

THE MILITANT

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



**No more Hiroshimas,
No more Nagasakis!**

**Stop bombing
Vietnam!
OUT NOW!**

Mao admits Lin Piao dead/4

**'Male chauvinism in reverse?'
--a reply to Betty Friedan/11**

**National minorities in USSR
fight bureaucratic rule/12**

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CHICANOS AND THE ELECTIONS: Plans are going ahead for the national convention of La Raza Unida Party, which will be held in El Paso, Texas, over the Labor Day weekend. For information on housing and other arrangements contact Jose Angel Gutierrez, Box 550, Crystal City, Texas 78839, or call (512) 374-2322.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WIN VICTORY: On July 31 the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., ruled that the Hatch Act, which prohibits political activity by federal civil service employees, is so vague that it is unconstitutional.

Although passed 33 years ago to ensure that civil-service promotions would be based on merit, not political patronage, the Hatch Act failed in its original design, particularly in higher levels of the civil service. Instead, it has been used to fire radicals and deprive federal employees of their first amendment rights.

WE'RE GOING ON VACATION: This issue of The Militant will be the last published during August. The next issue will be dated Sept. 8. See you then.

YSA MEMBER WINS SUPREME COURT CASE: The U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld the overturning of a 1971 conviction of Carol Henderson Evans for contempt of court. Evans had been a Mayday activist before joining the Young Socialist Alliance. She refused to answer questions before a federal grand jury investigating Mayday activities because an illegal wiretap had been used against her and other Mayday leaders.

The fact that the government appealed the case to the Supreme Court is an indication of its importance. David Rein, the attorney for Evans, said that the Supreme Court decision in effect cancels the government's chances to force Evans to testify. Rein summarized the significance of the case by saying that "Any witness called before a grand jury can raise the claim that illegal wiretapping was used, and the burden of proof will rest on the government to prove that an illegal wiretap was not used."

JANE FONDA RETURNS: Jane Fonda, antiwar activist and the Academy Award winner for best actress of 1971, is back in the U.S. after spending 10 days in North Vietnam. At a news conference in New York, Fonda presented a 25-minute film that showed bombed North Vietnamese dikes, hospitals, homes, and other nonmilitary targets. She said the film would be distributed nationally to help build the antiwar movement. "I don't believe any big-power manipulations on the part of Russia, China, or the United States can defeat North Vietnam," she said.

NATIONAL ANTIWAR CONVENTION: "The first national anti-war convention ever to be held on the West Coast has insured that the nation will continue to rock with protests despite George McGovern's end-the-war promises," writes Ron Ridenour. His two-and-a-half-page article on the National Peace Action Coalition convention appeared in the July 28 Los Angeles Free Press.

"The success of the three-day gathering (which was attended by 1,000 persons at its peak) made it clear that NPAC has moved into Los Angeles in full force," Ridenour said.

PENTAGON PAPERS TRIAL HALTED: A decision from the Supreme Court is expected shortly on whether it will convene in a special summer session to review a constitutional question in regard to the case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo. The request for a special session of the Supreme Court—a step that has been taken only four times before in the court's history—came from the Justice Department.

The question involved is whether defense attorneys for Ellsberg and Russo should be allowed to see the transcript of a government wiretap of a conversation involving one of the defense lawyers.

On July 28 the defense appealed to Associate Justice William O. Douglas for a delay in the Pentagon papers trial until their appeal for the right to see the wiretap transcript could be heard by the Supreme Court next fall. Justice Douglas decided that evening to grant a stay of the trial, pointing to the "profoundly important constitutional question" of government wiretapping and surveillance.

The defense has noted that if the court convenes the special session, it would confirm that the Pentagon papers case involves political persecution.

VICTORY FOR BERKELEY STRIKE: Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener announced Aug. 2 that a settlement had been reached in the three-week old strike of Berkeley city employees. The settlement is a clear victory for the union.

The terms of the agreement include an agency shop, binding arbitration of grievances, and pay increases of 5 to 6 percent over a 12-month period for all union members. Refuse collectors and drivers—most of whom are Black—will receive an additional 2.7 percent increase.

Widener appeared at a hastily called news conference with union negotiators and city councilmen D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons. He credited the settlement to the secret diplomacy of the Black caucus council members—who tacitly supported an injunction against the strikers and refused to hold public hearings on the strike demands.

Councilwoman, Ilona Hancock, who had defied council stands during the strike, did not attend the news conference.

Kenneth Miliner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 7th C.D., hailed the settlement as a victory for the union, which had forced the city council to retreat from its earlier intransigent stand.

'WHAT'S GOOD FOR G.M. IS GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY': On July 28 the General Motors Corporation disclosed the largest three-month profit ever reported by any American company. Despite netting \$723-million in three months, G.M. insists that it needs a price increase on cars and trucks this fall. It called its request for a \$90 price increase a contribution "to the fight against inflation."

TEXAS ELECTION CODE CHALLENGED: The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in federal district court July 26 on behalf of the Texas New Party (People's Party) and the Socialist Workers Party.

Among the issues raised by the suit are: the unconstitutional loyalty oath required of candidates; the early filing deadline; the requirement that a notary public be present when signatures for ballot status are collected; the exorbitant number of signatures required for ballot status; and the requirement that minority parties hold a convention to nominate their candidates.



Militant/Ben Atwood

Hugo Blanco. Latest word (as of Aug. 2) on the exiled Peruvian revolutionist is that he is still being held in jail in Buenos Aires, although the Argentine government ordered his deportation on July 19. Arrested on July 12, Blanco's detention violates Argentine law, which prohibits holding a prisoner more than 20 days without bringing charges. Argentines working for Blanco's release, though preferring that he be allowed to remain in Argentina, are concerned for his well-being. It is unclear at this time why the Lanusse regime has not carried out its own deportation order. Blanco has requested that he be deported to Chile if he is not allowed to stay in Argentina.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS TRY TO SAVE DEATH PENALTY: Attorneys general from Texas, Georgia, and Pennsylvania have recently asked the U.S. Supreme Court to review its decision that death sentences as now imposed in the U.S. violate the Constitution. Although the court is not expected to reconsider the decision, the appeals are only one aspect of a right-wing campaign to reinstitute the death penalty.

This campaign, which is led by public officials, includes efforts to amend state constitutions, to pass laws making the death penalty mandatory for certain crimes, and to continue to fight the issue in the courts. Nixon has even said that he would favor a constitutional amendment to preserve the death sentence.

—DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. Communist Party approved

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: opening salvo of the cold war

By DAVE FRANKEL

At 8:15 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1945, the United States ushered in the age of atomic power by dropping the first atomic bomb on the 344,000 people of Hiroshima. The blast destroyed 4.4 square miles of the city, blinding people at a distance of five miles. According to the Japanese government's estimate in its 1950 census, the bomb killed approximately a quarter-million people.

Four days after the dropping of the bomb, Radio Tokyo reported that its impact "was so terrific that practically all living things, human and animals, were literally seared to death by the tremendous heat and pressure. . . ."

"Medical relief agencies that were rushed from the neighboring districts were unable to distinguish, much less identify, the dead from the injured."

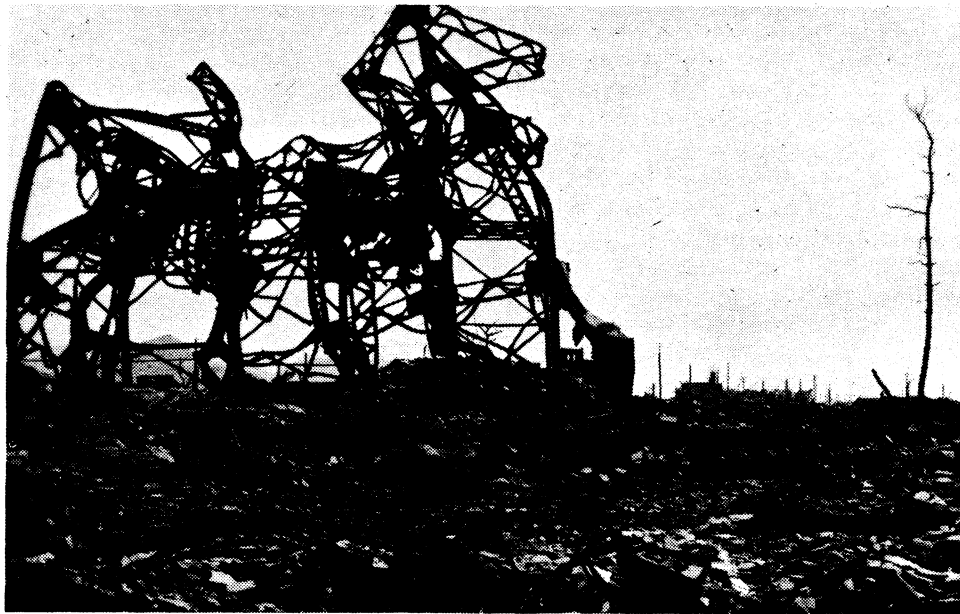
Three days after the destruction of Hiroshima, the U.S. dropped the second atomic bomb. This time Nagasaki was hit, during its noon rush hour. "Results were good," said the general in charge of the mission. Seventy-three thousand died.

President Harry S. Truman, who had given the orders for the obliteration of two of Japan's largest cities, was "smiling and buoyantly happy as he made the announcement," a United Press dispatch reported.

In an Aug. 9 radio address Truman stated hypocritically: "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in the first instance to avoid, in so far as possible, the killing of civilians."

However, the official U.S. study on the bombing, the *Bombing Survey Report*, admits that "Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population."

Truman justified the bombing with the claim that by forcing the Japanese to surrender without having to invade the home islands he saved the lives of a million GIs (an invasion was planned for Nov. 1, 1945). But Japan had sued for peace fully six weeks before the dropping of the atomic bomb. U.S. officials were well aware



Part of Hiroshima after atomic bombing

that Japan's surrender was at most a matter of months away, regardless of any invasion.

Japan was on the verge of economic collapse and had been decisively beaten in three years of bitter fighting.

The *United States Strategic Bombing Survey*, the U.S. government study that documents the role of air power during the Second World War, has a section called "Japan's Struggle to End the War." The survey states: "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts, and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to December 31, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

At the time of the USSR's declaration of war on Japan on Aug. 8, 1945, Soviet representatives announced that in mid-June the Japanese had requested that Moscow intercede to negotiate its surrender.

The U.S. acted as if this overture had never been made. On July 26, 1945, during the Potsdam conference, the U.S., China, and Britain issued an ultimatum to the Japanese, calling

on them to surrender unconditionally or face "prompt and utter destruction."

Fifteen years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the records of the Potsdam conference were "leaked" to Fletcher Knebel and Charles Bailey of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Known as the Potsdam papers, the reports by Knebel and Bailey revealed that Truman knew that the Japanese had requested not only the USSR, but also Switzerland and Sweden, to open negotiations for surrender.

The only condition actually requested by Japan in its surrender efforts through Sweden and the Soviet Union was the retention of the emperor. Although the U.S. refused this offer a month earlier, Washington agreed to keep the emperor when it accepted the Japanese surrender on Aug. 11, two days after the bombing of Nagasaki.

So Japan was beaten and suing for peace. The Soviet Union was going to enter the war. No invasion of the Japanese home islands was scheduled until November. Why, then, did the United States choose to obliterate the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

The answer is given in the diary of Admiral James Forrestal, who recorded a conversation with Secretary of State James Byrnes on July 28,

two days after the ultimatum to Japan. "Byrnes said he was most anxious to get the Japanese affair over with before the Russians get in. . . . Once in there, he felt it would not be easy to get them out. . . ."

The U.S. was determined to force the surrender at once, without any prolonged negotiations. This was to ensure that the Soviet Union would not be involved in the negotiations and would have no role in Japan following the war. That is the explanation for the rejection of the earlier peace offers.

The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki represented the opening salvo of the cold war. It was meant to announce to the world the fate that awaited any people or power that dared stand in the way of American domination of Asia.

Considering the virulent racism of American society in general and the intensive campaign of wartime propaganda directed against the Japanese, it is not surprising that most liberals willingly went along with the use of the atomic bombs and even hailed their effectiveness.

However, it was not only the liberals and right-wing jingoists who supported the dropping of the bombs. The Communist Party, in keeping with its whole-hearted support to the U.S. war policy and its earlier support to the internment of 100,000 Japanese-Americans in concentration camps, also supported the use of the A-bomb.

The day after the destruction of Hiroshima the *Daily Worker*, the CP's newspaper, ended its editorial with this exhortation: "The enemy has several times rejected unconditional surrender. He must now feel the bombshell of the United Nations action. The enemy must be thoroughly smashed, and the basis established for a new Asia."

The *Worker's* Aug. 8 editorial marveled — in reference to the atomic bomb: "Today, humanity must stand back from itself for a moment and look at what this unique animal — the human being — can accomplish!"

However, the CP warned, "The war

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Nixon lashes out at war critics: 'We could finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon'

By ED SMITH

AUG. 2 — "If it were the policy of the United States to bomb the dikes, we could take them out . . . in a week. . . . We are not using the great power that could finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon. . . ."

With these arrogant words President Richard Nixon lashed back at world criticism of U.S. bombing policies in North Vietnam. In a Washington, D.C., news conference July 27, Nixon declared that it was not U.S. policy to bomb the dikes of North Vietnam.

The president asserted that United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and other "well-intentioned and naive people" had been "taken in" by Hanoi's propaganda.

On Jan. 28 the White House released a report prepared by U.S. intelligence services purporting to prove that U.S. bombs had damaged the dike system at only 12 points. Furthermore, the

report claimed, these hits were unintentional and that "no major dike has been breached."

In February 1965 at a previous critical turning point of the war, the Democratic Party administration struck at critics of its war policy in a comparable white paper. Issued by the State Department, the 1965 white paper was entitled "Aggression from the North." It asserted that Hanoi was responsible for the war and that more than 37,000 North Vietnamese troops had "infiltrated" South Vietnam.

But the Pentagon papers showed that the first North Vietnamese troops fighting in South Vietnam consisted of one regiment of the 325th PAVN [People's Army of Vietnam] division, located in April 1965 — two months after the State Department's white paper. This regiment consisted of about 300 men.

The whole U.S. justification for its

genocidal aggression in Southeast Asia is a tissue of lies. Nixon's assurances about not bombing the dikes and a White House document to back it up provide no comfort whatsoever. If anything they should be a further spur, a further warning to antiwar activists, to build pressure on the White House not to bomb the dikes and immediately end its bombing attack on all of Southeast Asia.

The July 29 *New York Times* pointed out that although the White House claimed the new document "was based on photographic reconnaissance, the State Department refused to show newsmen any of the photographic evidence. A department official said that it was decided today not to issue the photographs because it was felt by the Administration that this would only provoke North Vietnam to issue its own photographs in rebuttal, some of which might be 'fabricated.'"

UN Secretary General Waldheim continued to stand firm on his charges that the dikes had been bombed and his appeal to Nixon to stop the bombing. On July 28, George Bush, U.S. ambassador to the UN, once again tried to get Waldheim to toe the line. But when Bush emerged from the meeting he told reporters, "I think the best thing I can do on the subject is shut up."

Another person who hasn't bent to White House intimidation is antiwar actress Jane Fonda. Fonda stated on July 28, after returning from North Vietnam, that she appealed to American pilots over the Hanoi radio to halt raids into North Vietnam.

"I appealed to them to please consider what you are doing. I don't think they know," Fonda said. And in answer to accusations that she was committing treason, Fonda stated,

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By LES EVANS

"Lin Piao died on Sept. 12, 1971." This announcement by the Chinese embassy in Algiers July 28 broke more than 10 months of silence on the fate of Mao Tsetung's heir apparent and the leading figure of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that wracked China from 1966 to 1969.

The embassy statement followed by a day reports in the Western press that Mao himself had confirmed Lin's death in recent discussions with Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike and French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann. The now-official version of Lin's fall

issue of the *New York Times*.

This item is most interesting for the quotes attributed to the Lin Piao-Chen Po-ta group. They are depicted as planning a defensive coup against Mao before he could strike at them first. "At no time has B-52 [Lin's supposed code name for Mao] stopped trying to pit one force against another," the plotters are said to have written. "Today he may try to win over this force to deal with that, but tomorrow he may pit that force against this. Today his words may drip with honey, yet tomorrow he may put you to death on fabricated charges."

The purge of Lin Piao and of Chen Po-ta, Mao's former secretary and long-time troubleshooter for the

nonparty critics of the regime among the intellectuals and the technical elite; and (3) transforming the party bureaucracy from an administrative and police machine into a force for the social mobilization of the masses into the channels prescribed by Maoist orthodoxy.

This last aim, perhaps the greatest departure from the Russian model, was to be accomplished by sending cadres into the countryside and the factories to organize every member of the society into study groups, self-criticism circles, and other units. This, it was hoped, would maintain a constant pitch of unanimous enthusiasm rather than mere acquiescence for the projects of the regime.

base remained the bureaucratic stratum of party and army functionaries consolidated in the early years of power, but a new relationship of forces was to be created. Hereafter the party would derive its legal authority from the thought of Mao rather than Mao deriving his authority as the elected head of the party.

The appearance of collective leadership in the immediate postrevolution period flowed from the kind of leadership favored by Stalin in the pro-Moscow Communist parties. The Soviet dictator never permitted the rise of autocrats like himself in any of the parties under Kremlin control for fear that leaders with such a base would prove difficult to keep in line.

But once in power and freed of Russian influence by the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Chinese bureaucracy—like its Russian counterpart—chose to submit to a single authoritarian leader rather than risk a successful challenge by the masses that a less centralized leadership might be subject to.

Today virtually all the old leaders of the CCP are gone: trade unionists like Liu Shao-chi; the military commanders who brought about Mao's victory, like Lin Piao; and the party apparatchiks like Chen Po-ta and the Cultural Revolution Group. Only Chou En-lai remains among the longtime tops of Chinese Stalinism, and he has made a lifelong career of playing second-in-command, nimbly shifting ground with each change in line and never appearing to aspire to capture the leadership for himself.

As for the revolutionary democratic rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution, that has also been dropped now that Mao's opponents have been discredited and discarded. On the international front China has taken its seat in the United Nations and is pursuing collaboration with Washington. At home the Red Guards have gone, to be replaced with the Young Communist League and the Little Red Soldiers as before. The campaign against bureaucratism has been rudely halted, and party functionaries, now that they no longer claim the right to determine the policies of their leader, are being protected from "ultraleftists." Claude Julien, the Paris daily *Le Monde's* Peking correspondent, reported in the Jan. 8 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

"The truth is that on the local level very few party officials were eliminated. In one Peking district with a population of 400,000, where the Chinese Communist Party has a little more than 2,000 officials, only seven were pronounced 'incorrigible' and sent to 'work the soil under the direction of the masses.'"

As for the equalitarianism Liu Shao-chi is supposed to have violated, this has now become a term synonymous with counterrevolution in the Maoist vocabulary. Yunnan radio this spring warned any of its listeners who were slow to catch the new drift that "egalitarianism has become the chief obstacle . . . in share-out in the rural areas." (March 11 British Broadcasting Corporation *Summary of World Broadcasts*, Part 3, The Far East, No. 3940.)



Chou En-lai . . . a lifelong career of playing second-in-command.

How Mao eliminated opposition

Lin Piao death finally admitted

accuses the former army commander of plotting to assassinate Mao and seize control of the party, the government, and the army. "After his plot was foiled," the embassy statement alleges, "he fled on Sept. 12 toward the Soviet Union on a plane which crashed in the People's Republic of Mongolia."

Lin's pamphlets and portraits were withdrawn from circulation and his name disappeared from the Chinese press last September, but no explanation was made to the Chinese people or to the world for the momentous shake-up in the top leadership of the People's Republic of China.

In the intervening months Chinese diplomats on several occasions told Western reporters that Lin was not dead but under house arrest. This suggested that Mao was undecided on what kind of story could effectively dispose of the reputation of the man he had built up for years as his "close comrade-in-arms." It is not insignificant that the first release of the "official" version was to representatives of French imperialism and of a notoriously antirevolutionary neocolonialist regime, rather than to the Chinese people, who have yet to be told anything.

The cautious list of charges sidestepped any discussion of the political issues that allegedly motivated Lin and his supporters to plot a coup when they already had legal title to the succession. This was written into the new party constitution adopted in 1969. Lin needed only to wait until the 78-year-old Mao died to take over the government. The one exception is the accusation that Lin opposed "the revolutionary foreign policy worked out by" Mao after the Ninth Party Congress in April 1969. This phrase has been used in the Chinese press to signify the rapprochement with Nixon.

No mention is made of the bevy of top military leaders who disappeared along with Lin, including Huang Yung-sheng, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces; Wu Fa-hsien, commander of the air force; Li Tso-peng, first political commissar of the navy; and Chiu Hui-tso, deputy chief of staff of the army.

Peking's official claim that Lin was plotting a coup gives credence to an anti-Lin document circulating in the West that is said to have been drafted for the information and orientation of the Maoist forces in the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This document, entitled "Struggle to Smash the Counter-Revolutionary Coup by the Lin-Chen Antiparty Clique," was summarized in the July 22

regime, marked a new stage in the bureaucratic centralization of power in China. Throughout its first decade the team that defeated Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 presented to the outside world an image of collective harmony sharply at variance with the bloody



Mao Tsetung (right) with his "close comrade-in-arms," Lin Piao, in 1966.

purges that brought Stalin to the pinnacle of power in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

Since the mid-1950s, however, the Chinese Stalinists have seen a series of crises that have produced sharply divergent lines in the top leadership. The differences have been settled in classical Stalinist fashion by imposing a monolithic unanimity around the cult of the single all-powerful leader.

The grain crisis of 1955 sparked the forced collectivization drive aimed at guaranteeing the provisioning of the cities. Peasant discontent and the alienation of the intellectuals in the Hundred Flowers Bloom fiasco of 1957 convinced Mao to break with the Soviet model and to launch the Great Leap Forward in 1958. The rifts in the bureaucratic leadership really date from this time.

The Great Leap Forward had three fundamental aims: (1) subordinating the clan-dominated rural villages to party authority by incorporating them in units (the Communes) larger than the spread of family ties; (2) curbing

The failure of the Great Leap Forward and the years of stagnant economic nondevelopment that followed brought the first crisis within the high command. At Lushan in 1959 the party leadership changed hands. On one side, Marshall P'eng Teh-huai,

head of the armed forces, was purged, to be replaced by Lin Piao. P'eng was the most uncritical defender of rapprochement with the Kremlin and Moscow's way of doing things.

At the same time, Mao was retired as head of state, to be replaced by Liu Shao-chi. Liu opposed Mao's efforts to use the party as an instrument for ensuring the undeviating zeal of the whole population. He preferred to settle for the less ambitious goal of merely eliminating any vocal opposition while following the Russian variant of plying the technicians with privileges to create a buffer between the party and the masses.

It is clear now that the coalition Mao constructed to topple Liu was a makeshift affair from which Mao alone intended to emerge as the wielder of absolute power. After Chen Po-ta's Red Guards and Lin Piao's People's Liberation Army smashed Lin in the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s, Mao set out to dispose of his no longer useful rivals. His social

Support of Angela Davis sought

Czech political purge deepens

By DICK ROBERTS

AUG. 2—Professor Milan Huebl, former rector of the Czechoslovak Communist Party college, was sentenced Aug. 1 to six and a half years in prison on charges of subversion. Huebl is the highest former Communist official to be tried in the continuing Czechoslovak political witch-hunt of supporters of the 1968 reform movement led by Alexander Dubcek.

The Czechoslovak trials have provoked a storm of criticism in Europe. On July 29, the French Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* published a statement by the political bureau of the French Communist Party disapproving the actions of the Prague regime.

In London, Jiri Pelikan, a former director of Czechoslovak television now living in exile, published an open letter to Angela Davis asking her to demand the release of political prisoners everywhere, including Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Pelikan also called on Angela Davis to demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia as well as of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The movement to free Angela Davis had tremendous backing in Europe. In June a committee for the defense of Ukrainian political prisoners addressed a similar appeal to Angela Davis.

When the Czechoslovak trials opened, an underground group in Prague, called the Citizens' Freedom Movement, wrote a letter to Angela Davis asking her to help publicize the trials.

As quoted in the *New York Times* July 23, they stated:

"Your victory against a seemingly all-powerful, arrogant bureaucratic machinery . . . is to us a source of inspiration in our struggle. . . . [But] unlike you, the defendants [in Prague] cannot hope for moral or material support from their countrymen because any public expression of sympathy . . . would automatically result in police measures against such sympathizers."

But as of Aug. 2, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, has carried no report of an answer by Angela Davis to these urgent pleas. In fact, in the 12 issues published since the Czechoslovak trials opened July 17, the *Daily World* has not said one single word about them.

The *Times* of London reported the statement of the French Communist Party July 31. Describing the "lengthy statement" as "mildly disapproving," the *Times* noted that "On the latest wave of trials, [the French Communist Party statement] says that if reactionary plotters resort to subversive activities 'it is right and necessary that they should bear the full rigours of the law'. But this was not the case with the present trials which involved 'a political and ideological opposition'."

"In this particular case, 'we consider that it is by means of an intensive ideological and political struggle that one should act in order to beat and isolate the enemies of socialism' and not through trials."

Most of the 31 Czechoslovakian de-



Angela Davis

fendants so far sentenced have been charged with circulating leaflets at the time of the November 1971 elections in Czechoslovakia. "Copies of the leaflets that reached newsmen," according to a July 27 Reuters dispatch from Prague, "reminded citizens of their constitutional rights in voting, such as crossing names off printed ballot slips or refusing to vote. They also accused the Husak regime of using elections to condone the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact armies in 1968, and the resultant loss of liberties."

New York Times correspondent James Feron wrote from Prague July 30 that "The historians, writers, newspaper and television journalists, stu-

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Army uses 50-ton tanks

British invade Irish ghettos

By DAVE FRANKEL

AUG. 2—Early on the morning of July 31, 13,000 British troops mounted the largest military operation yet undertaken in North Ireland, smashing through the concrete and steel barricades that have ringed many Catholic areas for more than a year. They used 50-ton Centurion tanks equipped with bulldozer blades and hundreds of armored cars and troop carriers.

In preparation for the operation, 4,000 more troops were brought in during the past week. This raises the total strength of the British garrison in Northern Ireland to 21,000.

The army's main target was "Free Derry"—the Bogside and Creggan districts of Derry, which have a population of 35,000. Free Derry, the largest of the areas the Catholics have declared off limits to the British, was invaded by 4,000 British soldiers and 300 armored vehicles.

"The army are now in occupation and control throughout Northern Ireland," said William Whitelaw, the British proconsul, after the assault.

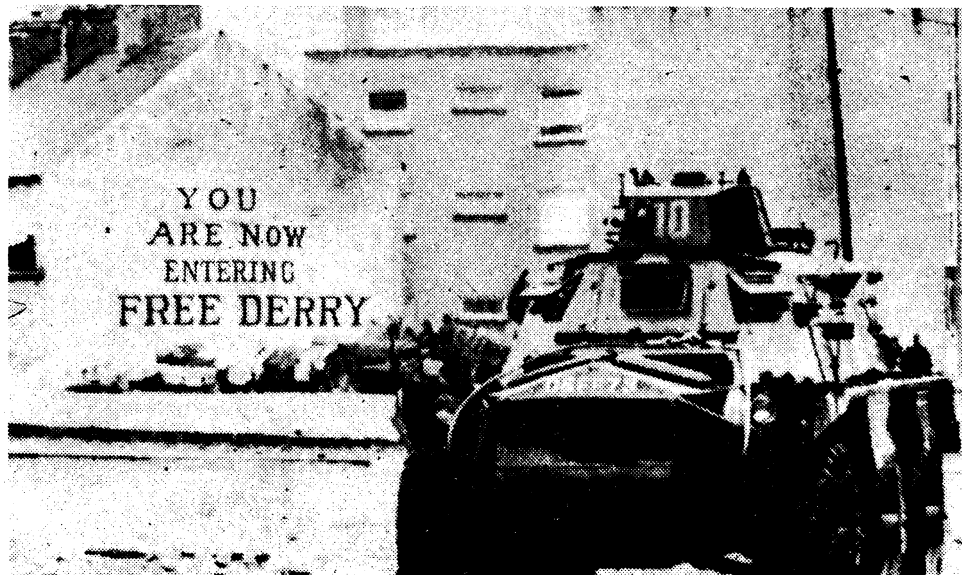
Bernard Weinraub, reporting in the Aug. 1 *New York Times*, described the occupation. "Belfast and Londonderry are under virtual siege. Flak-jacketed soldiers—some of them with faces blackened with charcoal—patrolled such Irish Republican Army strongholds as Andersonstown, Falls Road and the Ardoyne in Belfast as well as the Bogside in Londonderry. Troop carriers, tanks and armored cars, equipped with twin Browning machine guns, rumbled down the center of Belfast."

A July 31 AP dispatch from Derry says, "Barbed-wire roadblocks, thrown

up by troops, blocked the streets so thoroughly that some persons were searched three times in one 200-yard stretch.

"Helicopters circled above, ready to give the word on potential trouble. Weinraub reports that "Although there was no major violence during the assault, Catholics reacted bitterly. Troops were stoned in the Bogside. In Belfast as well as Londonderry, soldiers were cursed and jeered by women and groups of young people."

In view of the overwhelming forces that were used, it is not surprising that there was little resistance to the British invasion. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) announced that it had "avoided a confrontation to prevent civilian casualties," but said that it would continue its military campaign. The Official IRA has said that it will not resume military actions.



British armored car moving into the Derry ghetto area

Although British troops also moved into Protestant areas in which barricades had been erected, this was only a sham designed to maintain the fiction of the army's impartiality. The press reported that masked members of the right-wing Protestant Ulster Defense Association worked beside British troops to dismantle the barricades in Protestant areas of Belfast. "Tonight, it was evident that Protestants were delighted that the symbols of resistance to British rule [the Catholic barricades] have been ripped up," wrote Bernard Nossiter in the Aug. 1 *Washington Post*.

Although the army is attempting to avoid some of the excesses which it has been guilty of in the past, there is little doubt that its occupation of the Catholic ghettos will soon result in increasing conflict with the people living there.

Aug. 5-9 actions protest bombing of dikes

Demonstrations commemorating the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be taking place across the U.S. Aug. 5-9. The actions, called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), will demand an end to U.S. bombing of Vietnam's dike system and to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

In Detroit on Aug. 9 hearings held in the City-County Building auditorium will present evidence of the effects of the air war on the people and ecology of Vietnam. Professor E. W. Pfeiffer, coauthor of "The Cratering of Indochina" (published in the May *Scientific American*), will present films taken while he was in Vietnam doing research on the ecological effects of the war.

Other speakers include Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers and a national leader of



Labor for Peace; Barbara Reynolds, who worked in Japan from 1951-54 with victims of the atomic bombings; Caroline Hamm, who worked in a refugee camp in An Khe, South Vietnam, from 1966-68 as a representative of the American Friends Service Committee; and William Marshall, Michigan Regional Coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The hearings are supported by political, church, trade-union, pacifist and women's groups. They will be followed by a candlelight procession in memory of the Japanese who died in the atom bomb attacks and the Vietnamese who continue to die today.

Some areas, such as Minneapolis, which is the sister city of Hiroshima, and Willimantic, Conn., where a new NPAC affiliate has been organized, are planning activities on each day during the Aug. 5-9 period.

Among the other cities that have scheduled actions for Aug. 5-9 are Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Portland, San Francisco, Orlando, Fla., and Washington, D.C.

In Our Opinion

Will Davis answer?

On the day Angela Davis was acquitted of frame-up murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy charges, she told the press: "I am sure the people who struggled for me across this country and around the world are aware that it [her acquittal] is a symbol that we are going to free all political prisoners and the oppressed."

Angela Davis was freed through a massive show of solidarity from people of many political views throughout the world.

Now Angela Davis's aid has been sought by or in behalf of political prisoners in the Ukraine and in Czechoslovakia. On June 15 the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners appealed for her aid in supporting the rights of dissidents arrested in the Ukraine.

In mid-July a Prague organization called the Citizens' Freedom Movement publicly requested help from Davis in publicizing the current series of trials of Czech dissidents. Still another public appeal to Davis concerning the Czech trials appeared in the *London Times* and the French daily *Le Monde* from former Czech Communist Party member Jiri Pelikan (see page 5).

The political trials in Czechoslovakia are an outrageous travesty of democratic rights, just as the frame-up of Davis was in this country. The dissidents have received sentences of up to six and a half years in prison for simply distributing leaflets reminding citizens of their rights under the Czech constitution. The defendants have pointed out that their leaflets violated no law and were obviously not antisocialist.

The trials are clearly aimed at framing-up critics of the current regime of Gustav Husak, which was forcibly imposed on the Czechoslovak people by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The Czech trials are a major issue confronting all supporters of democratic rights. Already the French Communist Party has been forced to voice criticisms of the trials.

To date the *Daily World*, voice of the U.S. Communist Party, has printed no response by Angela Davis or the U.S. Communist Party to the appeals to Davis and no news on the trials themselves.

Angela Davis, where do you stand on the rights of your comrades in Czechoslovakia who are now political prisoners? Where do you stand on the democratic rights of citizens of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union?

McGovern's silence

While U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese dikes has become a major international issue, Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern—who claims to be a peace candidate—has raised virtually no protest over this atrocity. The criminal dike bombings have been condemned by United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, secretary general of the World Council of Churches. But McGovern has held his tongue.

McGovern's silence on this critical issue is one more indication that he cannot be trusted to withdraw U.S. forces from Southeast Asia if he is elected. With his tremendous campaign resources and ability to get attention in the mass media, McGovern could deal a serious blow to Nixon's bombing policy. He could organize a team of experts to visit Vietnam, or travel there himself, to inspect the dikes and report back to the American people on the crimes being committed in their name. He could throw his support behind the emergency demonstrations against the bombings scheduled for Aug. 5-9, as Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, have done.

He could do these things and others, but he hasn't. His concern is not to offend the conservative wing of the Democratic Party and the ruling class. The peril to the lives of millions of Vietnamese is, to him, a secondary matter.

'Eagleton affair'

The "Eagleton affair" has greatly tarnished the image of honesty and candor that Senator George McGovern has carefully cultivated during his campaign. Like Nixon, Johnson, and other Democratic and Republican party politicians, McGovern has already developed a "credibility gap."

While telling Eagleton and the public that he was "1,000 percent for Tom Eagleton," McGovern was privately giving reporters the opposite impression and laying the groundwork for dumping his running mate. Although mail and calls to the McGovern headquarters favored retaining Eagleton, McGovern told his staff to suppress this information.

This episode should serve to further the political education of the American people. In addition to exposing McGovern's dishonesty, the incident was another example of how the elections in this country are arranged by the Democratic and Republican parties so as to minimize controversy on the political issues.

These parties play up the personalities of individual candidates instead of the political program they represent. This minimizes the accountability of their candidates to the American people after the election.

Letters

Free advice

Please renew my subscription for another year.

Don't forget the struggles in the rural areas. It will take all of us to lop off the head of imperialism. Keep together and get plenty of exercise.

T. D.

Guerneville, Calif.

A prisoner subscribes

This letter, which I hope you receive, has been written from a hell-hole of a concentration camp here in the state of New York. The purpose is to order a subscription to your newspaper. I recently received my first opportunity to read your paper and I thought it was out-of-sight. Right on!

A prisoner

New York State

No jobs for librarians

I would like to relate an experience that happened to a librarian at one of our universities. This person began at a salary of approximately \$3,500 a year in 1965. After about four years of diligent labor he wound up as a nonprofessional cataloger.

In the library "profession" the term "nonprofessional" essentially means a person who does not possess a Masters of Library Science degree. The boss considered the employee a diligent worker. He did some "professional" work (defined as cataloging from scratch, i.e., without the aid of any bibliographical tools whatsoever).

This "nonprofessional" librarian decided to increase his earning power by getting a Masters degree, which he received in June 1971. However, despite his diligent search for a job, which began in April 1971, this "professional librarian" has still not found a suitable position, partly because of fierce job competition among the graduates of library schools.

I believe this is a concrete illustration of what Professor Ernest Mandel has called the proletarianization of intellectual labor and what the bourgeois economists are accustomed to calling unemployment.

R. S. C.

Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Ukrainian political prisoners

The headline in the July 21 *Militant* that said "Ukrainian political prisoners ask Davis for help" was, unfortunately, an error. What was involved was not Ukrainian prisoners but a group of students of Ukrainian descent in the United States who have formed a Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

Hailing Angela Davis's victory over repression, they asked her, in the open letter reprinted in *The Militant*, to intervene in behalf of Ukrainian dissidents arrested since Januray, "many of whom are Marxist-Leninists," such as Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlichny, and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

There is little doubt that those victims of bureaucratic injustice in the Ukraine would appeal, and may even have appealed, to Angela Davis for international solidarity. But we have not yet received word of such an appeal.

There has been a parallel devel-

opment in Czechoslovakia, where dissident Communists have indeed asked Angela Davis to speak out against the frame-up trials now being conducted in their country under Kremlin pressure. But to keep the record straight, the text printed in *The Militant* was from defenders of political prisoners, not the prisoners themselves.

For more information about the Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners, among whose advisers are Philip and Daniel Berrigan, readers can write to P. O. Box 1294, Woodhaven Post Office, New York, N. Y. 11421.

Further news about the committee's efforts to persuade Angela Davis to intervene was given in a recent news bulletin from Canada, put out by the Toronto-based "Set Them Free" Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (P. O. Box 375, Station "E," Toronto 5, Ontario).

The "Set Them Free" Committee, like its U.S. counterpart, is made up primarily of radical-minded students of Ukrainian descent. Their news bulletin reported that "representatives of the [New York-based] Committee traveled to Detroit to see [Angela Davis] personally but were unable to do so because of the tight security. However, they were successful in passing on information about the recent arrests in the Ukraine to one of her chief aides and were promised a reply before Miss Davis leaves for the Soviet Union."

George Saunders

New York, N. Y.

Hall-Tyner campaign

Recent articles in *The Militant* have detailed how the Communist Party tacitly supports the Democrats, even though they are running their own candidates for president and vice-president. I would like to add my own experience with this contradictory game.

Last February, I was in Portland, Maine when Pat Bonner-Lyons, a recent Communist Party candidate for School Committee in Boston, spoke on the topic "The Coming Presidential Elections." She spoke for well over an hour but never once mentioned Gus Hall or Jarvis Tyner, the CP presidential ticket.

Instead, she outlined certain criticisms of George McGovern and, then gave her unqualified support to Shirley Chisholm. Bonner-Lyons explained over and over that all radicals must seek protection from the "freezing cold" (of the Republican Party) inside the "warm house" of the Democratic Party.

I asked her why she never mentioned her own party's candidates. She seemed surprised. "Why Hall and Tyner's candidacy is merely agitational," she explained. "They're not to be taken seriously." She continued, "All serious radicals will work within the Democratic Party this coming year."

The mass movements have seen enough of this disgusting behavior, in which the Communist Party runs paper candidates as a front for supporting capitalist parties. It is rare, however, that one gets such direct and authoritative evidence as this.

Bruce Kimball

Washington, D. C.

The Great Society

Where does all that McGovern money come from?

Your article entitled "Calif. shows how the 'little men' get elected" (*Militant*, June 16) shows violation of, and genuine lack of concern for, the code of ethics of journalism. Many claims against McGovern are mentioned in the article without being supported.

For example, disagreement arises over how his campaign is *not* financed. Yet the "true" way his campaign is financed, or how you know that people do not make small contributions, is not offered. I have worked for the McGovern campaign and happen to have personally witnessed the many small contributions given by individuals to help finance the campaign.

L. G.
San Jose, Calif.

In reply—The *Militant* doesn't deny McGovern's success in raising money from small contributors. Our point is that the money McGovern raises in this way falls far short of the estimated \$35-million he expects to spend on his campaign. To get the rest, McGovern has always relied on the traditional sources of big money—the bankers, industrialists, and businessmen. In short, the very people who control the system McGovern would like us to believe he's out to change.

In the brief, 100-line article you refer to, there wasn't space to document this. We have done so in previous articles. Other newspapers have also reported on it. *New York Times* reporter James Naughton, for example, made the same point a few months ago.

"The Senator's workers at his national headquarters in Washington," Naughton wrote May 18, "once boasted of their ability to 'live off the land,' financing the campaign with \$5 and \$10 bills from citizens rather than massive infusions from fat cat Democrats. The money from citizens is still pouring in (one day this week the mail contained \$110,000), but more and more Mr. McGovern is turning to the traditional sources of big Democratic money."

At the time of the Democratic convention in mid-July, reporters made even clearer the decisive role big contributions play in McGovern's fund-raising strategy. A front-page article in the July 11 *New York Post*, appropriately headlined "Money Bags Are Opening for McG," reported McGovern's financial wheeling and dealing in Miami. "His managers," correspondent John Lang wrote, "say they raised \$1.3 million yesterday and expect to get \$5 million more in the next two weeks."

"We're having no trouble at all," McGovern's national financial director told Lang. "We got \$800,000 in loans yesterday and \$500,000 in gifts from 10 people. And we got it easy."

Easy, perhaps. But certainly not in dollar bills from individual contributors.

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.

He wanted a cut too?—Astronaut James Irwin explained why he decided not to take his share of a reported \$150,000 in proceeds from the sale of unauthorized stamped souvenir envelopes taken to the moon. "A spiritual encounter with God on the moon," he disclosed, "played a major part in my individual decision to refuse my share."

The peacemaker—A friend suggested initiating a collection to buy a dunce cap for Senator Hugh Scott, who has nominated Richard Nixon for the Nobel peace prize. But on reflection, we decided Scott has a point. With the possible exception of LBJ, we doubt anyone has recruited as many people to the peace movement as Tricky D.

A hallowed tradition—"VALLEY FORGE, Pa. (AP)—The soldiers who endured the harsh winter of 1777-78 here under Gen. George Washington's command ate horse meat while their officers dined on chicken and duck, according to new archeological findings."

House-hunting?—The Dean Martin ranch, 45 minutes from Los Angeles, is available. The 63-acre setup includes a seven-bedroom house, a three-bedroom caretaker's cottage and a three-stall stable, a tournament-size tennis court, a swimming pool with

entertainment area, a barroom, a greenhouse, a three-hole practice golf course, and for a fast getaway, a heliport. \$1.5-million.

Promises, promises—Our ears perked up when we heard Mayor Yorty was personally drawing up a comprehensive antinoise ordinance for Los Angeles. But then we read he'll be running for mayor again.

Another "sneak attack"?—Ecologists charge that 34 million oysters have died in Pearl Harbor because the U.S. government permits the pollution of streams emptying into the Hawaiian harbor. In a response no less murky than the water, the Dep't of Health said 99 percent of the harbor's oysters had died "under mysterious circumstances" due to "an oversight."

A matter of worth—According to the AFL-CIO, the average American pays more tax on \$10,000 if the income comes from wages than if it comes from investments. Which merely proves that money works harder than people. And, insofar as congresspeople are concerned, talks louder too.

No false claims—From Washington: "The Food and Drug Administration has taken the position that nonlethal weapons based on tear gas are not

intended for the benefit of persons to whom applied and do not fall within the statutory definition of drugs contained in the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act."

Really?—Presumably on the basis of extensive research, the Bureau of Advertising reports that wives still do most of the family food shopping, even though many thousands of them are working.

—HARRY RING



"I see big trouble ahead, Senator! ... The voters have really started to listen."

By Any Means Necessary

TWO MEMBERS OF QUINCY FIVE FREED. A July 11 news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) reported that David Charles Smith, a member of the Quincy Five, has been acquitted of murder charges by an all-white jury in Tallahassee, Fla. Just before his trial the state dropped a murder charge against Alphonso Figgers, another member of the Quincy Five, for lack of evidence.

Smith and Figgers, along with David Keaton, Johnny Frederick, and Johnny Burns were charged with murdering a deputy sheriff in September 1970 in a grocery store holdup. The local Black residents immediately called it a frame-up and said the state was out to get the five Black youths for their activities in the Black liberation movement. Quincy, about 20 miles from Tallahassee, has been the scene of militant civil rights struggles.

Keaton and Frederick were the first to come to trial. Keaton was sentenced to death; Frederick, to life imprisonment.

The Navy is learning about Black pride. Let's teach them a lesson they want to learn. The pay is good, and in exchange for what a Black man can teach the Navy about people, the Navy can give training in any field from welding to electronics, plumbing, air traffic control, or fire fighting. Not every institution in this country puts a Black man through a lot of changes before providing opportunity.

You can be Black, and Navy too.



Until World War II (1942 to be exact) the U.S. Navy allowed no Black to rise above the position of messman. Now the Navy tries to ride the wave of Black consciousness.

ment. Burns, because of police treatment in the Leon County Jail, was sent to a mental hospital.

But sometime before Smith's trial a break occurred in the case. An investigator for Wilfred Varn, one of the court-appointed lawyers in the case, overheard an underworld conversation that indicated three Black men from Jacksonville had pulled the grocery store robbery.

Varn, who according to the news release carries some weight in Tallahassee, ordered the police to check fingerprints from the scene of the killing with that of the suspects. They did, and the three were subsequently convicted of murder.

Although the prosecution of the Five then tried to maintain that there were eight men involved in the killing, the frame-up could no longer hold water. After the acquittal of Smith, one juror, a white woman, declared, "This case should never have been brought to trial."

Hearings are scheduled soon for Keaton and Frederick. They are demanding that the state either grant them new trials or drop all charges.

U.S. TO CONDUCT MINERAL SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICA. According to a news release from the American Committee on Africa, a New York-based research group, the South African government has commissioned the U.S. government to conduct a survey of the mineral wealth of South Africa.

The committee released copies of an article in the May 16 *Rand Daily Mail*, a leading South African newspaper. According to the article, the survey, known as a geological mapping operation, will be done by earth satellite. Both the National Aeronautic Space Administration (NASA) and the U.S. Geological Survey will participate in the project, which is scheduled to take place in late July or early August.

Based on this survey, Stanley Dayton, executive editor of the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, a U.S. publication, plans to provide in-depth coverage of South Africa's mining and mineral potential.

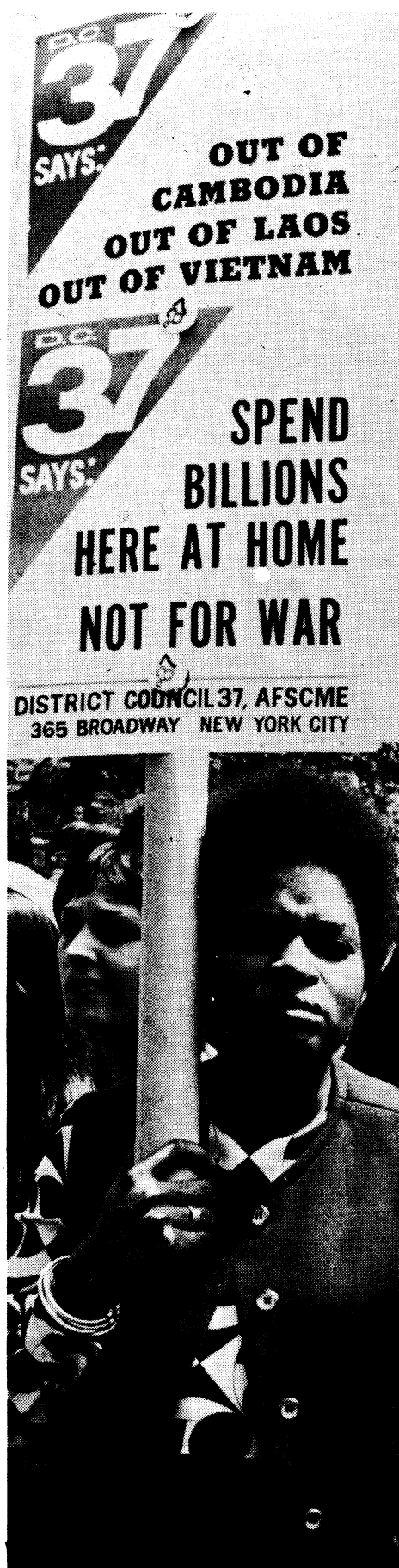
"Mining has been so largely concentrated on gold, diamonds and coal that the enormous potential of base minerals here has yet to be realized. You have a great deal of country which is masked by sand and lava. What is needed is to get a look below this surface," the *Mail* quotes Dayton as saying.

Of course, Dayton forgot to add that maintaining a huge supply of cheap Black labor will be a more basic factor in realizing this "enormous potential." Mining in South Africa—which requires corporations acting in "multinational consortiums"—would not be so profitable if this factor were absent.

The project reveals some of the bonds that connect U.S. imperialism with the reactionary regime in South Africa.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Who speaks for labor?



Trade unionist demonstrates against war in Southeast Asia. Neither the labor officials nor the Democratic Party represent interests of rank-and-file workers.

By DOUG JENNESS

Since the Democratic Party convention many speculations and analyses about labor's role in the 1972 elections have appeared in the mass media. Most of them have either deliberately or unwittingly equated the problems of American workers with the maneuvers and grievances of the relatively thin stratum of privileged labor officials.

This is illustrated in such newspaper and magazine headlines as "Split over McGovern is just start of union woes," "Now organized labor faces dilemma: What to do about McGovern," "McGovern's gain embitters labor," and "AFL-CIO refuses to back McGovern."

One of the more outlandish examples appeared in the July 20 *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party. Over an article listing unions whose executive bodies had endorsed McGovern was the head, "Five million unionists defy Meany stand."

The fact is that there is a wide gap between the ambitions of the well-heeled and well-fed union bureaucrats and the needs of the country's 19.2 million union members and the even greater number of nonunion workers.

Take George Meany, for example. As the 77-year-old president of the AFL-CIO he pulls down \$90,000 a year. He brags that he's never walked on a picket line. He is an ardent anti-communist and a supporter of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Meany's opposition to McGovern doesn't stem from any desire to see working people break with the policies of the capitalist parties. Rather it reflects his reactionary abhorrence of McGovern's criticisms of the Vietnam war and the senator's attempts to build a vote-catching coalition with leaders and activists from the movements for social change. Meany criticizes McGovern from the right, not from the left.

One of Meany's cohorts is reported to have said that the problem with the Democratic Party convention was that there were "too many beards and not enough cigars." This remark reflects the bitterness of the Meany gang toward the new coalition in the Democratic Party that bypassed the Southern Democrats, Mayor Richard Daley's machine in Chicago, and the AFL-CIO chiefs. It also epitomizes their profound distaste for the struggles and protests being waged today against war, racism, and women's oppression.

Apparently to Meany and his cronies, who think cigar-smoking bureaucrats symbolize labor, there aren't any union members among the participants and supporters of the women's, Black, and Chicano liberation movements, and the antiwar movement.

Exclusive golf courses and plush hotel suites have given Meany a limited view of what is going on among workers. Not only are there workers in these movements, but there are millions more who have been affected in some way by them and who are beginning to reject old ideas for new, more radical ones. The majority of the working class, for example, is opposed to the Vietnam war. Yet the jingoists in the AFL-CIO hierarchy still have the gall to say they speak for labor.

Furthermore, the government and big industry's stepped-up attacks on wages and working conditions, along with high unemployment, are driving many workers to greater militancy.

What bureaucrats offer

What does the Meany clique offer these workers?

In the primaries and at the Democratic convention they campaigned to nominate Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, or Henry Jackson for president. When their efforts failed they

took a neutral stance in respect to the presidential race and urged rank-and-file union members to help elect Democrats to Congress and local offices.

Remarks by Meany and United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel that they might consider supporting a labor party can't be taken seriously. These representatives of the parasitic stratum in the labor movement firmly support capitalism, including its imperialist foreign policy. They are not about to break their timeworn support to the capitalist political parties.

Some AFL-CIO officials, as well as Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, have endorsed President Nixon. This perspective of supporting another four years of Nixon's antilabor administration doesn't offer any more to working people than Meany's phony neutrality.

Many other union officials are supporting the McGovern ticket. Among these are Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers.

They are just as much a part of the bureaucratic caste that dominates the labor movement as the fossilized Meany gang and Fitzsimmons. They are strong adherents of the capitalist profit system and are not fundamentally in disagreement with its foreign policy.

However, they sense the changing moods among rank-and-file workers. They feel that Meany's support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and his stubborn refusal to relate to the social protest movements is not the best way for the bureaucracy to preserve its domination over the unions in the face of growing rank-and-file discontent.

They see McGovern's campaign as a way to help corral protesters into the Democratic Party and head off any threats of independent political action. In addition, the Woodcocks and Wurfs figure that if they can help get McGovern elected, they will have a good relationship with his administration and may get a few crumbs for their efforts.

To sell this to their members they are trying to show that workers will be better off under a McGovern administration than they would be if Nixon is reelected. It's a hard case to prove.

McGovern voted for the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, the legislative basis for Nixon's wage controls. His platform also endorses the concept of government wage controls. McGovern argues that the problem with Nixon's wage controls are that they are applied unequally to business and labor. He says he'd make them fair.

But "equality of sacrifice" was tried during World War II, and it didn't work. While prices and profits skyrocketed, wages rose only slightly. The reason it didn't work then and won't work now is that big business is a willing accomplice in enforcing wage controls, but there is no mechanism by which workers can control prices and profits.

McGovern's platform promises "full employment—a guaranteed job for all." It calls for an expansion of public-service employment to provide these jobs—a commendable objective. However, in the Democratic Party platform this demand has the ring of empty campaign rhetoric because no program for financing it is offered. Nor does McGovern's platform have anything to say about implementing a shorter workweek to spread the available work and make up for the jobs being eliminated by automation.

The truth is that neither the old Rooseveltian coalition of Dixiecrats, big city machines, and labor bureau-

crats nor the new coalition behind McGovern is in the interests of workers. Nor does the new coalition represent the interests of Black people, women, Chicanos, or the antiwar movement.

The masses of oppressed people and those fighting for change who will pull the lever for the Democrats in November are not party members in any real sense. They are voters. They play little role in the party and take no regular part in making its key decisions. They are an electoral bloc, not a real part of the Democratic Party.

McGovern's real coalition is between the owners of industry and finance, the professional ward heelers who keep the party machinery oiled, and the various union officials and leaders of protest whose job is to bring out the vote.

A labor convention

The labor movement, instead of looking to the Democratic Party convention, should call its own convention where rank-and-file workers and activists from all the social movements



George Meany. A fellow union official complained there were 'too many beards and not enough cigars' at Democratic convention.

could hammer out their own platform to solve the problems facing the American people. Such a convention of delegates, democratically selected from their unions and other organizations, could establish an independent labor party and chart an inspiring course of struggle against big industry and finance, and for a new society.

Rather than being repelled by the struggles of women, youth, Blacks, Chicanos, and by the antiwar movement, as Meany is, the labor movement should throw its powerful weight behind these movements. It should see the country's demonstrators and protesters as allies, not as "weirdos," as Meany does.

A labor party could mobilize tremendous power behind the struggle for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

It could launch a massive campaign against inflation that would be based on the concept that for every rise in the cost-of-living index, wages, social security benefits, pensions, and welfare payments would automatically increase the same amount.

To combat layoffs it would demand that the length of the average workday be shortened with no reduction in pay, thus spreading the work among all those seeking employment. The money now used for the Vietnam war and armaments could be used for a crash program to build homes, parks, schools, hospitals, and other socially useful projects in order to provide jobs.

For the labor movement to turn its back on the Democratic Party and write its own platform and establish its own fighting party, a new leadership will be required. What is needed is a democratically selected leadership committed to a clear program of struggle in the interests of working people.

British labor upsurge holds lessons for American workers

By FRANK LOVELL

JULY 30 — British workers have set a good example that will encourage the working class in the United States. In a series of strike actions leading up to the threat of a general strike, the union movement on July 26 forced the government of Great Britain to release unconditionally five longshoremen. The five had been imprisoned July 21 for picketing in defiance of the latest antilabor law.

The problems of the working class in England are very similar to those of workers here. Unemployment is growing worse. Workers with long seniority are being laid off. Old factories are closing down or moving out. Speedup on the job is increasing. Rising prices are driving down the standard of living. The government has imposed wage controls.

In England, just as here, inflation is fanned by war expenditures. Northern Ireland is Britain's Vietnam, and the British workers have no more stake in that war of colonial oppression than American workers do in the slaughter of Vietnam.

The Tory government in England,

country to call a series of strikes that extended from July 1 of last year until this March. These were disrupted by court injunctions and presidential back-to-work edicts. There was no coordinated union response to the Pay Board decision that reduced the size of the negotiated wage settlement the longshoremen had won in their long, drawn-out series of strike actions.

The most recent strikes in England are different. The union militants there have found ways to work through their established unions to mobilize millions of strikers for a direct confrontation with the government. They have adopted a program of action that defends unequivocally the right to strike. They appear to have developed in the ranks of their unions a new layer of trusted leaders who know how to organize effective strike actions. And they are not intimidated by the old employing-class axiom, so often heard in this country, that "you can't strike against the government."

The British workers did it. In the face of the no-strike decree and the jailing of five strikers, the unions put aside their narrow-minded jurisdic-

had scored an important initial victory.

The government, for its part, had managed to forestall the direct challenge to its Industrial Relations Act, the target of the strikers.

The very respectable top leaders of the British unions and the Labour Party parliamentarians are anxious to postpone another, more serious political confrontation with the capitalist government. (In this respect they are exactly like the AFL-CIO Meany gang in this country.) No sooner had the government released the five imprisoned longshoremen than the union bureaucrats at the head of the Trades Union Congress called off all plans for a general strike. Buses continued to operate, trains ran on schedule, and newspapers resumed publication.

Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, which represents the longshoremen, came up with a "settlement" of the dock dispute. This had been worked out with the waterfront employers and was acceptable to the Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath. The executive board of the Transport Workers also recommended acceptance.

In the House of Commons, ex-prime minister Harold Wilson, who now heads the Labor Party Opposition, hailed the back-to-work move and recommended that it be "accepted and put into effect."

The longshoremen took a different view of the matter. It must have appeared to most that they were being bribed as well as coerced. The offer before them reportedly included some form of job guarantees and severance payments ranging up to \$10,000 for older or sick workers who voluntarily retire. This will give little comfort to the vast majority of longshoremen and to all other workers who are now demanding jobs for all.

Delegates from all the ports in England voted to override the recommendation of the spineless union executive board and to call out all 41,000 longshoremen.

The longshore strike must now get support from the rest of the union movement. It will test the ability of rank-and-file leaders in both the unions and the Labour Party to develop a strategy to bring down the Tory government and force new general elections in England.

Further developments will show whether the emerging working-class leaders can develop a political program that will sustain the same broad strike support that the repressive government measures have evoked.

Although British workers have a great advantage in their Labour Party, a mass working-class political organization, they have yet to use it effectively. They are still unable to overcome the class-collaborationist practices of the parliamentary Labour Party leaders typified by Harold Wilson. But the same methods of struggle that brought millions of unionists to their feet in these latest strikes can likewise arouse the ranks of the Labour Party, equip it with a genuine class-struggle program, and transform it into a political weapon to serve the needs of the working class.

What happens next in England will be closely watched by the workers in this country and on the continent of Europe. Any political victory that comes as a consequence of the militant strike actions already taken will give new courage to workers everywhere.

Longshoremen in France and on the Pacific Coast of the United States were quick to send messages of solidarity and support. That is a sign of the new awakening.

Dockers tie up British ports

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 30 — Despite government threats and the pleas of top union officials, a solid strike of 42,000 longshoremen is tying up all ports in Great Britain. The dockers, who are members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), are demanding greater job security against the threat of layoffs due to the containerization of ship cargo.

On July 27 delegates from all the ports voted to turn down a back-to-work plan reached by TGWU General Secretary Jack Jones and the port employers. The plan included provisions for higher severance pay and various steps to expand dock jobs to include container work. Dockers described Jones's plan as insufficient.

The delegates, meeting in Transport House, voted to strike 38 to 28, with 18 abstentions.

This idled more than 150 ships at ports in England, Scotland and Wales, according to a July 28 Associated Press dispatch from London. The dispatch stated, "The government is known to have drawn up plans for declaring a state of emergency. The eventual use of troops to move essential supplies has not been ruled out."

Nevertheless, the strike already testifies to the significance of the victory of freeing the five dockers jailed July 21. The five were released as British workers were moving toward their first general strike since 1926.

The longshoremen went on strike in defiance of the National Industrial Relations Act, which had empowered the British rulers to imprison the five dockers in the first place. This antilabor act also provides for a "cooling-off period" in strikes, comparable to the Taft-Hartley Act in the U.S.

But a "cooling-off period" could be enforced only by the threat of arrest against striking dockers or fines against their union," the AP dispatch stated. These are "steps the government is believed unlikely to risk in the current atmosphere."

Massive support welled up for the imprisoned dockers above all because of the twin pressures of inflation and unemployment on British workers. The Aug. 7 *U.S. News & World Report* cited figures on the sharp increase of labor militancy in Britain this year: "In the first five months of 1972, about 15.5 million man-days have been lost in 1,194 industrial disputes. That is more than in any year since 1926 and its general strike. The 1972 score already is larger than the 1971 full-year total of 13.6 million lost days."

U.S. News continued: "Adding to tensions is continuing high unemployment. Currently, 868,000 workers are unable to find jobs, or 3.5 per cent of the work force. That's the highest July figure for 32 years." (Emphasis added.)

The British weekly *Manchester Guardian* reports that the prospect for unemployment is even worse. "It is beginning to look as if the country is in for another bad period of unemployment during the winter months, with the numbers out of work approaching one million again," the *Guardian* states July 29.

"From now until the end of the year, the figures can usually be expected to keep on rising. In the next month, thousands of school leavers in England and Wales are suddenly thrown on the labour market. . . ."



Dockers in London cheer July 27 decision of their national delegate conference to reject recommendations for a settlement and call a national strike.

like the government here, is in the hands of the employing class. The British Parliament recently enacted the antiunion Industrial Relations Act, which is patterned after the Taft-Hartley law here. The government there is attempting to limit wage increases to an average of 8 percent annually, similar to the 5.5 percent limit imposed by the government Pay Board in this country.

The official economic policy of both the British and U.S. governments holds to the myth that wage increases cause prices to rise. Under the antilabor laws of both countries the courts levy heavy fines on unions and jail strikers and their leaders.

The similarities of the repressive acts by the government against unions both here and in England include the fines levied against the Newark Teachers Union and the jailing of Teachers' strike leaders, the same action that was brought most recently against the London longshoremen.

One of the central issues in the current longshore strike in England is the loss of jobs on the waterfront resulting from new methods of transporting cargo in giant-size containers. These methods eliminate the work of discharging freight from trucks or railroad cars, storing it on the piers, and then stowing it in ships' holds.

This is the same issue that forced longshoremen on both coasts in this

tional differences. Teamsters and longshoremen, who had been negotiating over which group of workers would claim the jobs of stuffing the sea-land containers (the same kind of intra-union negotiations that were conducted here), joined forces to start the walk-out.

Later miners, printers, and airport workers joined the walk-out. On July 25 London's bus drivers and conductors voted to stop work at midnight. The locomotive engineers called a meeting to take similar action and stop all trains. The 1.5-million-member Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers set July 31 as their strike date. The Trades Union Congress, representing nine million workers, called a meeting to consider a general protest strike throughout all England on July 31.

An American businessman who happened to be visiting England for the first time thought the country "had gone mad," according to a *New York Times* account.

The trade-union movement was simply demonstrating its power, and that is not madness. The English government backed down in the face of it. The Industrial Relations Court found a legal formula to release the imprisoned longshoremen and shift the blame for their strike action onto their union. In this way the government sought successfully to head off the general strike before the July 31 deadline. But the powerful strike movement

A setback for Arab revolution

Egypt's expulsion of Soviet military a response to U.S.-Moscow detente

By TONY THOMAS

In his "State of the World" address given to the U. S. Congress in February, President Nixon cited the growth of Soviet military strength and aid to Egypt. He said it had "serious implications for the stability of the balance of power [i. e., U. S. imperialist interests] locally, regionally in the Eastern Mediterranean, and globally."

Nixon's fears about the "stability of the balance of power" were lessened on July 18, following a speech by Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. Addressing a meeting of the central committee of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only legal political party, Sadat said:

"After receiving Soviet explanations of the Moscow talks with President Nixon, I felt the need to review the situation calmly and without excitement or convulsions. . . .

"After fully reviewing the situation in all its aspects and in full appreciation of the huge Soviet aid to us, I found it appropriate to adopt the following measures:

"1. Terminate the mission of Soviet advisers and military experts who came at our request as of yesterday to be replaced by our sons in the armed forces.

"2. All military equipment and installations built after June 1967 are to be manned by the Egyptian armed forces and become property of Egypt, and

"3. Invite a Soviet-Egyptian meeting, at a level to be agreed upon, to hold consultations to decide on the next phase of operation."

Sadat's speech launched the evacuation of a large part of the Soviet military forces in Egypt. In the July 23-24 *Le Monde*, Roland Delcour reported that 5,000 Soviet military personnel had already left by that date.

Soviet military aid to Egypt began in 1955. This was after Western aid to Egypt became unacceptable because of conditions placed on Egypt by the Western imperialists and because of deep anti-imperialist sentiment in the Egyptian population.

After the 1967 six-day Arab-Israeli war, Soviet military aid and installations in Egypt were increased. The Kremlin replaced large stocks of military equipment captured or destroyed by the victorious Israelis. Additional equipment and Soviet military personnel were sent to help defend Egypt against Israeli air and military incursions from the Israeli-occupied east bank of the Suez Canal and the Sinai Peninsula, seized from Egypt in the 1967 war. During this period, the Soviet Union secured several naval and air bases in Egypt, strengthening its position in the Mediterranean in relation to U. S. forces.

Between 15,000 and 20,000 Soviet military personnel were in Egypt at the time of Sadat's announcement. According to William Beecher, writing in the July 19 *New York Times*, "Soviet advisers and technicians serving with Egyptian combat forces had been assigned to every air squadron and at least down to the battalion level in the army, according to the military analysts here. They have helped train Egyptian troops in the use and maintenance of equipment as well as tactics."

According to Beecher, Soviet forces manned 70 military aircraft, about 10 reconnaissance aircraft, and 50 antiaircraft emplacements in Egypt. (Some 60 antiaircraft launchers along the Suez Canal, initially operated by

Soviet troops, were turned over to Egyptian crews about two years ago.) The Soviet-operated equipment formed the core of Egypt's defenses since it is more advanced than that staffed by less-experienced Egyptians.

The July 20 *Le Monde* gives an incomplete total of Soviet military supplies now being used by the Egyptians: 1,650 tanks, 1,250 transport vehicles, 1,750 pieces of artillery, 727 aircraft—not counting Soviet-operated planes—plus a number of ships and submarines. This is the largest Soviet military investment outside East-

Israelis have made forays into Lebanon, attacking Palestinian resistance forces and destroying Lebanese villages.

Israel is determined to hold on to the Sinai Peninsula and other occupied territories. It has also received increased military aid from the U. S. Both George McGovern and Richard Nixon are using their presidential campaigns to increase public acceptance of greater U. S. support to Israel. These conditions hardly show a decreased Israeli danger to Egypt that would warrant such a cutback of

U. S., Sadat's regime has proposed what amounts to a guarantee that Egypt will try to cool the Arab revolution in return for the Sinai Peninsula. Egyptian leaders have even proposed that U. S., British, and French troops be stationed in the Middle East to "safeguard" Israel.

In May 1971, shortly after U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers visited Egypt, hundreds of Egyptian officials, led by Vice-President Aly Sabry, were purged and imprisoned for advocating a closer alliance with the USSR. At the time, Sadat accused Sabry and his supporters of having too aggressive a stance toward Israel.

In January 1972, Cairo university students, supported by trade unionists, demonstrated against Sadat, calling for arms and military training for Egyptian workers, students, and peasants, and support to the Palestinian struggle. Sadat's response was to shoot, gas, and imprison them.

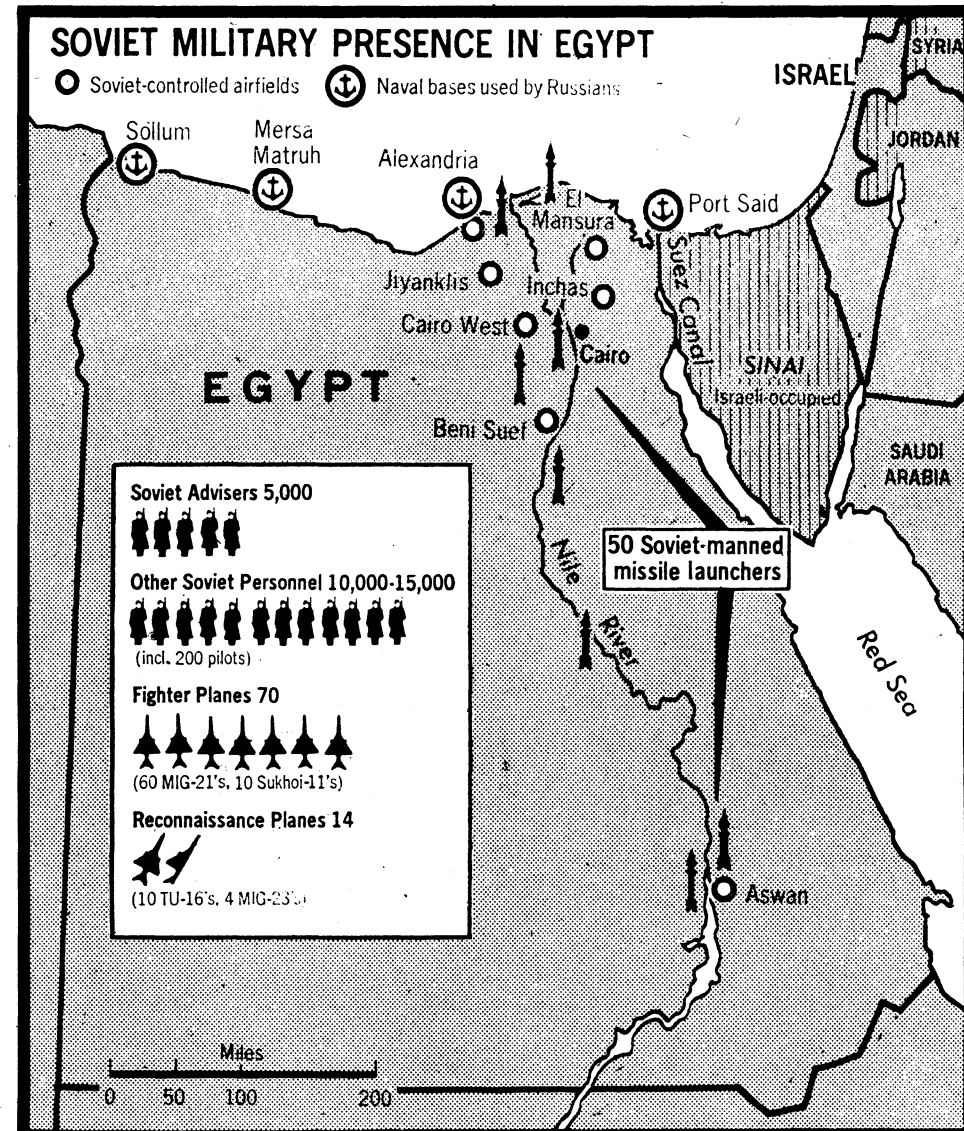
These examples show that Sadat has rejected a policy of consistent support to the struggles for self-determination of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples. Instead, he has resorted to a diplomatic and military bloc with the Soviet Union and increasing overtures to American imperialism. Sadat has excluded reliance on the revolutionary mobilization of the Arab masses because such a mobilization would threaten to sweep away Egypt's capitalist rulers. It would also conflict with the guidelines of "peaceful coexistence," which Moscow and Washington have tried to impose on the Middle East.

It is the Kremlin's policy of accommodation with U. S. imperialism, strengthened during Nixon's trip to Moscow during May, that laid the basis for the new Egypt-USSR rift. During Nixon's meetings with the Soviet leaders, a joint communique was issued that called for new steps toward a "peaceful" settlement in the Middle East, rejecting "violent" attempts to change the status quo (i. e., the extent of Israel's occupation of the Arab countries).

Since the Moscow summit Soviet bureaucrats have been trying to cool down their Arab allies. During the June congress of the Syrian Communist Party, Soviet officials wrote a letter to *Al Rayan*, the Syrian CP newspaper, giving their views on the current stage of the Middle East struggle. The Soviet officials attacked the Palestinian demand for a democratic Palestine with equal rights for Israelis and Palestinians as "wrong both tactically and as a matter of principle," according to the June 28 *Washington Post*.

The *Post* reported that Moscow felt that the options not only of an Arab war against Israel but also of the current ceasefire were "out of the question," and that "peaceful settlement" was needed. The Soviet letter to *Al Rayan*

Continued on page 21



Estimates of Soviet forces in Egypt as of late July. Figures are based on U. S. and West European intelligence data.

ern Europe, comparable only with Soviet aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is not yet clear how many of the military personnel from the USSR will leave. Delcour states in the July 23-24 *Le Monde* that 16,000 advisers would be affected. He stated in the July 21 *Le Monde* that all of the Soviet personnel would leave "in time." However, it is clear that Sadat's speech marked a dramatic change in Soviet-Egyptian relations, seriously weakening Egypt's ability to defend itself militarily against Zionist Israel.

Israeli threat

The central threat to Egypt and the other Arab states is the existence of the imperialist-backed government of Israel. When the Israeli settler-state was established in 1947, it deprived the Palestinian Arabs of their homeland. In 1967 Israel expanded further by seizing parts of Jordan, Syria, and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. In 1956 it had helped Britain and France invade Egypt following the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

In 1970 Israel gave King Hussein of Jordan secret military aid for his attempt to wipe out the Palestinian resistance. Several times this year the

Egyptian military strength.

Sadat claims that this new move actually flowed from a desire to step up the military struggle against Israel and from an increased dedication to Egyptian and Arab nationalism. However, the course of Egyptian policy over the past several years has shown that Sadat has been more dedicated to curbing the Arab and Egyptian masses in their struggle against Israeli expansion.

During the struggles between the Palestinian resistance and the Hussein monarchy in Jordan in 1970 and 1971, Cairo gave only verbal support to the Palestinians, refusing to defend them against Hussein. This resulted in a severe defeat for the Palestinian struggle. Sadat followed a similar course in regard to Israeli attacks on Palestinian fighters in Lebanon earlier this year.

On the other hand, last summer, when President Nimeiry of Sudan massacred thousands of members of the Sudanese Communist Party and members of trade unions, peasant, student, and women's organizations led by it, Sadat was eager to provide Nimeiry with complete military aid, including Egyptian troops.

In negotiations with Israel and the



Anwar el-Sadat

Answer to Betty Friedan

Are feminists inviting a 'male backlash'?

By CINDY JAQUITH

Feminist leader Betty Friedan has stirred up a controversy in the women's movement with her article "Beyond Women's Liberation," which appears in the August issue of *McCall's* magazine. In the article Friedan says that "female chauvinism, and those who preach or practice it seem to me to be corrupting our movement for equality and inviting a backlash that endangers the very real gains we have won these past few years."

Friedan charges that Gloria Steinem and Congresswoman Bella Abzug are promoting the idea that women have "moral or spiritual superiority as a class" and that men possess "brute insensitivity as a class. This is male chauvinism in reverse; it is female sexism. It is, in fact, female chauvinism. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

"If we make men the enemy," Friedan warns, "they will surely lash back at us." (Emphasis in original.)

Friedan's article is confused and contradictory. On the one hand she says women "still need to organize separately," and that "The women's caucuses and NOW [the National Organization for Women], the actions geared to a concrete breakthrough against sex discrimination . . . must continue until the job is done."

But she concludes with the statement, "It's time now for the women's liberation movement to be succeeded in our consciousness by a two-sex movement for human liberation. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

For feminists who remember the political debates within the Black liberation movement in the 1960s, Friedan's talk of "female chauvinism" sounds familiar. When the civil rights move-



Betty Friedan

Militant/Howard Petrick

ment developed into the Black power movement, many white liberals and conservative Blacks cried "racism in reverse." Black nationalists like Malcolm X—who inspired Afro-Americans with a sense of self-pride and the need to organize an independent, all-Black movement—were labeled "extremists" and "separatist elements." In her article, in fact, Friedan likens those she calls "female chauvinists" to "the separatist extremists of race warfare."

Those who opposed Black nationalism in the 1960s raised the specter of a "white backlash" just as Friedan talks about a "backlash" from men today.

Malcolm X explained in a 1964 speech called "The Ballot or the Bullet" why Black nationalists are not "racists in reverse." He said:

"All of us have suffered . . . political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man."

"Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does

mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression."

What Malcolm said about the myth of "black racism" can be applied to the myth of "female chauvinism." To say that some feminists are "too militant," that they are "female chauvinists," is simply turning the question upside down.

It is this society, with its institutions such as the government, the church, the courts, and the family, that keeps women in a second-class position. These institutions encourage and foster the backward attitudes men have toward women and allow them to act as agents of women's oppression. To fight this oppression, feminists have come to the realization that they must organize an independent movement of women.

This does not mean that women are somehow "superior" to men. It simply means that women, who suffer a form of discrimination that men do not, are in the best position to understand their oppression and act against it. To guarantee that they win their full liberation, women themselves must lead this struggle.

The fight for women's liberation will ultimately be part of the struggle against the capitalist system itself, which is not only the root of women's oppression but the cause of race and class oppression as well. The development of the independent feminist movement has helped to promote all the movements seeking to change this rotten system.

Why does Friedan raise the false issue of "female chauvinism" at this time? Why is her article so pessimistic, when the ideas of feminism are gaining more and more support, not only among women but also among men?

Friedan refers in her article to the very serious attacks the anti-abortion forces have launched against women. Earlier, in a statement to the *New York Times* on June 8, she said that in the wake of the near-defeat of New York's liberalized abortion law, the most pressing task was to campaign for candidates who support the right to abortion and work to defeat anti-abortion candidates. ". . . in the nature of the inflammatory situation, this will have to be a somewhat quiet effort," she concluded. In her article in *McCall's* she reiterates this strategy.

If women become intimidated into "quiet efforts," this will only encourage the backlash of the Catholic church, the government, and the other anti-abortion forces. Women can make no concessions and no retreats in the struggle for the right to abortion. Nor can they expect to win this right by placing their faith in capitalist politicians.

What is needed is an aggressive, visible campaign of action for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. This is how women have forced the government to grant concessions in the past, and this is how women can defeat the anti-abortion forces. A victory against the abortion laws will be a step toward winning the fundamental right of women to control their lives.

The women's liberation movement will be most powerful if women can unite in action around issues where there is agreement. Particularly at this time, women who agree on the need to defend the right to abortion should join the abortion-law-repeal struggle. The Oct. 21-22 international tribunal for women's right to abortion, called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), can be an important step in building this united fight.

NAACP gathering avoids policy debate

By DERRICK MORRISON

From July 3 through July 7, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held its sixty-third annual convention in Detroit, Mich. And from all of the reports it seems that the group's conservative leadership kept the affair well in tow.

Among other things, the 2,300 delegates were not allowed to discuss proposals for a Black NAACP president; for realigning the organization with the forces that sponsored the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., last March; or for condemning the heads of two Jewish organizations for attacking preferential treatment for Blacks.

The Boston branch of the NAACP submitted a proposal to the convention resolutions committee for a Black president. Ever since the organization was founded in 1909 the president has been a white. Yet, according to the July 27 *Jet*, a Black weekly, the proposal for a Black president was ruled "unconstitutional because NAACP positions could not be racially delegated!"

The NAACP publicly broke with the Gary convention forces after the Black Agenda, the major programmatic statement of the convention, was not toned down. Being advocates of gradualism and tokenism, the NAACP leaders objected to the "nationalist" and "separatist" thrust of the Agenda.

At the NAACP convention the leadership circulated a pamphlet containing correspondence between the NAACP and the Gary convention organizers, as well as the preamble to the Agenda. This document, however, was not meant as a guideline for floor discussion but as the final word. And the resolutions committee dutifully quashed all proposals supporting the Agenda.

Moreover, delegates who wanted to open a dialogue on the Agenda got little encouragement in addresses to the convention by Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). Diggs co-chaired the National Black Political Convention at Gary and Jackson was a major participant in it.

Presumably, both sit on the post-convention steering committee that is to implement the Agenda and other decisions. Yet, neither Diggs nor Jackson called upon the delegates to override their leaders and initiate floor debate and discussion. They didn't even try to defend the "nationalism" and "separatism" of the Agenda.

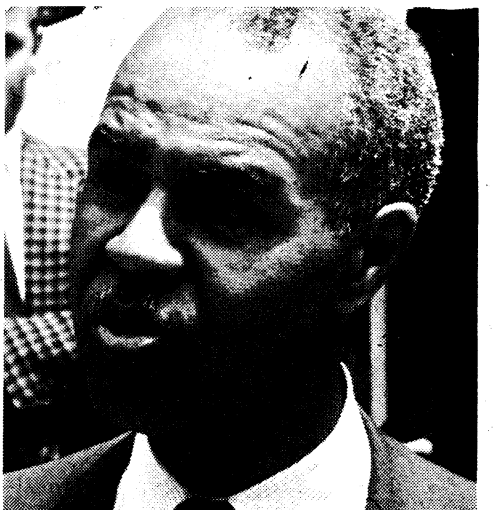
Instead, Diggs talked generally about linking the struggle here with that on the African continent but made no specific proposals for action. Diggs supports a bill in Congress demanding that the U.S. break off relations with South Africa and take action against corporations that refuse to withdraw their investments from that country. But he did not take Wilkins to task for supporting government relations with, and corporate investment in, South Africa.

Jackson called for a summit meeting among a handful of Black leaders. Wilkins, according to the July 8 *New York Times*, would welcome such "a unity conference by leaders . . . who believe in reforming rather than overthrowing the American system." When Jackson spelled out his summit proposal, he made an implicit reference to the Gary convention, at which several thousand Blacks gathered. He said that his summit would be more effective than "3,000 black people at an uncontrollable convention," according to the July 6 *New York Times*.

Jackson thus implied that he was taking no responsibility for the Black political convention. At the same time, the way he motivated the "summit" displayed an utter contempt for the masses. He prefers seclusion in a smoke-filled room with a handful of the "select" rather than the development of structures that could make the leaders accountable to the will of the masses.

On the last day of the convention a proposal somehow got on the floor to condemn the heads of two Jewish organizations. The two officials are Benjamin Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; and Naomi Levine, acting executive director of the American Jewish Congress (AJC).

At the annual plenary of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in Los Angeles June 29, these two attacked the federal government for using preferential quotas to equalize employment and educational opportunities for Blacks and



Roy Wilkins

other oppressed nationalities.

They charged, according to the June 30 *New York Times*, that the "H. E. W. [Department of Health, Education and Welfare], by allowing universities to establish preferential quotas in admissions and faculty hiring practices, was illegally sanctioning 'discrimination in reverse.'"

The charge of "discrimination in reverse" is but another way of defending the privileged position of the whites, of upholding racist oppression and discrimination.

Nevertheless, because of the gilded chains binding the NAACP to white capitalist liberalism in general and to the AJC and B'nai B'rith in particular, Wilkins and most of the delegates chose not to confront this show of racism. They tabled the proposal.

The only show of "militancy" on the part of the leaders occurred when they attacked Nixon for opposing busing to desegregate the schools. They hinted that this might force them to drop their formally nonpartisan stance and oppose Nixon's reelection. These attacks, however, stemmed not only from Nixon's blatantly racist policies, but from the fact that the NAACP itself is in the hip pocket of the Democratic Party.

The NAACP leadership had no great gains in racial progress to announce. The government, under the impact of war, inflation, and world financial problems, is pursuing a policy of "benign neglect." In so doing, it is further undermining the position of the Black liberals.

This policy, coming on top of the nationalist radicalization in the Black communities, points up more clearly than ever the bankruptcy of the NAACP's orientation of relying on the capitalist government and its courts to fight racist oppression.

YWLL: 'No minority oppression' in USSR

Growing opposition to 'Russification' policies in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia

By GEORGE SAUNDERS

Evidence continues to mount of sharpening struggle between Soviet national minorities and the Moscow bureaucracy with its policies of Russification. In Soviet Estonia the appearance of an organization is reported that calls for a referendum on self-determination. And in Lithuania the impact of recent protest demonstrations continues to be felt. At the same time, new information about these protests lends them greater significance than ever.

The Estonian development is reported in the *samizdat* (uncensored and privately circulated) journal *Chronicle of Current Events*, issue No. 25, which apparently came out in May or June. This is the third issue to appear in defiance of a ruling by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee last December calling for total suppression of the journal.

Although the actual text of *Chronicle*, No. 25, has not yet become available generally, it is described in a news story from Moscow by Charlotte Saikowski in the June 21 *Christian Science Monitor*. Her description of the material relating to Estonia is as follows:

"Among the new items of information in issue No. 25 is a report on the existence of an 'Estonian national front,' which seeks a referendum on the self-determination of Estonia. . . . The *Chronicle* states it does not know the size of the organization.

"The publication in May of a new underground journal called *Eesti Demokraat* [Estonian Democrat], which carries the Estonian front's program, is also recorded."

Saikowski gives no further specifics on the program of the Estonian group. Whether the *Chronicle* itself carries more details remains to be seen. Yet this secondhand report is enough to show that a significant development has surfaced in the third Baltic republic. It comes in the wake of a recent open letter by 17 Latvian Communists protesting Russification and the demonstrations in the city of Kaunas in May calling for "freedom for Lithuania" and "freedom for young people."

In commenting on the protests in Kaunas, Paul Wohl in the June 30 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that the youthful demonstrators were supported in their protests by workers on the job. "On the second day [of demonstrations]," Wohl states, "strikes broke out. The big new synthetic fiber factory, the pride of Communist Lithuania, had a sit-down."

The immediate cause of the protests was the self-immolation on May 14 of a 20-year-old Lithuanian worker, Roman Kalanta (first reports, apparently inaccurately, gave his name as Talanta). On the day of his funeral, May 18, police reportedly would not permit young people to attend the ceremonies or to lay flowers in the park in which Kalanta had burned himself. This is the same park that in June 1940 was the site of the proclamation of Soviet rule in Lithuania.

Angry young people gathered in front of Kalanta's home. Street demonstrations began and fighting erupted in which at least one policeman was killed. According to some reports, the youthful demonstrators—mostly high school students and young workers—tried to burn out the KGB (secret police) headquarters in Kaunas in scenes reminiscent of those in Gdansk, Poland, in December 1970.

Special troops were brought in. Hundreds of youths were arrested. According to some reports, any long-haired or otherwise "suspicious-looking" young person was rounded up. Most of those arrested were not held, but 200 young Lithuanians, at last report, were in jail awaiting trial, and had been transferred from Kaunas to the republic's capital and largest city, Vilnius (known also by its Russian name of Vilna).

Protests continued, however. Several days after the Kaunas battles a young plumber, whose name is given by Soviet dissidents as Stonis, burned himself in Varena, a town in southern Lithuania. Reportedly, he and three friends had tried to hang up a Lithuanian flag at the fair at Varena. Police stopped them, but Stonis escaped and immolated himself later that day. Then on June 3 in Kaunas again, a 60-year-old worker named Andrush Ku-

kavichus burned himself to death, according to Soviet dissidents. They also said that secret police buried him in an unmarked grave. On June 10, another elderly worker, Zalish Kauskas, 62, was seized by police just as he was about to burn himself.

Protests spread to Vilnius. On June 11-18, during an international handball tournament, Lithuanian students apparently jeered Russian players, cheered non-Russians, and refused to stand during the playing of the Russian-language Soviet anthem (introduced by Stalin to replace the "Internationale," the original Soviet anthem). The Vilnius students also distributed "anti-Soviet" leaflets and hung Lithuanian flags in the streets. Some 150 were reportedly arrested.

The bureaucratic press in Lithuania has given little information about these events other than to try to discredit Roman Kalanta's motives. The Kaunas newspaper ran a letter allegedly from Kalanta's mother expressing sorrow that people had been injured or killed because of the disturbances following her son's death.

The fact that the official Soviet media found it necessary to acknowledge that something had happened, however, is an index of the seriousness of the events. The usual Kremlin tactic in such cases is to say nothing and pretend that the difficulty does not exist.



Roman Kalanta, a 20-year-old Lithuanian worker, immolated himself to protest Moscow bureaucrats' policies toward national minorities in USSR.

This time, the official media in both Russia and Lithuania did report the fact of Kalanta's self-immolation. But they dismissed it as the act of an unbalanced person or "drug addict." The Vilnius radio, for example, broadcast the following on July 8: "The expert analysis and the investigation carried out after his death showed that Kalanta was not quite mentally sound and committed suicide while in a state of heavy depression."

It has been a frequent practice in recent years for Soviet authorities to use commissions of "psychiatric experts" to rule political dissenters insane. But what refined methods such experts could have used to "carry out" a psychiatric analysis of Kalanta "after his death" were left unexplained.

Even the central Soviet media in Moscow acknowledged the disturbances. At an international press conference in Moscow at which the self-immolation was admitted, it was denied that Kalanta had had any "political motives" (his friends insist that he had). As for the demonstrations, and the subsequent arrests, they were explained away at the press conference by the following statement:

"A small group of hooligans tried to use this pretext to disturb the peace in Kaunas. . . . Those detained were mostly hooligans, criminal elements

who had been tried earlier for thefts and debauches. . . . There were no political motives or political aspects in the affair."

This is not the first time that mass eruptions against the Kremlin have broken out in Kaunas. An earlier such action is described in a newsletter of the "Set Them Free" Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, put out by students of Ukrainian descent in Toronto, Canada:

"In 1956, at the time of the Hungarian Revolution, the city [of Kaunas] revolted, demanding freedom for Lithuania. This precedent-setting disturbance was also crushed by troops on November 1 and 2, 1956."

The extent of official alarm behind the facade of lies was shown by the fact that a delegation from the party-apparatus headquarters in Moscow flew to Kaunas, along with the 69-year-old Lithuanian party leader from Vilnius, Antanas Sileckys. The incoming brass and the Kaunas local officialdom held a special meeting on June 1 and 2 to discuss "organizational and political educational work."

The bureaucracy is trying to "internationalize" its story that nothing is wrong in Lithuania except "hooliganism," drug culture, or individual personality problems. A Soviet-American young people's conference was held in Minsk, capital of Byelorussia, just east of Lithuania, from June 23 to 28. It was sponsored by the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations and the U.S.-based National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

After returning from Minsk, young supporters of Soviet officialdom from the United States held a press conference July 17 in which they stressed that national minorities are "integrated" into Soviet society. According to the July 18 *New York Post*, Victoria Stevens, a member of the national staff of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), which shares the views of the pro-Kremlin U.S. Communist Party (CP), told reporters, "there is no minority oppression in the Soviet Union." According to the July 18 *Daily World*, the national voice of the CP, Stevens "pointed out that in the USSR the best features of national culture, traditions and languages are preserved. . . ."

Richard Simmons, a YWLL member from Alabama, spoke directly on the question of Lithuania. According to the *Post*, he repeated the cover-up stories of the official Soviet press. Referring to the Kalanta case, Simmons said: "We're satisfied he committed that act of self-immolation for psychological, not political reasons." Simmons's reasons for being "satisfied" were not given.

But if Kalanta's motives were "psychological, not political," how do Simmons, Stevens, and those who think like them explain the motives of the hundreds of Lithuanian youth now in jail for protesting at Kalanta's funeral, or at the handball tournament, or the motives of the three or more who have followed Kalanta's desperate example of self-immolation? Is it just one big "mass psychosis"? Should those hundreds of youth be put in "special psychiatric hospitals"?

That would be very dangerous logic for young radicals in the United States to give credence to. How many times reactionaries and racists have dismissed isolated protests or acts of "witness" as the doings of "nuts," or people "just trying to get attention." This is the kind of twisted reasoning that even suggests radicals burn or bomb their own headquarters.

Another representative from the Minsk conference had some less twisted and bizarre observations. Amy Gottlieb of the American-Soviet Friendship Council was quoted in the *Post* as admitting that in Lithuania there was a noticeable "tension in the air."

"The Lithuanian youth are picking up on American hippie culture, and although they didn't speak out against the government, there seemed to be a cultural clash between them and the authorities." (Emphasis added.)

What Amy Gottlieb sees as a "cultural clash" looks more like the initial stages of a profound upheaval in which reassertion of national pride, youth radicalization, and proletarian struggle against bureaucratic overlordship are combined.

World Outlook

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

AUGUST 11, 1972

'Democratization' in Argentina: Two views

I. Manifesto of the Argentine Socialist Party

[In its June 21 issue, *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine Socialist party, announced that it had fulfilled the requirements for taking part in the elections that have been promised by the military dictatorship. Among other things, the Socialist party was able to register 33,000 people as members to meet the stipulations for getting ballot status. The party offered the use of its ballot status to all other revolutionary forces that wanted to campaign against the dictatorship and for a socialist Argentina. This offer is repeated in the manifesto of the Socialist party convention, which we have translated below.]

[The manifesto refers to the three successive military dictators who have ruled Argentina for the past six years. General Juan Carlos Onganía took power in a coup in 1966; General Roberto Marcelo Levingston took over in June 1970; and the current dictator, General Alejandro A. Lanusse, came to power March 23, 1971.]

To the revolutionary activists, to the anti-imperialist fighters, to the workers, to the students, and to the militant youth, the Fifty-First Convention of the PS [Partido Socialista—Socialist party] reaffirms its determination to fight for a socialist revolution.

Anti-capitalist struggles are spreading around the globe. This is the dynamic our Vietnamese brothers and sisters are following and it is present in all countries, even in the very entrails of the imperialist monster, which is being rocked by the struggles of the American masses themselves. Day by day, these struggles are growing in intensity, despite the counterrevolutionary agreements signed between the imperialists and the bureaucrats of the workers states, who themselves are being shaken by demands for proletarian democracy.

Our country is not absent from this red battle map of workers' and popular offensives. Since 1969, the date of the historic uprising in Córdoba, we have been caught up completely in the revolutionary torrent sweeping indiscriminately over national borders. Although our main enemy is imperialism, which exploits the coun-

try as a whole, our national liberation can be achieved only by getting rid of the bourgeoisie, which is intimately linked to, allied with, and dependent on the foreign monopolies.

The present occasion is a special one for a convention of Argentine socialists on two accounts. This is the sixth anniversary of the rise to power of the "Argentine Revolution" [the military dictatorship], and this date coincides also with a redoubled militant offensive of the workers and students, who have just carried out a new Tucumán uprising and are in the course of waging more than a dozen trade-union struggles.

This coincidence offers a good occasion for drawing up a balance sheet of the last six years, which have been rich in revolutionary lessons and experience.

A direct result of the "Argentine Revolution" is the dire need that is creating despair in the homes of our people. Other results are the million unemployed clustering in our cities and the fury of the repressive forces, who are imprisoning and torturing our best young people. The final outcome of the "Argentine Revolution" is the political scheme called the "gran acuerdo nacional" [the Great National Agreement]¹ by which the big capitalist parties (the Peronistas,² the Radicales [liberals], etc.) are trying to set up an electoral trap as their last defense against the onslaught of the masses.

The bonapartist government rose to power ostensibly to right the wrongs done by imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Like the monarchs of old, it promised an era of progress and happiness. And now, at the end of six years, the regime must prepare to retire ingloriously from the scene, junking all of Onganía's pretenses and illusions.

This failure epitomizes the historic incapability of the Argentinian bourgeoisie to develop the country, free it from the yoke of imperialism, and guarantee its inhabitants a decent standard of living. This long period of more than half a decade—in which the most powerful sectors of the national bourgeoisie, concealing their nature behind military swagger and gold braid, have ruled us—has brought a worsening of the catastrophic trend

of the last twenty years. For this whole time the country and the workers have steadily lost ground economically.

The Bonapartist government of Onganía found its direct support in four powerful sectors that have alternated in the leadership of the country's economic and political life—the land-owning oligarchy; the big modern national monopolies; the big foreign industrial and financial monopolies; and the bourgeoisie serving as the intermediary for foreign investment—the sector favoring industrial development, represented by Frondizi³ and Alende.

With a few differences in their points of view, these sectors concurred on a governmental program whose essence boiled down to two points—getting an inflow of investment from abroad and increasing the productivity of labor, that is, the exploitation of the workers. They began to get their investment after they crushed the great strikes of the stevedores, railroad men, and sugar workers. They achieved this with the complicity of the trade-union bureaucracy. The sellout was symbolized by the tie that Vandor put on for the first time to meet Onganía; it was embodied in a wage freeze, compulsory arbitration, and repeal of the law on firings in the construction industry.

The setback of the workers and the defeat of the student movement were the exact barometer of imperialist penetration. When the new team led by Krieger Vasena took over, representing the rise to dominance of the financial bourgeoisie, it achieved the "miracle" of stabilizing the peso and getting a strong flow of investment into the modern and high-productivity industries. In the face of such "success," the liberal middle bourgeoisie ousted from power by the coup and the Peronista industrialists prostrated themselves, putting the wraps on their criticisms. From Madrid, Perón said: "We will have to wait and see."

But far from bringing progress, the Yankee capital that the Argentine bourgeoisie pined for introduced an enormous imbalance into our economic structure. There were no bounds to investments and financial penetration, and so foreign capital began to flood sectors previously reserved for the Argentine bourgeoisie—the banks,

agricultural sectors, modern light industry, supermarkets, etc. This situation led to growing opposition from wings of the bourgeoisie. Frondizi, Alende, and other politicians who had played leading roles in assisting colonization, became alarmed at the disastrous result of financial penetration. The lead of this bourgeois opposition was taken by Perón and Balbín, in the name of the middle bourgeoisie in ranching and agriculture and new light industry. This was the beginning of the history of the Hora del Pueblo [Hour of the People—a middle-class united front], whose final chapters are being played out in these days.

The government that shortly before had been all-powerful began to show its intrinsic weakness. It could no longer play the role of arbiter in the conflicts between different sectors of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Lacking any support or strength of its own, it was left suspended in midair. At the same time, the first symptoms appeared of a wave of worker and student rebellions, especially in the interior of the country where the trade-union bureaucracy was weaker and less able to hold back struggles. Under the influence of new leaderships, new battles started up. One of these, the fight waged by the SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automobile Mechanics and Related Workers] against layoffs culminated in the Córdoba uprising, which could only be understood in the context of the economic crisis and social discontent embracing the various strata of the population.

While the tremendous imperialist of-

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1. The Great National Agreement (GAN) was initiated by the Argentine rulers in preparation for the 1973 elections. It is a coalition open to all parties. Through the GAN the dictatorship hopes to unite the ruling class behind one candidate, if possible, and also to bring the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy into collaboration with, and participation in, the new government. The only legal working-class party that has taken a firm stand in opposition to participation in the GAN is the Socialist Party headed by Juan Coral.

2. Juan Perón was a populist military dictator of Argentina from 1946-1955. To solidify a social base behind his regime, he permitted the growth of the trade unions and won influence over most of the trade-union bureaucracy. Since 1955 Perón has lived in exile in Spain.

3. Arturo Frondizi was president of Argentina from 1958 to 1962.

fensive served to dislocate the structure of the economy and accentuate still more the economic crisis and conflicts within the bourgeoisie, the explosion of rebellions in the interior profoundly altered the entire situation in the country as a whole. They left an indelible imprint. The changes went beyond the fall of the Onganía government and a shift in the political line of the "Argentinian Revolution." They left their impress on the mentality, experience, and organization of the Argentinian masses. In this sense, the Córdoba uprising was the same thing for us as the "spring revolution" for Czechoslovakia, the Gdansk rising for Poland, the Tet offensive for Vietnam, the colossal mobilization against the war in the United States, the Uruguayan strikes, the great advance of the revolution in Bolivia, and the French May, all of which occurred in the same period.

For the workers and people's movement the Córdoba uprising was a landmark in the cycle of struggles that are continuing and intensifying in this period, a cycle which has now also passed through other memorable episodes such as the rebellions in Rosario, Mendoza, Mar del Plata, and now, once again, Tucumán. This cycle has various features that make it unique. In the first place, the student movement and the middle class have broken out of their traditional isolation from the working class and joined with the workers in a common front against the regime. In the second place the process of developing new leaderships has intensified. In the previous period this was proceeding in a scattered and molecular way. Now in the living reality of the immense majority of workers' struggles led by independent or left leaderships, the process has become concentrated. There is an objective tendency for these new leaderships to group together in class-struggle and revolutionary nuclei outside the Peronista apparatus, which is controlled by the trade-union bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. The high-water mark of this trend has been the development of the group around

Sitrac-Sitram [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord-Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer—the Materfer and Concord plant unions]. Although this formation suffered a temporary defeat, it can be repeated on a higher, directly political, level in the Polo Obrero y Socialista [Proletarian and Socialist Pole].⁴

The Córdoba uprising and the workers and people's struggles forced the government and the exploiters to change their political plans com-

government; and to save what was salvageable of the national economic sectors not yet swallowed up by the financial penetration of Yankee imperialism. This necessary line of timid nationalism and populism ended up seeming derisory both to the masses and the bourgeoisie itself. So, the Junta Militar decided to make a decisive shift. Lanusse took over with his new variant of the "Gran Acuerdo Nacional" (GAN).

Lanusse accentuated the nationalist-

ground.

But Lanusse's classical Bonapartism is combined with a need for achieving a parliamentary type of agreement with the bourgeoisie as a whole and its political parties. He needs unity in order to confront, divert, and devitalize the social struggles that are shaking the foundations of the regime. This is the significance of the "Gran Acuerdo Nacional," or the pact with the big bourgeois parties and with Perón in particular, which is



Barricades in the center of Cordoba during the second "Cordobazo" in March 1971.

pletely. Onganía himself tried to carry out a change in course, but he was already discredited in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. So, they pulled the Livingston transitional government out of the hat. This regime tried to continue the Bonapartist administration, basing itself on the pro-European development sector represented by Alende and Ferrer. It tried to answer three needs—to make some precautionary concessions to the masses, such as civil liberties, pay rises, etc., to cool their militancy; to placate the bourgeois opposition and the imperialists themselves by promising elections and a return to constitutional

populist course, which is an objective necessity for the bourgeoisie as a whole and which coincides with the demand for elections by the Yankee imperialists, who see a return to parliamentary democracy as the only means for sidetracking the mass upsurge. The present government is continuing the Bonapartist tradition of the "Argentinian Revolution." However, it has tended to favor and base itself on the big agricultural bourgeoisie that produces for export. It has sought by this means to reinforce the capitalist economic structure as a whole and in the process shoved the financial sectors somewhat to the back-

aimed at preparing the way for an electoral solution. As a result of it, we are now suffering a kind of Lanusse-Radical-Peronista coalition government.

It should be pointed out that the bourgeois parties and Perón have accepted this variant and that the tensions and conflicts are due to the extreme gravity of the economic crisis, which leaves little room for making populist concessions and setting the final seal on a "gentlemen's agreement" between the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The greatest supporter of the "bosses' agreement" and the government is still the Peronista trade-union

II. Position of the Revolutionary Party of the Workers

[The following editorial appeared in the May 1972 issue of *El Combatiente*, the organ of the Argentine PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary party of the Workers). The statement was entitled "Revolutionists and the Democratization of the Country." Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The elections [planned for March 1973] represent a concession by the military dictatorship to the working class and to the people in order to divert them from revolutionary war and to contain the upsurge of the mass movement, while at the same time defending the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. But the idea that "bourgeois legality" in no way expresses the interests of the proletariat is completely incorrect. This absurd idea boils down either to the narrow notions of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie to the effect that the electoral road to power stands in contradiction to the path of revolutionary

war and that for this reason we have no need of bourgeois political freedom, or else to anarchism or ultra-leftism, which denies the proletariat any participation in bourgeois politics and in bourgeois parliamentarism.

At least legality makes it that much more a guarantee that the proletariat will become organized; this conclusion is the origin of the Leninist thesis that in a certain sense the electoral process will be a greater aid to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie.

The people may be confused since certain sections of the bourgeoisie (Perón, Balbin, Frondizi) include certain democratic demands in their programs, but they do not go beyond reformist measures that do not endanger the interests of the class that they represent.

For the bourgeoisie, it would not be desirable for the new parliamentary regime to overdo things by eliminating all the measures instituted by the military dictatorship, as for example the repressive legislation and the po-

lice and military bodies that it created in its struggle against the masses and their guerrilla movement; in other words, it would be best not to take this "democracy" to its ultimate, logical, and full conclusion.

Revolutionists maintain that the bourgeoisie betrays the cause of freedom, that it is incapable of developing a consistent democracy, and that it is unable to follow an independent policy in the face of imperialism. Many bourgeois sectors speak of "peaceful change" and "national liberation," but always with full respect for the honorable provisions of the dictatorship's laws so that the organization and consciousness of the working class and the people are developed as little as possible by this change. For the working class, in contrast, it is best to win all reforms through mass mobilizations and the development of revolutionary war, for only in this way—and not by taking the path of pacifist reformism—will the true accumulation and organization of forces for the socialist revolution

be achieved. This is why Perón dreads violent revolution but uses revolution to frighten the dictatorship; this is why he is concerned about avoiding armed confrontation and instead proposes petty reforms in order to hold back the advance of revolutionary war. And it is not only Perón, but Frondizi, Balbin, Ricci, Cámpora, and all the defenders of the GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement] who defend this point of view.

Many of them put forward a program calling for democratic freedoms, as well as freeing political prisoners and abolishing the repressive legislation. But their situation as an expression of the ruling classes leads them to desert the struggle for democratization. Fearing the advance of the proletariat, they pull back, each time observing an even greater silence in the face of the government's policy, in the face of the hunger, the exploitation, the removal of our wealth, the repression, and the torture. The conditions of economic, political, and social oppression that the proletariat must endure compel it to take a consistent approach in struggles for democratic and economic demands. Evidence can be seen almost daily of the upsurge in new mass mobilizations for economic and political demands, such as the mobilization against the electricity rates, the strug-

bureaucracy, which has put on the white shirt and tie of class collaborationism for good. It is seconded by the Communist party, which through the ENA [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos — National Meeting Ground of Argentines] is proposing partial alliances within the camp of the bourgeois and imperialist forces who subscribe to the "acuerdo."

The Holy Alliance of Perón, the trade-union bureaucracy, the imperialists, and the government has proved insufficient to contain the colossal upsurge of the working class and the working people. With fresh fighters moving into the front lines and new cadres developing, the struggle gives no respite. From the automotive industry to education and the courts, there are constant struggles going on. And these are continually reinforced and deepened by the student movement, which, although lacking a leadership that could give its struggles a mass character and a revolutionary direction, is confronting the problems that flow from inadequate state financing of the schools and from bourgeois and professorial domination. These problems keep the student movement on a permanent battle footing.

It is the duty of socialists and revolutionists to unify all these struggles of the workers, popular sectors, and students by stressing the need for mutual solidarity and support. It is their duty to give a conscious expression to the objective tendency toward unity in action and the development of a common front of struggle for common objectives.

Our party has devoted itself to an unconditional defense of the democratic liberties that the bourgeoisie tramples under foot every time they constitute a threat to the regime. Presently the working class and the popular sectors are the sacrificial victims of a criminal apparatus of repression and coercion. It is the duty of all democrats and revolutionists to fight for the release of the prisoners, for the abolition of the repressive laws

and apparatuses. Along with this, we demand political rights for all parties and leaders. This means the right for Perón to return freely and exercise all his civil rights, and for the Communist party and the rest of the groups on the left to carry on their political and propagandistic activity legally. This demand for civil rights for all overrides any differences we may have with other groups.

In our demand for the release of Tosco, Flores, and Santucho,⁵ as well as the other prisoners, and for ending the outlawry of Perón and the Communist party, we want to sum up the democratic objectives that should lead us to carrying out common mass action against the government.

The formation of a coordinating committee by the youth groups of the Peronistas, the Communist party, and other parties can be a very positive step forward in waging this democratic struggle. We are well aware that this move holds the danger of a maneuver by the government and the bourgeois forces to promote a kind of organization that would fit in with the "acuerdo," such as the Frente Cívico de Liberación [Civic Liberation Front]. But the mere formation of such a coordinating committee raising democratic demands is a step we must support and further by calling for a consistent struggle for the democratic objective that it has set itself.

There is only one way to unify and give a mass character to the demands of the workers, popular sectors, the students, and to demands for democracy. The highest body of the organized workers, the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] must issue a plan of struggle and carry it out. This plan must set forth a minimum program including the following, among other workers' and popular demands: an emergency raise, a sliding scale of wages, a guaranteed work week, wages for the unemployed, higher appropriations for education, health, etc., the immediate release of the prisoners, and repeal of the repres-

sive laws and bans.

All of our mobilizations must be designed to press the CGT leaders to call a congress of the rank and file that could draw up a plan of struggle and elect a new proletarian leadership capable of carrying it out. We must be guided in this by the examples of the Mendoza teachers and the Mar del Plata students, who were able to force the CGT to support them. The day-to-day struggle against the bureaucracy that we are waging in the factories must be combined with making public demands on the bureaucracy to assume its leadership responsibilities. By making such demands, without placing the slightest confidence in the bureaucracy, we can force it to move or to end up by exposing its betrayals in front of the masses.

But checkmating the new style Bonapartist dictatorship, confronting the bureaucracy, and shaking the regime by mass struggles is not enough. What we win in a hundred mobilizations, we can lose in an instant if our enemies are able to get their "Gran Acuerdo Nacional" off the ground without our being capable of projecting an adequate political response. Against the background of the Argentinian crisis, what we are discussing is the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the lack of leadership of our heroic masses, who despite their selfless militancy have been continually sold out and betrayed.

The political stage opened by Lanusse has enabled us to begin to overcome this tragic lack of a strong revolutionary leadership capable of leading the proletariat and the people and directing their struggles toward the political objective of a genuine socialist revolution.

From the Córdoba uprising up to today, the Argentinian proletariat has produced thousands of revolutionists, who have participated in and frequently led the factory and popular struggles. For these activists and fighters against the bosses and the bureaucrats we raise the historic possibility of

grouping ourselves in a Polo Obrero y Socialista [Proletarian and Socialist Pole], in a front capable of forging a revolutionary party. Concretely, we call on the compañeros who led the historic Chocón strike, on the members of Sitrac-Sitram, on the supporters of the Lista Marrón that has won in the Córdoba SMATA, on workers at Banco Nación, Petroquímica, Chrysler, Citroën, as well as all the class-struggle tendencies and activists involved in the new day-to-day struggles to use the recognized legal status of the Partido Socialista to constitute a force that can unify the new revolutionary worker and student vanguard on a national scale. This organizing on a political level will immediately be reflected in a qualitative leap forward for the mass struggle.

Finally, the Fifty-First Convention of the Partido Socialista declares that by mobilizing the workers and popular sectors and by organizing the Polo Obrero y Socialista, we will be able to carry on the task of building an internationalist revolutionary party capable of undertaking the construction of a socialist Argentina, which is the only alternative to a bourgeois and semicolonial one.

We affirm the necessity of the socialist road and restate once again our methods of thought and action—revolutionary Marxism as our philosophical approach, and mobilizing the masses on the basis of their immediate needs and constantly raising the level of the struggle as our method of action. □

4. The Argentine Socialist Party has called upon all working class organizations to refuse to participate in the GAN meetings and instead to unite in a Proletarian and Socialist Pole in the elections against the capitalist pole of the GAN.

5. Tosco is a trade-union leader from Córdoba. Santucho is a leader of the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Party of the Workers).



Student banner at occupied university in Tucumán this spring says "We repudiate Lanusse, the exploiter, assassin, and torturer of the people, and the GAN."

gle against hunger, and the struggle for the release of political prisoners and against repressive legislation.

We also know that any kind of political and economic reform of the framework of the capitalist system in our country has its limits. The economic crisis is getting worse and worse. The needs of imperialism are so great that stable capitalist devel-

opment becomes impossible. No sector of the bourgeoisie is capable of pursuing a policy independent of the big monopolies that run our economy and of pulling the country out of stagnation.

By developing the struggle for democratic goals, the proletariat will continue to gain in strength. And the greater the number of sectors involved

in fighting the dictatorship; the less sectarianism there is; and the more the revolutionary and progressive forces join together against the common enemy, the broader will be the scope of the struggle and the more resolute will be the progress toward the socialist revolution.

If we turn to the rich theoretical arsenal of Marxism-Leninism, we will see that the great classical thinkers always maintained that the proletariat should energetically participate in democratic struggles, be the vanguard of the struggle for democracy, and take every advantage of legal opportunities; if it does not, the mass movement will run the risk of falling into the hands of forces that are hostile to the revolution.

Many times we will meet certain revolutionists who fear participating in legal struggles in a front with other nonproletarian, reformist, and populist currents, or belonging to various mass organizations together with these currents when the latter formally enjoy the leadership of the movement. But what should interest revolutionists is the practical role that we play in this struggle and the determined participation of the workers in this struggle, which are both incorporated into our strategy of revolutionary war. By proclaiming "independence" from reformism and populism, petty-bourgeois

sects isolate themselves in practice from the mass movement and transform themselves into mere spectators who know everything and criticize everything but who in practice mobilize no one, do not actively participate in mass mobilizations, and leave this movement in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

As we can see, our perspective for making alliances with reformist parties and groups and other nonproletarian forces is of vital importance for the development of the immediate struggle of the proletariat.

The solution to this problem of alliances can be seen in the fact that these parties and groups (CP, socialists, Christians, PCR [Partido Comunista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Communist party], VC [Vanguardia Comunista—Communist Vanguard], rank-and-file Peronism, Radical Left, etc.) represent certain working-class sectors, and essentially sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and progressive bourgeois sectors, that is, sectors that suffer from the political and economic oppression of the regime and can have an interest in the revolution, but not with sufficient consistency to be able to lead it forward.

In the same way, we emphatically oppose the sectarian characterizations of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who

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claim that these parties and groups are the objective allies of the government. To them we reply that they are allies of the proletariat and that whether we march with them together in the struggle for socialism depends not so much on the vacillating activity of these groups as on the ability of the proletariat and its party to implement a frank and sincere policy of alliances.

We must bear in mind which forces are standing up to the policy of the dictatorship and can lead the struggle against the big bourgeoisie and imperialism, as well as the parties and political groups that represent these social forces.

These forces cannot be the big bourgeoisie, the landholders, the imperialists; these forces cannot be Perón, Balbín, Paladino, Cámpora, Alsogaray, Frondizi. We know that they are incapable—they demonstrated this in their time—of developing a decisive struggle against the monopolies, against the big landowners, against the army and the mercenary police. As representatives of the bourgeoisie in its various shades, they need the entire state apparatus and all the repressive forces in order to defend themselves against the working class and the people.

The working class is the main party interested in this change. The peasants, the students, the teachers, the professional people, the small merchants and other sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as a very small sector of the bourgeoisie, are standing up to the regime. Various representatives of these social forces are suffering in prison, confronting the repressive forces daily, and are undergoing torture in workers' and people's struggles. The economic crisis is spreading increasingly to these sectors and compels them to enlarge the ranks of the proletariat. Through its party, the working class must be the first to bring together these forces and hurl them against the enemy in whatever camp, making use of all forms of struggle and organization. At the present political conjuncture with its concessions from the bourgeoisie and the rising mass movement, it is more necessary than ever that in the area of struggles around economic and democratic demands the proletariat and its party make use of legality and,

through active participation, transform themselves in practice into the vanguard of the democratic struggles.

The victory of the revolution and of the revolutionary war will be a victory of the people. It will be a victory of the workers, of the urban bourgeoisie, of the poor and middle peasants. For this reason, we speak in the program of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People] of a revolutionary people's government led by the working class.

It is necessary to overcome sectarianism and stress the kind of joint activity on behalf of the interests of the people that can daily unite greater people's forces, while at the same time independently carrying out an intense ideological struggle on behalf of the historic interests of the proletariat.

With its policy of the GAN, the dictatorship wants to isolate us from our strategic allies (CP, socialists, and other progressive sectors), portraying us as enemies of "institutionalization," portraying us as enemies of the democratic demands of the people. To this we reply that we will tirelessly struggle for the democratic freedoms of the people.

Revolutionary proletarians sincerely want to have fraternal relations with the organizations and sectors that are confronting the dictatorship in the struggle against the paltry concessions of the GAN, and that are mobilizing and organizing the entire people to free the political prisoners from jail, to put an end to torture, to prevent any kind of electoral ban from being applied, to see to it that the working class and the people have their representatives in parliament, and to oppose attempted coups by a military that is constantly looking for ways to keep itself in power, and to oppose hunger, exploitation, and poverty.

This entire popular mobilization, this entire democratic struggle, will make it possible for the people's forces to gain in strength. We have no illusions about the legality being offered by the dictatorship or about the future parliamentary regime lasting forever; neither the bourgeoisie nor imperialism have been placed at bay by the sudden attack of the masses and the development of revolutionary war—"legality" will find itself again circumscribed by new military coups

or by a fascist evolution of the future parliamentary regime. It is thus perfectly clear that our participation in legal struggles and our view that a regime replacing the dictatorship would be desirable do not represent our strategic goal and do not represent a definitive and total solution for the working class and the people; this is only a tactic that will make possible a broader organization of the masses and thereby respond to their immediate needs. But giving this tactic



Alejandro Lanusse

concrete form is of fundamental importance for the revolution.

These legal or semilegal struggles, and this use of bourgeois legality, must be inseparably linked to the development of revolutionary war, to the independent building of the Revolutionary party of the Workers and the Revolutionary Army of the People. Thus if the proletariat and its party are able to become the vanguard of the democratic struggle, without the prejudices in the minds of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals about losing the formal leadership of the democratic movement, in practice we will be able to play our vanguard role. The revolutionary forces of the people will be so powerful and have reached such an organizational level that repressive attempts by the regime will be in vain. Popular indignation and rage and the struggles of the masses will develop to such an extent that the dictatorship will have to fall back on the forces of imperialism as its last attempt to hold back the triumphant socialist revolution.

The revolutionary war began a short time ago; it still has a long

way to go. It is true that the influence of our party on the masses is still insufficient, but our war clearly demonstrates the existence of forces capable of fighting a decisive struggle until the final victory. Each step of the revolutionary war, each step forward in the present development of the struggles of the working class and the people, with the active participation of our party and the other revolutionary and popular forces, will quickly awaken the consciousness of thousands of workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals. By making the party's policy a concrete reality, and by developing our practice, the masses will be irresistibly drawn toward the goals of revolutionary war and socialism since they are the only goals that fully and consistently express the interests of the working class and the people.

Our party, the Revolutionary party of the Workers, has decisively undertaken to participate along with all revolutionary, reformist, and progressive forces in the struggle for democratization, making use first and foremost of the struggle for the release of all political prisoners, and the struggle against repressive legislation, against torture, kidnappings, and police crimes, against any kind of ban, against the rising cost of living, and against the penetration of imperialism. We are ready to participate in and form any kind of trade-union, student, peasant, political, and working-class neighborhood group that will make it possible to organize struggles among broad layers of the people for their social, economic, and political demands.

Our party, the Revolutionary party of the Workers, has decisively undertaken to be in the front lines of all proletarian and revolutionary layers in order to build the great PRT and the ERP by developing the revolutionary war closely linked to the struggle of the masses and to the struggle for socialism.

This will be in practice the policy of the PRT for leading the working class and the people step by step down the victorious road of revolutionary war and socialist revolution. □

1. The ERP was founded by members of the PRT in 1970. Its perspective is one of urban guerrilla warfare.

Chile

Victory for Popular Unity in two elections

Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular coalition won two electoral victories in July, a by-election in Coquimbo Province on July 17, and the elections to the FECH (Federación de Estudiantes de Chile—Chile Federation of Students) at the beginning of the month.

The FECH election returned the pro-government candidate, Alejandro Rojas, to the presidency, and gave the UP five of the ten members on the executive committee. Three of the other seats went to the Christian Democrats and two to the right-wing National party. In addition, 200 members representing the thirteen colleges of the university were elected. The UP received forty percent of the vote (10,370), the Christian Democratic candidate twenty-nine percent (7,258), the National party sixteen percent, the FER (Frente de Estudiantes Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Students) six percent. No other can-

didates received more than two percent.

Although the Coquimbo by-election was held in a province in which the left is traditionally strong, both the UP coalition and the opposition viewed it as a kind of plebiscite on the Allende regime. The clear victory for the UP candidate, Amanda Altamirano, coming as it did after the government coalition lost the last three congressional by-elections, was hailed by Allende as an event of "national and international importance."

Altamirano, a Communist, defeated the opposition-backed candidate, Orlando Publete, owner of a small copper mine and a member of the Party of the Radical Left, by 50,482 to 42,309 votes. Despite the victory for the Allende coalition, however, the more than 8,000 vote margin showed a decline in UP strength in the province. In municipal elections in Coquimbo

last year, its victory margin was 23,000 votes.

Official results of the elections to the CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union) held at the end of May were announced July 17. According to the July 10-16 international edition of the Santiago newspaper *El Mercurio*, the results for the three main parties were announced as follows: Communists, 173,068; Socialists, 148,140; and Christian Democrats, 147,531. The FTR (Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Workers), which is affiliated to the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), received 10,192 votes. The president and general secretary of the CUT will remain respectively Luis Figueroa, a Communist, and Rolando Calderón, a Socialist. □

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

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History now in paperback

Labor's Giant Step: rise of the CIO

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 538 pp. Paperback \$3.95.

Publication of *Labor's Giant Step* in paperback, eight years after its original clothbound appearance, is more than welcome. A lower price now makes it available to the wider audience it deserves.

There are two principal reasons why Art Preis's book is indispensable to all those interested in a truthful account of the role of the CIO in American history.

The first is that no one else has written a full history of the CIO. There are books devoted to one aspect or another of the 20-year period. There

past few years.* These give false pictures of the actual events. They are designed to regain the standing in the union movement that the Communist Party once had but later lost because of its strikebreaking policies. They are intended to make the role played by the CP and its sympathizers in the CIO look good to young people who are becoming interested in the stormy events that accompanied the rise of the CIO. The many crimes perpetrated by the Stalinists against the workers are very neatly omitted from these fraudulent accounts.

Labor's Giant Step is valuable as American history because it deals not only with the bare facts of the CIO experience but tells what came before the new union movement was born and what events shaped its course. The book deals in depth with the political and economic background against which the CIO burst forth on the American scene, grew, then declined, and ultimately merged with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) from which its founders had split twenty years earlier.

Labor's Giant Step tells the story of the internal struggles that determined the CIO's policies and leadership. It relates all these developments to the objective conditions of American society, America's changing role as a world power, and the place occupied by the mass-production workers.

The author of this work had certain advantages that particularly qualified him for his task. Preis participated in the earliest struggles that led to the origin of the CIO. He was a labor journalist of unusual talent and labor editor of *The Militant* for a number of years. In his capacity as a labor reporter, Preis witnessed many of the struggles detailed in this book.

It was Preis's political outlook, however, more than any other single thing, that qualified him as a labor historian. He writes, "I regard the class struggle as the most dynamic element of modern society and therefore view the rise of the CIO as the most significant event in modern American history. It foreshadows the even more momentous developments of the class struggle to come."

The function of trade unions as combat organizations of the workers has been called into question periodically from the time of their birth. More than that, conservative union leaders have often succeeded only too well in converting many unions into supine appendages of capitalist society, and especially of the capitalist state.

Preis quotes Karl Marx's colleague and cothinker Friedrich Engels in this connection. Engels says, "The very existence of Trade Unions is proof sufficient of the fact: if they are not made to fight against the encroachments of capital, what are they made for? . . ."

Obviously unions are not needed if their ultimate purpose is to establish a "partnership" with capital. This can more easily be done in other ways. The penetrating question posed by Engels is answered in this book, which tells of the great efforts of millions of workers to "fight against the encroachments of capital."

The struggles that led to the founding of the CIO as the definitive organization of the mass-production workers took place during the early

* *Labor Radical* by Len De Caux, reviewed in *International Socialist Review*, July-August 1971; *Labor's Untold Story* by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, reviewed in *The Militant*, Nov. 19, 1971; *Rebellion in the Unions* by George Morris, reviewed in *The Militant*, May 5, 1972.



Art Preis with his wife Ethel Preis, who assisted in preparation of *Labor's Giant Step*.

years of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Many strikes of these years were lost. They were conducted by inexperienced workers and were opposed by a combination of open-shop employers, government agencies, and conservative AFL leaders. But in 1934 there were three strikes that led the way to victories and to the birth of the CIO in the following year.

These were the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite workers' strike, the Minneapolis teamsters' strikes (See *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs. Monad Press. New York, 1972), and the waterfront strike in San Francisco.

What was distinctive in these strikes was that they showed how to fight and how to win. Without these experiences the birth of the CIO may have been delayed or may have taken a less militant course. Summing up the effects of these victories, Preis writes, "They gave heart and hope to labor everywhere for the climactic struggle that was to build the CIO."

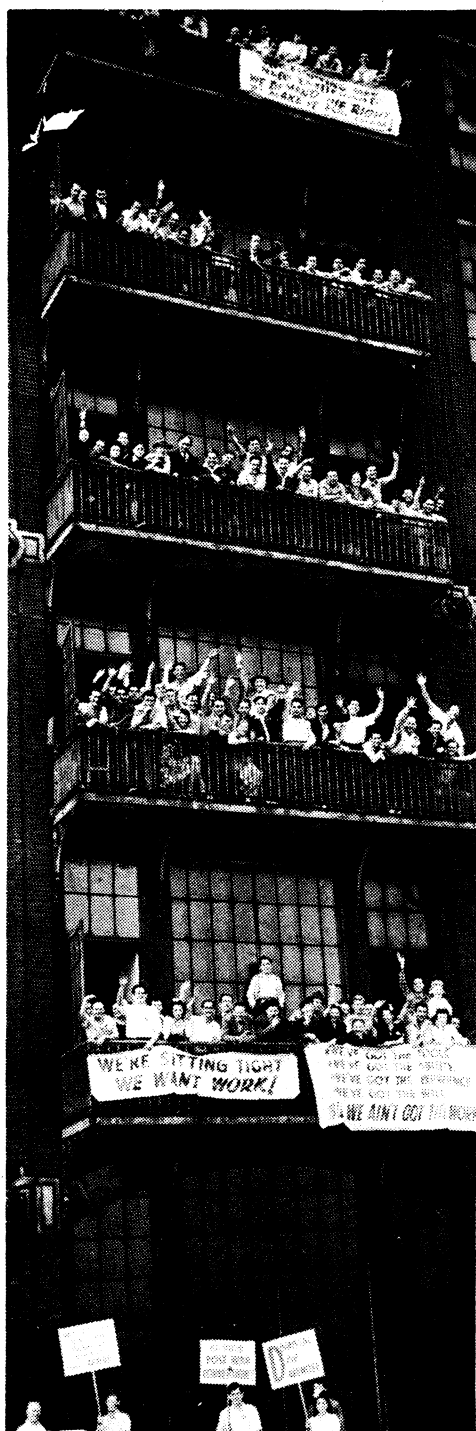
the workers were to be organized—in to craft or industrial unions—even- tually led to a split in the AFL. For 20 years thereafter a bitter fight between the two union organizations took place. In 1938 the CIO became the Congress of Industrial Organizations and grew at its peak to a membership of several million workers. The AFL also benefited from the strong tide of organizing that followed in the wake of CIO growth and increased its numbers correspondingly.

The two union organizations, although differing in their craft versus industrial forms, both sided with the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt administration. They were helped to a considerable extent in diverting the workers into capitalist politics, instead of taking the next logical step of organizing a labor party, by the Communist Party.

The CP adopted a policy of supporting capitalist parties at just about the same time as the CIO was born. The Socialist Party soon followed in the same path. Although many workers wanted a party of their own, the combined forces of the top CIO leaders, the Stalinists, and the Socialist Party, all of whom supported Roosevelt, proved to be strong enough to prevent a labor party development.

Preis's book gives a full account of these political struggles, as well as of the role that Roosevelt played in the events. Much has been written about Roosevelt's supposed support for unionism. This false picture has been painted by right-wing unionists and Stalinists who give him credit where none is due.

The book describes the great victories of the new union organization,



The problem of post-war layoffs in war-production industry was dramatized by a sit-in of 3,500 UAW members at Brewster Aeronautical Corporation in Long Island City, N.Y., in June 1944. Sit-in protested closing down of the plant.

are reminiscences of participants in the events and several worthless panegyrics designed to bolster fading reputations of certain union officials. But no union officials, past or present, have seen fit to deal with this history in any complete fashion, nor have any of them sponsored someone to write this history.

The second reason falls into the category of commission rather than omission. Three books by Stalinist writers dealing with American labor history have been published in the



Some of the workers who built the CIO. Sit-down strikers in Flint, Mich., auto plant in 1937.

(Emphasis in original.)

After these three victorious strikes, organizing began to be more successful in the auto, steel, electrical, rubber, and other industries that had not known unionism before. Seeing this development, John L. Lewis, head of the coal miners union, and several other AFL officials formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO).

This was contrary to wishes of most of the craft-union-minded AFL leaders, who did not want mass-production workers in the union movement to start with. They begrudgingly agreed to take them in, but only on the basis of dividing up the workers in each plant into various craft unions. The workers were opposed to this method.

This difference over the way

such as the sit-down strikes by auto workers in Flint, Mich., in 1937, and also the defeats that were suffered in the Little Steel strikes the same year. Following the defeat in steel a lull set in, but this was only temporary. The battle to organize Little Steel and Ford Motors met success in 1941.

By this time the United States was on the verge of entering the Second World War. Preis's account of the unions' experiences during wartime is excellent American history. It tells of Roosevelt's "conversion" from opposition and sometimes ostensible neutrality in big labor struggles of preceding years to open strikebreaking.

The book details the treachery of the Stalinists after the Nazis tore up their pact with Stalin and invaded the Soviet

Continued on page 22

Jenness speaks in Senate Office Building

What would socialists do in Congress?

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 31 — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness spoke today to more than 200 congressional summer interns in a Senate Office Building hearing room.

Jenness was invited to address the interns as part of a forum series that has included Senator Edward Kennedy, Ralph Nader, former Chief Justice Earl Warren, and FBI chief L. Patrick Gray.

"There has been report after report about the U. S. bombing of the intricate dike system in Vietnam, which may cause massive flooding that would not only destroy the crops and forest lands, but would drown tens of thousands of people.

"But what has Senator McGovern said about it? Nothing, absolutely nothing! A socialist senator right now would put together a team of scientists, ecologists, geologists, flood-control experts, doctors, and others and

ern declined to do so, saying that he didn't think that was an appropriate thing for a senator to do.

"A socialist senator," said Jenness, "wouldn't rely on Jack Anderson and Daniel Ellsberg to tell the American people what was going on" in Washington. "We think that democracy means that the American people make all the decisions about this country, including foreign policy decisions. There should be no secret diplomacy, no wheeling and dealing behind closed doors."

A socialist senator, Jenness continued, "would introduce legislation to abolish the anti-abortion laws, and support bills that have been introduced to do this, such as the Abortion Rights Act sponsored by Congresswoman Bella Abzug." Jenness pointed out that many socialist senators would be women, and that they would attend events like the Oct. 21-22 tribunal called to denounce crimes against women, perhaps testifying if they had had abortions.

Linda Jenness announced Aug. 2 that she had sent letters challenging President Nixon and Senator George McGovern to "an open, face-to-face debate anywhere and anytime."

McGovern has refused to debate Jenness in the past. Now he is urging Congress to suspend the equal-time provision so he can debate Nixon and avoid a debate with Jenness and other candidates.

Unfortunately, an article in the July 26 Daily World, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, chimed in to support McGovern's bid to deny equal time rights to other candidates. This was despite the fact that the CP is fielding its own presidential ticket.

"The most dynamic aspects of politics are taking place outside these 'hallowed halls'—in the movements for social change: the women's, antiwar, Black, and Chicano movements in which socialists participate and are leaders.

"The truth of the matter is that the congressmen and women and senators here do not represent any of the

oppressed in this country. Who's in Congress today? The largest group is lawyers, then there is a group of businessmen and bankers, a few educators, a few millionaire farmers, and a few journalists. Not one auto worker, not one steelworker, not one secretary, or sanitation worker, or GI, or student.

"Less than 3 percent are Black and less than 3 percent are women. The overwhelming majority of people in this country work for a living, and yet labor does not have one representative in Congress."

About 40 people remained to ask further questions following the hour-long talk and discussion period.

By DAVID KEEPNEWS

NEW YORK, Aug. 1 — "Political power in the Democratic Party remains where it has always been—at the top," asserted Linda Jenness. She made the statement in a July 28 debate with Richard Gottfried, Democratic assemblyman from New York's 67th A. D.

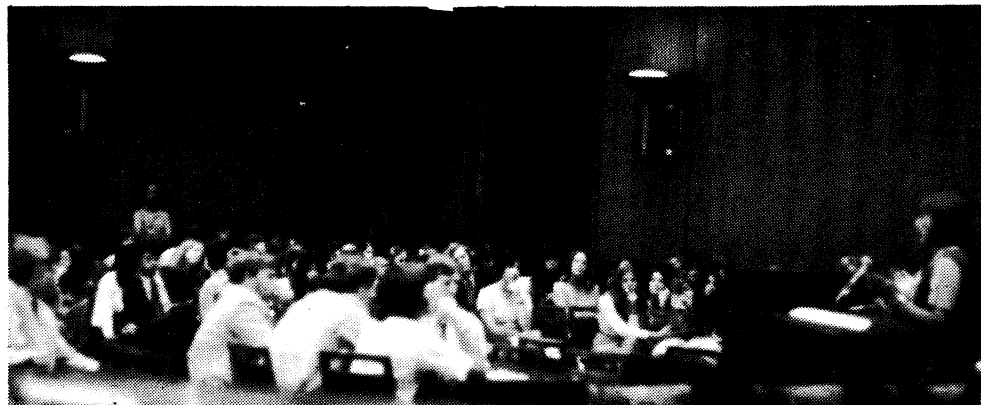
The debate with the 25-year-old reform Democrat, sponsored by the West Side Militant Forum here, was titled "McGovern and the Democratic Party — The Way for Radical Change?"

Gottfried made no attempt to refute Jenness' indictment of the Democratic Party. Instead, he explained that working in the Democratic Party, in the SWP, and in the independent movements for social change all had "some validity." The choice, he said, was merely a question of "temperament."

In answer to a question from Jenness, Gottfried said, "If George McGovern is elected, he will do things that I... and you will be appalled at." The difference between McGovern and Nixon, he continued, is that McGovern would not do "as many things that we will be appalled at."

The audience applauded Jenness when she stated that the American people must rely on their own independent power—not George McGovern's promises—to bring about basic change in this society.

On Aug. 1 Jenness attended the trial of the Tombs Three—three inmates at the Men's House of Detention who have been framed-up on charges resulting from a prison rebellion in October 1970. Jenness delivered a written message of solidarity to the defendants.



Militant/Bill Etue

Jenness speaking to congressional interns in Senate Office Building.

A large number of campaign buttons, McGovern truth kits, and *Militants* were sold to the interns, most of whom were college juniors and seniors working for members of the U. S. Senate or House of Representatives. Three interns signed SWP campaign endorsement cards.

Jenness told the interns that "by working here in Congress you are exposed to only one side of politics, because all of the elected congressmen, congresswomen, and senators are either Democrats or Republicans. Unfortunately, today there are no socialists in Congress, although there have been in the past and there will be again in the future."

She explained that one of the factors preventing socialists from getting elected is the network of discriminatory election laws the capitalist parties have enacted.

"I want to give you an idea of what a socialist senator would do," Jenness told the audience. "Senator McGovern's office is right here in this building, so let's compare what Senator McGovern of the Democratic Party has done with what a senator who belonged to the Socialist Workers Party would do.

send them on a fact-finding mission to North Vietnam to document the bombings of the dikes.

"This team would then report to the U. S. Congress and to the American people, and travel around the world to tell people exactly what the U. S. government is doing to that small country."

Jenness said that a socialist in the Senate would use the office, the staff, the radio and television time, and the authority of the office available to senators to build the antiwar demonstrations that have been called for Aug. 5.

"A socialist senator," she said, "would try to get funds allocated for buses and trains and whatever else was needed to help the American people participate in those demonstrations. We wouldn't sit around and tell people to just trust the government to end the war. We would urge them to organize a massive antiwar movement that can force this government to end the war."

Jenness recalled that at the beginning of 1971, Daniel Ellsberg had approached Senator George McGovern and asked him to make the Pentagon papers public. Senator McGov-

Another 3 reasons why your 1972 campaign contributions should go to Jenness & Pulley.

1. "If there are any more, we might have to choose a key city, bring in the troops and just cream 'em." Nixon campaign staff member Kevin Phillips on uprisings in the Black community (1968).

2. "Senator George McGovern... assured the men of the 112th Police Precinct in Queens that they would 'have a friend in George McGovern' if he got to the White House." *New York Times*, June 16, 1972.

3. "I myself have been before the capitalist courts and have been forced behind bars... so I know from firsthand experience what capitalist justice means for Black people." Andrew Pulley, Sept. 15, 1971, statement on the massacre at Attica prison.

The capitalist courts and police are a weapon wielded against working people and other oppressed sections of the American population. Jenness and Pulley call for abolishing these institutions of injustice and building a just society in which exploitation, racism, and violence no longer exist. They need your contributions.

I can contribute \$_____ to the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

I can contribute \$_____ to the Jenness-Pulley campaign between now and November 1972.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 1003.

SWP files for place on Pa. ballot

HARRISBURG, Pa., July 27—The Socialist Workers Party filed nominating papers containing nearly 50,000 signatures with the state commissioner of elections here today. The candidates nominated were: Linda Jenness for president, Andrew Pulley for vice-president, Harvey McArthur for state treasurer, and Joseph Sanders for auditor general.

The filing culminated a seven-month struggle with the state in defense of the rights of independent parties. Last December, a new law quadrupled the signature requirements for independent parties. The law also allowed only three weeks (in midwinter) to gather at least 36,000 signatures.

The Socialist Workers Party, along with four other independent parties, including the Communist Party, challenged this law. On June 12, a three-



Harvey McArthur and Joseph Sanders delivering petitions to state capitol in Harrisburg.

judge federal court extended the petitioning time until mid-August.

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters were able to gather the nearly 50,000 signatures in one month following the court's decision.

The Communist Party was recently ruled off the Pennsylvania ballot because the 1954 Communist Control Act declares it to be an "illegal" party. When filing the SWP's petitions, Harvey McArthur stated to the press that "Nancy Strebe, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress, Joseph Sanders, and myself have already officially protested this action and demanded that the secretary of state place the Communist Party candidates on the ballot.

"We are prepared to fight any future attempts by the state to exclude independent parties or candidates from the ballot."

Nancy Strebe received two minutes of coverage on WCAU-TV's 6 p.m. news, where she denounced the exclusion of the Communist Party from the ballot and affirmed the SWP's support for the CP candidates' rights.

Pulley announces Ga. election suit; files for Mississippi ballot

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Aug. 1—Reporters crowded around Andrew Pulley at a news conference this morning on the steps of the Georgia state capitol. The SWP vice-presidential candidate announced plans to challenge the Georgia election law in federal court.

The news conference followed a visit by Pulley yesterday to Mississippi, where he personally delivered nominating petitions for himself and Linda Jenness. With television cameras filming the confrontation, Mississippi Secretary of State Heber Ladner reluctantly but politely accepted the petitions from Pulley. They are the first SWP petitions ever to be filed in Mississippi.

Pulley's visits to Atlanta and Mississippi marked the opening of two new fronts in the SWP's campaign to get on the ballot in the Deep South.

SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness (a native of Georgia) and Pulley are seeking ballot status in 30 states. Unless their suit is successful, however, they will not appear on the Georgia ballot. Their legal challenge, which has been joined by SWP senatorial candidate Alice Conner, contends that the Georgia requirement of 98,000 signatures is exorbitant and discriminatory.

A previous challenge, brought by Jenness when she was a candidate for governor of Georgia in 1970, was ultimately rejected by the U. S. Supreme Court. However, in light of a recent federal court decision that eliminated the petitioning requirement for ballot status in the Georgia primaries, lawyers are optimistic on the new challenge.

The federal court suit will be han-

dled by the Atlanta chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which is currently engaged in ballot-law challenges in several states, is supporting the case.

Pulley, who was born in Mississippi and lived there until he was 12, filed a total of 3,700 signatures, nearly four times the 1,000 required by state law.

Pulley made a point of expressing to reporters his solidarity with Republic of New Africa defendants who are now in the Hinds County Jail in Jackson. They are awaiting trial on trumped-up murder charges stemming from an unprovoked police attack on their headquarters. Although Pulley was not permitted to visit the prisoners, a lawyer for the RNA is attempting to deliver written interview questions Pulley had prepared.

Pulley told reporters that he had just learned that one of the defendants has been granted a change of venue to Natchez or Meridian. This had been requested because of the witch-hunt atmosphere authorities had whipped up against the RNA in Jackson.

Other events during Pulley's Southeast tour included interviews with the *Atlanta Constitution*; Atlanta's Black newspaper *The Voice*; two radio shows; and a Socialist Workers campaign banquet on Saturday night.

At the banquet, the Georgia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee announced that Meg Rose will run as the SWP candidate for sheriff of Fulton County. Rose, a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, is challenging Sheriff Leroy Stynchcombe, the incumbent.

Stynchcombe gained infamy for tear-gassing Fulton County prisoners in September 1971.

By JEFF BERCHENKO

DETROIT, July 31—"Busing alone cannot solve the problems of Black education. What is really needed is Black control of Black education and a crash program financed by federal and state funds to improve education," said SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. He was speaking to Cass Technical High School students at a street rally in Detroit during his tour here July 27-29.

"The Socialist Workers Party supports busing wherever the Black community sees it as a way to help Black youth obtain a better education," Pulley continued. "In addition, we call for a crash program to provide the newest, best-equipped schools possible and to provide free books and meals to all students. We call for Black people electing community councils through which the Black community can administer and supervise all aspects of school functioning."

Busing has been an issue of concern in Detroit since a federal judge ordered that students be bused cross-county.

Pulley appeared on several radio talk shows in Detroit, including three shows broadcast in the Black community. During one of the shows, "Black Talk," the two disc-jockeys who interviewed Pulley endorsed the SWP campaign.

A highlight of Pulley's visit to Detroit was a campaign banquet and rally July 28 attended by 80 campaign supporters. More than \$1,400 was donated to the SWP campaign.

N.Y. petitioners collect nearly 70,000 signatures for SWP

By PETER SEIDMAN

NEW YORK, July 31—Supporters of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley collected almost 70,000 signatures in 10 days to place the Socialist Workers Party ticket on the New York ballot.

More than 100 campaign supporters attended "An Evening with Linda

Jenness"—a petition-drive victory celebration—held in Brooklyn July 29. At the party Susan Winsten, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from the 16th C.D., announced that a total of 36,204 signatures had been collected for Jenness and Pulley.

Winsten also reported on the signature drives for New York SWP congressional candidates: B. R. Washington (19th C.D., Manhattan), 4,485; Joanna Misnik (20th C.D., Manhattan), 5,518; James Mendieta (14th C.D., Brooklyn), 6,049; John Hawkins (12th C.D., Brooklyn), 4,038; Rebecca Finch (18th C.D., Manhattan) 7,040; and Hedda Garza (5th C.D., Long Island) 4,450.

Winsten presented a prize to Mark Friedman, who gathered 2,500 signatures, the most of any New York City campaign supporter during the drive. The top petitioner in lower Manhattan was Ann Verdon, and on the Upper West Side, Joseph Harris.

The Brooklyn celebration raised \$400 for the SWP campaign.

New York state requires 20,000 signatures to place a presidential slate on the ballot and 3,500 signatures for each congressional candidate. New York petition drive director Helen Schiff reports that campaign supporters are continuing to collect signatures in New York City, as well as in Albany, Utica, Binghamton, Woodstock, and other cities to ensure that distribution requirements for the petitioning are met.

"Campaign supporters are now turning the bulk of their energies to the tremendous amount of paperwork

required to prepare the petitions for filing," Schiff said. "The election districts and assembly districts for each signature must now be checked before the petitions can be bound and filed in Albany."

Volunteers who can help with the paperwork should contact the New York City campaign headquarters at 706 Broadway (982-6051) or 2744 Broadway (663-3000); or the Brooklyn headquarters at 136 Lawrence St. (596-2849).



New York petitioning

Militant/Michael Smith

Nominating petitions rejected

Illinois SWP challenges loyalty-oath law

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 2— Illinois election officials refused today to accept petitions bearing 41,000 signatures filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party because the candidates declined to sign loyalty oaths.

At a crowded news conference held after the attempted filing Suzanne Haig, SWP candidate for attorney general, announced that the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) will initiate court action to overturn the oath requirement and place the SWP candidates on the ballot.

"We have clearly met the requirement of 25,000 signatures, including 13,000 from outside Cook County," Haig stated. She labeled the loyalty oath "undemocratic" and said it was "designed to intimidate radicals from running for office."

"Eugene McCarthy declined to sign the oath earlier this year," Haig pointed out, "yet the state of Illinois placed his name on the ballot."

The SWP petitions nominated a slate of nine statewide candidates as well as 26 electors pledged to Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Neither the

presidential candidates nor the presidential electors are required to sign the loyalty oath. In spite of this, the entire petition was rejected.

CoDEL will file papers in federal court this week, Haig said.

The suit will be linked with another now pending in the courts challenging the loyalty oath in behalf of the



Suzanne Haig

Militant/Dave Saperstan

Communist Party. By filing a motion to intervene in the Communist Party suit, CoDEL attorney Ron Reosti said he expects to obtain an early hearing date for the arguments.

American Civil Liberties Union attorney David Goldberger, who is handling the CP's case, said he felt that having the SWP join the case would strengthen the challenge to the loyalty-oath law.

The Communist Party suit argues that the state Supreme Court already struck down in 1969 an Illinois oath with almost exactly the same wording as the loyalty oath.

The courts have resorted to stalling tactics in the Communist Party suit. They set a hearing date for Sept. 11, four days after the board of elections must notify the county clerks as to who should be placed on the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party challenged the loyalty oath in 1970 but failed to get a hearing date before the election.

In addition to the challenge to the loyalty oath, both the Communist and Socialist Workers suits will challenge the provision that no more than

12,000 signatures toward the 25,000 requirement may come from any one county. This requirement is designed to force parties to petition outside Chicago's Cook County, even though 50 percent of Illinois voters reside in this one county.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates nominated on the petitions include Fred Halstead for U.S. senator; Patricia Grogan for governor; Antonio DeLeon for lieutenant governor; Suzanne Haig for attorney general; Ed Jurenas for secretary of state; David Saperstan for comptroller; and William Rayson, Patricia Ann Reedy, and Robert Lewis for trustees of the University of Illinois.

"Illinois is the state of the Daley machine, the Hanrahan repression of the Black Panthers, and the state where shoeboxes of money were found at the home of the former secretary of state," commented Haig. "It's appallingly clear that Illinois needs the Socialist Workers Party to end the corruption, the poverty, and the victimization of Illinois citizens. We're urging everyone to vote for a real change this November."

Hanrahan trial

Court seeks to make victim the criminal

By NINURE SAUNDERS

CHICAGO, July 31—With a slight twist of the magician's hand, the trial of Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and 13 Chicago policemen has suddenly taken the criminals off the dock and put the victims in their place.

Before July 25 Hanrahan and the 13 were on trial for conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid on a Black Panther apartment. Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were brutally murdered in the raid.

But on July 25, special prosecutor Barnabas Sears introduced statements from the Panthers who survived the raid. The statements alleged that the Panthers had fired several shots at the police before they broke in.

The statements, which were made soon after the Dec. 4 raid, are attributed to Blair Anderson, Harold Bell, Brenda Harris and Louis Truelock. The documents were found July 22 by Wayland Cedarquist, one of the special prosecutors, in a file drawer of the Northwestern University legal assistance clinic.

Under the rules of the trial, the prosecution had to turn over this evi-

dence to the judge and to Hanrahan's attorneys. This they did, and on July 27 the trial was halted and special hearings were begun to determine the authenticity of the statements.

The focus of the hearing was the 41-page statement attributed to Truelock. This one differs most markedly from the prosecutions's contention that the police fired more than 80 shots during the raid, while only one shot was fired by a Panther.

Twelve lawyers who were connected with the defense of the surviving Panthers, and who took statements from them following the raid, were subpoenaed to appear at the July 27 hearing. Francis Andrew was the first to take the stand. He admitted that Truelock signed a statement in his presence Jan. 28, 1970. But he declined to affirm that that statement was the same one under question in court. He also said that he could not remember ever having read the original statement in its entirety.

The defense baffled the spectators and the press by then raising the possibility that one of the occupants in the raided apartment might have

been a police informant. Andrew responded by disclosing that one of the survivors of the raid held such suspicions of Truelock. Such a confirmation would seem to run contrary to what the defense is trying to prove.

On July 31, Dennis Cunningham, another of the subpoenaed lawyers, presented an 11-point petition to the hearing. The petition asked Criminal Court Judge Philip Romiti to quash all subpoenas in connection with the hearing and to resume the trial of Hanrahan.

Cunningham called the hearing improper and illegal, and charged that the defense had "engaged in all of this behavior for the purpose of fostering the political campaign for reelection of Hanrahan as state's attorney of Cook County, a campaign which may succeed or fail with the success or failure of their defense in this case."

Another point in the petition said the subpoenas were improperly served, since two of the policemen on trial were the very ones who served them! Nevertheless, Romiti denied Cunningham's request.

Today's session in court confirmed

the opinion of most of the press and observers that the defense was eventually going to ask Judge Romiti to throw the Hanrahan case out of court. "We want a non-appealable order from Criminal Court Judge Romiti to end these proceedings once and for all," a defense lawyer was quoted as saying in today's *Chicago Daily News*.



Edward Hanrahan

Ohio ballot fight

Inquiry held on Communist Party petitions

By BRUCE MARCUS

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Aug. 2— Fifty people attended a public hearing here today called by Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to investigate independent nominating petitions filed on behalf of Gus Hall, Communist Party candidate for president.

In a clear effort to prevent independent parties from appearing on the Ohio ballot, Brown is trying to rule both the Communist and Socialist Workers presidential tickets off the ballot.

Brown claims that some people who signed the Communist Party's petitions were "deceived" by CP petitioners. He

says Linda Jenness's name cannot appear on the ballot because she is "too young" to serve if elected.

At the hearing Brown's aide, Jack Marsh, introduced 180 affidavits and statements from Ohio residents who say they were "tricked" into signing the Communist petitions. They claimed they thought they were signing petitions for an end to the war in Southeast Asia or freedom for Angela Davis.

According to the Ohio American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which is handling the CP's case, Brown has said he would hear and consider hearsay evidence. The ACLU reports he also said he would refuse to present

Hall's attorneys with the names of his accusers, a list of prospective witnesses, the names of Brown's investigators, or copies of the affidavits to be introduced as evidence.

Attorneys for Hall brought forward three witnesses today who had helped petition for the CP. One of the attorneys, Eugene Bayer, also asked that David Paparello, the Ohio representative for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), be allowed to make a statement. Marsh refused this request, saying that such a statement would be "irrelevant."

CoDEL has filed suit in federal district court on behalf of Jenness's right

to appear on the ballot. A decision is expected in early August.

Today at the hearing, Eileen Chappelear, the Ohio Communist Party campaign director, added her name to the growing list of supporters of Jenness's right to appear on the Ohio ballot.

Jenness and her running mate, Andrew Pulley, have denounced Brown's attempts to keep Hall off the ballot. A July 13 United Press International dispatch reported that the SWP candidates "labeled Brown 'a petty tyrant' and said he was 'embarked on a personal crusade to keep all radical candidates off the Ohio ballot.'"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

WORKING WOMEN AND THE ABORTION-LAW-REPEAL MOVEMENT—During the July 15-16 Women's National Abortion Action Conference held in New York between 80 and 100 participants attended a working-women's workshop. Despite the unbearable heat, and fatigue from the conference itself, the workshop participants had a serious discussion of specific ways to involve working women in the struggle for the right to abortion.

Women at the workshop represented a wide variety of occupations. Secretaries, teachers, clerical workers, social and welfare workers, federal employees, laboratory technicians, one railroad worker, and a business executive attended. Among the unions women came from were the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Drug and Hospital Local 1199; the United Federation of Teachers (UFT); and the Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks.

The workshop discussion centered on the major proposals before the conference. Participants discussed which proposals they felt could involve the most working women. The majority of women at the workshop favored the proposal calling for an international tribunal on abortion, contraception, and forced sterilization (Two Days of Denunciation of Crimes Against Women) to be held in New York Oct. 21-22. This proposal, which included a call for a demonstration during the tribunal and a petition campaign in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, was overwhelmingly adopted by the conference.

Many suggestions were made on how this proposal could involve working women. Ideas included urging women to wear WONAAC buttons to work and to keep literature with them for the many conversations that occur about abortion on the job. Ideas for involving women in unions included getting union meetings to pass motions of support to the fall abortion campaign, inviting WONAAC representatives to address union members, and appropriating union funds to publicize the tribunal.

One federal worker explained the problems she faced because of rules prohibiting her from carrying out political activity on the job. She pointed out that the Abortion Rights Act petition campaign would be a good way to involve federally employed women both in the fight for abortion rights and for their constitutional right to circulate petitions on the job.

A professor from City College in New York discussed the discrimination city workers face if they become pregnant. She noted that the issues of maternity leaves, the firing of pregnant employees, and the need for benefits covering abortion and maternity expenses, were ways of linking WONAAC's campaign with city employees.

A hospital worker from Local 1199 said that since women were a majority in her union there was a good chance of getting the local to pass a motion supporting the fall tribunal.

Other women pointed out that it was important to win the support of leading women in the trade-union movement for WONAAC's activities.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) presented a motion to the workshop calling for WONAAC to constitute itself as a "strike support" committee, which would aid striking workers by leafletting and other activities. The NCLC proposal said that "abortion is a dead-end" issue.

This attack on the abortion-rights struggle angered many women in the workshop, and they proceeded to answer it. A railroad worker said that one of the main issues her union's women's rights committee was working on was abortion. She also pointed out that Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis had held a women's conference in February and that the need to repeal the abortion laws had been a major part of the discussion.

Although time was far too short to discuss all the suggestions made for involving working women in the abortion struggle, the workshop ended with a tremendous feeling of encouragement about the possibilities for increasing the participation of working women in the abortion-law-repeal movement.

—FRAN COLLET

People's Party convention nominates Spock, Hobson

By CATHY PERKUS

ST. LOUIS—Dr. Benjamin Spock and Julius Hobson were officially nominated as the presidential ticket of the People's Party at its four-day convention here July 26-29. Spock, who is 69, is a well-known peace activist. Hobson, 50, is a leader of the Washington, D. C., Statehood Party. Two hundred people, including 168 delegates from 27 states, attended the gathering.

The convention adopted a platform and reaffirmed the People's Party as a "coalition of autonomous grass-roots electoral and nonelectoral organizations." It also formally resolved an eight-month debate over whether to run its own candidates or to endorse George McGovern.

The dilemma dates from the People's Party founding convention in Dallas last November. The 200 delegates there nominated Spock and Hobson as "stand-in" candidates, pending the outcome of the Democratic Party national convention. The debate intensified when 200 representatives of the People's Party Southern Region voted 3-to-1 to support George McGovern at their convention in Miami the day after McGovern accepted the Democratic Party's nomination.

While it was clear from the beginning that the caucus favoring a McGovern nomination was a minority at this convention, the central political debate—even among Spock supporters—focused on "how should radicals relate to George McGovern's candidacy?" However, the debate remained confined to a tactical discussion of how best to influence the outcome of the elections in McGovern's favor.

For example, Lowell Young, the organizer of the informal "socialist caucus," argued that by not endorsing McGovern "we would be helping him get elected. We would be serving as his 'left flank,' neutralizing Nixon's attempt at portraying him as too radical to be president . . . while at the same time laying the groundwork for bringing into the People's Party all those who will soon become disenchanted with McGovern."

At a news conference early in the week, Spock said the People's Party was "using the national campaign not for votes, but to call attention to our independent movement, to inspire people to organize in their communities for control over their lives."

He predicted that the delegates would nominate him and called it "suicide for the People's Party to support McGovern, even though obviously there are thousands of reasons we'd rather have McGovern president than Nixon."

When asked whether a People's Party campaign might take votes away from McGovern, he answered that "our name would be mud if we helped elect Nixon, it would be very unfortunate—but we can't put off building an independent movement."

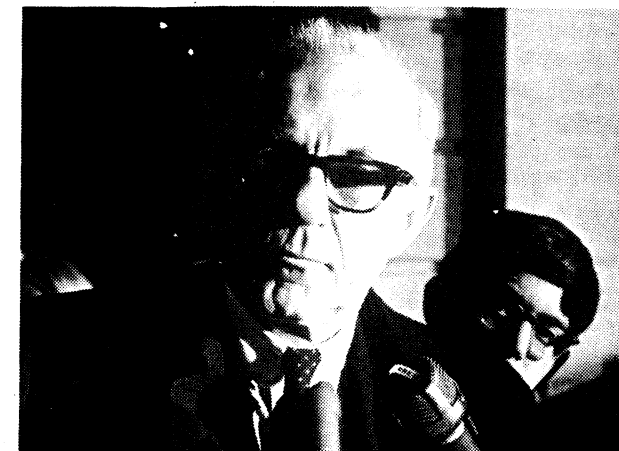
"There's much more than a dime's worth of difference between McGovern and Nixon: McGovern's an honorable man; he'd end the war promptly. But his program for social justice, to close tax loopholes, to help the poor, is too timid. Hopefully one of our functions will be to keep McGovern from moving further to the center."

The nominating session took an unexpected turn. A delegate nominated McGovern; then Socialist Workers Party candidate Linda Jenness was nominated. Their supporters were each given five minutes to call their candidate for authorization to run on the People's Party platform. McGovern supporters said five minutes wasn't enough time to reach him.

Suzanne Haig, SWP candidate for attorney general of Illinois, spoke on behalf of Jenness, thanking the delegate for the nomination. Delegates cheered when she said, "the SWP hopes to work together with the People's Party and others this fall in building the antiwar demonstrations on Oct. 26 and Nov. 18, the international abortion tribunal Oct. 21-22, and with CoDEL to overturn undemocratic election laws."

"We welcome the support from all People's Party members who endorse our campaign and we urge you to adopt a socialist platform."

It was clear that McGovern wouldn't run on the People's Party platform and that the delegates



Dr. Spock: 'There are thousands of reasons we'd rather have McGovern president than Nixon.'

wouldn't adopt a socialist platform, and Spock and Hobson were nominated.

The convention voted unanimously to endorse the Nov. 18 regional antiwar demonstrations and the Oct. 26 buildup actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

The delegates decided to support the Raza Unida Party and to endorse Texas RUP's gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muñiz.

People's Party National Secretary Chuck Avery's proposal that the convention endorse the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) was also unanimously passed. The delegates voted to send a resolution to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown protesting his ruling barring Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley from the November ballot. Avery announced that 60 people at the convention sent individual letters of protest to Brown.

High points of the convention were the speeches by Carl Braden, Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) national information director, and by Carmen Chairez from the Dallas Raza Unida Party. Both urged the People's Party to remain completely independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Braden said he was proud to say, "I have never voted for a capitalist candidate."

Earlier in the day Braden bought a McGovern truth kit (*Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern*) from the SWP campaign table, saying, "I am going to make an anti-McGovern speech tonight and I want some good statistics."

Many delegates and observers obviously felt the same way. Campaign supporters attending the convention as observers report selling 90 McGovern truth kits, 76 *Militants*, and \$55 worth of buttons and socialist literature.

Thirteen people at the convention endorsed the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

L.A. antiwar activists sentenced

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES, July 26—Some rather rough "justice" was meted out last week to several persons convicted of misdemeanor charges during a wave of antiwar demonstrations that hit Los Angeles following Nixon's escalation of the war in May.

In the most widely publicized of these actions, Municipal Judge Joseph R. Grillo passed sentence on a group of four demonstrators who participated in a May 9 "lie-in" outside Nixon campaign headquarters. Found guilty by a jury of blocking traffic, each received 180 days in jail and a fine of \$625.

The four are Marge Buckley, former candidate for district attorney; playwright Donald Freed; Herb Magidson, a local businessman; and Patricia Arnold, a secretary.

Nineteen members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) recently pleaded guilty to trespassing during an April 19 occupation of a Naval Reserve Center.

Municipal Judge Mary E. Waters, a Naval Reserve officer herself, sentenced the group to five days in jail and placed them on two years' probation. She also ordered each defendant to pay \$12.50 in damages to the Navy and prohibited them from entering any military installation without written permission.

The VVAW was alleged to have entered the Reserve Center and barricaded themselves in with the intent to remain there until the bombing of Vietnam had been halted. They distributed antiwar literature at the facility until they were ejected by police.

Jenness interviews defendants

Behind the Harlem Four frame-up case

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—While in the city on a campaign stop Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, talked with Walter Thomas and Ronald Felder, two of the Harlem Four. Thomas and Felder have endorsed the campaign of Jenness and her running mate Andrew Pulley.

Jenness asked Thomas and Felder about the murder and robbery charges against them, which stem from the killing of a white Harlem shopkeeper on April 29, 1964. A campaign supporter with Jenness asked them to describe some of their experiences from the eight years they spent in prison.

Thomas led off by describing the Harlem scene in 1964, when he and Felder were 18 years old. They and others had formed a pigeon club that became a pole of attraction for a number of Harlem youths. This proved upsetting to the police.

At one point, he said, the police tried to drive them from the roof on which they were flying their pigeons. Only the gathering of a crowd, including mothers of the youths, prevented the police from carting them off to the precinct station.

Then came the fruit stand "riot" of April 17, less than two weeks before the shopkeeper, Margit Sugar, was killed. On that day, Thomas recalled, crowds of elementary and junior high school students came past a fruit stand. Somehow the stand was overturned, and the students went chasing after the fruit.

As two cops rushed onto the scene, one raised his club, about to hit a little boy. But Wallace Baker, who was walking with Thomas and some others, threw his body in the way and tried to reason with the policeman. A scuffle ensued. The youths, however, subdued the policeman and then went about their business.

By this time the other officer had radioed for help, prompting the appearance of several squad cars. Thomas told Jenness that a couple of people who asked why the police were running amuck in the community were

viciously beaten. Among those arrested were Baker, Daniel Hamm, and Freddie Frazier. "But the community got together and got them out," said Thomas.

There were more incidents with the police, Thomas said, but it was the Sugar murder that the police seized upon to build their monstrous frame-up. Thomas, Felder, Baker, Hamm, Robert Rice, and William Craig were arrested and charged with the killing.

Only recently has it become public knowledge how the frame-up was engineered. In an affidavit released last month, chief prosecution witness Robert Barnes Jr. states, "I lied. I knew nothing about the crime at all. . . . For years I have wanted to tell the truth [but] I was always under the impression that I was in trouble if I ever stopped cooperating with the police."

Barnes, who was 18 years old at the time he was interrogated for the murder, is now serving time for armed robbery. "They accused him," the July 7 *New York Times* reports, "of 'being a liar, a militant and a Muslim,' he said, and convinced him that he would be indicted for murder and get either the electric chair or life imprisonment if he did not 'talk.'"

"They kept saying over and over, didn't you intend to kill [Mrs. Margit Sugar, the victim] wasn't this a plan to kill white people, until I finally said yes," the *Times* quoted Barnes from the affidavit.

"They kept referring to the guys I hung out with [the defendants] as being the guys they knew did it. When I made up my story, I included their names."

This is only a small portion of the disclosures contained in the 38-page document that Barnes gave to William Kunstler and Lewis Steel, two of the defense lawyers for the Harlem Four. His forced "confession" was used to convict the six in 1965. After a higher court overturned the conviction in 1968, Rice, whom Barnes had singled out as the actual "killer," was tried and convicted in 1970. Hamm later pleaded guilty to the charge of manslaughter.



Walter Thomas



Ronald Felder

The remaining four had two more trials, which ended in hung juries, the last one in January of this year. The judge subsequently set bail, and on March 31 the four walked out of the Tombs (Manhattan House of Detention) on \$5,000 bond each, thus ending eight years of imprisonment. They face still another trial, however, because the Manhattan district attorney's office has refused to drop the charges.

Felder told Jenness that he spent 39 months in the state prison at Great Meadows, N.Y., and the rest in the New York City jails. Thomas spent 39 months in the state prison at Green Haven, N.Y., and the rest in the city jails.

"I largely spent my time reading, studying," Felder recalled. "That was my means of adjusting to the penitentiary." He said at first many of the inmates were into talk about the gangs they had belonged to on the outside. Then in 1965 Islam became a strong pole of attraction. Later, the influence of the Black Panther Party grew. Now, he said, a state of general Black awareness reigns.

He mentioned that in some instances inmates on just one floor of the city

jail would order and receive crates of books from publishers like Doubleday and International. He added that many books banned from the jails just a short while ago are readily available now.

Felder and Thomas told Jenness they believe fundamental changes in this society are necessary to eliminate the oppression of Black people. They said this is one of the reasons why they are supporting her campaign.

"If McGovern is talking about changing the whole system, to gear the system to work hand-in-hand with the people—all well and good. But if McGovern is just talking about solving two or three problems, then McGovern is just like Nixon," remarked Thomas.

Felder is planning to enter the City College of New York this fall. Thomas plans to take up carpentry and become an X-ray technician. And both plan to continue activity in the Black liberation movement. Right now they are working in a legal services clinic in the Bronx.

Despite the prospect of a fourth trial, which is slated for Sept. 5, Thomas and Felder are optimistic. Barnes's latest affidavit, they feel, casts more than a shadow of a doubt over the prosecution's case.

The National Picket Line

ANOTHER MINE DISASTER: Once again sorrow and death have taken over a small West Virginia town. Blacksville, W. Va., was the scene of another mine disaster that began with an explosion and fire on July 23.

Nine men, living or dead, are now entombed within Consolidation Coal Company's Consul No. 1. The decision to seal the mine came on July 25 after a second explosion rocked the mine.

Consolidation President John Corcoran announced then that all further rescue attempts would be stopped and the mine sealed. He is reported to have made the decision in collaboration with United Mine Workers Union officials and federal and state mine inspectors.

Previously, Corcoran had admitted that the company was at fault in not having corrected the last three citations made by federal inspectors on July 21. The record of this four-year-old mine is so bad that it has been cited 500 times for every kind of safety and health violation on the books. Both state and federal inspectors had made twice-weekly inspections of the operation.

The Coal Mine Safety and Health Act of 1969 gives the U.S. Bureau of Mines, which administers the law, the right to close any mine considered unsafe and to keep that mine closed until all violations have been cleared up. The United Mine Workers Union has safety committees, which have the same power, in each mine under its jurisdiction. They can call the men out until the mine is safe. All the Appalachian states where coal is king have similar legislation.

Yet for four years this death trap has been cited

but never closed. Why?

Consolidation Coal Company is the largest bituminous coal corporation in the country. Not only is it an important source of inexpensive soft coal for the production of electricity, but it also has close friends in the Bureau of Mines. Industry spokesmen hailed Dr. Elbert F. Osborne's appointment as head of the Bureau after the previous head had shown too much enthusiasm for enforcing the new Coal Safety Act. When the Bureau named Edward Failor, a former fund raiser for Barry Goldwater, as enforcer of the act, the owners were even happier.

One of the first things Dr. Osborne did when he

took office was to call in all mine inspectors and order them not to close any mines until they had first checked with him by phone!

In addition to their friends in government, Consolidation has a warm friend in UMW President W.A. "Tony" Boyle.

In November 1968, when Consolidation's Consul No. 9 blew up, the company finally sealed that mine. When all the shafts were filled with concrete and steel plating, Consul No. 9 became the tomb of 78 men.

Boyle rushed to the scene to help company officials sell the grieving families on the necessity of the action. "Consolidation," he told them, "has one of the best safety records in the business."

Today the families of the nine entombed miners in Consul No. 1 are back in their homes, but they are not alone in their grief. A July 27 *Daily World* report said 17,000 West Virginia miners had called a one-day protest strike to honor their dead brothers and to protest the cynical manner in which the government and the Boyle officialdom has ignored the safety of all miners.

There will be funeral services, probably at the mine head, for the latest victims of capitalist greed. And another small Appalachian town will mount a plaque in its town square to honor the dead men.

A small comfort to the wives and children of the men who went down into the mine on July 23, 1972, — little comfort indeed to those families whose sons, husbands, and brothers still have to enter those black pits to earn their daily bread and the huge profits for the mining corporations.

—MARVEL SCHOLL



United Mine Workers Journal

Trial of the Tombs Three

Defense witnesses describe prison revolt

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, July 29 — The defense of three Afro-Americans accused of leading the uprising in the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (The Tombs) in October 1970 has finished its first week. It has already raised serious doubts about the validity of much of the testimony of the prosecution witnesses.

Before resting its case July 19, the prosecution called eight witnesses to the stand—seven correction officers and one inmate. Their testimony generally sought to establish that the defendants—Curtis Brown, Nathaniel Ragsdale, and Ricardo DeLeon—were among those who took correction officers hostage when inmates took control of one floor in the prison; that they threatened these hostages, both by word and gesture (Ragsdale allegedly stood in front of a hostage "with an evil smile on his face!"); and that they possessed various makeshift weapons, including metal pipes, a paper-cutter blade, and explosives at the time of the rebellion. Prosecution witnesses also identified Brown as the major leader of the uprising.

The defense opened its case July 24. They had originally planned to enter evidence about the overcrowding, brutal treatment, and long waits for trial that exist in the Tombs, seeking to establish that such conditions gave the inmates no alternative but to rebel. Judge Harold Birns, however, ruled such a defense out of order, forbidding any mention of prison conditions.

The defense has called four witnesses to the stand. One, a Black inmate named Thomas Ricardo, claimed that as the uprising began, he went to the organ and played "Ave Maria." He told the jury that Ragsdale was sitting near him at the time, idly watching the action unfold. This, of course, contradicts prosecution testimony that Ragsdale participated in the initial seizing of hostages. And Ricardo's statement that the rebellion was set to church music did much to undercut the image the prosecution has been

trying to conjure up of the participating inmates as violent men.

Ricardo himself is a symbol of one of the conditions that led to the Tombs revolt. He told prosecutor John Fine that after being held in prison 13 months in pretrial detention, he finally pleaded guilty to two robberies he had not committed. Ricardo reported that this is a frequent practice. When a guilty plea is entered, the inmate is often released from jail on the basis of the time already served.

A second witness was an officer who was held hostage in the commissary throughout the revolt. Although the prosecution had stated that the defendants were using explosives outside the commissary, this officer claimed he had never smelled kerosene, pine oil, or any other inflammable material. He also told the jury that Brown continually brought inmates whom he felt might precipitate violence into the commissary to isolate them from other inmates.

This testimony is consistent with Brown's own assertion that he had nothing to do with the take-over and stepped in only later when he felt that his leadership was necessary if no one was to be killed.

Testimony confirms his claim that he secured food for the hostages and confiscated drugs and weapons from the inmates. Brown, known as a "jail-house lawyer" because he has used his prison term to study law, is defending himself.

Perhaps the most powerful part of the defense was the testimony of Alfred Earl Warren, a 22-year-old Black trainee officer at the time of the rebellion. Unafraid of the inmates, he circulated among them while a hostage and was selected by them to release to the press a letter to Mayor John Lindsay listing their demands. For this gesture his superiors termed him an "inmate lover" and locked him up without food for 10 hours.

Warren contradicted testimony by prosecution witnesses that they had not collaborated with each other before the trial began. He reported that since



Tombs prisoner during October 1970 rebellion

he was once a possible prosecution witness, he knew such discussions had taken place. (Warren has since been fired from his job.)

An unusual aspect of this case is that although there were similar uprisings at the same time in Brooklyn and Queens city prisons, only the Manhattan district attorney has pressed felony charges against any inmates. While in the other cases prison rebels were either allowed to plead guilty to misdemeanors or had all charges dropped, Tombs defendants face life imprisonment on counts including kidnapping and unlawful imprisonment.

When this reporter asked why the

Tombs indictments are so severe, Legal Aid attorney Robert Cantor cited the racist nature of District Attorney Frank Hogan's office. Cantor, who is assisting Brown in his defense, said Hogan "has a history of singling out Black militants and coming up with huge indictments."

Defense attorney Henry diSverno agreed with Cantor's analysis, pointing out that "the rhythm of Hogan's office seems to require that every spring and summer there be a major trial of multidefendant Blacks." He gave the trials of the Harlem four and the Panther 21, both indicted by Hogan, as examples.

Women plan marches, rallies for Aug. 26

By CINDY JAQUITH

Activities celebrating the fifty-second anniversary of women winning the right to vote are being planned across the country for the week of Aug. 20-26.

The National Organization for Women (NOW), which has initiated

meeting of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) voted to support and build the activities scheduled for the week of Aug. 26.

WONAAC national staff member Marilyn Markus told *The Militant* that "local chapters of WONAAC have al-

restrictive contraception laws and the practice of forced sterilization. In addition, WONAAC activists will circulate petitions in support of the Abortion Rights Act, introduced into Congress by Representative Bella Abzug.

In San Francisco, women will hold an all-day teach-in Aug. 26. Initiated by WONAAC, the Bay Area teach-in is aimed at involving a large number of different groups and at covering a broad range of issues and topics. These include abortion; working women; high school women; women in prisons; gay women; Black, Chicana, and Asian women; and others. San Francisco NOW is also demanding that the city council declare Aug. 25 "Women's Rights Day."

In New York, NOW, WONAAC, and other groups are building an Aug. 25 march down Fifth Avenue, beginning at 4 p.m. A rally will follow in Bryant Park.

In Atlanta, women from NOW, the Georgia Women's Abortion Action Coalition, *The Great Speckled Bird*, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance have announced plans to march to the capitol on Aug. 26. A women's speak-out following the demonstration will focus on the ERA, which goes before the

Georgia state legislature this fall.

NOW and the Abortion Project Coalition in Cleveland are working on an Aug. 25 noon rally at the public square.

On Aug. 26 Cleveland NOW is sponsoring a forum on the ERA, featuring representatives from the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Communist Party. The forum will be held at Trinity Church.

A women's fair is planned in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 26 as the culmination of a week of events. These include a women's church service on Aug. 20 and performances of *Lysistrata* and Myrna Lamb's play *But What Have You Done for Me Lately?* A broad range of groups, including NOW, the Women's Political Caucus, D.C. WONAAC, the Council of Household Employees, and the National Welfare Rights Organization, are helping to build the week's activities. The National Portrait Gallery in D.C. will feature a special showing of paintings of famous women.

Chicago NOW plans a series of actions during the week centering on topics such as equal employment, the family and reproduction, and the divorce laws. A women's fair will take place on the North Side on Aug. 26.

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, issued the following statement July 30.

On Aug. 26, 1920, women in the United States won the right to vote after a long and bitter struggle spanning nearly a century. During the week of Aug. 20-26 this year women will commemorate that victory and reaffirm their determination to struggle for their full liberation. I support the demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, festivals, and other activities planned for this week. I urge all my supporters to participate in making these actions as large and as broad as possible.

Aug. 26 actions in many areas, held a press conference in New York City on July 26. NOW is urging women to stress three main themes during the week of Aug. 26: repeal of all abortion laws; ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); and "women's political power."

The July 26 working committee

ready begun to help plan and organize Aug. 26 events in their areas.

"One thing we'll be doing the week of Aug. 26 is publicizing the international tribunal called by WONAAC for Oct. 21-22 in New York City," Markus said. The tribunal will focus on the crimes committed against women because of the anti-abortion and

In Review

Books

Brecht: playwright as social critic

Bertolt Brecht: Collected Plays, Vol. 1 and Vol. 5 edited by Ralph Manheim and John Willet. Vintage Books. New York, 1971, 1972. \$2.95 each, paperback. Brecht: The Man and His Work by Martin Esslin. Doubleday Anchor Books. New York, revised edition, 1971. \$1.95 paperback. Brecht edited by Erika Munk. Bantam Books. New York, 1972. \$1.25 paperback.

The name of Bertolt Brecht has for decades aroused passions and tempers, admiration and incredulity in both the theatrical and the political worlds. And rightly so. It can be said without exaggeration that he stands as one of the most significant figures in twentieth-century drama.



Bertolt Brecht

The fact that Brecht's plays are often explicitly anticapitalist has only added tinder to the bonfire of controversy that has raged since before his death in East Germany in 1956. One can almost imagine him chuckling with his typically wry sense of humor over the contortions of both the liberals and the Stalinists who have tried repeatedly to soften his biting criticism and his all-too-sharp tongue.

The growing number of works by and about Brecht now appearing in English make it easier for those interested in Brecht to draw their own conclusions. Hopefully the increased availability of his own scripts and variations of them will also give birth to more and better stage productions of his plays (those that have been produced in the U.S. so far have by and large been mediocre).

Brecht, an anthology of critical pieces by and about Brecht, helps give the student of drama a good basic understanding of Brecht's approach to the theater. Martin Esslin's study of Brecht highlights his turbulent career and throws a strong spotlight on his often strained relationships with the Stalinized Communist parties. And, much to the appetite of Brecht enthusiasts, Vintage plans to publish Brecht's complete works—poems, plays and prose—during the next five years. Volumes One and Five have been the first to hit the bookshelves so far.

Brecht began his career in Germany during the mass bloodletting of World War I and, as his work developed, reflected the social struggles of the first half of this century. His early plays, *Baal*, *Drums in the Night*, *In the Jungle of the Cities*, and *Life of Edward the Second of England* (in Volume One of the Vintage series) show his extreme dissatisfaction with the conditions and the mores of bourgeois society.

They also indicate the beginning of his rebellion against this society. The

background in *Drums in the Night*, for instance, is studded with the machine-gun fire of the Spartakus uprising in Germany during 1919 (Brecht himself was briefly involved in this uprising, which was led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht).

Brecht's revulsion against bourgeois society and his desire to change it led to a new approach to the theater. Drama should not just entertain an audience, he contended. It should also, he felt, expose the decadence and injustice of existing society, it should try to point toward some alternative, a socialist alternative, and above all,



Helene Weigel as Mother Courage

it should make the audience *think* and draw its own conclusions.

"I am a playwright. I show
What I have seen. At the markets
of men
I have seen how men are bought
and sold. This
I, the playwright, show."

Forced by Hitler to flee Germany, he emigrated to the U.S. only to find himself before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Returning to East Germany after the war, he often clashed with the official exponents of "socialist realism" who tried to tie literature and art to the shirt-tails of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The plays in Volume Five of the Vintage series, *The Trial of Lucullus*, *Mother Courage and Her Children*, and *Life of Galileo* come from the period of his flight from and eventual return to Germany.

The antiwar play *Mother Courage* irritated the Stalinists because the East German audiences easily identified the

soldiers who raped Katrin with the Soviet troops that rolled into East Berlin to crush the workers' uprising there in 1953.

The Stalinists at first tried to use Brecht's plays as propaganda against the Western capitalist states during the cold-war period. But they soon found out that his razors were double-edged and could easily cut the hands of the bureaucrats themselves. So they tried to handcuff his talent and hammer his plays into the shape required by this parasitic caste of pompous bureaucrats. They set their legion of court critics loose on his heels. Under this pressure Brecht made the pretense of conforming, although his work continued to appear in the West through a West German publishing house.

Brecht's response to the Stalinist pressure echoes the main character in *Life of Galileo*, one of his best plays. This play explores the plight of scientists and their responsibilities to humanity. It foreshadows the dilemma of the nuclear physicists who viewed the results of their work over the skies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As Galileo says, "Scientists cannot remain scientists if they deny themselves to the masses; the power of nature cannot be fully developed if mankind does not know how to develop its own powers; machines,



Charles Laughton as Galileo

meant to bring relief to man, may merely bring new hardships; progress may merely progress away from humanity." Galileo's advocacy of freedom of research must also have struck a responsive chord among scientists in the Soviet Union who are hamstrung by the narrow interests of the bureaucracy.

Galileo, having discovered proof that the sun, not the earth, is the center of the solar system, sets out to upset the traditional view. But the Church hierarchy and the feudal aristocrats pressure him into recanting. His public recantation saves his life and allows him to continue his research secretly. Galileo's followers, however, feel betrayed. Brecht's "recantation"—although never official, always very halfhearted, and almost comical—was, as in *Galileo*, nevertheless used by the Stalinists as an example to other writers and artists.

Though partially defeated politically, Bertolt Brecht still stands as a great poet and playwright. No amount of slander and falsification can erase his brilliant sorties against oppression and war and his significance in twentieth-century drama.

—ERNEST HARSCH

Socialist strategy

A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s: Documents of the Socialist Workers Party. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 96 pp. \$1.45.

What is the character of the new radicalization? How should a revolutionary strategy for action be shaped, based upon this radicalization?

These are the central questions of *A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s*, which consists of three documents published by the Socialist Workers Party in 1971: "The New Stage of World Revolution," by Joseph Hansen (the international report to the 1971 national convention of the Socialist Workers Party); "Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization" (the political resolution of the SWP convention); and "Report to the SWP National Committee," by Jack Barnes.

In the United States, the political resolution points out, college and high school students are becoming increasingly radicalized. Nationalism continues to deepen, not only among Afro-Americans but among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans. Since 1970, a new feminist movement has arisen. A gay liberation movement is assembling forces. Prisoners are more in revolt against the racist conditions and oppression throughout the American penal system.

"There is no layer too oppressed to struggle, no reactionary prejudice and oppression too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged," the political resolution states. It maintains that although the American working class has not yet become a force in the radicalization, workers will be drawn into it and become the central element. The political resolution consequently contends that this deepening radicalization cannot be reversed without gigantic struggles, ultimately posing the question of which class shall rule in the United States.

The SWP program links activity in the immediate and pressing struggles of the day to the anticapitalist revolution. Jack Barnes, SWP national chairman, states in the 1971 report to the National Committee: "The key thing is that as the radicalization deepens, as new movements arise, as new sectors come into struggle against the antidemocratic bias of capitalism, against the oppression of capitalism, against the inequities and inequalities of capitalism, that we champion the progressive demands of these movements, and that we act as revolutionists toward them and in them."

In the international report, Joseph Hansen, formerly a secretary to Leon Trotsky and currently the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, focuses attention on the war in Southeast Asia and the world antiwar movement. Special attention is paid to Washington's turn toward Peking and its meaning for the future of the Vietnamese revolution. Hansen concludes his report with a discussion of the transitional character of revolutionary work—that is, how revolutionaries must learn to link the battles of the moment to the struggle for socialism.

This book will be of great interest to supporters of the SWP presidential election campaign. It provides the programmatic basis for the ideas and actions that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley advocate. Jenness and Pulley actively participated in the SWP national convention, which approved the political and international resolutions.

—ED SMITH

Raza clothing workers launch boycott

By TANK BARRERA

EL PASO, Texas, July 28—Senators Edward Kennedy and Gaylord Nelson are among the backers of a nationwide boycott called by striking workers against the Farah Manufacturing Company. Farah is said to be the largest producer of men's dress slacks in the world. The AFL-CIO has sent out communications to all its locals asking that they honor the boycott.

The strike involves more than 3,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union in San Antonio and El Paso, Texas, and Las Cruces and Albuquerque, N.M.

The walkout began on May 3 in San Antonio in response to the dismissal of three workers for union-organizing activities. It then spread to the other cities.

The strike has had its biggest impact here in El Paso, where it has aroused wide support in the Chicano community (the union locals involved are all Chicano). Mass meetings of more than 1,200 are held here every Tuesday to get out news about the strike and to coordinate boycott efforts at the stores that carry Farah products.

The strikers have received endorsement and help from many Chicano organizations. The University of Texas at El Paso MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) has supported the strike by staffing picket lines and raising funds.

The Texas Raza Unida Party has also given its full support. Ramsey Muniz, RUP candidate for governor, joined a boycott picket line and spoke to a mass meeting of strikers while touring El Paso.

A half-page ad in the July 30 *New York Times* announced the formation of a national committee to support the strike and boycott.

...A-bomb

Continued from page 3

is not over here at home, even though a vast new weapon has been created. Production for victory is still necessary in all fields as well as in the field of atomic bombs."

On Aug. 12, 1945, the *Worker's* weekend magazine section began with a front-page article with the thesis: "The atom bomb and the Soviet declaration of war opened up a new phase of world politics destined to bring about a democratic, anti-fascist Asia."

But the crowning touch came on Aug. 10, the day after the bombing of Nagasaki. On that day the *Worker* ran a cartoon showing a bandy-legged character representing Japan being blown backward by two explosions. One explosion is labeled "Soviet declaration of war" and the other, "atomic bomb." The caption says, "The Old One-Two."

The position of the Socialist Workers Party was stated in the Aug. 18, 1945, issue of *The Militant*. *The Militant* said: "The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who

are the principal victims of war."

In contrast to the *Daily Worker*, *The Militant* not only condemned "the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese," it also warned that "The end of the Second World War does not mean peace, but only an interval between wars, marked by smaller conflicts."

Today, 27 years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, victims of that atrocity continue to die from radiation-caused diseases such as leukemia. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is adding untold thousands of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians to the list of those who have died as a result of its drive to dominate Asia.

More and more Americans are discovering with horror the true history of U.S. imperialism in World War II and are learning of the unspeakable crimes that have been committed in their name. As the continuing atrocities of U.S. imperialism cause young people to examine the past, this record will convince a growing number of the necessity of a socialist America in a socialist world.

...Viet

Continued from page 3

"The people who are speaking out against the war are the patriots."

A new admission of the inability of the Saigon government forces to crush the popular revolution without U.S. support came in an article actually entitled "South Vietnam's Army Shows It Can Fight." The article, appearing in the Aug. 7 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, boasted about the Saigon army's capture of Quangtri.

"Allied officers agree that Americans and South Vietnamese warplanes played a vital role, first in helping blunt the Communist advance and then in setting the stage for the counteroffensive," states *U.S. News*.

"Without air power," says a ranking American, "a third of the country now would be under Red control."

"The combined tactical air forces flew more than 10,000 fighter-bomber missions against the Communists in Northern South Vietnam between June 28, when Saigon began its drive, and July 26."

Apparently the article was written before the Saigon army forces were once again driven out of the Quangtri Citadel. A short article summarizing the battle in the July 30 *New York Times* was more accurately entitled: "Vietnam: A 'Victory' Dissolves."

...Czech

Continued from page 5

dent leaders, clergymen, sociologists, workers and former party officials who have been sentenced in recent weeks have, on the whole, admitted the charges dealing with pamphleteering.

"They have denied, however, that this was in any way subversive, or inciting."

Dr. Huebl's six-and-a-half-year sentence is the longest meted out so far.

When the Huebl trial opened in Prague July 31, a group of about 30 people staged a brief protest. They included Dr. Lubomir Kohout, a former university lecturer and member of the presidium of the Prague party committee in 1968 and 1969.

Dr. Kohout was among prominent reformers who signed a manifesto sent to the Federal Assembly in Aug. 1969, protesting the loss of liberties following the 1968 occupation. Kohout was arrested later in the day, according to the Aug. 1 *London Times*.

Along with Huebl, the sixth trial included Karel Kyncl, a journalist who was a television commentator in the reform period of 1968, and Karel Bartosek, a historian who helped ex-

pose Czechoslovakia's rigged political show trials of the 1950s.

Kyncl was sentenced to 20 months in prison Aug. 1 and Bartosek received a one-year suspended sentence.

In the fourth trial [see *The Militant*, Aug. 4, for earlier information] four persons were found guilty of antigovernment activity, according to Reuters, July 25.

"The heaviest sentence . . . was imposed on the Rev. Jaromir Dus of the Czech Brethren Evangelical Church, now a hotel employee. He received a 15-month jail term on charges of subversion," Reuters reported.

On July 26, Reuters reported from Prague that "Six persons were jailed for terms ranging from 26 months to five years today on subversion charges in the central Moravian town of Brno. It was the fifth subversion trial in Czechoslovakia in the last nine days."

...Egypt

Continued from page 10

pointed out that such a settlement would be at Arab and Soviet, not U.S.-Israeli expense. "We are making concessions," the Kremlin bureaucrats admitted.

One of the concessions to American imperialism produced by this "detente" has been the USSR's refusal to deliver certain quantities of arms to Egypt. Another is Moscow's refusal to approve token Egyptian offensive operations against Israel, as were carried out before the current ceasefire.

Egypt and its 17-year alliance with the Soviet Union have become so much small change for the Kremlin bureaucrats in their rush to cement a worldwide detente with U.S. imperialism. It is this policy that has driven the Egyptian leaders to try to develop more diplomatic maneuvering room for themselves between the U.S. and the USSR.

Sadat is now attempting to make his own concessions to American imperialism and sees the close alliance with the Soviet Union as an obstacle to this policy.

How far Sadat will go in the direction of a rapprochement with Washington cannot be determined at this point. However, one thing is certain: no matter how many concessions the Egyptians grant to the American imperialists, the U.S. will not drop its unequivocal support to Israel's Zionist regime.

Sadat has only to look at the example of Jordan to see whether such a proimperialist policy can advance the struggle against Israel. Jordan, which has the most pro-American regime in the Arab world, receives huge amounts of U.S. military and economic aid. In fact Hussein's Jordan has even received behind-the-scenes aid from Israel. However, for all of its concessions Jordan remains the Arab state that has suffered the heaviest blows from Israel, losing Jerusalem and the fertile and densely populated West Bank of the Jordan River to Israel in 1967.

Sadat's new concessions to American imperialism are signs of weakness that the U.S. and Israel will likely use to make further attacks on Egypt and the Arab revolution.

...AFT

Continued from page 24

building of large labor contingents for these actions.

2) A campaign should be launched to decrease the size of each class as well as the actual length of the workday. Not only will this improve education, but it will help fight unemployment by spreading the available work to more teachers. There is no reason why thousands of fully qualified teachers should walk the streets at a time when the need for teachers

has never been greater.

The AFT should demand full federal compensation for teachers who are not immediately placed in classrooms.

3) To fight inflation the AFT should demand that union contracts include escalator clauses that automatically increase wages with each rise in the cost of living. It should call for abolishing the government Pay Board and should oppose all fraudulent attempts to control inflation by suppressing wage increases.

4) The union should give full support to a large increase in federal financing of public education to give every person a decent education.

A special crash program to build new, fully equipped and adequately staffed schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities should be supported. This is necessary to catch up with decades of inferior education in these communities. The administration of this crash program, as well as determining the curriculum and running their schools, is the right of the people in these oppressed communities — a right the AFT should support unconditionally.

5) The AFT should support the right of students to free speech and assembly, including the right to form political organizations in the schools and to participate in political activities outside of school. It should call for getting cops, security guards, and all other forms of armed force aimed at repressing these rights out of the schools.

6) The AFT should reverse the position taken at its last convention opposing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women. Instead of opposing this Constitutional amendment on the grounds that it might nullify state protective laws, the AFT should support the ERA as a step forward for women and call for the extension of beneficial state protective laws to all workers. Support to the ERA would reaffirm the position the AFT took two years ago.

The convention should reaffirm its support to equal pay for equal work and for child-care facilities for teachers and school neighborhood residents. And it should call for the union to negotiate paid maternity leaves in contracts.

7) The AFT should vigorously oppose all forms of government infringements of the union's rights. These include New York's infamous Taylor Law, which bars strikes of public employees, and the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act.

How is this program to be implemented? There is no doubt that the AFT alone lacks the power to compel the government to change its priorities. But the problems faced by teachers are not much different from those facing the rest of the labor movement.

The AFT can best move to protect its interests by seeking to bring together the country's labor movement in a united effort. A key step in this direction would be a call for a nationwide congress of the labor movement for the purpose of formulating a program of united action against the government and corporate attacks. Such a congress of labor, composed of delegates democratically selected from their unions, would include representatives from the movements for social change.

The formation of a labor party based on the trade unions should be given top priority at this congress so that the labor movement can move into the political arena to fight for the interests of working people.

There are nearly 20 million union members and millions of nonunion workers, as well as many thousands of participants in the new movements for social change. Together they constitute a powerful force for a better world for all people. The AFT can play an important role in beginning the process of uniting these forces in action.

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., Aug. 7: Leninist Party Organization.
 Thurs., Aug. 10: 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.
 Tues., Aug. 8, and Thurs., Aug. 10: 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. 8: The Tactic of Critical Support.
 Wed., Aug. 9: What Is the Character of the SWP Campaigns?

CHICAGO
STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School. Classes held at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, 8 p.m. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.
 Mon., Aug. 7; Tues., Aug. 8; Thurs., Aug. 10: Three classes on The Leninist Approach to the Party. Teacher: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant. 50c per class; \$1 for the series.

A SOCIALIST APPRAISAL OF THE McGOVERN CAMPAIGN. Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, The Militant. Fri., Aug. 11, 8 p.m. 2440 N. Lincoln Ave. Donations: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed, 75c. Aup. Socialist Workers Party campaign. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

DENVER
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.
 Tues., Aug. 8: The Russian Revolution.
 Thurs., Aug. 10: History of the Fourth International: Pabloism and Entryism.

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.
 Sun., Aug. 6, 1 p.m. and 4 p.m.: 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.
 Wed., Aug. 9, 8 p.m.: Organizational Character of the SWP. Teacher: Syd Stapleton.

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., Aug. 7, and Thurs., Aug. 10: 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.

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., Aug. 7: The Cochran Fight.
 Wed., Aug. 9: Internationalism.

...Quebec

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strong, courageous, and sportive and the girls are delicate, weak, and sensitive, just right for fulfilling the tasks of a housewife."

The teacher's manifesto describes the discipline of the schools as only a preparation for the discipline awaiting students in the factories. The goal is to prevent "any attempt to modify social relations." Under this discipline, "the students are seen as irresponsible, passive beings. The school represses any expression of real problems, despite its seeming democracy and the measure of participation the students are given."

The manifesto's conclusion calls for complete opposition to these capitalist educational policies. The teachers, it states, "must struggle against the repression of expression of the real problems of the students; . . . against the paternalism exercised in regard to children of so-called deprived backgrounds; against the condition of inferiority in which teachers and students in the trades sector are held; . . . against the state of inferiority in which women are held. . . ."

The document also calls for the teachers to struggle "for the right of teachers to express their social or political views in school; for the takeover of the schools by those who have interests in them: students, teachers, office staff, maintenance workers, parents."

One weakness of the document is that despite its excellent analysis of

the capitalist system, it projects no specific political strategy for the Québec teachers and other workers to achieve political power to carry out their socialist goals.

The closest the CEQ convention came to this, according to *Labor Challenge*, was to call "for the formation of inter-union political action committees at the regional and [Québec] national levels, and voted to encourage the election of members or any other citizen whose ideas are compatible with our movement and who offers valid guarantees to represent the working class in public office" for such posts as school commissions, administrative councils of universities and CEGEPs [community colleges], and hospitals."

The convention voted to oppose the Liberal Party government of Québec Premier Robert Bourassa. The capitalist Liberal Party opposes independence for Québec.

The CEQ did not take a position of political opposition to the Parti Québécois (PQ), a capitalist party favoring independence. The PQ attacked the Common Front unions during the recent labor struggles. But, according to *Labor Challenge*, "With the Parti Québécois in mind, the convention voted to maintain the CEQ's full independence toward all political parties, and officially support none."

...CIO

Continued from page 13

Union in June 1941. The horrible exhibition of scabbing put on by the Communist Party and the unrestrained flag-waving jingoism they displayed in the war years exceeded even the craven performances of right-wing union bureaucrats.

The Stalinists demanded that workers and Black people put aside all their aspirations in order to produce for the war. They advocated piecemeal, the wage freeze and job freeze, and the no-strike pledge given to Roosevelt by union leaders without consulting the rank and file workers. To the Blacks who wanted to improve their chances to get better jobs, the Stalinists said they should sit tight and wait until

the war ended.

The Communist Party was so discredited in the union and Black movements that the right-wing leaders of the CIO had no trouble in expelling them from that organization during the witch-hunt period a few years later.

Among the necessary material that is needed to understand the history of the CIO and its place in American history are accounts of the 1941 Minneapolis trials of Teamster and Socialist Workers Party leaders; the great strikes of the miners during World War II; the role of Roosevelt's labor board, which was empowered to settle all labor disputes; and the bitter attempts of the workers to oppose all the anti-union steps taken by the government and supported by their own leaders.

We have a description of labor's mighty postwar upsurge of 1946 and 1947, the greatest in American history. Then comes the antilabor drive powered by the Truman administration, and the legislative assault on the unions.

The inauguration of the cold war and its extension into the CIO, the Taft-Hartley Act and its crippling effects on union organization are stages in the retreat of the union movement from its high point. The split in the CIO caused by the expulsion of the Stalinist-influenced unions and the right-wing elements' largely uncontested control of the CIO unions signaled a decline of the movement.

From that point until the eventual healing of the 1935 split, unions experienced some victories and some defeats. These are described in detail in the book. Finally, in 1955, the two federations joined together as the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of *Labor's Giant Step*, especially for young revolutionists and radicals who want to know the truth about what took place in the union and political fields in America from 1930 to 1955. This edition contains a new introduction by Naomi Allen and the author's speech at a reception celebrating publication of the book. The reception was held in New York on Nov. 21, 1964, about one month before Preis died.

—MILTON ALVIN

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
 Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.
 Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.
 San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
 San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.
 San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.
 Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-8354.

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 David Bauffaud, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32303.
 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 University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
 Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.
KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.
LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.
MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.
MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.
 Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-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.
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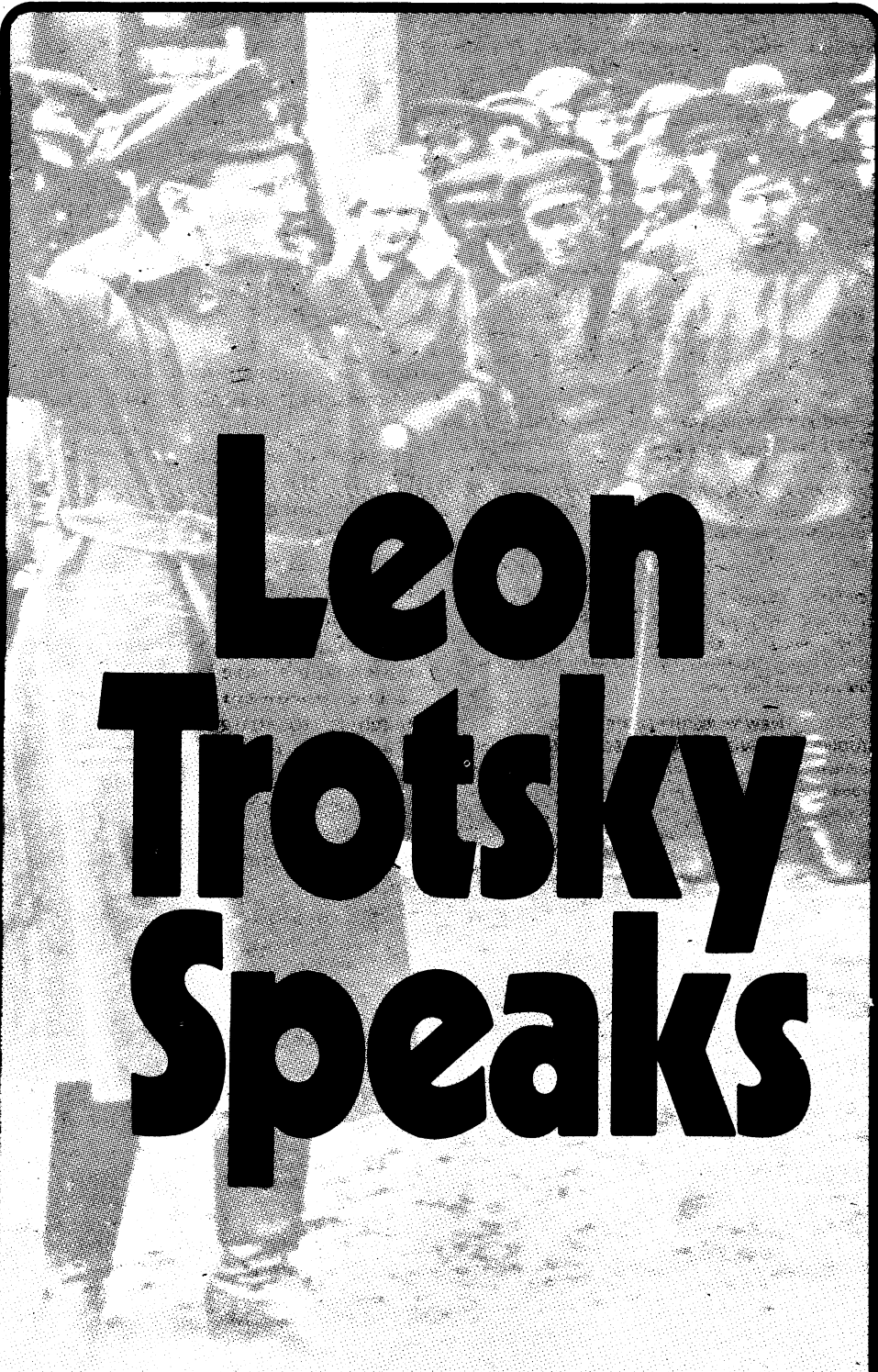
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THE MILITANT

Issues facing AFT convention

Teachers need a program of struggle

By JEFF MACKLER

BERKELEY, Calif. — The fifty-sixth national convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 21-25 comes at a time when mounting attacks are being made against teachers' organizations and public education.

The schools have deteriorated to a point where most of the major gains of teacher unionism during the past decade have been seriously eroded. AFT national publications point out that inflation has nearly wiped out salary gains over the past six years. In effect, teachers' wages have been frozen during this period. If the present pattern continues, it is likely that drastic cuts in real wages are in store.

It is apparent that the wage and price controls President Nixon imposed in August 1971 have been far more effective in controlling wages than in halting price increases.

Budget crises have led school boards across the country to impose zero percent salary "increases." Only a few AFT locals have won even the meager 5.5 percent increases permitted under the Phase Two guidelines.

But the attack on salaries is only part of the story. While unemployment among teachers was virtually unknown five years ago, there are now a minimum of 100,000 teachers without work. Some sources have placed the figure at close to a quarter-million.

In the larger school districts proposals to fire several thousand teachers to solve financial crises are common. But even the smallest districts are beginning to lay off teachers. For example, in 70 percent of California's 1,500 school districts teachers were fired in the past year.

Where teachers have not been fired outright, other methods have been employed to cut budgets at the expense of teachers and students. In Portland, Ore., and several Midwestern cities schools were closed prior to the end of the normal school year, forcing

teachers to suffer significant salary losses.

When teachers are compelled to resort to strike action to defend their right to organize and bargain collectively, they meet a barrage of court injunctions, fines, prison sentences, and antistrike legislation.

In spite of these attacks and worsening conditions, teachers are made the scapegoat for the problems of public education. At every level of school and government administration legislation is pending or has already been passed ensuring that teachers will pay the price for the failure of a social system that places top priority on war and profits instead of the quality of education.

Teachers in California, New York, and many other states are suffering from tenure laws. Several states are in the process of implementing legislation that seeks to hold teachers accountable for the progress of their students.

Community control

Instead of blaming the racism and poverty created by capitalist society for the especially serious deterioration of education in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, it is common to hold the teachers responsible.

Unfortunately, this misconception has been reinforced by the failure of most AFT locals to support the just struggles of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities for improved educational facilities and control over their schools.

Opposition to these demands is a great danger to the AFT and if continued, will lead to the weakening of the union. By supporting these demands, the AFT can win the support of an important ally in its struggle against state and local governments.

The war in Southeast Asia has exacerbated and accelerated these economic and social problems. AFT state federations in California, Michigan,



Militant/Ron Payne

Teachers protest cutbacks in education budget in Sacramento, Calif., in April 1971. Budget cutbacks are major issue facing AFT convention.

Colorado, and Minnesota, as well as hundreds of AFT locals throughout the country, have condemned the war. They have sought to relate opposition to the war to the crisis in education.

Another important expression of the growing antiwar sentiment in the labor movement was the recent Labor for Peace conference in St. Louis, Mo. More than 1,000 unionists, including many AFT members, attended this conference.

The candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties have no solution to these problems. In fact they have given full support to the attacks on the union movement. While the Republican administration used the 1970 Economic Stabilization Act passed by the Democratic majority in Congress, both parties recently joined in enacting additional state and federal legislation aimed at crippling labor's power to defend itself from attack.

Neither party is campaigning for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia — the position adopted by the AFT at its national convention last year. While the Nixon administration escalates the

bombing of Vietnam to unprecedented heights, George McGovern opposes mobilizing the American people in demonstrations against the war. His "peace plan" would mean continuing the war for at least seven more months (until 90 days after he is inaugurated). He says he won't pull out even then unless the Vietnamese meet certain conditions.

Program for the AFT

To respond effectively to the attacks on teachers and public education the AFT must begin to develop a program geared to mobilizing its ranks in joint action with the entire labor movement. Such a program should include the following:

1) An active campaign for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia. As a first step the AFT should join with the National Peace Action Coalition, the largest antiwar organization in the U.S., in mobilizing thousands of Americans for the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 demonstrations against the war. The AFT should make every effort to encourage the

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Quebec teachers indict capitalist education

By TONY THOMAS

The Québec labor movement took another step forward in the heightening of its political consciousness at the twenty-second convention of the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec (CEQ—Québec Teachers Corporation) held June 26-30 at Ste. Adele, Québec.

The CEQ is Québec's main teachers union and has more than 70,000 members. A Common Front of the CEQ, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and the Québec Federation of Labor led the massive Québec public-workers' strike this spring and the general strike that freed three trade-union leaders jailed by the government in May.

The July 17 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian revolutionary-socialist biweekly, reported that the CEQ convention took positions on two important questions facing the Québécois as an oppressed people: it adopted resolutions calling for independence for Québec and for making French

the sole official language of Québec. While the position on independence passed overwhelmingly, a membership referendum will be held to make it the CEQ's official policy.

Much of the convention's discussion centered on *The School at the Service of the Ruling Class*, a manifesto on educational and social policy prepared by the CEQ leadership. The manifesto is a searing indictment of capitalist educational policies and capitalist society in general.

The document outlines the immense power big corporations have over the economic, social, and political life of society in general and of Québec in particular. It shows how "the state puts its judges, its police, and its army in the service of the ruling class." It also describes the deterioration of the quality of life in capitalist society.

The manifesto draws the conclusion that "capitalist society is a society of exploitation, a society of inequality, an alienating society."

The most important aspect of the



Labor Challenge

Quebec teachers vote to strike this spring.

document is its critique of education in Québec. It brands the educational system as "one of the essential mechanisms in the maintenance and reproduction of the social relations of exploitation and domination. Its role is precisely to prepare a work force adapted to the needs of capital, a work force that is abundant, skillful, and docile."

Based on material used in Québec classrooms and official reports on education in Québec, the manifesto shows how the educational system inculcates racist, sexist, and procapitalist views into the minds of the children, and how it discriminates against working-class and women students. It points out that the educational system is a hostile environment for working-class youth and results in maintaining the existing stratification of social classes.

The resolution analyzes the ways the educational system attempts to put women in a subordinate status. It attacks textbooks "filled with stories and illustrations in which the boys are

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