America, Asia, and Africa."

Chartrand advised workers to fight against these positions. The proposal that the CSN establish "people's committees" to oppose candidates who are "against the interests of the working class" and in favor of capitalism was a hotly debated issue at the CSN convention.

Chartrand responded to the idea that unions should only fight for economic gains by saying, "That's stupid. What about a member who's been

paying union dues for over 20 years and he's out of a job? If the labor movement doesn't go into politics—it's acting like you don't know him. Who's going to look after him? Who's going to put up a fight for him, to change the system, to get economic democracy—socialism—instead of capitalism, which is an economic dictatorship? That's the job of the labor movement.

"What is the sense of business unionism as practiced by the AFL-CIO in the United States? What are they doing for the workers getting laid off in the steel, rubber, and chemical industries? The big leaders share the cake from union dues while the workers are in the shops. But when the workers get pushed out, what kind of cake do they have then?

"They have low unemployment benefits and poverty in the United States, which is supposed to be the wealthiest country in the world. They don't even have medicare for everybody in the U.S. There are 32 million people in the U.S. who don't get enough to eat. That's not what we want. That's why the labor movement has to change the political system of capitalism."

As the Montréal CSN resolution proclaims, this independence involves the "taking of power by the Québécois working class." The demand for an independent French Québec does not mean seeking economic reforms from the Canadian government. It means replacing that government with one representing the Québécois nation. And it is becoming more clear that the Québec workers movement is the only force that can politically represent that nation.

Connally tells them: 'It's tough all over'

Thousands starve to death in Afghanistan

By LEE SMITH

John Connally, former secretary of the treasury, spent the first part of the summer traveling as Nixon's envoy to 17 nations in South America and Asia. On July 9, near the conclusion of his journey, he held a news conference in Kabul, Afghanistan. Talking to reporters in the capital of a country gripped by famine, Connally repeated the message that was the central theme on his trip. James Sterba described that theme in the July 10 *New York Times* as being "that things are tough all over, including the United States."



According to Sterba, Connally throughout his tour stressed that "the internal problems of the United States and the world monetary crisis are likely to limit United States generosity."

Connally's remarks no doubt impressed newspaper readers in Kabul, who in June had been treated to a series of articles in the city's independent daily, *Caravan*, written by the paper's editor in chief. The editor, Abdul Haq Waleh, writing from the capital of the country's central Ghor Province, described the effects of the famine there. Sterba reported in the July 11 *Times* that in one article, Waleh told about the "problems local Boy Scouts were having in burying the bodies of victims of starvation before hungry dogs began eating them."

Sterba himself wrote a long article on the famine that began on page one of the June 16 *New York Times*. In it, he told of "sick and starving

children . . . pleading for a nugget of mutton fat from the town butcher, drinking water from a puddle, dodging the flailing sticks of the newly arrived sellers of wheat, flour, onions and tomatoes, picking a precious few grains of rice out of the dirt, and trying to swallow roots and the toxic grass that swells their faces and puffs their eyelids nearly shut."

Sterba explained that thousands of these ragged, starving children had been abandoned by parents unable to feed them. He told how their final nights were spent "stumbling from mud house to mud house, knocking on locked doors and gates moaning for food and warmth, and huddling in corners of abandoned buildings to escape the cold wind."

There are no accurate estimates of how many people have starved to death in this year's famine—the result of two years of drought and a severe winter. Sterba quotes a doctor in Chakhcharan, the capital of Ghor Province, who estimated that locally 2,500 people had died of starvation by late April. The *Times* correspondent also reports that as many as half a million people are suffering from severe hunger in central Ghor Province and the northwestern provinces.

Accurate figures are impossible to come by. Sterba describes Afghanistan as a country "where one can travel hundreds of miles overland without crossing a road and where the Government does not know whether it has 9 million or 17 million citizens." Indeed, despite the fact that it is part of the "Free World," Afghanistan suffers from incredible backwardness. With a land area of 250,000 square miles (slightly smaller than Texas), the country has no railroads and only 1,250 miles of asphalted road. In 1969, there were only 10,795 telephones in the entire nation. Schools are rare outside the provincial capitals, and illiteracy is estimated to be higher than 90 percent.

The wheat harvest this year was down by one-third, and an estimated half of the nation's sheep have been lost. More than 400,000 tons of wheat are needed to make up for the reduced domestic yield. Wheat needs to be distributed immediately to halt the continuing starvation and some of it has to be stored to prevent further starvation this winter. Because of the lack

of roads, time is already growing short for shipping wheat to remote areas for storage.

The United States shipped some 100,000 tons of wheat to Afghanistan in the spring and early summer. And despite his view that "things are tough all over," Connally promised additional wheat and some help with fertilizers, as well as aid in replenishing destroyed livestock. This sorely inadequate dole is evidently what Connally considers the "generosity" of the U. S. that is going to have to be curtailed.

Not only is it too little, it is—obviously—too late. The famine had hit the first of the year, but aid did not start trickling in until late spring. In his June 16 account, Sterba told of a 22-year-old Peace Corps volunteer who was "marked for life" when a child died in his arms. But, Sterba explained, the young man's pleas for emergency help were ignored. Officials realized that his youth made him "impressionable" and waited for some facts and figures before getting concerned.

The facts and figures were slow in coming. The central government, a constitutional monarchy headed by King Mohammed Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Dr. Abdul Zaher, is corrupt and inefficient. It was only stirred into action by demonstrations, such as one in Chakhcharan June 17 when a hungry, angry crowd hurled stones through the windows of the governor's office during a visit by central government officials.



An article in the Jan. 24 *New York Times* reported that "Afghanistan's latent Communist movement (political parties are illegal) showed increased signs of strength during the last year in the form of demonstrations and unusually critical speeches by politicians."

Although these accounts of political opposition are sketchy, it is the kind of opposition they suggest that will be needed to change things in Afghanistan. The current administration in Washington, at the same time that it spends billions to destroy the people and land of Indochina, talks about the need to cut back aid to nations where people starve to death.

In a July 20 editorial titled "Poormouthing Aid," the *New York Times* editors criticize the Nixon line expressed by Connally. "The poverty plea is doubly unconvincing now," say the *Times* editors, "in the light of statistics, just published by the United Nations, showing that the gap between the world's poor and rich nations is steadily widening." One must certainly agree with the *Times* that Connally's arguments about the need to cut back aid are "specious."

But there is more to the report by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs than these bourgeois editors acknowledge in their reference to it. As *The Militant* pointed out in its July 21 editorial, "The rich get richer," the statistics in the report make it clear "that the imperialist robbers have done nothing to help industrialize the former colonies and establish the conditions necessary for a rapid improvement in living conditions."

" . . . Investments are not made on the basis of what will aid the people of those countries but for the profits they will bring to the corporate interests in New York, Tokyo, London, and Paris." It is a scandal that with its wealth, the U. S. has not done more to relieve the suffering in Afghanistan. But in the long run, in order to be free of conditions that make it dependent on aid and keep it balanced in misery on the very edge of starvation, Afghanistan must seek its own path of economic and social development. The record—documented by the UN report—shows that this course only becomes possible for subject nations when they break loose from the grip of imperialism and take the road of socialist revolution.

The Militant gets around...

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS READ THE MILITANT: Many of our subscribers around the world are first introduced to *The Militant* while studying in the U. S., as the following examples indicate. With a request for information about sending a subscription to France, a student in Athens, Ohio, writes, "As an exchange student, I spent this year in USA and often read your newspaper, *The Militant*, where I found a lot of interesting articles."

And supporters in Austin, Texas, report that they recently sold a *Militant* to a Peruvian student who, as a child, had heard Hugo Blanco (a Peruvian revolutionist now in exile) speak in Peru. He also bought a paper to send back to his friends attending school in Peru.

THE MILITANT GETS TO SHILLINGTON AND KEWADIN: Last week we received a request for a weekly bundle of 25 from a supporter in Shillington, Pa., and another from a recreation center in Kewadin, Mich. The request from Kewadin noted that "The *Militant* was one of the newspapers suggested by the Chicanos now picking cherries in Michigan."

ENLIGHTENING, INFORMATIVE, AND COMPREHENSIVE: With a six-month renewal, a subscriber in Sioux Falls, S. D., writes, "It (*The Militant*) has been very enlightening, and it has helped me to better understand the labor and socialist movements in this country, and revolutionary forces at work throughout the world."

Vacation schedule

Next week's *Militant*, dated Aug. 11, will be the last published during August. The following issue will be dated Sept. 8. If areas want to increase their bundles to cover the three-week period, changes must be received in the business office by Thursday, Aug. 3.

A prisoner in New York State acknowledged that he is receiving his subscription with the following note: "I have been receiving your very hip and informative newspaper, *The Militant*. . . I'm understanding a lot of things since I've started reading *The Militant*."

And from Columbia, S. C., a subscriber comments, "For its comprehensive coordination of the

efforts of the broadest range of oppressed groups and its reportage of demonstrations and isolated acts of repression often ignored by the conglomerated press syndicates, *The Militant* has distinguished itself in the service of a popular socialist movement."

Although his political views don't always correspond with those of *The Militant*, he continues, "Enclosed is the payment for an introductory subscription to this fantastic newspaper. Let us work together to build a mass true socialist alternative!"

—NANCY COLE

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New American Movement

A policy of abstaining from mass action



By MARK UGOLINI

The recent convention of the New American Movement (NAM), held in Minneapolis in June, outlined the need for a "mass democratic socialist movement" in the United States. NAM leaders claimed that a major task will be to "put socialism on the agenda in the '70s."

There were many hours of discussion, and numerous position papers appeared. But the convention, attended by nearly 400 people, failed to take clear positions on the major political questions facing revolutionary socialists in the U.S. today.

The convention heard a great deal of discussion of the evils of capitalism and the need for socialism. However, more than this is necessary. An organization that seriously intends to build a mass socialist movement must be based on a program that can set a coherent course of action against the capitalist system and its wars, economic exploitation, racial oppression, and sexism.

NAM, however, set a different course for itself.

Since NAM was initiated in June of 1971, its members have discussed what the organization's basic character should be. Some, including Michael Lerner, a NAM founder, hold that NAM must be an action-oriented organization attempting to fill the vacuum created by the demise of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

According to a pamphlet distributed at the convention by a caucus he is associated with, Lerner's conception is: "... NAM will attempt to create a strong national presence. ... National leadership will attempt to devise ways of making NAM and its programs known. ... The leadership should think in terms of developing national actions and a national newspaper that is nationally distributed, addresses major political questions facing Americans, and is aimed at opening people to the left perspective who were previously unconnected with the left."

Although Lerner sees the need for NAM to participate in various movements for social change, he fails to understand the basic lesson of the SDS experience—the necessity of a clear political program.

James Weinstein

Through the course of the discussion another trend emerged that has since become dominant in NAM. The major proponent of this tendency is James Weinstein, a member of the NAM national interim committee, who is also part of the editorial collective of *Socialist Revolution*, a San Francisco bimonthly magazine.

Weinstein opposes NAM's involvement in any national projects or activities. Rather, he sees NAM participating in locally initiated community-or-

ganizing projects. What these projects would do is unclear.

Weinstein sees NAM as a collection of socialist discussion-groups that gather together social-democratic-minded intellectuals and early new-left radicals to recreate a pre-World War I-type Socialist Party.

His views on this question date back to the early 1960s. They are well documented in an article he authored in the January-February 1967 *Studies on the Left* entitled "Notes for a Socialist Party." They are also contained in his book *The Decline of Socialism in America: 1912-1925* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967).

Weinstein does not seek to build a revolutionary-socialist party based on a clear political program, but instead an "all-inclusive" organization that would involve anyone claiming to be a socialist. He chooses to ignore the lessons learned through the experiences of the early Socialist Party (SP).

Inspired by the Russian revolution, the left wing of the SP split in 1919 and along with other militants formed the Communist Party. These left-wing socialists saw the need to break with the "all-inclusive" SP and form a party based on a clear program that could be carried out in action.

Weinstein's conception of what NAM should be dooms it to the stature of an insignificant discussion club that observes the class struggle from the sidelines. Despite the lip service it gives to the importance of "developing theory," the NAM leadership shows its lack of a serious attitude toward theory by failing to see the need for revolutionary action.

NAM and the '72 elections

Between now and November, the elections will remain the major focus of national political attention. What is NAM's position on the 1972 elections? The NAM convention not only failed to answer this question, but failed to even discuss it—as if the 1972 elections did not exist.

NAM can try to ignore the elections, but the elections won't ignore NAM. George McGovern's nomination for president means the pressure on radicals to support him has become more intense than it was before the Democratic convention.

This was made clear when, as a McGovern victory was becoming more apparent, such well-known radicals as Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and Rennie Davis were won over to the McGovern camp. These endorsements were a strong indication that McGovern's campaign strategy of "co-opting the left" is making inroads.

No organization claiming to be socialist will be taken seriously if it ignores these developments.

The most important job for socialists in the coming months is to expose the capitalist two-party system and present a socialist alternative.

The Young Socialist Alliance distributed an open letter at the NAM convention calling for the endorsement of the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley as a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties and their candidates. Although 17 individuals at the convention endorsed the Socialist Workers Party campaign, NAM failed to take a stand.

With no clear perspective, we can expect that many local chapters of NAM will be sucked into the same electoral trap as Hoffman, Rubin, and Davis—falling prey to the pressures of lesser-evilism and "practical" politics.

NAM and the antiwar movement

Sparked by the bombing of Hanoi and the mining of North Vietnamese ports last spring, the U.S. antiwar movement mounted the most sustained period of massive antiwar activity since May 1970. These mobilizations were launched because hundreds of thousands of Americans saw the need to act against continued U.S. aggression there.

Where was NAM during the upsurge?

In only a few areas did NAM chapters help organize the antiwar marches and rallies. Neither this minimal participation nor Nixon's escalation were topics of discussion at the NAM convention.

The position of Weinstein and the rest of the NAM leadership on the antiwar movement has been expressed on numerous occasions. The September-October 1971 issue of NAM's newsletter, *New American Movement*, complains that the antiwar movement "refused to link the antiwar struggle to the general struggle for socialism."

NAM's position shows a failure to recognize the crucial importance of an independent movement capable of mobilizing massive actions against the war. The job of socialists is to join with others in helping to organize the broadest, most effective actions possible.

Although it heard a good deal of discussion on the evils of racism and sexism, the convention took similar abstentionist positions on the women's liberation and the Black and Chicano liberation movements.

In addition, NAM has failed to outline a strategy for the labor movement to fight the economic policies of the Nixon administration.

The road NAM has chosen will discourage revolutionary-minded activists who presently find themselves members of NAM. It is hoped that many will join the Young Socialist Alliance, a socialist youth organization that has a program for anticapitalist political action.

In Review

Film The Black film boom

During the past few months, a rash of Black-oriented films has come out of Hollywood. This Black film boom has drawn numerous comments from both Black and white film critics.

In the last two years, three films helped convince Hollywood that movies aimed at Black audiences could be big money-winners. These were *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, and *Shaft*. *Cotton* and *Sweetback* each managed to gross more than \$10-million. MGM's production of *Shaft* pulled in more than \$13-million and was one of the top three money-making films for them in 1971. Many in the know believe that Black films this year could easily bring in more than \$100-million. As a result, all the major film studios are now making frantic efforts to cash in on this "Black gold mine."

One of the effects of this rush is reflected in the overall quality of some of these films. Richard Schickel, writing in the June 9 issue of *Life* magazine about *Cool Breeze* and other Black films, has this to say: "The movie is so confusingly written and

edited that you can scarcely tell one character from another. . . . These are, in the trade jargon, exploitation pictures. But they are exploitation in the worst, racial sense of the term, produced (and often written and directed) by whites interested only in giving a newly discovered 'market' a *Shaft* over and over."

What are some of the stories and subjects that are being dealt with? Many of these films are an attempt to portray the difficulties Blacks encounter in trying to make it in white society. *Top of the Heap* is a story about a Black cop who suffers identification problems because he is both Black and a cop. Many of the others, though, depict some kind of Black super-hero who is somehow able to mess over white society.

The major factor that gives many of these films their appeal is that they portray Blacks as having more control over our lives than we now have.

However, no matter how hard these films struggle to project Blacks in a positive light, most still peddle an abundance of sexism, often depicting Black women as oversexed objects of pleasure.

An article in the June 29 *Jet* evaluates some of the effects of these films upon the image of Black women. Actress Judy Pace notes, "there are four basic characters Black women play: 'Prostitutes or hookers in a massage parlor, schoolteachers, nurses or secretaries.'"

Ronald Kisner states in the article, "At a time when Black communities are fueling with Black pride," Black women are projected as "Sapphire" or "Jezebel." In addition to this sexist

Those
"Cotton
Comes
To
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cops are
back
chasing a
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just won't
quit!



Ad for "Come Back Charleston Blue."

treatment, most of these films project a host of other negative aspects and racial stereotypes. Blacks are purposely cast as bums, con artists, or super-studs always lusting for white women.

Despite these negative qualities, most of these films do have some good aspects. One is that they tend to infuse their predominately Black audiences with a great degree of racial pride and identity. Also, most of the companies making Black-oriented films are coming to realize that in order to market such films, they will have to examine some of the historical and social problems that Blacks face. This phenomenon, which is a product of the radicalization of

Blacks, has already resulted in the Warner Brothers presentation of *Malcolm X*.

In addition, more Blacks are now being hired for behind-the-camera jobs. While some of these films are written, produced, or directed by whites, quite a few are being directed by Blacks. In many cases, these new Black directors are undertaking their first major motion picture. Motion picture companies are coming under more and more pressure from Blacks, and it is becoming difficult for them to produce Black-starred films that are not directed or controlled to some degree by Blacks.

In January, CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) sent a list of seven demands for money, jobs, and control to all studios planning to film in Harlem. While some of these were acceptable to the studios, others were not. This development broke during the filming in Harlem of *Come Back Charleston Blue*. The original director, Ossie Davis, eventually resigned because of differences with producer Sam Goldwyn over treatment of the subject matter.

This issue of controlling the script or message that is projected in these films will become more important to the Black community if these film companies continue to produce Black films in the manner they are now. But at this time, as Judy Pace explains, "The movie industry is nothing but big business. Blacks do not control the artistic values or the images of films because there is someone else holding the purse."

—BAXTER SMITH

Books Report debunks myths about pot

Marihuana: A Signal of Misunderstanding, The Official Report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. New American Library. New York, 1972. 233 pp. \$1.25 paper.

In the nineteenth century it was widely believed that alcoholics sometimes died of spontaneous combustion. Charles Dickens's character Old Krook in *Bleak House* disappears in this manner, leaving "a small burnt patch of flooring, a smouldering suffocating vapour in the room, and a dark greasy coating on the walls and ceiling."

No one believes this sort of bizarre nonsense anymore—about alcohol. But equally bizarre things are very widely believed about marihuana, largely because of the misinformation propagated by the bourgeois press and politicians.

Many people believe that marihuana causes people to commit crime; that it causes mental illness and physical disability; that it causes people to use heroin; and that it is possible to overdose and die from marihuana usage. All of these beliefs are false, as the official report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse explains.

The report's most-publicized policy recommendation, that marihuana be legalized for personal use, stems from its examination of marihuana's mental and physical effects and its conclusion that the drug is almost completely innocuous. This recommendation caused President Nixon, who had appointed the commission, to dissociate himself from its findings—something that is becoming a habit for him.

Nixon dissociated himself from the recommendation of the commission on population that anti-abortion laws be repealed so women could control their own bodies. He dissociated himself from the recommendation of the commission on pornography and obscenity that government censorship of sexually explicit materials be abolished. The same has happened with other presidential commissions.

To be sure, the marihuana commission's report leaves much to be desired. Its policy recommendations are laughably contradictory. It suggests that marihuana be legalized for personal use but kept illegal for sale or distribution.

The commissioners were trying to satisfy both antimarihuana and promarihuana forces. In the process they

satisfy no one and spend lengthy sections of their report in complicated argumentation trying to justify their inconsistent straddle-position.

Nevertheless, no one should miss the main point. The report shows quite clearly that the alleged hazards of marihuana are 99.4 percent pure bombast and claptrap.

Some of the more interesting findings of the commission are:

- "Use [of marihuana] is found in all socioeconomic groups and occupations, though slightly more predominant among persons with above-average incomes. A New York survey of the state's general population indicated that ever-use [use at least once] as well as regular use is almost equally prevalent among sales workers, clerical workers, skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers, managers, owners, professionals and technical workers."

- "Young people who choose to experiment with marihuana are fundamentally the same people, socially and psychologically, as those who use alcohol and tobacco."

- "No conclusive evidence exists of any physical damage, disturbances of bodily processes or proven human fatalities attributable solely to even very high doses of marihuana."

- "In short, marihuana is not generally viewed by participants in the criminal justice community [judges, court clinicians, probation officers] as a major contributing influence in the commission of delinquent or criminal acts."

- "The Commission's National Survey revealed that 48% of adults believe that some people have died from marihuana use. A careful search of the literature and testimony of the nation's health officials has not revealed a single human fatality in the United States proven to have resulted solely from ingestion of marihuana."

- "No objective evidence of specific pathology of brain tissue has been documented. This fact contrasts sharply with the well-established brain damage of chronic alcoholism."

There is much in the report—such as the comments on other drugs, and on marihuana's relationship to radical politics, sex, and the work ethic—that would be worthy of separate discussion. The report will provide supporters of the California Marihuana Initiative, a ballot referendum that would legalize the private use of marihuana in that state, with valuable ammunition.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

British army invades N. Ireland ghettos

By DAVE FRANKEL

JULY 25—For the first time since the suspension of the Northern Ireland government and the introduction of direct rule from London on March 24, British troops in Belfast moved into Catholic ghetto areas in force. Extensive arms searches are being carried out, some barricades have been torn down, and more than 150 "suspected terrorists" have been arrested. The British have brought in more troops, making the total 17,000, the highest ever.

The British move followed the setting off of 22 bombs in the center of Belfast on July 21. Eleven people were killed and about 130 were injured in the bombing, which the Provisional Irish Republican Army has publicly admitted responsibility for.

A 13-day truce broke down nearly two weeks earlier when British troops used force in an attempt to prevent 16 Catholic families from moving into homes vacated by Protestants. The families, moving from a Catholic neighborhood, had originally been given permission by the government to move into the homes.

Following this incident, the British sharply stepped up the repression against the oppressed Catholic population. On July 13, for example, British troops occupied Catholic areas in the Suffolk and Falls Road sections of Belfast in a dress-rehearsal for its latest massive attack on the Catholic ghettos. This was the situation at the time of the July 21 bombings.

In the period leading up to the bombings, the Provisionals held talks with the British. In the wake of the bombings, however, William Whitelaw, the British proconsul in Northern Ireland, has whipped up a hysterical campaign against the Provisionals. In effect, he has dropped any pretense of taking a neutral position between the Protestants and the Catholics. This is reflected in the attitude of many Protestant leaders.

According to Jonathan Harsch in the July 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Mr. Whitelaw's firm line—which for the first time is called 'Her Majesty's

Government's' policy rather than Mr. Whitelaw's own—has momentarily satisfied most Ulster Protestants. The extreme right-wing Vanguard movement's leaders call for Mr. Whitelaw's resignation and urge a Protestant rent and taxes strike in protest. But other Protestant leaders have taken a wait-and-see attitude and shelved their original demands for 'total war' against the IRA."

As Stratton Mills, a Protestant member of the Northern Ireland Parliament told *New York Times* reporter Bernard Weinraub on July 22, "I have got a very strong impression that there is a change of policy under way, and that the army are moving to a much more positive search-and-destroy operation as far as the IRA are concerned."

This "search-and-destroy" tactic means that hundreds of British troops are entering and searching thousands of Catholic homes, arresting alleged suspects, provoking gun battles, and generally harassing the population. Weinraub, writing from Belfast on July 23, says that the British actions have "caused complaints, especially in the Catholic New Lodge Road, that soldiers had broken furniture, damaged rooms and used abusive language."

Many Catholics welcomed the suspension of the hated Northern Ireland government and had illusions about what the British proconsul would do. How they will react to this recent massive attack on their communities remains to be seen. For his part, Whitelaw still hopes to divide the Catholic community and isolate the militants.

Meanwhile, as the British army vigorously attempts to disarm the IRA's Provisional wing, such right-wing Protestant groups as the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) are not molested as they continue to stockpile arms and ammunition. The UDA, a vigilante organization claiming about 40,000 members, says it will invade the Catholic areas itself if the British don't take what they consider to be effective action against members of the Provisional IRA.

Czechs jailed for 'subversive' leaflets

JULY 25—Five "subversion trials" have opened in Czechoslovakia in the last two weeks. They are part of the continuing campaign of Communist Party leader Gustav Husak to punish those who participated in the Prague reform movement led by Alexander Dubcek nearly four years ago. They are also aimed at cutting off any renewed efforts to liberalize the Prague regime.

In three trials in Prague that began July 17, according to Reuters dispatches, 13 supporters of Dubcek faced subversion charges. Most were well-known personalities during the Dubcek period.

On July 19 and 20, six of the purge victims received sentences of up to two and a half years in prison.

The Prague City Court sentenced Jaromir Litera, former secretary of the Prague City Communist Party committee, to two-and-a-half-years imprisonment. Josef Stehlik received a two-year sentence and Milon Rokek got a one-year suspended term.

In the second trial, Premysl Vondra, a former radio employee, received a 28-month term. Ota Krizanovsky, a former professor at the Communist Party university, and Josef Belda, a historian, were given suspended sentences of 18 months and 12 months, according to a June 20 Associated Press dispatch from Prague.

In the third trial, four more prominent Dubcek supporters were sentenced to jail and two others received suspended sentences, according to Reuters July 21. The heaviest sentence—six years—was handed down to Jan Tesar, a historian. Jiri Mueller, a student leader twice expelled from Prague's Technical University, was

sentenced to five and a half years in jail.

Rudolf Battek, a sociologist, was ordered jailed for three and a half years and Jaroslav Jira, an engineer who was secretary of the Czechoslovak Students Union, was given two years and three months. The suspended sentences went to Stanislav Furek, a former army officer, and Pavel Maries, a computer engineer.

Two more trials were announced by Reuters in a July 24 dispatch. A trial in Prague involved four persons accused of having distributed clandestine leaflets just before the parliamentary elections last November.

The other trial opened in Brno, the central city of Moravia. The defendants were charged with "forming an illegal group in 1970 to carry out subversive activities against the state," stated CTK, the Czechoslovak press agency. This charge carries a possible 10-year sentence.

The clandestine leaflets involved in all of the Prague trials urged citizens to exercise their constitutional right to cross names off the list of government-approved candidates, according to Reuters. Information about the trials is hard to come by because the government has barred the public from attending. Only wives and parents of the defendants have been admitted.

According to a July 18 Reuters dispatch, the defendants admitted drafting and circulating the election leaflet but denied that this was a violation of the law. Jan Tesar, the historian, said he had drafted various protests and petitions, but that he had done this out of conviction. It was in no way an activity directed against socialism, Tesar declared.

...Washington

Continued from page 15

announced that he disagreed with the judge's decision. In a KOMO-TV interview, he termed the fees excessive and discriminatory, and urged the state legislators to lower them in their next session (January 1973).

CoDEL has asked Kramer to support plaintiff Gary Johnson's appeal for temporary relief from paying his fee pending a final decision. Johnson, along with all other candidates for the nonpartisan office of superintendent of public instruction, must run in a primary election, and must pay his fee no later than Aug. 4. The ACLU attorneys feel that Kramer's admission of the legitimacy of CoDEL's efforts to strike down the filing fees strengthens the chances of winning the case on appeal.

Kramer's response is easily understood when taken in the context of the wide support for eliminating these

fees. CoDEL has received endorsements from many public officials, trade unionists, student activists, attorneys, and professors, as well as from organizations such as the Young Lawyers section of the Seattle King County Bar Association and the Washington Democratic Council (New Democratic Coalition).

CoDEL representative Michael Arnall received an excellent response when he appeared on Seattle's major "hot line" talk shows. One program originally scheduled for 30 minutes was extended to two hours because of the number of listener responses. On another occasion, Don Bonker, Democratic candidate for secretary of state, joined Arnall on a station with a large audience in the Black community. Bonker threw his support behind the suit.

D.C. women fight anti-abortion rule

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Supporters of women's right to abortion have launched a protest against a new anti-abortion restriction passed by the Washington, D. C., City Council.

On July 11 the council passed the Abortion Control Regulation, a measure requiring any woman wishing to have an abortion in the District to undergo a 24-hour waiting period before her abortion. At a subsequent meeting on July 18, the council voted to wait 90 days before making the new restriction a law.

The Abortion Control Regulation is clearly directed against the many non-D. C. residents who come into the city to obtain abortions. Washington, D. C., allows abortion on demand up to the tenth week of pregnancy. The aim of the regulation was clearly stated in a memo to council members by Dr. Henry Robinson Jr., director of the D. C. Health and Welfare Commission.

Robinson's memo said: "Members of the Council, I am pleased to present to you . . . a regulation which I feels goes a long way towards preventing the nation's capital from earning the infamous label of an abortion mill."

Robinson admitted to news reporters that the White House had put pressure on the council to pass the measure. The council consists of Nixon appointees.

Members of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and other groups picketed both meetings of the council, demanding that public hearings be held on the regulation. The women pointed out that the new measure is designed to intimidate women and place further obstacles in the way of their right to abortions. For many women coming from outside the District, the new regulation means an added expense in hotel bills, losing another day of work, and extra child-care problems.

Representatives from WONAAC, the National Organization for Women (NOW), Zero Population Growth, and other groups held a joint press conference to denounce the Abortion Control Regulation. D. C. WONAAC is in the process of building broad support for legal action against the measure.

For more information, contact D. C. WONAAC, 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 318, Washington, D. C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 785-4769.

...British

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to strikes"; the figure rose to 4.7 million in 1968; 6.8 million in 1969; 10.9 million in 1970; 13.5 million in 1971; and 12.4 million in the first quarter alone of 1972.

New York Times correspondent Alvin Shuster reported from London July 24 that "Among those who joined the country's 42,000 dockers in today's walkout were the porters who push fruits and vegetables around Covent Garden. The Smithfield Meat Market in London also was shut. . . .

"The pound closed lower today. . . .
"In an effort to solve the underlying

issue, a joint union-management committee today reported that after six weeks that dockers should be given higher severance pay to encourage them to leave the declining industry. It also proposed steps to give the dockers more container work. However, the report is not expected to ease the present crisis until after the dockers are freed."

The struggle to free the five jailed workers is a big blow at the anti-labor National Industrial Relations Court and an inspiration to all workers who are subjected to similar anti-labor laws.

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 31: Leninist Party Organization.
Thurs., Aug. 3: Stalinism.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8051.
Thurs., Aug. 3: Chinese Stalinism.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. 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., Aug. 1: Why Socialists Run Election Campaigns.
Wed., Aug. 2: The Demand for a Labor Party.

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 31, 8 p.m.: What Maoism Is and How It Came to Power.
Thurs., Aug. 3, 7:30 p.m.: Maoist Institutions and Policies, the "Cultural Revolution," and Maoist Foreign Policy.
Mon., Aug. 7-Wed., Aug. 10: Special Series on What is a Leninist Party? Teacher: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on Monday and Wednesday evenings at 6:45 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Dinner at 6 p.m. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.
Wed., Aug. 2: Implementation of the SWP Trade-Union Policy.

DENVER

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.
Tues., Aug. 1: Russian Revolution—The Insurrection.
Thurs., Aug. 3: History of the Fourth International: Pablo.
Sun., Aug. 6: History of the SWP: the 1950s.

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at Wayne State University, State Hall, Rm. 101, 7 p.m. 50c per class. For more information, call (313) TE1-6135.
Wed., Aug. 2: Nationalism and Class. Teacher: Sheila Ostrow.
Sun., Aug. 6: Two classes: The Multinational Revolutionary Party and The National Struggle and the 1972 Elections. Teacher: Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.
Thurs., Aug. 3: The New Radicalization.

ANNUAL SHISH KEBAB. Sat., Aug. 5. Refreshments: from 4 p.m. Dinner: 5-8 p.m. Party: to midnight. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$3; under 12, \$1.50. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

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., Aug. 2: Our Experience in Party Building.

THE BOMBING OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI—HOW IT RELATES TO VIETNAM. Speaker: Dave Frankel, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Aug. 4, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.) Donations: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Dinner at 6 p.m., \$1.25. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. Socialist Summer School. Series of classes until Aug. 9. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.
Wed., Aug. 2, 8 p.m.: The 1939 Discussion and Split in the SWP. Teacher: Syd Stapleton.
Sun., Aug. 6, 12 noon and 2 p.m. (times approximate): Two classes on The Class Character of the Soviet Union, China, and the East European Workers States. Teacher: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant.

FORUM: Fri., Aug. 4, 8 p.m.: Opposition Movement in the Soviet Union Today. Teacher: George Saunders, Intercontinental Press editorial staff. Donation: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Ausp: Socialist Summer School.

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., Aug. 3: Socialism in One Country or World Revolution? Teacher: Celia Stodola.
Mon., Aug. 7: Maoism. Teacher: Nelson Blackstock.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 6:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). 50c per class. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.
Tues., Aug. 1: The Transitional Program.

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., Aug. 1, 8 p.m.: The Chinese "Cultural Revolution" and Maoist Foreign Policy.
Fri., Aug. 4, 7 p.m.: History of the Fourth International.
Sat., Aug. 5: History of the Fourth International.

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 31, and Thurs., Aug. 3: History of the Russian Revolution.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY: Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. Classes at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. 50c per class. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.
SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND ON WHAT IS A LENINIST PARTY. Fri., Aug. 4-Sun., Aug. 6 Teacher: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

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.
Mon., July 31: Character of a Revolutionary Workers Party.
Wed., Aug. 2: Organizational Procedures of the Proletarian Party.
Mon., Aug. 7: The Cochran Fight (tape and short talk).

...Dems

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the problem of war. McGovern himself supports the right of the U.S. to intervene in other countries. He demonstrated this by his stand in support of the Zionist state of Israel against the Palestinian people and by his promise to leave U.S. forces in Southeast Asia until the Vietnamese fighters agree to a settlement satisfactory to him. If the ruling class is united in support of military intervention in another country, McGovern would send U.S. troops just as all past Democratic and Republican party administrations have done.

Since the "new" Democratic Party will not be able to answer in any significant way the demands of the protest movements it is trying to co-opt, the new coalition is very unstable and isn't likely to last for long. The demands of these movements for social change tend to transcend the limits of the capitalist system. Their logic will be to break with the procapitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Their logic will be to construct new political formations that can truly represent the interests of the oppressed—such as a labor party based on the trade-union rank and file, and mass Black and Chicano political parties.

Moreover, the new coalition is much more flimsy than the old one, which was based on powerful social and political forces. The activist forces in

the new coalition do not have the kind of strong organizational base enjoyed by the power brokers of the old coalition.

For these reasons, the developments in the Democratic Party signal the beginnings of the breakdown of the two-party system and a weakening of the hold of capitalist politicians over the American people. The new young Democratic forces have high expectations. When the Democratic Party fails to come through on its promises, many of these people are going to turn to other vehicles for changing society.

A process of political education is going to take place among many radical-minded young people as the Democratic Party shows in practice that its priority is to defend the capitalist system. Some of these young people are going to turn to the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, which have consistently told the truth about the procapitalist nature of the Democratic Party and of McGovern's campaign. In general, the developments in the Democratic Party signal significant new opportunities for revolutionary socialists and for all struggles for social change.

...Ohio

Continued from page 15

Hall, the local campaign headquarters, on July 22. Supporters from as far away as Cincinnati, Oxford, and Athens heard Jenness speak on her recent trip to Latin America and the fight to be on the Ohio ballot. Herman Kirsch, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D., also spoke. The banquet raised \$570 for the socialist campaign.

During her tour here, Jenness also spoke to meetings at Cuyahoga Community College, Case Western Reserve University, and Bowling Green State University, and to a meeting of 25 members of the welfare chapter of AFSCME Local 1746. In addition, she appeared on the Allen Douglas program, a popular TV talk show; on the Clide Thomas program on WKYC radio; and on WJMO, the most popular radio station in the Cleveland Black community.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, c/o Vince Manning, 10 Washington St., Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 503 Carlisle S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

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Recently Kris and Pedro Vasquez decided to join the YSA. Kris and Pedro were among the founders of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) and have been leading activists in Raza Contra la Guerra, a Chicano antiwar group.

Pointing to the reasons for joining the YSA, Pedro commented: "My ideas developed in struggles demanding Chicano control of the Chicano community. . . . I was one who began to realize that it was this whole system that needed, not to be overhauled, but to be replaced."

"We Raza members of the Young Socialist Alliance," Vasquez explained, ". . . wish to organize and mobilize our Raza against capitalist oppression. We stand for the building of a socialist society—where we as Chicanos can determine our own lives and futures:"

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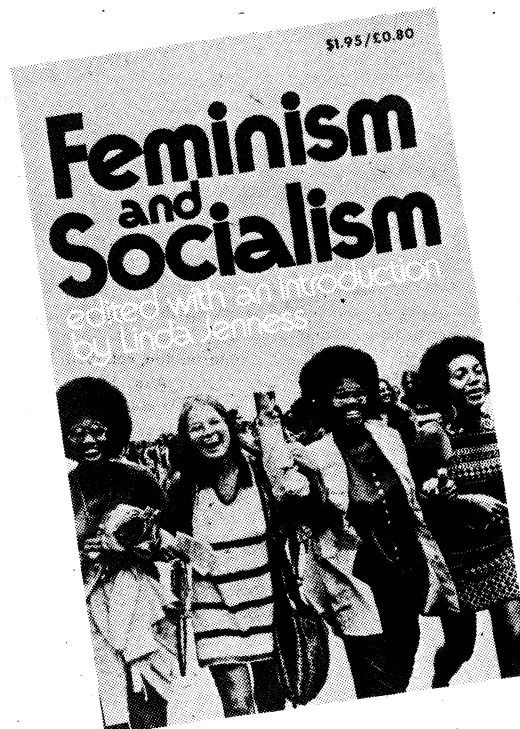
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THE MILITANT

Atlanta Blacks strike against Sears racism

By KEITH JONES

ATLANTA, July 25—More than 400 Black employees of Sears Roebuck have been on strike more than a week here. The strike and subsequent boycott of Sears stores in the metropolitan area were sparked by a lack of equal opportunity in the hiring and promotion of Black workers.

Black employees point out that Sears' claim to be an equal opportunity employer is largely "liberal rhetoric." The striking employees obtained affidavits from Black employees testifying that Black workers have trained new white workers only to see them promoted ahead of those who trained them.

A common practice is to promote a white worker over a Black worker, even when the two are equally qualified and the Black worker has seniority.

Another form of racial discrimination at Sears is the promotion of Black employees, giving them the same title as a white doing the same work, but not giving them the same pay.

The strikers point to the fact that while Blacks make up 50 percent or more of the customers at two Sears stores in Atlanta, none of the Sears stores in the city has a Black manager.

To extend the boycott, gather community support, and explain the reasons for the strike, the Black workers have asked for support from the Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Williams helped draft the following demands for the strike:

1. We demand that any and all criminal or civil charges be dropped against any and all employees arising

out of the Sears, Roebuck, and Company racial labor dispute.

2. We demand all persons involved in trying to bring about equal and adequate job opportunities and promotional opportunities for all Sears employees, regardless of race, creed, or color, by participating in the picketing and boycotting of the stores, be reinstated to their previous positions without loss of pay during the racial labor dispute, and with the same working hours and rate of pay as prior to the racial labor dispute.

3. We demand that any and all mention of the employees' participation in bringing about equal job opportunities and employment opportunities for all Sears employees by participating in the picketing and boycotting of Sears be removed from their personnel files completely, without exception.

4. We demand that no supervisor or managerial personnel be allowed

to harass, intimidate, or punish any employee in any way whatsoever for participating in bringing about equal job and promotional opportunities for all Sears employees.

The Black employees have said they will continue the strike and boycott indefinitely and expand it to other areas of the state and country if necessary.

On July 24, the police arrested 10 strikers who blocked a tractor-trailer rig from unloading at one of the stores. Nine of the strikers were charged under the Safe Streets and Sidewalks Act and with "creating a turmoil." The tenth was charged with the same offenses plus aggravated assault. All have been released from jail on bond.

One of those arrested, a white Sears worker, said he was appalled at the brutality of the cops.

Chavez-Ortiz gets life term for skyjacking

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The kind of "justice" *mexicanos* can expect in U.S. courts was shown July 24 when a federal judge sentenced Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz to life imprisonment after a jury found him guilty of air piracy. There were no Mexican-Americans on the jury. The minimum sentence for air piracy is 20 years.

Chavez-Ortiz, an unemployed Los Angeles cook, had commandeered a plane with an unloaded revolver. His sole demand was that radio time be made available to him to describe the injustices suffered by the Chicano people in this country.

His broadcast evoked enormous sympathy from the Chicano community, which felt he indeed articulated their plight. While recognizing the futility of the particular method he chose to dramatize the Chicanos' grievances, the community's sympathy was evident in the broad defense campaign that developed for Chavez-Ortiz.

Defense efforts were initiated by CASA, a major organization in the Chicano community led by Bert Corona. CASA raised \$35,000 bail and helped launch the Chavez-Ortiz Defense Committee, which presumably will appeal the conviction.

The defense contended that Chavez-Ortiz was under such psychological

stress as a result of his own acute difficulties and the injustices suffered by Chicanos generally that he acted in an unstable way.

The psychiatrist who testified for the prosecution held that Chavez-Ortiz's emotional difficulties were not of such an extent as to absolve him from responsibility for his act.

However, a psychiatrist who testified for the defense, who had examined Chavez-Ortiz at far greater length, said he was not responsible.

In sentencing him, the judge also ordered 90 days of psychiatric examination, which could possibly lead to modification of the sentence.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz

Survivor of cop raid tells of Hampton killing

By NINURE SAUNDERS

CHICAGO—According to the testimony of Deborah Johnson, Chicago police stood directly over Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and pumped him full of bullets.

Johnson is one of the seven survivors of the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid on a Panther apartment. She is the first of the survivors to testify in the trial of Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and 13 Chicago Policemen. Hanrahan ordered the raid; the 13 carried it out. Instead of being charged with murder,

they are on trial for "conspiracy to obstruct justice."

Johnson, who was eight months pregnant, was sleeping next to Hampton when the police burst into the apartment. She said she rolled on top of Hampton to protect him as the police fired, hitting the mattress.

When the firing stopped, the police led her into the kitchen. She said she saw no blood on Hampton, who was not fully awake at the time. While in the kitchen she heard shots, and a voice say, "He will barely make it." Then she heard more shots.

From the front room she heard a Panther sister scream, gun shots, and then a cop's voice that said, "He's as good as dead now." As she was led from the house, she saw Panther leader Mark Clark lying in a pool of blood in the front room.

Before she gave her testimony on July 21, the defendants had been allowed to wear their pistols in the courtroom. But when her lawyer described Johnson's fright at the prospect of testifying before armed defendants, Judge Philip Romiti directed them to check their guns in an anteroom.

On July 24, Johnson was cross-ex-

amined by the defense attorney, who sought to harass her by attempting to place the politics and teachings of the Black Panther Party on trial. This was done despite repeated objections from the prosecuting attorneys, Barnabas Sears and Howard Savage.

This procedure seemed to be designed not only to harass Johnson but to prolong the trial. (There are more than 200 witnesses yet to be called by the defense and prosecution.) After five hours of questioning, Johnson was allowed to step down. The cross-examination is slated to continue.

Jury seated in Ellsberg case

By TYBIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES—After 10 days of intensive questioning by the judge and many challenges from both the prosecution and defense, a jury was seated July 21 for the Pentagon papers trial. Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are charged with conspiracy, theft, and violation of the Espionage Act for making public the top-secret Defense Department study on the Vietnam war.

The defense exercised preemptory challenges against the seating of jurors who have connections with the military, war casualties, defense contracts, and security clearances. Ells-

berg pointed out that a juror recently indoctrinated in strict security procedures could not be expected to believe defense testimony about practices Ellsberg was familiar with. Ellsberg used as an example the fact that "documents higher than top-secret were routinely left lying unguarded in offices of the National Security Council staff."

Defense attorney Leonard Boudin asked the court to order the government to disclose information the FBI obtained in their investigation of prospective jurors. Judge Matt Byrne denied this motion.

Judge Byrne also denied a defense motion to dismiss the jury and call for a new panel from which to select

jurors. The judge's questioning of prospective jurors showed that they had been exposed to, and could not help but be influenced by, the prejudicial headlines of articles in which President Nixon, Governor Reagan, Defense Secretary Laird, and ex-president Johnson accused the defendants of actions bordering on treason.

Eight women and four men make up the jury. They are all over 30, middle class, and white, with the exception of one Oriental juror. This juror previously served on a jury that found a youth guilty of draft evasion. Boudin repeatedly challenged the seating of this jury.