

# THE MILITANT

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

## Prison massacre sparks protests in Argentina

AUG. 30 — Nineteen escaped political prisoners surrendered on Aug. 15, to troops of the Lanusse military dictatorship at the Trelew airport in Patagonia (southern Argentina).

On Aug. 22, a quick burst of gunfire in the Trelew naval-air base ended the lives of 16 of the young Argentine revolutionists. Thirteen died immediately; the regime announced that three more died of wounds within two days. The three remaining prisoners still alive on Aug. 24 were reported to be in serious condition.

This cold-blooded mass execution has produced a wave of protest against the Lanusse regime throughout Argentina.

*Defense efforts are being mounted to free Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco from an Argentine prison where his situation is worsening. For story see World Outlook, page 4.*

Universities across Argentina, the major labor federation — the General Confederation of Labor (CGT — Confederacion General del Trabajo), and the country's massive Peronist movement (followers of exiled former president Juan Peron) have been involved in the protests.

The 19 prisoners had received widespread publicity when they unsuccessfully participated in an Aug. 15 break-out of 25 jailed members of guerrilla organizations from the Rawson federal penitentiary.

Supporters of three guerrilla organizations were involved in the attempt: the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo — People's Revolutionary Army); the Montoneros (a Peronist commando group); and the FAP (Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas — Peronist Armed Forces).

The guerrillas' aim was to free all 120 political prisoners in the Rawson penitentiary. Apparently



**Buenos Aires riot police used armored car to break down door of Peronist 'Justicialista' Party headquarters. Police forcibly carried away caskets of three dead political prisoners.**

only 25 of the prisoners joined in the attempt.

For several hours, the 25 were in complete control of the prison. One guard was killed in a gun fight at the beginning of the break-out. But none of the other guards, or prison staff, were harmed while held captive.

Six of the escaped guerrillas hijacked an airliner and succeeded in getting to Chile, where they sought asylum from the Allende government. (The Chilean gov-

ernment arranged to have the guerrillas flown to Cuba. See story on page 5 for an account of the debate that took place in Chile on whether to grant the escaped prisoners asylum.)

Among the six was Mario Roberto Santucho, a well-known leader of the ERP, who was the apparent leader of the break. The ERP is led by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT — Revolutionary Workers Party).

According to the Argentine press, the 19 guerrillas who were later recaptured had been delayed on their way to the airport because only one car was waiting for the escapees outside the prison. When the 19 finally found transportation, they missed the departing plane, evidently by a matter of minutes.

The remaining guerrillas took refuge in the airport's restaurant, where they were quickly surrounded.

*Continued on page 5*

## La Raza and the elections/12-14

## 64% in U.S. for abortion rights/18

# THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 U.S. bombs Vietnam at highest level of war  
33,000 new readers by Nov. 22
- 4 Background to Argentine crisis
- 5 Argentine protests provoked by prisoner massacre
- 8 Internat'l struggle: theme of socialist conference
- 9 Rally demands ballot rights in Ohio
- 10 Abzug, Rangel join Ohio ballot protest
- 11 Who is better for rulers: Nixon or McGovern?
- 12 Should Chicanos support McGovern?  
Echeverria: friend or foe of La Raza?
- 15 Atlanta Black workers on strike  
Puerto Rican march demands independence
- 16 Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day actions
- 17 GOP convention—Nixon's slick show  
1,200 arrested in Miami Beach protests
- 18 Majority in U.S. favor abortion rights
- 19 Tombs Three acquitted  
Doctors let Blacks die of syphilis
- 21 Jane Fonda attacked for telling truth
- 24 Issue facing Congress of African People

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion  
Letters
- 7 The Great Society  
National Picket Line
- 18 By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review

## WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 New Zealanders protest war
- 2 Pelikan appeal to Angela Davis
- 3 Origins of permanent inflation
- 4 Campaign for release of Hugo Blanco

## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**THE FIRST AMENDMENT, THE SUPREME COURT, AND THE U.S. ARMY:** On June 12, the Supreme Court ruled 6 to 3 that the arrest of Tom Flower for leafletting on a public street in Fort Sam Houston was unconstitutional. (Flower is a member of the American Friends Service Committee, a pacifist organization.)

Aware of the precedent set by the Flower case, three members of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors entered the Presidio Army base in San Francisco, July 25. Remaining on Lincoln Boulevard, a public street, the three passed out a pamphlet called **Getting Out**. According to the July 28-Aug. 3 **Berkeley Barb**, the pamphlet is "A compilation of 'information about discharges published by the army, but not generally available to servicemen,' as one of the pamphleteers" put it.

The **Barb** described how the base provost marshal, Lieutenant Colonel Van Holladay, approached the three, "typewritten cue card in hand, with MPs, public information and legal staff officers in tow." Holladay told the three they needed permission to distribute leaflets and asked them to leave. One of the trio, Vince O'Connor, said he had the right to distribute the pamphlets under the First Amendment. The **Barb** quoted Holladay's answer: "We do not interpret the Flower's case as giving you that right."

The **Barb** asked Holladay why the Flower precedent didn't apply. A Captain Demetz advised the colonel, "I wouldn't answer that." The **Barb** asked Demetz why he wouldn't answer that. "We have a job," the captain replied. "We're not granting interviews."

The job the Army officers had to do was to thwart the Supreme Court decision upholding the First Amendment right to leaflet on public streets, including those on military bases. That this was their purpose is made clear by what happened when the case came to court Aug. 17. The Aug. 18-24 **Berkeley Barb** reported that the Army moved to dismiss the charges it had brought, at the same time serving each of the three with "bar orders," forbidding them to come onto the base "until further notice." The Army is taking the position that the Flower decision applies only to Fort Sam Houston.

By refusing to go to trial in other similar cases, the Army can preserve this fiction and continue expelling leafletters and dropping the charges afterward. The **Barb** reported that Robert Rivkin, the attorney for the three Presidio pamphleteers, is considering seeking an injunction to prevent the Army's continued defiance of the First Amendment.

**FARINAS AWAITS PAROLE BOARD DECISION:** Juan Farinas, the 24-year-old supporter of the Workers League convicted in a December 1970 frame-up trial of violating the Selective Service Act, becomes eligible for parole this month. According to an Aug. 7 news release from the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, a hearing has already been held and a decision is expected by mid-September.

The committee urges that letters requesting favorable action in Farinas's case be sent to U.S. Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20537, with copies to the committee at 135 W. 14th St. Sixth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

**GAYS AND MCGOVERN:** The "McGovern Six," six members of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) arrested for "criminal trespass" at a demonstration in McGovern's New York campaign headquarters Aug. 21, are scheduled to go to trial Sept. 18. The six were among 30 GAA members who occupied the McGovern offices at 605 Fifth Ave., demanding that the Democratic candidate make a public statement of his position on gay rights.

Prior to McGovern's nomination at the Democratic national convention in Miami Beach, the South Dakota senator selectively issued statements of support for gay rights. One that bears the McGovern letterhead and the address of the office occupied Aug. 21 was distributed in Greenwich Village before the Miami convention. Its headline reads: "McGovern Supports Civil Rights and Civil Liberties for Homosexuals." The leaflet contains a seven-point proposal for combating discrimination against gays.

A leaflet similar to the one passed out in Greenwich Village was distributed at the Miami convention, Lowell Williams told **Militant** staff writer Caroline Lund when she interviewed the 20-year-old gay McGovern delegate at the convention. Williams said he and others "got some very hostile reactions from McGovern leaders here on the convention floor who were certain (the leaflet) was a fraud. That's how secret McGovern's position was."

Now that he's the Democratic Party's candidate, McGovern's position is more of a secret than before.

The McGovern campaign's answer to GAA's demand for a clear public statement was to call the cops.

**CHINESE YOUTH PROTEST HARASSMENT BY L.A. COPS:** Representatives of the Chinatown Teen Post in Los Angeles charged at an Aug. 16 news conference that beefed-up police squads have been arbitrarily stopping and harassing young Chinese on the streets of Chinatown since mid-July.

The pretext for the harassment has been the cops' stated aim of breaking up the Wah Ching club. A Wah Ching member was accused in a shooting incident earlier in the summer.

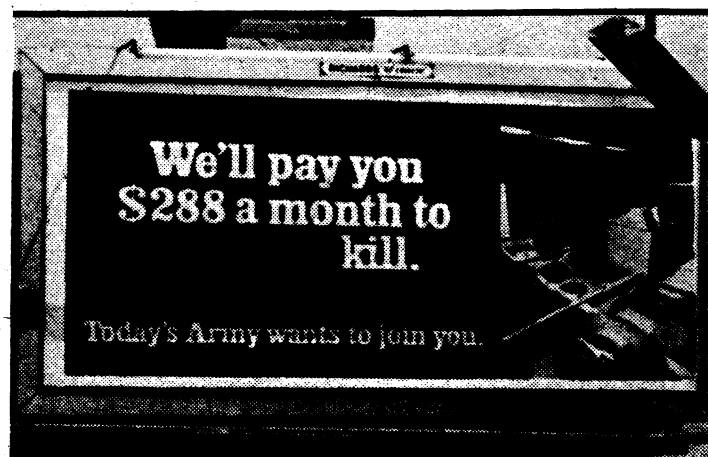
In their alleged drive against the Wah Ching, however, according to Teen Post personnel, the cops have been stopping, searching, threatening, and insulting anyone who is young and Chinese.

**U.S. STILL SEEKING TO EXTRADITE PUERTO RICAN ACTIVIST:** Humberto Pagan Hernandez, who fled to Canada to escape a frame-up prosecution for murder after a cop died in clashes between police and pro-independence students in San Juan in March 1971, has won another round against the U.S. in Canada's courts.

On Aug. 2, the Federal Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal by the U.S. of the June ruling by a county court refusing to issue an extradition order for Pagan.

Now the U.S. is planning to take the case to the Supreme Court of Canada at its next session in October. The latest ruling, however, is based on an earlier Supreme Court decision declaring that refusal to issue an extradition order is not a ruling subject to review or appeal.

Despite his victory against the U.S., Pagan still faces possible deportation to the U.S. by Canada on the grounds that he entered Canada illegally. His attorney, Clayton Ruby, has appealed to the immigration minister to instead allow Pagan to leave Canada voluntarily.



Above is an army recruitment billboard that has been altered for the sake of accuracy by a Syracuse, N.Y., group calling itself the Citizen's Committee for Honesty in Billboards. Previously it read, "The army will pay you \$288 a month to learn a skill."

**VIETNAMESE MAGAZINE REPRINTS MILITANT CARTOONS:** The January-February 1972 **South Viet Nam**, published by the Provisional Revolutionary Government's embassy in Cuba, contains among the illustrations for its main article two cartoons reprinted from **The Militant**. One is by Ivan and shows Thieu as Nixon's puppet. The other is by the late Laura Gray and shows a U.S. worker sweeping away the Democratic and Republican parties.

The article the cartoons illustrate, "Vietnamization Is Doomed to Failure," observes:

"The students have become one of the mightiest forces in the USA against the war of aggression, rallied in their nationwide organizations. . . . The broad movement of the American people against the Viet Nam war had a very strong impact on the American soldiers. . . . In 1970, following the US armed incursion into Cambodia, the anti-war high tides in May, June and July for the first time caused open schisms in the Nixon administration, and forced it to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia. . . ."

**AMERICAN PARTY TICKET:** The American Party, which ran George Wallace for president in 1968, picked its slate for this year at a convention attended by some 2,000 persons in Louisville, Ky., Aug. 4-5. The party's presidential candidate is John Schmitz, an ultrarightist lame-duck congressman from Orange County in California. His running mate is a Nashville, Tenn., editor, Tom Anderson.

Elected as a Republican in a special election in 1970, Schmitz was defeated in his bid to return to congress this June. He has now reregistered as a member of the American Party.

— LEE SMITH



# U.S. blasts Vietnam at highest level of war

By DICK ROBERTS

AUG. 29—Washington now has the power to drop the equivalent of more than eight Hiroshima atom bombs per day on Vietnam. This fact can be deduced from statistics published by the Cornell University Air War Study Group and daily news accounts.

According to the Cornell study group, reported on in the Aug. 13 *New York Times Book Review*, four typical six-plane B-52 missions—about 24 planes in total—can demolish an area equal to that destroyed by the Hiroshima atom bomb. With 200 B-52s operating in Indochina, Washington can consequently release the explosive force of more than eight Hiroshima bombs daily.

This does not include the additional destructive force of the other combat U.S. bombers and offshore naval artillery of the U.S. forces in Southeast Asia.

A *New York Times* Aug. 13 summary of the total U.S. war strength placed it at 43,500 men in South Vietnam, including the pilots and crews of about 600 helicopters and 200 other combat planes; 60 warships and 39,000 sailors and pilots offshore; and 50,000 troops in Thailand. "All together, on three aircraft carriers and more than half a dozen bases in Thailand," wrote *Times* correspondent Joseph Treaster, "there are more than 900 combat planes. Additional B-52's are based on Guam and other support troops are on Okinawa and elsewhere in the Pacific."

U.S. officials admitted in Saigon Aug. 26 that the rate of civilian casualties has more than doubled since March 31, when the revolutionary offensive opened and President Nixon responded with the drastic bombing escalation.

Undoubtedly conservative estimates put the number of wounded civilians at 24,788 from the start of Nixon's escalation to the end of July. These figures were based only on those civilian wounded who were able to make it to hospitals. They did not include any casualties for two of the most intensive battle zones, Quangtri and Anloc.

That Washington is regularly using its immense fire power mustered in Southeast Asia was indicated by three

successive bombing records announced in August. On Aug. 12, the Air Force stated that B-52 bombers had carried out "probably their heaviest raids ever" over North Vietnam.

On Aug. 18, Joseph Treaster wrote from Saigon that "American fighter-bomber pilots reportedly flew more than 370 strikes against North Vietnam on Wednesday [Aug. 16] in what appears to have been the heaviest day of raids of the year." And on Aug. 28, Associated Press wired from Saigon that U.S. Navy jets had bombed Haiphong Aug. 26 "in some of the heaviest raids of the war."

Following the record Aug. 16 bombing, Hanoi radio stated that the raids killed or wounded many civilians and demolished a medical school, a junior high school, and a drug factory.

Anthony Lewis, the *Times* correspondent who reported from Hanoi on the U.S. bombing of dikes, declared on Aug. 19, "Half the planes in the Strategic Air Command—200 B-52's—are now being used against Vietnam, North and South. Those are our strategic planes, designed for use against aggressive targets in an ultimate conflict with another great power. And the United States is using them against a peasant country. . . .

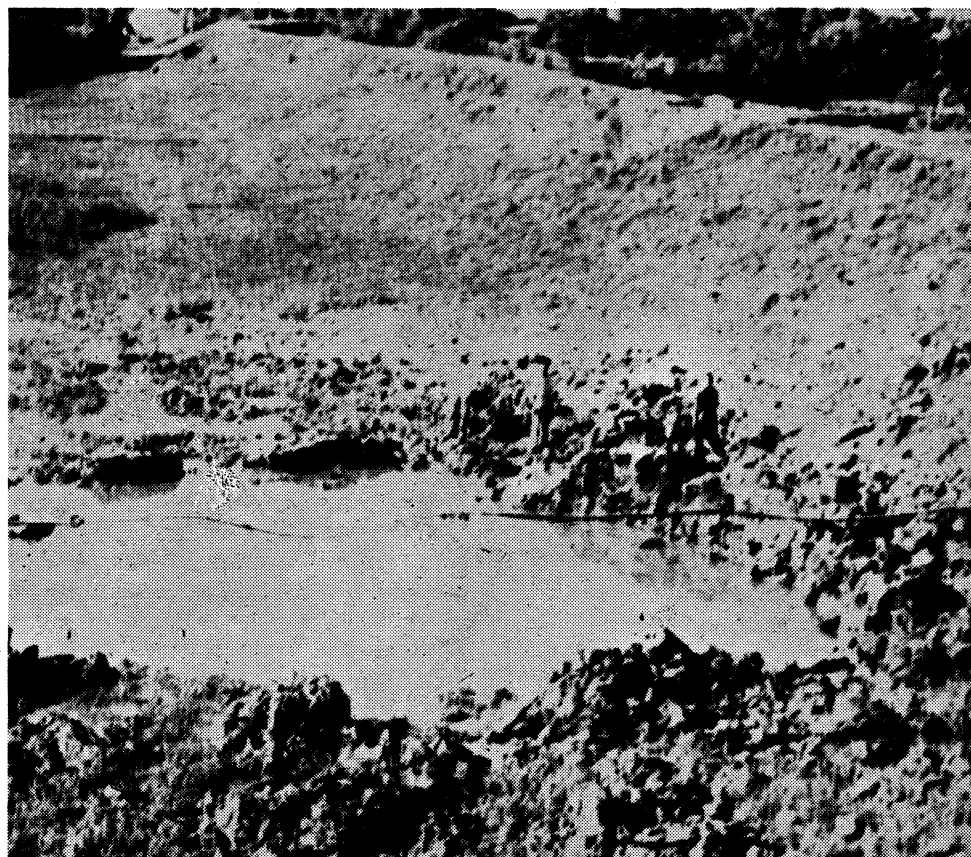
"The United States has now dropped on Indochina three times the tonnage of bombs that it used in all theaters of World War II. Those bombs have hit, among other things, dikes and hospitals and schools and peasant villages. Washington knows about the destruction: it has the pictures."

## Saigon setback

After five months of intensive combat in South Vietnam, it is clear that the massive U.S. bombing can help the Saigon army to stave off imminent defeat. But the U.S. bombers cannot rout the revolutionary advance as Washington once confidently predicted.

Wave after wave of the, supposedly crack Saigon marine and airborne divisions have been chewed up in the still unsuccessful attempt to retake Quangtri, the northernmost provincial capital, which fell to the revolutionary advance May 1.

Then on Aug. 21, in a move that



Red River dike destroyed by U.S. bombs June 20

Vietnam News Agency

obviously caught U.S. and Saigon officials completely by surprise, the revolutionaries stampeded Saigon's Second Division out of Queson, a strategic valley in central South Vietnam.

*Christian Science Monitor* reporter Daniel Southerland called it the "worst setback in more than three months." Southerland wrote Aug. 22, "it now has come to light that 2nd Division troops lost most if not all of their artillery pieces in the attack. . . . some of the government units engaged in the battle took heavy casualties. An undetermined number of armored vehicles were also lost."

Gruesome reports of massive arrests and tortures in Thieu's military prisons testify all the more to the weakness of the Saigon dictatorship. "It is impossible to tell . . . how many thousands have been arrested since the North Vietnamese offensive began," *Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg reported from Saigon Aug. 12. The figure appears to be between 10,000 and 15,000. Schanberg recorded accounts from released prisoners of

the tortures of three South Vietnamese student leaders still imprisoned:

● "Nguyen Thi Yen was beaten unconscious with a wooden rod. Later, when she revived, she was forced to stand naked before about 10 torturers, who burned her breasts with lighted cigarettes."

● "Trinh Dinh Ban was beaten so badly in the face that the swelling shut and infected his eyes. The police drove needles through his fingertips and battered him on the chest and soles of his feet until he was unable to move."

● "Vo Thi Bach Tuyet was beaten and hung by her feet under a blazing light. Later, they put her in a tiny room half flooded with water and let mice and insects run over her body."

*Times* reporter Schanberg also revealed that "According to authoritative sources . . . Air America, the airline operated in Indochina for the Central Intelligence Agency, has been used to transport arrested people to Con Son [the main Saigon political prison, located on an island]."

## Militant launches subscription drive

# 33,000 new readers by November 22

By NANCY COLE

This fall *The Militant* is launching a subscription drive for 33,000 new readers. The drive is scheduled to begin officially on Sept. 15 and end on Nov. 22, right before the Twelfth Young Socialist National Convention in Cleveland.

The 33,000 goal, the largest in *The Militant's* history, is 3,000 more than last fall's national quota. That goal was surpassed when *Militant* supporters in 81 areas aided by four full-time subscription teams sold a total of 32,580 subscriptions.

The ambitious subscription drive this fall is an important step in *The Militant's* expansion process. Just a look at the recent growth of *The Militant* indicates the rapid development of this process.

During the 1970 fall subscription drive for 15,000 new readers, *The Militant* was 20 pages. At the beginning of last fall's drive it stood at 24 pages. Now with its new World Outlook supplement, *The Militant* is 28 pages. *The Militant* has more on-the-spot reporting, more geographical areas are represented by reporters, and it gives more coverage to the

developing movements for social change, especially international developments, than ever in the past.

With the 1972 elections as a central focus of American politics this fall, *The Militant* will find a welcome response among people disillusioned with McGovern and Nixon. It will be the only newspaper that exposes, analyzes, and confronts the twists and turns of the capitalist candidates. At the same time it supports a positive alternative, Socialist Workers Party candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

One of the special features of this fall's drive is that the introductory subscription offer will be 20 weeks for \$1. This will give readers more of an opportunity to become familiar with *The Militant* and its ideas and will also make subscriptions easier to sell than ever before.

The recent Young Socialist Alliance National Committee meeting voted to give the YSA's full support to the subscription drive. Together with branches of the Socialist Workers Party, it set a goal of getting the bulk of the 33,000 subscriptions.

In addition, 15 regional and three

national Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) teams will travel throughout the country for eight weeks selling subscriptions and campaigning for the socialist candidates. The three national teams will consist of one Chicano team touring the Southwest, one Afro-American team touring the South, and a Midwest team to supplement efforts there in building the Young Socialist national convention.

This drive will also be a combined effort with the *International Socialist Review*, a monthly Marxist magazine. With its in-depth theoretical coverage of developments in the world revolution and in the United States, it is a valuable companion to *The Militant*. The national goal for the ISR is 3,300 subscriptions. The introductory offer will be three months for \$1.

Readers and supporters of *The Militant* are encouraged to take subscription quotas for the fall drive. This appeal is especially directed to YSJP groups and other SWP campaign supporters. Selling subscriptions to the campaign newspaper will be one of the best ways to build support for the socialist campaign.

Anyone wishing to take a quota

should send the coupon on this page to *The Militant* business office. Subscription kits consisting of two different *Militant* posters, brochures, stickers, subscription blanks, and buttons will be sent to you.

*The Militant* will be carrying regular reports on the drive's progress and a running scoreboard. We encourage sub getters to send in reports on the response *The Militant* is receiving this fall.

You can help *The Militant* make the biggest subscription drive in its history. Take a subscription quota of whatever you think you can sell by Nov. 22.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50

( ) List the above quota in *The Militant's* scoreboard.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Background to Argentine social crisis

The following article was written before the current wave of protest but provides a background to the current political situation in Argentina.

By PETER CAMEJO

Rising combativity of Argentina's workers against the military dictatorship of General Alejandro Lanusse has created a critical situation for that country's ruling class.

A prolonged economic crisis has resulted in a lowering of the workers' standard of living through rapid inflation. The military dictatorship has been unable to make any major economic concessions to dampen the increasing militancy. Moreover, their attempts at repression have weakened the social base of the government while failing to break the spirit or organization of the working class.

Therefore Lanusse has turned to another approach: an electoral maneuver. The Argentine militarists have set parliamentary elections for 1973.

## 'Great National Agreement'

As John Kennedy promised a "New Frontier," and Lyndon Johnson, the "Great Society," the Argentine military dictator has come up with a catchy phrase for his maneuver: *Gran Acuerdo Nacional* (GAN—Great National Agreement). The concept behind the GAN is to try to establish an agreement among the major political forces in Argentina (Radicals, Peronists, and the military) that the elections will bring about a new constitutional government.

Through the GAN, Lanusse hopes to give a legal cover to a continuation of the present totalitarian regime and in this way win some social support

liamentary elections is a concession to the masses. It was won by mass actions in the streets and paid for by the blood of martyred revolutionists and the imprisonment of thousands of opponents of the dictatorship. This electoral turn in Argentine politics reflects a change in the relationship of forces favorable to the working class and means more favorable conditions for the class struggle.

This development is a direct result of the mass struggles that have shaken Argentina, beginning with the semi-insurrection in Córdoba and Rosario in May 1969.

## The Cordobazo

Student protest over a government decision to raise food prices in the University of Corrientes Cafeteria that month led to a confrontation with the police. The police murdered a student, Juan José Cabral.

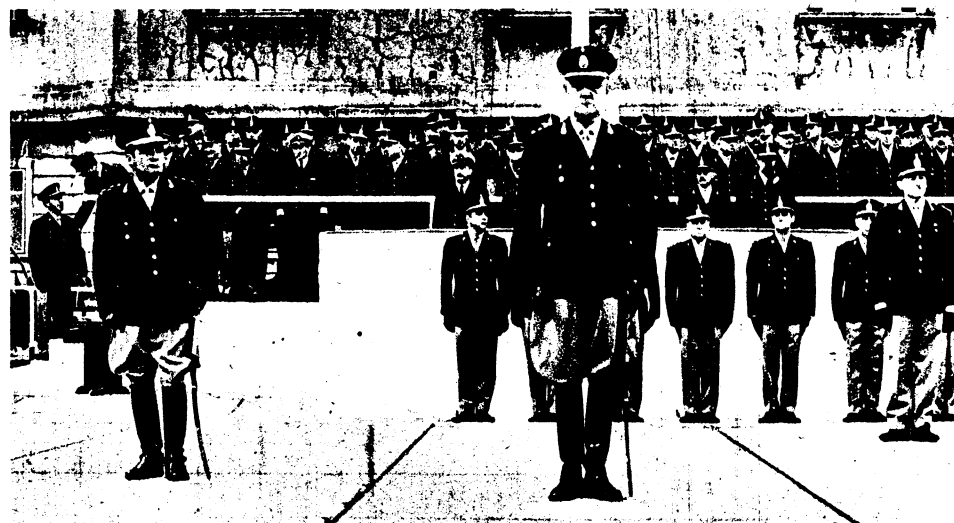
In response to this killing, the student protest grew and spread. Further repression, including the murder of a 22-year-old student and a 15-year-old youth in Rosario, led to an outburst of popular indignation against the government, bringing the working class into action.

As in France in May 1968, the workers of Argentina, sparked by student protests, went into action on a mass scale. Unlike France, the worker demonstrations were limited to two major provincial cities, Córdoba and Rosario, with only scattered support in Buenos Aires, the political, economic, and social center of Argentina. The same was true in other areas. However, in those two cities the upsurge went beyond the French general strike

period in Argentine history. It ended a long retreat by the working class and opened a new wave of struggle that still continues.

The workers are starting to shake off illusions left over from the post-

During this period, the Argentine trade unions were established, structured on the basis of factory committees elected by the rank-and-file workers. These committees still exist today and account for much of the



Alejandro Lanusse (center)

war regime of Juan Perón, during which the Argentine trade-union structure was consolidated.

## Peronism

The Peronist phenomenon was the result of an international conjuncture during and after the Second World War that placed Argentina in a very favorable political and economic situation. The high demand for meat and the weakening of British imperialism during the war created a peculiar position for semicolonial Argentina.

American imperialism's replacement of Britain in the southern half of Latin America was still at an early stage in Argentina when the war accentuated the shift in relative strength between the U.S. and Britain. Therefore, the grip of imperialism on Argentina was loosened temporarily.

Like the capitalist classes of all colonial or semicolonial nations, Argentina's is weak when compared to those in the imperialist countries. However, relative to other Latin American countries, Argentina has a capitalist class of some strength. Taking advantage of the peculiar situation created by the war, the Argentine ruling class and its various bureaucracies—governmental and military—tried to assert some independence from imperialism.

A movement developed among the Argentine capitalists seeking to improve their own position by maneuvering between the imperialist powers and taking advantage of Britain's weakened position and North America's still embryonic hold on Argentina. This movement was led by Juan Perón, who wielded dictatorial power in Argentina for a decade ending in 1955.

American imperialism opposed the Perón regime, attempting to characterize it as fascist. For a period of time, important economic conflicts existed between the United States and Argentina.

The weakness of the Argentine capitalists and their general cowardice before the imperialist powers forced the Peronists to seek support from the working class in its balancing act of maintaining capitalism without complete subjugation to imperialism.

To win support from the workers, the government offered concessions both of an economic and organizational nature. The Perón dictatorship permitted the growth of the trade-union movement but also consolidated its own bureaucracy in the unions.

combattivity and strength of the Argentine union movement.

But Perón's attempt to keep capitalism in and imperialism out of Argentina was doomed from the start. The laws of the capitalist world market resulted in the penetration of American imperialism regardless of Perón's wishes. With the end of the war boom, Perón was forced to make increasing concessions to imperialism while withdrawing concessions from the masses.

The Perón regime failed to take advantage of the weakness of British imperialism in Argentina. Because of his devotion to capitalist property relations, Perón provided the British the opportunity to withdraw from Argentina under very favorable terms. Much of Argentina's gains from the favorable war market were wasted in buying back from England what Argentine labor had created (such as the purchase of the railroads from Britain at ridiculously high prices).

By 1950 Perón had to borrow 125 million pesos from the Export-Import Bank in Washington, D.C., to keep his regime afloat. Referring to the United States as the "great country of the North," Perón provided an effusive welcome for President Dwight Eisenhower's brother Milton after the 1952 elections in the United States.

Finally, the remnant of Perón's policy of concessions to the working class and resistance to imperialist penetration was ended in 1955 by the same force that brought Perón to power: the army. The 1955 coup marked the victory of American imperialist domination of Argentina. Perón was exiled to Spain.

Perón proved, once again, that the national capitalists in Latin America are incapable of leading a consistent struggle against imperialism and will only, at best, maneuver within the context of imperialist relations.

During the next 11 years, the working class responded with intermittent struggles against infringements upon the gains made in the Peronista period. The lowest point in terms of erosion of the rights of the masses was reached following the Onganía coup in 1966.

A marked drop in the standard of living was imposed through a wage freeze. Democratic rights were suspended, as the military began its usual violations of bourgeois legality. United States' investments continued to grow, reaching into new areas of the economy.

Continued on page 21



Juan Peron

for the government. The Argentine dictatorship hopes to bring the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy into close collaboration with the government while uniting the various capitalist parties, if possible, around a single candidate for president.

In launching the GAN, Lanusse is attempting to get as much mileage out of the electoral maneuver as possible in terms of maximizing the credibility of the government, gaining a broader base in the middle class, and increasing unity in ruling-class circles. At the same time, the GAN is designed to minimize advantages for the working class in terms of democratic rights and freedom to struggle.

Regardless of the motives of the Argentine ruling class, the call for par-

and became a semi-insurrection.

The military coup led by General Juan Carlos Onganía in 1966 was a setback for the Argentine workers in terms of pay, working conditions, and democratic rights. Because of demoralization and disorientation of the workers' movement, anger over these setbacks was pent up for three years until the explosion of May 1969.

In Córdoba and Rosario barricades went up, the police were beaten back, and the streets fell into the hands of the workers. Only the intervention of the army restored control to the Onganía regime. This uprising has come to be known in Argentina as the Cordobazo.

The Cordobazo opened up a new



# Allende straddles on giving asylum

Ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked an airliner to Chile on Aug. 15 left Santiago, Chile's capital, 10 days later for Cuba. (The six who successfully escaped from Rawson federal penitentiary were joined in the hijacking by four others who boarded the plane before it reached the Trelew airport in southern Argentina.)

According to a Reuters dispatch from Santiago Aug. 25, President Salvador Allende announced in a nationwide broadcast that his government "had granted them political asylum but had also taken steps to insure they left Chile as quickly as possible."

The arrival of the guerrillas in Chile placed Allende in an embarrassing position. On Aug. 16 Allende addressed a news conference during which he gave a blow-by-blow account of his government's response to the presence of the guerrillas on Chilean soil.

Describing the government's first negotiations with the group while they were still on the plane, Allende said, "We told them that we could not give them asylum without knowing who they were. We asked that they identify themselves. They did not do so. So we told them that under these circumstances we could only tell them that this is a constitutional country and that they would have to submit to Chilean laws."

Even though the identities of the guerrillas were quickly obtained, they were not granted immediate asylum. Allende reported that the guerrillas decided they "would remain in Chile and obey Chilean law."

He added that "Chilean law implies that the matter must be submitted to the courts, since granting extradition is their responsibility."

The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario — Movement of the Revolutionary Left) denounced the Allende government's decision to turn the guerrillas over to the ultraconservative courts and demanded that they be granted political asylum or safe transit to another country.

The MIR called a series of street demonstrations, including one in downtown Santiago on Aug. 17, which police attempted to break up with tear gas.

After one more week of juggling this political hot potato, the Allende government announced that it was granting the guerrillas the status of political refugees and arranging for them to leave Chile as soon as possible. On Aug. 26, they arrived in Havana on a Cubana de Aviación flight.

"In an airport news conference," reported Reuters from Havana, "Mario Roberto Santucho — considered one of the leaders of the guerrilla group — accused President Alejandro A. Lanusse of Argentina of having deliberately ordered the assassination of guerrillas who had helped organize his escape."

The same day Argentina "indefinitely" recalled its ambassador to Chile to protest the flight of the guerrillas to Cuba.

# Wave of protests provoked by Argentine prisoner massacre

Continued from page 1

ed by military units. After holding a 50-minute news conference in the airport, the guerrillas surrendered without resistance.

"I am disappointed," the Aug. 22 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Primera Plana* quoted an Argentinian marine officer as saying. "We were going to liquidate them all. If they had dared fire one shot we would not have left one of them alive. . . ."

One week later the military had its satisfaction. They claimed that the 19 detainees made a second attempt to escape, taking a guard and a marine captain as hostages. According to the official story, the marine captain threw himself upon the ground and ordered his men to mow down the prisoners.

Three defense attorneys for the slain prisoners denounced the deaths as "a virtual execution" and charged that it would have been impossible for the guerrillas to escape from the Trelew base because they were held in separate cells under heavy guard.

Ana María Villareal de Santucho, a member of the ERP and the wife of Mario Roberto Santucho, was one of the four women among the 16 murdered prisoners.

Public reaction to the killings was immediate and angry. The bodies of the young revolutionists killed in Trelew Aug. 22 became focuses of public protest when they were sent back to cities all over Argentina.

"In the regional headquarters of the CGT mourning candles were lit . . . in a room where it was announced the bodies of the guerrillas from this city would lie in state," a UPI dispatch from Córdoba reported in the Aug. 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación*.

*La Nación* reports that mourners who tried to reach the Córdoba CGT headquarters were "stopped by an iron ring of police."

"Minutes before the broadcast during which President Lanusse voiced assurances that there would be free elections next March," a London *Times* reporter cabled from Buenos Aires, Aug. 24, "Argentine paramilitary policemen had smashed their way into

the Peronist headquarters in this capital and seized the coffins containing the bodies of three of the guerrilla suspects. . . ." The Peronists had planned a public wake for the slain guerrillas.

Student demonstrations broke out in Buenos Aires and in almost every major provincial city as soon as news of the massacre became known. Students had violent clashes with police in Córdoba, La Plata, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Tucumán, San Luis, and Rosario. In Córdoba alone, 673 persons were arrested, according to the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa*.

An Aug. 24 dispatch to the *New York Times* observed, "The street rioting [in the provincial cities] followed a pattern . . . that led to insurrection in Córdoba in 1969. . . ."

"The Cordobazo, as the uprising became known, eventually brought down the military government of Lieut. Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía. . . ."

Faced with mounting protest actions, the Lanusse regime clamped down to try to prevent the protest from escalating. On Aug. 22, the government issued a decree imposing jail sentences of six months to three years for "publishing, spreading, or propagating communiqués or materials coming from, attributed to, or attributable to, illegal associations or persons or groups notoriously dedicated to subversive activities or terrorism."

Despite the repression, the protests quickly assumed a very broad character. The national leadership of the CGT telegraphed General Lanusse demanding an accounting for the deaths of the 16 young revolutionists.

On Aug. 23, a two-hour protest strike was carried out in Córdoba by the regional CGT. On Aug. 24, police raided the Córdoba CGT headquarters and closed the building. An army statement was issued containing orders for the arrest of all members of the district CGT governing board.

The Córdoba workers answered with a general strike. An Aug. 25 Associated Press dispatch from Córdoba reported, "This industrial city of nearly a million people was crippled

today by a 14-hour general strike protesting the slaying of the 16 guerrillas and supporting a demand for higher wages.

"Banks, businesses, and schools were closed and public transportation halted. Union leaders who called the strike were in hiding and sought by the police."

Simultaneously with the protests against the Trelew massacre, Juan Perón, who is exiled in Spain, refused to comply with Lanusse's demand that he return to the country by Aug. 25 in order to qualify to participate in the elections scheduled for next March.

Perón is the traditional hero of the labor movement. Without his participation, Lanusse's electoral maneuver cannot achieve its objective of defusing the popular hatred of the military regime and shifting social conflicts back into the parliamentary arena.

The Peronist Justicialist Party (Partido Justicialista) has associated itself strongly with the protests against the killings at Trelew. A Justicialist leader sent to that city to assemble the facts on the massacre was arrested and held by the military.

On Aug. 29 Argentine security police attempted to seize an issue of *Primera Plana*, a leading Peronist weekly. The paper had revealed that examination of two of the bodies of the slain guerrillas showed that one had been shot in the back, and another's head had been smashed with heavy blows. This clearly contradicted the regime's story of the deaths of the 16 guerrillas.

It also appears that reprisals have been threatened against the political prisoners remaining in Rawson penitentiary.

"Now we are definitely going to take the offensive," one of the officers in charge of prison security told a reporter from the weekly Argentine magazine *Gente*. "If we don't allow this [prisoners playing chess and receiving newspapers], they call us harsh and repressive. But they killed Valenzuela [guard killed during the Aug. 15 Rawson break-out] and they [the remaining prisoners] are plotting in the shadows."



Militant/John Lauritsen

An Aug. 23 demonstration organized by U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners began at Argentine Airlines office in New York where about 40 pickets protested murder of 16 political prisoners by Lanusse regime. The protest moved to Chilean UN Mission where pickets demanded that Allende government grant asylum to 10 Argentine revolutionists then jailed in Chile and facing possible extradition back to torture and death in Argentina. Another action was held at Chilean embassy in Washington, D. C.

# In Our Opinion

## Deeds, not words

A strong implicit criticism of Moscow and Peking's dealings with Washington has apparently been published in *Nhan Dan*, the official Hanoi newspaper. The complete text of the editorial has not yet become available, but concern for the editorial in influential U.S. newspapers testifies to its significance.

"The article appeared to reject any suggestion that North Vietnam soften its negotiating position on the war," the *New York Times* declared in a front-page story Aug. 18. The *Times* continued, *Nhan Dan* "chastised those 'who are departing from the great, all-conquering revolutionary thoughts of the time and who are pitifully bogging down on the dark, muddy road of compromise.'"

According to the *Times*, the Hanoi editorial also stated, "to carry out the Nixon doctrine, U.S. imperialists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement, while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war. . . . the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism manifests itself first of all in revolutionary deeds, not in empty words."

As quoted, the meaning of the *Nhan Dan* editorial is unmistakable: Instead of clinking glasses with the chief agent of U.S. imperialism, the officials in Moscow should have called off the trip and used the occasion to condemn Nixon's mining and bombing and to call for worldwide protests.

The extreme fear in Washington of any moves in this direction by either Moscow or Peking was evidenced by the front-page treatment accorded to an obsolete Chinese minesweeper that showed up in Haiphong harbor—four months after Nixon's mining operation began.

This modest move on the part of the Peking bureaucracy is far from meeting the pressing needs of the besieged Vietnamese revolution.

Militarily, the Vietnamese revolution needs adequate anti-aircraft defenses and bomber fleets to put a complete stop to the U.S. attack and to force Washington to suspend once and for all its aid to the hated Saigon clique. Politically, what is needed is a massive international antiwar movement firmly committed to rallying the entire world's populace against Washington's genocidal warfare. Hundreds of millions of people could be brought into such a campaign.

Moscow and Peking have no intention of helping to build this kind of massive international defense of Vietnam. They place their secret deals with Nixon far above the needs of the national liberation struggle.

This makes it all the more important that everyone seriously committed to aiding Vietnam at this time of terrible danger help to build the fall antiwar actions.

## Still no answer

The *Militant* reported in our last issue on the appeals that have been made to Angela Davis to aid the defense of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia, and in the Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. Davis, who is now in the Soviet Union on a visit, has still made no response to these appeals, some of them more than two months old. At least no response from her has been reported in the *Daily World*, voice of the U.S. Communist Party.

For more than five weeks the *Daily World* carried no report whatsoever on the "subversion" trials of 46 Czech citizens that began July 17. Finally, on Aug. 23, the *World* took note of these trials in an article headlined "Czechoslovakia CP hails anniversary of 1968 aid." It quotes the Czech CP newspaper *Rude Pravo* thanking the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries for invading Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

The *World* article then reports that "A total of 46 persons have been convicted during the past several weeks for attempting to take up where the counter-revolutionary movement around Alexander Dubcek left off in 1969." It approvingly quotes Czech CP Secretary Gustav Husak as saying that "recent charges of reversion to illegal trials" came especially from "those who failed in their counter-revolutionary intentions" in 1968.

The open letter from Jiri Pelikan to Angela Davis reprinted in the *World Outlook* section of this week's *Militant* clearly refutes the charge that the Czech defendants are "counterrevolutionaries." Almost all are supporters of socialism and many are former high officials in the Czech CP. The Soviet invasion in 1968 was not to "aid" the Czech people but to crush the aspirations of the Czechs for greater democracy.

Angela Davis, where do you stand? Do you add your voice to whitewashing the purge trials and political persecution being perpetrated by the Soviet puppet regime in Czechoslovakia? Do you close your eyes to the fate of these communists who are being imprisoned solely for their political views, as you yourself were?

# Letters

### Amnesty

As a draft resister on probation, I follow the amnesty issue quite sincerely. It was because of the nonsense position on amnesty that I joined the Socialist Workers Party and became an elector for the SWP on the South Dakota ballot.

Donald Pay  
Sioux Falls, S.D.

### More coverage of Africa

You have quite a constituency here among the "convict" population. Of course there is a great deal of work to be done, and I believe that with a greater influx of information, all of which your paper does a good job of supplying, the task can be accomplished. However, there is a great deal that can be improved about your paper, like a more comprehensive analysis of the struggles that are going on in Africa. My being a Black man, I think it only natural that I show concern about other Black people, no matter where they are.

A prisoner  
Indiana

### \$256 a month

As a deputy voter registrar for Kleberg County, Texas, authorized to register people wherever I find them, I see a lot.

For example, consider the case of one World War II veteran I registered. He has extensive brain damage, a silver plate in his skull, a shot-out eye, and is obviously 100 percent disabled. He has not been able to find work in all the years since his discharge, and the reason is simply his service-connected disabilities.

When I last saw him he was living in a clearly substandard, ramshackle house. It is rickety, tumble-down, and all but ready to fall down. It is thinly constructed, with disabled plumbing, a leaky roof, and hot and cold running cockroaches. He receives a pension of \$256 a month, and that is all.

When I registered him to vote, he had only one question: "This won't hurt my pension, will it?"

I submit that the Veterans Administration needs a shake-up, and that if Congress can't do it, the newspapers and American citizens can. Whether by investigation, legislation, or civil-rights-oriented court action, they need to be set right.

G. J. G.  
Kingsville, Texas

### Dow Chemical USA

This note is in appreciation for the Aug. 4 *Militant's* nice, factual write-up about our strike against Dow Chemical USA. (Note the patriotic, flag-waving name change by the makers of napalm, defoliating agents, and other goodies that kill indiscriminately.) We were forced to strike against Dow to protect our rights and seniority and security, which we had gained over 30 years.

You would not believe the depths to which this conglomerate has sunk to try to take away all dignity from the blue-collar workers in its employ. On the day we struck, the company that had our hospitalization insurance told the eight unions they would continue our group insurance if it was OK with Dow. Dow said no, so no insurance. Dow also canceled insurance on people who were already on sick leave. This is only one of the dirty tricks they have pulled.

J. W. W. (A Dow striker)  
Freeport, Texas

### Six reasons

Although I am a registered Democrat, the following are reasons why I do not support George McGovern for president:

1. His opposition to homosexual rights. I am a "straight" person who supports homosexual equality.

2. His support of the racist and colonialist country of Israel. I do not support Israel or the Palestinians.

3. His refusal to support \$6,500 guaranteed annual income for a family of four, which is still not enough.

4. His refusal to support the Abortion Rights Act, which would let voluntary abortions be performed in every state and territory of the United States.

5. His letter in the *Wall Street Journal*, which told the capitalists that his tax reforms are not nearly as radical as the average person thinks they are.

6. His refusal to support antiwar demonstrations.

The positive alternatives to George McGovern and Richard Nixon are Louis Fisher (Socialist Labor Party), Dr. Spock (People's Party), and Linda Jenness (Socialist Workers Party). Theodore Johnson (a registered Democrat)

Davenport, Iowa

### 'Insurgent Majority'

I am concerned about the absence of "Women: The Insurgent Majority" from your pages recently. I am an independent woman who reads *The Militant* as an alternate news source, and I like to see what is happening with my sisters nationwide. Would you please explain why four or five of your recent issues have not had this feature? I find it hard to believe that no one else is interested in it.

Cindy Hilton  
Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. I very much agree with the letter from E. M. S. from Rensselaer, Ind., in the Aug. 4 *Militant*. I am a nonsmoker, and I do not appreciate breathing oxygen-depleted air at political rallies and other meetings due to the inconsideration of "nicotine addicts."

In reply—"Women: The Insurgent Majority" didn't appear in three of the 12 issues we have published since the beginning of June. Cindy Jaquith, the staff member who writes the column, had other assignments those weeks (including major articles on the abortion law repeal movement and the elections) and simply didn't have enough time to prepare a column.

You may have had the impression that "Insurgent Majority" was missing more often because it hasn't always appeared on the same page.

### Correction

An error appeared in the article "Militant index: a useful research guide" in the Aug. 4 *Militant*.

The article stated that back volumes of the *International Socialist Review*, a revolutionary-Marxist magazine, are more useful than those of *The Militant* because the *ISR* is indexed back to 1940. In fact, the *ISR* and its predecessors, *The New International* and *The Fourth International*, are indexed starting with 1934.

A complete index covering *The New International*, 1934-1940; *The Fourth International*, 1940-1956; and the *ISR*, 1956-1960 can be obtained



# The Great Society

for \$2 from the *ISR* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. The index for subsequent years of the *ISR* appears in the last issue of each year.

David James  
New York, N.Y.

## FBI frame-up

Dave Heckman and Jim Heiney's organization, Serve The People, never got off the ground. It was sabotaged from the start by undercover FBI and treasury agents, who framed Dave and Jim, along with Bob Rundle and John Vito, on charges of conspiring to blow up various installations of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.

The government is also trying to frame Dave on charges of illegal possession of a machine gun, along with Young Lords Party leader Mike Rodriguez and Miguel Rivera of Philadelphia. Steven Welsh, a student at Allen High School, is still facing charges in the Bethlehem case.

Dave, Jim, and Bob Rundle have been sentenced to six years in federal prison. They are political prisoners; they have been imprisoned for their political beliefs and for their attempts to organize youth in the Lehigh Valley. They are the most recent victims of a massive government attempt to rip off the people by denying them their constitutional rights of free speech, freedom of assembly, and the right to form political parties. They have been ripped off through lies, entrapment, and planted evidence in the same way that the government has framed countless others.

Dave and Jim have not become disillusioned. They are appealing their conviction and look forward to returning to the community. Right now they need your support.  
*Pennsylvania Rainbow Peoples Party*  
*Lehigh Valley Five Legal Defense Fund*  
P.O. Box 1202  
Bethlehem, Pa.

## New American Movement

When the founders of the New American Movement decided to regroup the remains of the New Left, one of the main criticisms they made of the old Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was that it was elitist. This antileadership thinking among NAM members apparently ran deeper than some of its organizers thought.

About eight months ago, NAM set up a national office in Cleveland from which its national staff was to operate. Shortly thereafter, the national office disappeared, and nobody was able to find it. This situation has been rectified, at least temporarily. The headquarters has been shifted to Minneapolis.

If NAM isn't quite sure what its program is, it at least knows where its national office is. For the moment.

J.B.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

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.

**Oh** — "WASHINGTON (AP) — The Cost of Living Council says there appears to be some evidence of a softening of food prices at the wholesale level that may show up in the future. In the meantime, however, retail prices continue to go up."

**Fool proof** — "HONOLULU (AP) — Military spokesmen said aerial photographs show Hurricane Celeste caused only slight damage to top secret Johnston Island, the Army's major Pacific storehouse of mustard and nerve gas. Roofs of some buildings were blown off, but vehicles and heavy equipment which were secured before the island was abandoned as the storm approached do not appear to have been disturbed, spokesmen said." The storage system, as any fool knows, is "accident proof." Which is why they made the inspection from above.

**The ultimate catastrophe** — Federal Communications Commissioner Richard Wiley warned that if broadcasters are required to concede time to consumer groups for "countercommercials," regular advertisers might choose to split the scene. This, he explained, would mean a loss of revenues for many of our quality programs.

**Jesus squeeze** — Until recently one TV commercial beamed at children included: "God is great, God is good, let us thank him for our food; and now you may drink your Tropicana orange

juice from the Pleasant Hill dairy." It was driven off the air by Action for Children's Television, a Massachusetts mothers group. We don't know if they won on the basis of the religious hype or the quality of the poetry.

**Modernizing Pakistan** — Columnist Jack Anderson reported that Pakistan's U.S. mission is seeking various sophisticated instruments of snooping and torture, including electric shock devices for "interrogation." The shopping list was apparently divulged by Horst Kleinsorg, a D.C. gun dealer who lived under Hitler and witnessed some of the uses of such devices. Kleinsorg felt the money would be better spent on needy Pakistani children. "If you feed them now," he commented, "you won't have to interrogate them later."

**American know-how** — That German stamp dealer who collaborated with Apollo 15 astronauts to peddle 100 moon-borne souvenir envelopes for \$1,500 apiece wasn't all that good. Apollo 14 Commander Alan Shepard took 100 coins into orbit of which 50 were turned over to the Franklin Company, a private Philadelphia mint. The 50 coins were melted down and mixed with other metals to make 130,000 coins. These were offered for \$9 each as "made of silver that has been to the moon."

**Traversing credibility canyon** — Public job holders and aspirants in Los

Angeles were advised by a city attorney to receive their daily bread as "political contributions" rather than "gifts." He said it helps minimize the problems of harried public servants both legally and imagewise. Meanwhile, a poll of *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* readers showed 14 favoring a proposed wage hike for members of the Pennsylvania legislature and 14,604 opposed.

**Illuminating the issue** — A public hearing in Bangor, Maine, on a request for a rate increase by the Bangor Hydroelectric Company was delayed 20 minutes by a power failure.

— HARRY RING



"Oh, that's Comrade Brezhnev's car. The Nixon sticker was on it when he got it."

# National Picket Line

**UNION OFFICIALS AND 'LESSER-EVIL' POLITICS:** Union office-holders, like politicians, try to put up a generally buoyant and optimistic front. But disarray in their ranks, especially their falling out over which of the capitalist politicians to support in the elections this fall, has caused some to betray their real feelings.

For example, at the one-day Michigan political conference of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Detroit on Aug. 6, UAW President Leonard Woodcock said he thought George McGovern could win the election in November. But "it's important even if it's lost that it be lost by the smallest possible margin."

Those are not very encouraging words for a candidate who is not sure where his support will come from. McGovern is hoping that the unions like the UAW that endorse him will try to make him look like a fighter for the rights of working men and women.

Many of these McGovern backers have no heart for the effort. Nelson Jack Edwards, the only Black man among the seven UAW vice-presidents (there's one woman, white), told the conference delegates that McGovern is bad but Nixon is worse. Edwards strives for precision. "As bad as Mr. McGovern may be, Mr. Nixon is 40 times worse," he said. That is a precise statement of the lesser-evil theory in practice, at least.

Other union officials express their disappointment and gloom differently. Patrick Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters is mad at AFL-CIO President George Meany for lending comfort to Nixon, the other enemy of labor. Gorman even questions Meany's patriotism. "Any man that tells us not to vote is not a good American," says Gorman.

The president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), Joseph Beirne, endorsed McGovern and at the same time signed off the AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education (COPE), saying that CWA would give "not one penny" this year to COPE. Beirne seems to think that if McGovern is defeated the whole Democratic Party show is lost, and he may be right.

But the spirits of these downhearted union backers of McGovern — and some say that officials claiming to represent six million workers are behind him — will pick up as soon as they see the extent of his support among the employing class and it begins to look as if he has a winning chance. They like to be with the winner even though they never collect any benefits. It makes them feel good to think how much worse off they would be if the other evil had won.

**PROFITS HIGH:** One of the things that bothers union officials most is the economy. Prices are going up and so is unemployment. They hope McGovern can change that.

The employers are likewise aware of the flaws in this economic structure, but they don't worry so long as profits keep rolling in. This year promises to be the most profitable of all — some foresee \$100-billion in profits for the ruling class of this country in 1972, far exceeding all previous records.

**BUREAUCRATS ACCEPT PAY CUT FOR WORKERS:** Union officials know all about the big profits, but they always take the narrow view of the particular employer they happen to be doing business with. Typical of their myopia is the instance in Mentor, Ohio (a Cleveland suburb), of UAW Local 483. Local 483 has agreed to accept a 4.5 percent wage cut in order to keep the National Screw & Manufacturing Company in business and "save" 600 jobs.

John Troeter, a UAW staff representative, says an auditor from Solidarity House, the union's international headquarters in Detroit, came to Cleveland, examined the company books, and recommended to the local negotiating committee to accept the pay cut.

This is not the first time the UAW has "saved" jobs by accepting pay cuts. Workers at the old Studebaker plant in South Bend, Ind., were pressured by UAW officials to work for over a year at substandard wages in order to keep the plant open. It folded.

National Screw, a subsidiary of Monogram Industries in Los Angeles, will continue long enough for the parent company to phase out operations. Most likely the Ohio plant will fill only outstanding orders before closing.

A similar incident occurred in Cleveland last year when a Borg-Warner plant there closed after a long strike and after the workers had gone back on company terms. It was also a UAW plant. It laid off steadily following the strike and closed in a few months.

Workers laid off near the end — those with 20 years or more seniority — who had paid for years into the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit fund were cheated out of their SUB benefits because of "lack of funds," the company said.

All such attempts to "save" companies on the verge of liquidating or abandoning plants and equipment invariably result in savings for the employers at the expense of the workers.

— FRANK LOVELL

# Theme of socialist conference: internat'l revolutionary struggle

By CINDY JAQUITH

OBERLIN, Ohio, Aug. 21 — "Capitalism is an international system and the struggle against it is first and foremost an international struggle," said Betsey Stone as she opened the first session of the Aug. 13-20 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held here at Oberlin College. Because "it's our ruling class that plays the role of world policeman for capitalism," Stone explained, it is especially important for American revolutionaries to develop a thorough understanding of internationalism. This was the theme of the week-long conference.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Socialist Workers Party, and invited guests attended the event — 1,153 people in all, from 29 states. Representatives from revolutionary organizations in Austria, Sweden, England, France, the Philippines, Can-

The strategy of relying on the activities of small urban or rural guerrilla groups separated from the masses, as opposed to the Leninist strategy of party building and mass action, Camejo said, has resulted in a number of setbacks for the socialist revolution in Latin America.

Camejo concluded his talk with a report on the growth and widening influence of the Argentine Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Argentino* — PSA). The PSA organized a tour of Argentina by SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness this spring that met with an inspiring response. One of the highlights of the Oberlin conference was the presentation of a slide show and tape of a speech Jenness delivered to a crowd of 3,000 people in Buenos Aires.

An important aspect of the PSA's work has been helping to build a broad defense campaign for political

dent movement — has been a major feature of political struggles around the world. A talk by Caroline Lund outlined the "red university strategy" embodied in a resolution adopted three years ago by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. (See *A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth*, Pathfinder Press, second edition, 1972.) This strategy includes a series of immediate, democratic, and transitional demands to "link the student struggles with the struggles of workers and national minorities at their present levels of development and orient them toward a combined drive for state power."

Although written in 1969, the ideas contained in this document have been confirmed by student upsurges since then, for example in Egypt, Britain, Bangladesh, and the United States, Lund said. "The new youth revolt is not just a passing phenomenon," she explained, "but rather will be a permanent feature of the class struggle around the world from now on."

A special attraction at the Oberlin conference was a talk by *Militant* editor Mary-Alice Waters on the true history of the Marxist movement in fighting for women's liberation. Waters took issue with the claim of anti-Marxists that the Marxist movement has traditionally ignored or opposed feminism. She presented a documented history of 125 years of "unrelenting struggle" by Marxists in the women's liberation movement, including many examples of the leadership role played by Marxists in the suffrage movements, the prerevolutionary Chinese feminist movement, and in the Soviet Union.

Tying together these talks that outlined the rise of revolutionary struggles on an international scale, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, discussed the task of constructing an international revolutionary party to lead these struggles.

"It's clear that in view of the way the radicalization is sweeping the world, and in view of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and the incapacity of Castroism to lead another revolution through to success," Barnes said, "new forces by the thousands are looking for new leadership and are open to being won to our international movement."

Barnes pointed to some significant, though modest, steps forward in the growth of the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International.

Trotskyists in Canada, he said, have "been deeply involved in the massive struggles in Québec and in establishing Québecois units of the Canadian revolutionary party, with a French-language paper that comes out

*Continued on page 22*

## Socialists plan fall activities

Complementing the series of lectures and classes on the international revolutionary movement, a full range of workshops and panels at the Oberlin conference dealt with organizing the many activities socialists are carrying out.

Supporters of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party campaign met in several workshops to map plans for local SWP campaigns, winning ballot status for the SWP, and running Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in student government elections.

Building the antiwar and women's liberation movements was another important area of work taken up at Oberlin. Discussion centered on the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia, and the Oct. 21-22 International Women's Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization.

There was a report on the recent developments in the Black liberation struggle and the opportunities for winning Afro-American support for the SWP campaign.

Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American activists held workshops at the conference as well. The Chicano meeting focused on the importance of the national conference of Raza Unida parties slated for El Paso, Texas, Labor Day weekend.

*How did the Oberlin community react to the gathering of revolutionary socialists in their midst? The local newspaper, the Oberlin News-Tribune, ran a front-page article on the conference in its Aug. 17 issue. Titled "1100 socialists work, play here," the story quoted Oberlin College housing and dining hall manager Charles Oakley as saying that conference participants "have always been tremendously cooperative and well-behaved. This is their third year here and I certainly hope they will continue to come back."*

A trade-union panel heard reports from socialists active in Teachers, railroad workers, hospital workers, Teamsters, Steelworkers, Pulp and Paper Workers, and public employees unions.

Conference participants also discussed support to the activities of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and defense efforts for Ceylonese political prisoners awaiting trial on charges stemming from the 1971 upsurge in Sri Lanka.

A workshop was held on the opportunities for reaching the more than 145,000 foreign students in the United States with socialist ideas. The workshop took note of new openings for work with radicalizing youth of Ukrainian descent, both here and in Canada.

Activities in solidarity with the Irish civil rights struggle was the topic of another workshop.

Ideas on how to write for *The Militant*, promote the sale of revolutionary books and pamphlets, and organize socialist activity on campuses and in high schools were exchanged in other workshops and panels.

More than \$3,500 worth of revolutionary books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press was sold during the Oberlin conference, including 359 copies of the new book *Leon Trotsky Speaks*. Two hundred thirty-three conference participants bought subscriptions to *Intercontinental Press*.

— C.J.



Militant/Steve Beck

Tony Thomas speaking on revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America during Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

ada, Latin America, and the Near East also participated.

Speaking at the conference on the permanent revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Tony Thomas pointed to the Vietnamese national liberation struggle as "the focal point of world revolution" today. American imperialism is using Indochina as a testing ground for its "ultimate strategic objective of launching an attack on the colonial revolution and the workers states," he said.

Thomas blasted "the complete betrayal of revolutionary internationalism" by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. Both Moscow and Peking, he explained, "are trying to force the Vietnamese into a compromise settlement with the Saigon militarists and Nixon."

This treachery makes it all the more important for revolutionaries to continue the international campaign against the war in Southeast Asia, he said.

Thomas also pointed to the failure of the Nkrumah, Sukarno, Allende, and similar regimes to solve the problems of the colonial world. Even to win basic democratic rights in these countries, he said, socialist revolutions will be necessary.

### Latin America

"Which Road to Revolution in Latin America: Guevarism or Trotskyism?" was the subject of a talk by Peter Camejo. To extend the socialist revolution throughout Latin America, he explained, "it is necessary to mobilize much more powerful forces . . . than was the case in the exceptional circumstances of the Cuban revolution."

prisoners in Argentina. Camejo reported that Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco remains in jail in Argentina, despite the fact that no charges have been brought against him.

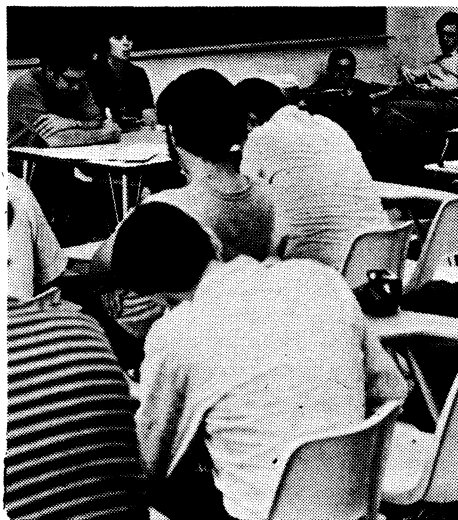
During the conference it was learned that Mario Roberto Santucho, a leader of the People's Revolutionary Army (*Ejército Revolucionario de Pueblo* — ERP) had just escaped from a top-security prison along with other Argentine prisoners and had hijacked a plane to Chile. (See page 5 for further developments in the Argentine political prisoners' situation.)

The tempo of revolutionary developments in the East European workers states and the Soviet Union has also increased, reported Gus Horowitz. Since 1968, there has been growing opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracies in these countries. The most important struggles have erupted in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union, focusing on freedom of speech, an end to national oppression, workers' control of industry, and other demands.

Although the movement in the workers states has lagged behind that of the colonial world and the advanced capitalist countries, these new developments have world significance, Horowitz explained. "The victorious revolution for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, almost as much as the socialist revolution in the United States, will signal the hour for the victory of the socialist revolution throughout the world," he said.

### Internat'l youth revolt

The international youth radicalization — seen most sharply in the stu-



Militant/Steve Beck

Workshop on education held during Oberlin conference.



# 1,100 SWP campaign supporters at rally demand ballot rights for Jenness in Ohio

By CINDY JAQUITH

CLEVELAND, Aug. 18—"I'd like to welcome everyone to this Socialist Workers campaign rally called to protest the refusal of Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to place our presidential ticket on the ballot this fall." With these words, 19-year-old Robbie Scherr, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Ohio's 23rd C.D., greeted the more than 1,100 SWP campaign supporters who attended the rally held here tonight at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

"We socialists don't give up," Scherr declared. She pledged a continued fight to secure ballot status in Ohio for Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate. Ted Brown has arbitrarily ruled Jenness off the ballot because she is "too young" to serve if elected.

The rally, chaired by Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, was also a celebration of the ballot victories scored by the SWP in recent months.

"For the first time in the history of the SWP," vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley told the crowd, "we're on the ballot in Massachusetts, Florida, Texas, and Mississippi.

"I was born in Mississippi and lived there half my life," Pulley continued. "A couple of weeks ago I returned to Mississippi with 3,700 signatures collected by campaign supporters to place our party on the ballot.

"I must say, when I was growing up in Mississippi—picking and chopping cotton—I never dreamed of visiting the capitol in Jackson, let alone presenting petitions to the secretary of state demanding to be placed on the ballot! And then, to top it all off,

that southern cracker even called me 'Sir!'"

Turning to the campaign of McGovern, Pulley said the Democratic candidate is "attempting to fly into the presidency on the wings of the antiwar majority. . . . George McGovern has used the antiwar movement to build his campaign. We have used our campaign to build the antiwar movement. . . .

"At the [Democratic] convention McGovern's lieutenants told women, 'if you want to dump Nixon . . . you had better drop your demands.' I say to all of the oppressed, if you want to dump your oppressor . . . you should drop the Democratic and Republican parties!"

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), also addressed the rally. "Most feminists have correctly identified Nixon as an enemy of women's liberation, Roberts said. "But the women who would seek [a] friend in George McGovern are deluding themselves. . . . Suffice it to say that any candidate who states, as George McGovern did, that abortion is irrelevant deserves the scorn, not the support, of the women's movement.

"In WONAAC we put out a bumper sticker that says: 'Don't labor under a misconception—repeal all abortion laws,'" Roberts said in closing. "To my sisters who think they can win their demands of the feminist movement by working within the Democratic and Republican parties, I say, don't labor under a misconception. Support the party that supports you. Vote Socialist Workers Party."

The rally closed with a speech by



Militant/Walter Lippmann

The crowd of more than 1,100 SWP campaign supporters broke into applause many times during the rally.

Linda Jenness. After receiving a standing ovation, Jenness opened her remarks with a humorous takeoff on the selection of vice-presidential candidates:

"The day that I was sure that I had the nomination. . . . I picked up the phone and called Pulley. . . .

"Pulley, are there any skeletons in your closet?" I said. . . .

"He said, 'I got thrown in the stockade and then kicked out of the Army for organizing GIs against the war at Ft. Jackson. . . .

"I said, 'Fantastic.' Then I said, 'Look, I'm not talking about that kind of stuff. I'm talking about things that you would be ashamed of. . . . For instance, have you ever voted for a capitalist candidate?"

"He said, 'Hell no, I never supported any of them, and besides, I haven't been old enough to vote.'"

Jenness devoted the major portion of her speech to the question: How would things be better under a socialist system?

Under capitalism, she said, millions starve to death because "it is not profitable to produce plentiful, inexpensive food." Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans are used as guinea pigs in racist medical experiments, she explained. Rather than using its resources to aid the victims of this spring's floods, the U.S. government spends "billions of dollars to cause more floods in Vietnam with fiendish new rain-making techniques and by bombing the dikes!"

"That's the system George McGovern and Richard Nixon are campaigning for," she declared. "What we're

campaigning for is totally different.

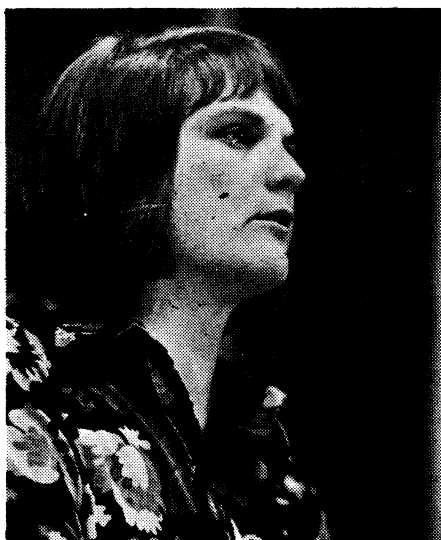
"We are against racism and the oppression of women. We are for everyone having a job and for children and old people being provided with the finest of what society has to offer. We are for free medicine and a crash program to build houses, schools, and hospitals. We are for taking control away from the tiny handful of businessmen and bankers and building a socialist society. . . .

"In my opinion there is no opportunity or privilege as great as being part of the revolutionary socialist movement that will bring all humanity a new day," Jenness concluded. "I urge any of you here tonight who are not yet part of this great struggle to join the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party, and help the international party become the human race."

SWP National Committee member Carol Lipman outlined at the rally two important campaign projects for the final three months of 1972 election activity: the fight to win ballot status for the SWP in a majority of the states and plans to place 18 teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on the road this fall.

To finance these projects, Lipman announced, the SWP Campaign Committee needs \$40,000. Several campaign supporters have already volunteered to match all contributions to the campaign up to \$20,000, she said.

After Lipman's appeal to the audience for funds, the crowd donated more than \$10,000 to the Matching Fund, surpassing the halfway mark in the 40,000 drive.



Linda Jenness

Militant/Howard Petrick



Andrew Pulley

Militant/Howard Petrick

## YSA launches newspaper, nat'l convention

By MARK UGOLINI

OBERLIN, Ohio, Aug. 13—Plans for building the upcoming national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and launching a new, monthly socialist youth newspaper were the highlights of the YSA National Committee plenum held here today.

The meeting was attended by National Committee members, YSA local and regional organizers, and more than 300 observers—members of the YSA, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Andy Rose, YSA national chairman, presented the main report. He began with a discussion of plans for the Twelfth Young Socialist National Convention, which the plenum voted to call for Nov. 23-26 in Cleveland, Ohio.

The convention—seen as the culmi-

nation of the 1972 socialist election campaign effort—will be open to all members of the YSA, supporters of the presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and other radical youth.

More than a quarter of a million copies of a wallposter-brochure on the convention have already been printed. Rose said the YSA will also publish a short "Introduction to the YSA" pamphlet to help build the convention and recruit campaign supporters to the YSA.

In addition, the YSA is organizing national speaking tours this fall for three YSA leaders, Geoff Mirelowitz, Sam Manuel, and Delfine Welch.

The YSA and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee will send 18 traveling teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on the road this fall. The teams will visit hundreds

of campuses and high schools to build support for the campaign, sell *Militant* subscriptions, and publicize the YSA convention.

In the final section of his report, Rose proposed that the YSA launch a monthly public newspaper. The plenum enthusiastically adopted this proposal.

The increased opportunities for growth indicated by the success of the Jenness-Pulley campaign and the importance of aggressively projecting the YSA to maximize this growth were the main factors in the plenum's decision to launch the new publication. The YSA will discontinue its current newspaper, *The Young Socialist Organizer*, which was directed mainly toward YSA members.

The new publication, Rose said, "will be the best reflection of the public image we want the YSA to have: dy-

namic, action-oriented, deeply involved in the student movement in high schools and colleges all across the country, championing and leading the struggles of the oppressed for liberation, and aggressively recruiting to the revolutionary youth movement."

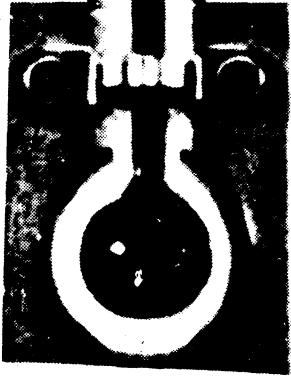
In addition to general news analysis, giving the YSA's views on contemporary issues, the new publication will feature coverage and analysis of the student movement, news of the YSA's activities, and articles dealing with the main political debates within the radical youth movement. The paper will put special emphasis on the high school movement and on the international youth radicalization and student struggles around the world.

The plenum also voted to conduct a 12-week fund drive this fall to raise \$32,000.

\$40,000

20,014

10,007



## Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

## Fall drive opens at Cleveland rally

The 1972 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has launched a drive to raise \$40,000 for the Jenness-Pulley campaign. The drive has been made possible by several campaign supporters who have agreed to match all contributions up to \$20,000 received before Nov. 7.

The Matching Fund was launched at the Aug. 18 Cleveland campaign rally, where \$10,007.36 was collected. Of this, \$2,500 came from large contributions and the rest from several hundred smaller donations.

Nearly \$10,000 must be raised and matched in the next two months if the Matching Fund is to be successful in providing the much-needed funds for the final drive of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Your contributions can make the difference.

I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.  
I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ in three monthly installments (Sept., Oct., & Nov.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Abzug and Rangel join protest to place Jenness on Ohio ballot

By LARRY SEIGLE

AUG. 28 — Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) have joined the growing list of those condemning Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown's decision to bar Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, and her running mate Andrew Pulley from the Ohio ballot. The statements by Abzug and Rangel are expected to provide added momentum to the drive to get protest messages sent to Brown.

In a letter dated Aug. 7, Rangel



Militant/Howard Petrick

Representative Bella Abzug

told Brown, "Your decision shuts off the free choice of political leadership to the citizens of Ohio who are entitled to elect their President from the full range of candidates. . . . In the name of democratic choice, I urge you to reverse your earlier decision and to permit Ms. Jenness' name to appear on the ballot in Ohio, since she has filed the requisite number of petitions. . . ."

Bella Abzug, in a letter dated Aug. 21, told Brown that "As a civil liberties advocate and one who believes in the free interchange of all ideas, whether I agree with them or not, I believe your decision runs counter to our tradition of open and democratic political campaigns and elections. I respectfully urge you to reverse your decision and to allow the voters of Ohio to have the same wide range of

choices as do voters in other states. . . ."

The two letters were made public today by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which is coordinating the campaign to overturn Brown's ruling.

The Federal District Court in Columbus is considering the case, and a decision is expected shortly. However, in an obvious response to the pressure exerted by CoDEL's public campaign, Brown ordered Jenness and Pulley to be listed on the sample state ballot prepared this month. While this decision has no legal bearing on the printing of the actual ballots, it is an important concession by the secretary of state to the growing demand for a fair ballot in Ohio.

In a related development, Brown backed down and ruled Aug. 4 that Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the Communist Party candidates, will be placed on the Ohio ballot. Brown had previously threatened to deny ballot status to Hall and Tyner, claiming that Communist Party campaign supporters had "misrepresented" the purpose of nominating petitions circulated on behalf of the CP candidates.

CoDEL is continuing its drive to get telegrams and letters of protest supporting Jenness from all defend-

ers of civil liberties and fair play.

Protests should be sent to Ted W. Brown, Secretary of State, Columbus Ohio 43216. Copies of the protests should be sent to Governor John J. Gilligan, Columbus, Ohio 43216; and to CoDEL, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The SWP ticket was recently certified for ballot status in Pennsylvania, Texas, Iowa, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. This brings to 11 the number of states in which socialist candidates are already assured a place on the ballot. (The other six are Massachusetts, Colorado, New Jersey, Michigan, Idaho, and Kentucky.)

More than 450,000 signatures to put SWP candidates on the ballot have been collected in 27 states. Plans are now underway to meet the requirements for ballot status in three other states: Arizona, New Mexico, and Washington.

In many states, signatures have been filed and the candidates are awaiting official notice of certification. In other states, including Louisiana, Illinois, Utah, and Ohio, court suits have been initiated demanding the acceptance of signatures nominating Jenness and Pulley.



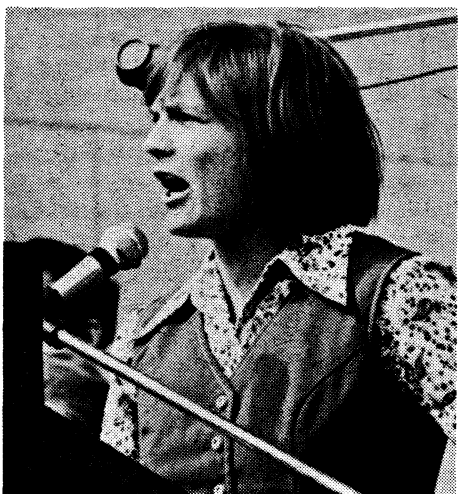
Militant/Sara Gates

The Socialist Workers Party filed 38,453 signatures on Aug. 28 to place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the New York ballot. Above, Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress (20th C.D.), and New York SWP organizer Peter Seidman at Albany, N.Y., news conference held to announce the filing. The SWP is the first party to file signatures for the 1972 New York ballot.

## Jenness fights for equal time

By CATHY PERKUS

AUG. 28 — The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee today appealed to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to order the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to provide equal television and radio time to SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness.



Linda Jenness

Cary Herz

The socialist candidate applied to NBC for equal time to answer Senator George McGovern's 20-minute campaign speech that was broadcast Sat., Aug. 5. In that speech, Senator McGovern announced Sargent Shriver as his running mate.

NBC maintained that because Linda Jenness is 31 years old she is not a legally qualified candidate for the presidency and not entitled to claim equal time.

On Sunday afternoon, Aug. 27, NBC interrupted its programming for a 15-minute special, featuring brief statements by Gus Hall, Communist Party presidential candidate, and Louis Fisher, Socialist Labor Party presidential candidate. Both the CP and the SLP requested equal time to answer McGovern's speech.

In appealing for a favorable FCC ruling, Jenness said that "NBC's decision infringes on my constitutional right to run for the presidency as provided by the 20th Amendment. It sets a precedent that hinders young people from seeking political office, and

it denies the American people their right to hear the views of all the candidates.

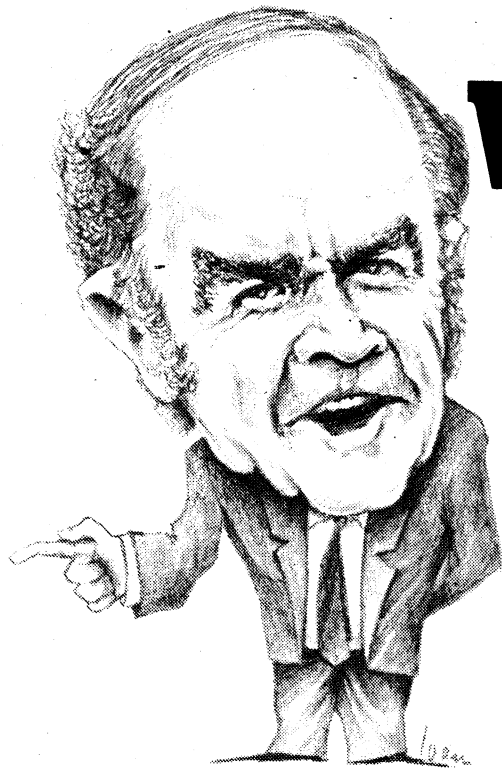
"I am prepared to take legal action against NBC, if necessary, to secure my right to equal time during this campaign."

## Jenness to appear on TV

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on the Public Broadcasting System on Sept. 6 at 8 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, in a special broadcast covering candidates from the smaller parties.

She will also appear on ABC TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from smaller parties on Oct. 8 at 1 p.m., Eastern Standard Time.





# WHO IS BETTER FOR THE RULING CLASS: NIXON OR MCGOVERN?



By GEORGE BREITMAN

Which would benefit the U.S. ruling class the most—the election of McGovern or the re-election of Nixon?

Please notice that I did not ask if the defeat of one or the other would injure the interests of the ruling class.

Its interests are well protected in either case. Both the Republican conservative and the Democratic liberal are fervent defenders of the capitalist system, and both can be counted on to uphold that system against all opponents, at home and abroad. They differ over ways of doing this, but the ruling class knows that in a crisis both of them can be counted on.

Please notice also that I did not ask whose election the U.S. ruling class *thinks* would benefit it the most.

That's a separate question. What the ruling class—that is, the small decision-making section of that class—thinks about the relative merits of a Nixon or McGovern victory is not unimportant. After all, what the ruling class does about it will follow from what it thinks about it, and what it does usually has a decisive effect on the outcome.

But I am not asking here what the ruling class thinks about the question under examination, because it is possible that the ruling class does not see the situation correctly, that is, from the standpoint of its best interests.

There is nothing in Marxism that teaches us the ruling class always sees and acts in its own best interests. No. The rulers of this country sometimes make mistakes, despite their training and long experience in rule and despite their access to special information denied to other people. They can't afford to make too many mistakes, especially on vital questions affecting their retention of state power. But outside of those areas they can and do make mistakes, like the leaders and members of other classes.

That is why I prefer to leave aside the question of what the ruling class thinks and to put the question the way I do—whose election would objectively be of the greatest benefit to the ruling class?

I think McGovern's election would be. For the following reasons:

U.S. capitalism presides over the richest economy in the world and the most awesome military machine in history. In spite of that, it is in trouble at home because it has lost the confidence of a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of the population; and certainly has lost the confidence of a large majority of the young people, that is, those on whom the future will depend.

The radicalization of the last decade is a result of the contradictions spawned by the capitalist system out of the conditions that have occurred since the end of World War II. The new technology, and especially the brainwashing effects of TV, was supposed to guarantee a compliant populace, a docile labor force, and other

blessings conducive to an unhampered pursuit of surplus value. But it hasn't worked out quite that way. In fact, those who were born and raised in the television era are the ones most alienated from the present system.

The current alienation, which has spread among so many strata of the population and into areas that previously were considered impregnable (armed forces, prisons), has not yet raised most of the many millions affected to the level of revolutionary consciousness; nor has it yet produced a political force capable of challenging the capitalists for power; nor has it yet created a revolutionary situation in the United States.

But one would have to be a fool not to see that a continuation and a deepening of the radicalization will inevitably prepare the conditions for a revolutionary showdown in this country. While the ruling class makes occasional mistakes, it does not consist of fools. It is keenly aware that the future of its rule depends on its ability to contain, co-opt, ride out, or somehow reverse the present radicalization (which is so pervasive that, among other things, it has infected even some of the sons and daughters of the ruling class).

Every class society rests on domination through a mix of coercion and persuasion; the greater the proportion of persuasion, the cheaper it is for the ruling class, and the more secure its position generally is. The decline of confidence that many millions have in the capitalist system, the widespread disbelief and mistrust in the government, the suspicion and/or rejection of the traditional political parties, the loss of authority by the institutions that represented and symbolized authority, the questioning of time-encrusted values, procedures, and prejudices—these are not minor matters or mere conversation pieces for the intelligent capitalists but problems of major proportions with which they have been grappling for several years. What else produced Lyndon Johnson's decision not to run in 1968 except the conviction that he had become too discredited to even get a hearing from millions of alienated Americans?

Nixon came to office promising to handle this problem by being tougher than Johnson had been. (This led more than a few radicals to pin the "fascism" label on Nixon, which may have given them some kind of emotional satisfaction but did little to prepare anybody for the realities of the first Nixon administration.) But he soon found that he did not have a completely free hand. He therefore adopted the strategy of trying to ride out the radicalization, of letting it spend itself if possible, of avoiding a head-on collision for the time being, while sniping at the flanks of his opponents and trying to strengthen and unite the forces of conservatism and reaction in preparation for more favorable conditions under which the old relationships could be restored.

He has scored minor advances here and there, but he burned his fingers with the Cambodian invasion and had to pull back in the face of the May 1970 upsurge on the campuses. His efforts to intimidate radical opponents through prosecutions in the courts have had mixed results but cannot be said to have succeeded on the whole.

But Nixon's tactics, which were forced on him so to speak, should not be permitted to obscure the fact that his basic approach to the radicalization is to crush it as soon as a favorable opportunity presents itself. If re-elected, that is what he will try to do, if possible.

McGovern, on the other hand, wants to smother the radicalization in a tight embrace and dissolve it into reform politics, sporting a new rhetoric and sideburns. While he hasn't attained that objective yet, and perhaps never will, it must be admitted that he has made an effective beginning.

William Lee Miller, an Indiana University professor who writes about "The Meaning of 1972" in the Aug. 5 and 12 *New Republic*, carefully presents his credentials as a moderate—he was for Humphrey in 1968 and for Muskie before this year's Democratic convention, and he calls himself a "belated dove"—and then says, "I think we are lucky to have McGovern heading this wing of American politics [with its 'variegated spread of young dissenters']". Think what might have come out of the cauldron of the late sixties."

But the cauldron is still bubbling in the seventies; some hitherto unthinkable and extremely hot things may still emerge. That's what makes McGovern's achievement so far all the more impressive. "It is altogether too tiresome to go back over the 'within the system' business again," Miller continues, "but surely that point is obvious: the McGovern movement, with help from Richard Nixon and history, has brought into the framework of what a short time ago they scornfully were dismissing as mere 'electoral poli-

tics' a large number of . . . young people whose attitudes toward politics, and for that matter toward their country, are just now in the process of being shaped."

Miller is also happy to note that the McGovern movement is also successfully teaching its youthful supporters that "they need to learn to work with and accommodate to . . . and even appreciate" people with "ideas different than their own" (which must refer to hacks, hawks, racists, sexists, and other forces of oppression, just so long as they are Democrats too).

Perhaps Miller exaggerates McGovern's accomplishment a little, perhaps I underestimate the difficulties McGovern will encounter in keeping his radicalized supporters in line between now and the election. In any case, McGovern already has done more to undercut the radicalization in the last six months than Nixon did in three and one-half years. And while the hardest part of his scheme still lies ahead, it would be unrealistic to exclude the possibility that McGovern may succeed in defusing major aspects of the threat posed by the radicalization—if not altogether, then by reducing it to more manageable proportions.

Which method of fighting the radicalization is better for the capitalists? I would argue that McGovern's is cheaper, safer, more likely to succeed than Nixon's, less likely to trigger off convulsions as bitter as they would be widespread. I do not contend that it would be foolproof or sure to succeed—only that it is probably more effective and certainly less dangerous from the capitalist standpoint.

There is more than a little evidence that a majority of the ruling class does not share my estimate. That I cannot dispute. But, I repeat, ruling classes are not immune from mistakes, and, I may add, they tend to make them more frequently the nearer they come to the finish of their rule. It may turn out that they are committing one of their biggest and most costly mistakes in the present election campaign.

## McGovern hustles Zionist vote; refuses Arab group's support

In his eagerness to win Zionist votes by striking a more pro-Israel stance than Richard Nixon, George McGovern has repudiated the support of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations.

The Action Committee, which has worked to bring the plight of the Palestinian people to public attention, released its endorsement of McGovern on Aug. 19.

The following day, Robert Wagner, New York state chairman of the McGovern campaign, went on radio and television and attacked the Arab group for endorsing McGovern.

On Aug. 21, McGovern issued a formal statement of repudiation from Washington. He claimed the endorsement was an attempt "to embarrass or discredit me with Americans of all creeds who believe, as I do, that the cornerstone of American policy in the Middle East must be the survival of an Israel that is militarily secure and economically sound."

McGovern called the Action Committee's endorsement "a calculated attempt to drive voters concerned for Israel's security into the Republican camp—an obvious desire to win support for Richard Nixon."

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

Two basic strategies have been proposed on how to relate to the November elections, both claiming to be in the interest of advancing the Chicano struggle.

The first strategy says that La Raza should remain within either the Democratic or Republican parties. Most who favor this strategy are for supporting George McGovern and other Democratic candidates as part of a "Defeat Nixon" crusade.

The second strategy says we should build a mass independent Chicano political party in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans. Such a party would use elections and any other means necessary to gain control over our lives and communities.

In addition, Texas Raza Unida Party (RUP) leader José Angel Gutiérrez has projected a course of action that attempts to combine these two antagonistic and incompatible strategies. Gutiérrez projects the possibility of voting for either Nixon or McGovern for president combined with independent campaigns on the local and statewide levels.

One of those advocating support to McGovern is César Chávez. Chávez endorsed McGovern because he considered him a candidate of peace and because McGovern had supported the farm workers' boycotts. He mobilized hundreds of farm workers to campaign for McGovern during the California primary. Now that McGovern has the nomination, we can expect the United Farm Workers Union to use its influence to turn out the vote for the Democrats in November.

Does McGovern deserve this support?

#### McGovern's real record

Aware of the importance of the Chicano vote, McGovern outlined an eight-point program during the California primary. This program in-

cluded the most extravagant promises ever made to La Raza during an election, but did not begin to deal with the basic problems facing our people. McGovern's promises, which centered around the hiring or appointment of more Chicanos to government jobs, would help only a tiny handful without altering the conditions of poverty and deprivation faced by most of La Raza.

To help gauge whether McGovern is likely to implement his promises if elected, we should glance at his senate record.

While criticizing the Vietnam war, McGovern has consistently voted for war appropriations and refuses to support antiwar demonstrations.

While speaking of peace, McGovern talks of making war, with U. S. troops if necessary, against the Arab peoples struggling for self-determination against Zionist Israel.

While criticizing certain economic policies of Nixon, McGovern voted for the legislation authorizing the wage controls Nixon decreed a year ago.

# SHOULD THE MOVEMENT SUPPORT MCGOVERN FOR

In May when McGovern assured Chávez he would support the lettuce boycott, McGovern received a letter from Frank Register, the executive director of the National Association of Retail Grocers, protesting his stand. The Aug. 18 *New York Times* reported McGovern's reply as follows: "Retail grocers [which includes Safeway, for example—A. C.], as well as other small businessmen, are vital in the success of our free enterprise sys-

tem. You may be sure that I value their contribution to our economy and will continue to support their role." (Emphasis added.) He promises the farm workers one thing and the grocers another. Which promise will he carry out if elected?

McGovern, like Nixon, is the presidential candidate of a political party that is committed to the maintenance of capitalism not only in the U. S. but throughout the world. In an ad-



In May George McGovern visited Cesar Chavez during the farmworker leader's 'fast for justice' (right). In June McGovern visited George Wallace. He said that he would consider the segregationist for a cabinet position if elected (left).

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — In his five-day official visit to the United States in June, Mexican President Luis Echeverría Alvarez tried to give the impression at home and throughout Latin America that he was traveling to the heartland of imperialism to press demands upon the Yankee exploiters on behalf of the oppressed masses south of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande). The real aims of his trip, however, were quite different.

One purpose was a calculated attempt by Nixon to improve his "Chicano" image for the 1972 elections. publicity flowing out of the White House emphasized how Echeverría "was very impressed with the inclusion and participation of the Spanish speaking in President Nixon's administration in the highest levels of policy and decision making."

A second aim of Echeverría's visit was to bolster his own image at home by pressuring U.S. imperialism for some minor concessions in the face of serious problems in Mexico. Among the topics discussed with Nixon were the increasing salinity of the Colorado River, the unfavorable balance of trade with the U. S., and the question of undocumented Mexican workers now in the U. S.

Since taking office in 1971 Echeverría has tried to change his more than slightly tarnished image as one of the chief architects of the massacre of hundreds of students attending a peaceful rally in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City on October 2, 1968. Echeverría was minister of the interior at that time, under President Díaz Ordaz. As a result of the brutal repression of the student movement in 1968, the jails of Mexico were filled with hundreds of political prisoners, some of whom remain incarcerated to this day.

# ECHEVERRIA: FRIEND OR

Others have been imprisoned since then.

On June 10, 1971, scores of students were gunned down by a combination of police, army troops, and Federal District government-inspired goon squads called "Los Halcones" (The Hawks). Ricardo Ochoa wrote from Mexico City in the June 28, 1971, *Intercontinental Press* that with this attack Echeverría had gotten his own "baptism of blood in a deliberate massacre. . . .

"For the second time in three years, the streets of the capital have been littered with the bodies of Mexican youth," Ochoa wrote.

#### San Antonio protest

While Echeverría was wine and dined by American politicians—Republican and Democrat alike—from Washington, D. C., to California, he was greeted by demonstrations in almost every city he visited.

In San Antonio a picket line was organized by the Committee to Free All Political Prisoners (formerly the Angela Davis Defense Committee) and its leader Mario Cantú. A leaflet distributed by the committee said in part: "In the interest of human decency you must not welcome this dictator who rules over the impoverished Mexican masses."

Echeverría, however, succeeded in getting Cantú, Texas Raza Unida Party founder José Angel Gutiérrez, and Texas RUP gubernatorial candidate Ramsey Muñiz to meet with him. "After meeting with the Mexican president for one hour and 15 minutes in his suite," reported the June 20 *San*

*Antonio News*, Cantú "ordered the pickets withdrawn 'for peace's sake.'"

According to the *Chicano Times* (Vol. III, No. 1), Echeverría promised to allow a delegation of Chicanos to inspect Mexico's prisons to see for themselves "that there are no political prisoners." Cantú was quoted in the *News* as referring to the meeting as "productive."

ficial. . . . The Chicano can play a similar role for Mexico as the Jew has played for Israel."

During the meeting, Gutiérrez presented Echeverría with a portrait of Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican revolutionary. As a result of the same meeting, according to the June 23 *Sol de Texas*, Echeverría gave a 2,000-volume library to Crystal City and prom-



Luis Echeverría, then minister of the interior, shares responsibility for the massacre of hundreds of students at Tlatelolco in 1968.

Subsequently, another meeting was arranged with Echeverría that included José Angel Gutiérrez, Ramsey Muñiz, and a delegation of Crystal City Raza Unida Party elected officials.

The June 20 *San Antonio News* quoted Gutiérrez as saying, "Our plans are to act as catalyst between the Mexican and Chicano cultures and work for a cultural and educational interchange that should be highly bene-

vised to send a special research team to investigate how Mexico can help "underprivileged Chicanos" in South Texas. Muñiz also reported that Echeverría was quite sympathetic to the idea of the Raza Unida Party and thought it was a "wonderful idea" that they were "practicing democracy."

In addition, a delegation from the Mexican government spent four days in Crystal City initiating discussions on the possible building of a tomato



# World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 8, 1972

By George Fyson

## New Zealand

## Trade unionists, students, Polynesians, protest war

On July 14 more than 27,000 New Zealanders marched in the streets of the main cities throughout the country to demand that the United States get out of South East Asia immediately and stop the bombing of Indochina. The demonstrators also demanded a total end to New Zealand support for the war.

The turnout was not far behind the 1971 demonstrations in which 35,000 on April 30 and 32,000 on July 30 marched against the war. Twelve days after the July 30 demonstrations, New Zealand's token force of a few hundred combat troops was withdrawn, leaving an N.Z. army team of fifty men who have been engaged in training Cambodian soldiers in South Vietnam.

Partly because of the N.Z. troop withdrawal, and also because of Nixon's "winding down the war" propaganda, some forces formerly active in the antiwar movement had doubted that there was a continuing potential for organising massive antiwar demonstrations. In fact, this was one reason for the slightly smaller turnout—in a few smaller towns where former antiwar coalitions had dissolved no activity took place. Numbers marching in the larger centres were about the same as before, however. About 12,000 marched in Auckland, 4,000 in Wellington, 8,000 in Christchurch, and 2,000 in Dunedin.

Trade unionists; Labour party MPs, branches, and supporters; Christian antiwar groups; and university and high-school students participated in the same numbers as they have in the past. Successful "Women Against the War" contingents were organised in

Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch.

A new feature in Auckland and Wellington was the organisation of Polynesian contingents who marched under banners bearing slogans such as "Polynesians against racist wars," "No Vietcong ever called me a coconut" and "No Vietnamese ever called me a Hori." ("Hori" and "coconut" are derogatory racist terms for Maoris and Polynesians, the equivalent of "nigger.") The Polynesians, in their speeches, publicity, and placards, pointed out that a very high proportion of New Zealand's armed forces are Polynesian, and that out of thirty-five New Zealanders killed in Vietnam, twenty-nine were Polynesians. Only about ten percent of New Zealanders are Polynesian.

In Christchurch a lively and vociferous Gay contingent took part in the march, organised by the recently formed Gay Liberation Movement in that city.

The July 14 mobilisation was called by a National Antiwar Conference, held in Auckland April 22-23, which was attended by 400 persons from all over the country, from different sectors of society, and from various political groups.

The delegates debated what course the antiwar movement ought to take in 1972. The conference decided in favour of a mass mobilisation built around the following demands: (a) All U.S. and allied forces out of S.E. Asia immediately; (b) An immediate end to the bombing of Indochina; (c) An end to all forms of N.Z. support for the war, and N.Z. withdrawal from the aggressive military alliances with the United States (SEATO and ANZUS); (d) Self-determination for

the Indochinese peoples.

Before the April 22-23 conference, some groups, in particular the Maoist N.Z. Communist party and a split-off from it, the "Wellington District Communist party," as well as some ultraleft forces in the student movement, had opposed a mobilisation altogether. However, they changed their position around the time of the conference and advocated slogans calling for "victory to the NLF" as "more advanced" than "Out Now." They also favoured calling for "support to the seven-point peace proposals of the PRG of South Vietnam," and for collecting money for medical aid to North Vietnam and NLF areas as part of the mobilisation. The conference rejected the proposals on the ground that they did not add anything to the "Out Now" demand directed against the N.Z. and U.S. governments, yet placed unnecessary barriers in the way of the tens of thousands of New Zealanders who support the antiwar movement on the basis of "Out Now," while not favouring explicit support to the revolutionists in Indochina.

After the April conference, the "Victory for the NLF" forces, who are strongest in Wellington (the capital city), forced their views on the Wellington Committee on Vietnam (COV—to that date the only antiwar coalition in the city). Those who insisted on building the mobilisation around "Out Now" left the COV to set up the new Wellington Mobilisation Committee, which will continue to develop a mass antiwar movement in that city.

On July 14 the perspective adopted by the conference was completely vindicated by the massive and enthusiastic turnout and by the most popular chant of the marchers: "Out Now! Out Now!"



Part of crowd at 12,000-strong antiwar rally in Auckland. Action was part of national mobilization.

## Appeal to Angela Davis on behalf of Czech political prisoners

[The following open letter by Jiri Pelikan appeared in the August 31 issue of the left-liberal weekly *New York Review of Books*.

[Pelikan, as director of Czechoslovak TV, was a prominent figure in the struggle for proletarian democracy in Prague that was suppressed by Moscow in 1968.]

Dear Angela Davis,

You will perhaps be surprised that a Czechoslovak political exile should feel the need to write to you. You must have had many messages from Czechoslovakia, but you missed those from the people who would have liked to express their solidarity but could not do so because their voices are stifled, because they are in prison, condemned or awaiting trial.

I am sending you this letter in their names. I can speak and write because I have chosen, like many of my compatriots, to continue the struggle in exile.

But I'm also writing to you because, in spite of our different experiences, we have a lot in common and I think that you will understand me. You say that you became a communist because after seeing the people suffer you understood that society must be changed. So did I. I joined the Communist party in September, 1939. I was a student and I had seen my country occupied by the German Nazis. I wanted to fight for freedom and to change a system which produces wars and oppression.

You have lived through the painful experience of prison. So have I. While the Gestapo hunted me, my parents were taken as hostages: and my mother never came back from prison. I know as well as you what is meant by repression, discrimination, and suffering. Like you, I went into the revolutionary movement convinced that socialism can create a more just society for the majority of men.

The difference between us consists only in the fact that after thirty years as a militant, in October, 1969, I was expelled from the party along with some half million Czech and Slovak communists simply because we refused to consider the occupation of our small socialist country by a foreign power, itself "socialist," as "fraternal aid."

You may say that there is a big difference between American military aggression in Vietnam and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. I agree, and that is why our people did not defend itself in arms. But the substance of the two interventions is the same: to prevent people from deciding their own destiny. You are for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. So am I. But why, four years after the intervention, are there still 80,000 Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia, in spite of the agreements between Bonn and Moscow and Warsaw, in spite of the "consolidation" many times proclaimed by Husak and Brezhnev?

I was delighted to read that after your release you said you would fight for the freedom of all the political prisoners in the world. I hope you will do so for political prisoners in capitalist countries, but also in East

European countries, especially Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

You may object that here too there is a difference: that in the United States and other Western countries it is "progressives" who are persecuted, whereas in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia it is mainly "antisocialist" elements, to use the language of official propaganda. But, Angela, ask for the list of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia and read their biographies: you'll find the overwhelming majority of them are communists or socialists.

I should like to recall a few, mostly veteran communists: Milan Hubl, rector of the party university and member of the Central Committee; Jaroslav Sabata, psychologist and member of the Central Committee; Alfred Cerny, worker, regional party secretary in Brno and member of the Central Committee; Jaroslav Litera, worker and secretary of the Prague city party committee; General Vaclav Prchlik, member of the Central Committee and of Parliament; Karel Bartosek, historian; Petr Uhl, teacher; Jiri Lederer and Vladimir Nepras, journalists; Ota Krizanovski, teacher in the party school; and hundreds of lesser-known names—intellectuals, students, workers, priests, and trade unionists.

Among the prisoners are two communist journalists who worked for a long time as correspondents in your country: Karel Kyncl for the radio and Jiri Hochman for the party daily *Rude Pravo*. From them we learned to know and to support the struggle of the American progressives against racism, McCarthyism, and the Vietnam war.

Today they have both been in prison for six months, and both are ill: Hochman with a serious form of tuberculosis and Kyncl with an ulcer. They have no contact with the outside world, inadequate medical care, no chance to choose or to consult their lawyers, no knowledge of when they will be tried. Their families, like those of most other political prisoners, are in a particularly difficult situation because their wives are prevented from working. Moreover, to collect money for the families of prisoners is considered "approval of criminal acts" and is therefore punishable by imprisonment.

Do you, Angela, consider this situation normal in a country that calls itself "socialist"? I have read about and seen on television the many messages of solidarity you received in prison and after your release. I was proud to think that there were people who were not indifferent to the fate of others; at the same time I had to think with sadness and bitterness about my friends imprisoned in Prague who cannot receive expressions of solidarity and are deprived of moral encouragement.

But, Angela, you above all have the moral right to demand of the Czech authorities what has been until now denied to journalists—permission to visit the Ruzyn Prison in Prague and to interview Karel Kyncl and Jiri Hochman, both of whom speak English. Listen to them and draw your own conclusions; but above all try to help them so they can defend themselves against their accusers as you have been able to do in your own country.

But among the Czech political prisoners there are also noncommunists; you will find Catholics, Evangelists, Jews, and also those opposed to socialism. This must not be a pretext for indifference to their fate. In Czechoslovakia we have paid dearly for our failure to understand that liberty is not divisible and that injustice toward opponents will in the end turn itself back on those who commit injustice. If liberty is taken away from some of the people, it will soon die for the rest.

But prison is not the only or the main form of repression in Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of communists and other citizens have nothing to live on, being deprived of work for their political convictions. The best writers are condemned to silence, theaters that disobey are closed, the directors who made the fame of the new Czechoslovak cinema are out of work or are forced to leave the country. The theaters do not know what to put on apart from the classics and escapist comedies; the Ministry of Culture does not recommend antifascist works because the public might find "dangerous parallels" which would lead to "provocative applause."

Hundreds of thousands of citizens have been eliminated from public life. For the "sins" of their parents children may no longer study, and parents are punished for the negative attitudes of their children. Investigations are carried out as far as three generations back, to encourage denunciations.

Some people are overcome by fear and resignation. Not all have the will and the courage to defend themselves as you have done. But we too have many Angela Davises and Soledad Brothers, though they remain unknown. The best Czech writers have refused to serve the regime; after they were forbidden to publish their books in Czechoslovakia they published abroad. Now the government has applied to them taxes and regulations that allow them only 5 percent of their royalties—less than is sufficient to live on for a month. The regime hopes that they will stop writing, become tired, give in. And if a writer tells a foreign journalist what is happening he can be condemned to three years in prison for spreading information abroad that is "damaging to the interests of



Angry Czechs surround Soviet tank after the government of the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia Aug. 21, 1968.



the State!"

The government statement announcing these measures makes it clear that they are directed against such writers as Ludvik Vaculik, Milan Kundera, Pavel Kohout, Vaclav Havel, and Ivan Klima, against the Marxist philosopher Karel Kosik (with whom you would, I think, quickly arrive at mutual understanding), against the historian Robert Kalivoda, and even against Jean [Jan] Prochaka, a writer now dead. We are one of the special countries in which writers cannot join the Union of Writers and all literary journals have been suppressed. And what a rich and progressive literature we once had!

Hundreds of professors and teaching assistants have been fired from the University because of their political attitudes and today are working as laborers, taxi drivers, porters. Eighteen hundred journalists have been excluded

## British CP criticizes Czech trials

Since mid-July the Czech government has tried and sentenced 46 opponents of the Soviet-imposed regime on "subversion" charges. Many of these defendants are named in Jiri Pelikan's letter on this page.

The Czech trials have provoked criticism even from several European Communist parties. The last issue of *The Militant* reported on criticisms of the French CP. On Aug. 10 the *Morning Star*, newspaper of the British Communist Party, stated in regard to the Czech trials: "The limited information available indicates that severe sentences have been passed on Communists and others engaged in political activities arising from their political differences with the Czechoslovak Government. Such differences should be dealt with by political means, and not by trials and imprisonment."

from their union and prevented from working as journalists. The Student Union has been dissolved and most of its leaders condemned or forbidden to carry on studies. And most of them, Angela, are like you, communists.

It is not only a revolt of intellectuals or young people, as is sometimes asserted by Western left-wingers to justify their silence or hesitation. Four weeks ago in Prague the congress of the "normalized" trade unions (purged of more than 50,000 cadres since 1969) annulled the decisions of the preceding congress, including the right to strike. The workers are not allowed to have independent trade unions or to fight for their demands or to protest against the dismissal of comrades, against production schedules and bad working conditions. The Workers' Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined by the party leadership as "instruments of counterrevolution." Isn't that absurd for a so-called "working-class" state?

When I describe all that, without the slightest pleasure but with shame and sorrow, to my Western friends, they reply that of course it's a disagreeable situation but that one mustn't say so too openly so as not to "play into the hands of socialism's enemies," and that one must start from "a class position." But what "class" can benefit if people are arrested without trial, if trade unions are enslaved, if all free discussion is suppressed, if socialist countries accuse each other of imperialism, betrayal, revisionism, and invade each other by turns?

If they mean the working class, then that of Czechoslovakia has made it clear that it does not consider the present regime socialist.

That is precisely why you, Angela, and the millions of people who supported you and believe in a more just socialist society with more freedom, can no longer be silent about the violation of human rights in the countries that call themselves "socialist" and by their behavior discredit socialism more than any reactionary propaganda.

That is why I suggest to you and to those who supported you sincerely, not just for easy demagogic propaganda:

1) demand the release of all political prisoners in the world, in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Iran, the United States, and also in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union;

2) protest against the violation of human rights—especially the right to freedom of expression and organization, to strike, to emigrate, to work and to study without discrimination throughout the world;

3) demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

I assure you, Angela, that not only I but many other people are waiting for a reply, or better still for you to act. I don't say that on it depends the fate of our imprisoned comrades and the struggle for freedom and independence of our people. We learned in 1938 that at the moment of foreign aggression we are always alone and must count above all on our own strength. But we should be happy to have you with us, as we have been with you. □

# Permanent inflation-- Symptom of capitalist decline

[The following article appeared in the July 4 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Translation is by Garret Ormiston.]

By Ernest Mandel

Prior to the second world war, inflation usually took the form of an excess issuing of paper money. It corresponded to large budgetary deficits, which the state covered by running the printing presses. It therefore usually went together with political disturbances: wars, foreign occupations, civil wars, accelerated rearming, payment of war reparations, etc.

In the epoch of the decline of capitalism (called by some the epoch of neocapitalism and by others the epoch of state monopoly capitalism), the phenomenon no longer takes chiefly the form of an excess issuing of paper money, but rather of a mushrooming of bank credit, that is, an inflation of checkbook money. Its origins no longer lie only in budgetary deficits or the unproductive spending of the central government. They are rooted in the very functioning of the economy—the efforts of the monopolies to assure themselves sufficient liquidity to be able both to carry through their investment projects and to make possible a rapid turnover of their goods, to "realize surplus value."

It would be useless to attempt to place the main responsibility for inflation on either the monopolies, their state, or the banks.\* These are merely three different aspects of the same complex whole and are inseparably linked to each other. The essential point to understand is that inflation has become institutionalized during the epoch of the decline of capitalism—without permanent inflation, the system could no longer avoid a rapid succession of catastrophic crises of the 1929-1932 type; in short, it could no longer survive, even on a short-term basis.

As a result, the basic cause of inflation is not to be found in expanding military budgets. To be sure, budgetary deficits and the weight of arms expenditures constitute an important source of inflation; but these are neither the only source nor even the main source.

To understand this it is necessary only to look at the inflationary trend in countries like Japan, where military spending represents a much smaller part of the gross national product than in the United States or France. Note must also be taken of the differences in the evolution of the ratio between the public debt and the gross national product on the one hand, and private debt and the gross national product on the other. While the first ratio has diminished by more than half in the United States since the end of the second world war, the second ratio has more than doubled.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that twenty-five years of "neocapitalist prosperity" in the United States (interrupted by six recessions) can be explained in large measure by the extraordinary increase in private debt. In 1946, payments on the private debts of the average American household amounted to six percent of its monthly income; by 1970, these payments reached nearly twenty-five percent of its monthly income. One need not be a great genius to understand that this skyrocketing rate cannot continue forever.

As long as paper currencies were only a monetary symbol based on precious metals, the automatic mechanism of the foreign exchange market and of gold shipments imposed a strict limit on credit. Once currencies are "managed," the limits on credit expansion no longer depend on anything but the policy of the monopolies and their governments. Essentially, the "Keynesian revolution" boils down to this: Put off economic crises that would be too explosive and transform them into more "moderate" recessions by opening wide the flood gates of credit and inflation.

Is this to say that thanks to inflation capitalism has discovered the secret of avoiding serious economic crises for good? No. First of all because inflation fails in its aims when payments on debts end up by reducing, rather than increasing, current spending. Second, "managed currencies" come into conflict with the requirements of international competition, that is, with the logic of private property.

Since each capitalist government applies a credit policy that best corresponds to the interests of its bourgeois class, and since this policy also serves as an instrument of international competition, rates of inflation vary from one imperialist power to another. Under these circumstances, "managed" national currencies are less and less suited to play the role of world currency, of a universally recognized means of exchange and payment.

Each time a country has a rate of inflation greater than that of its principal competitors, the laws of the market take their revenge upon the "management" through a balance of payments deficit, and the expansion of credit then has to be checked. Thus, during the epoch of the decline of capitalism, the classical industrial cycle overlaps into a "credit cycle," of which the dismal "stop-go" policy of the Tory governments in Great Britain has been a typical example. □

\* It clearly proceeds from this analysis that wage increases are a secondary phenomenon that can in no way be said to be a cause of inflation. Assuming that the amount of money in circulation remains stable, an increase in wages would result in a decrease in profits and not at all in inflation.

## Hugo Blanco still in Argentine prison; campaign launched for his release

The Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who was arrested in Buenos Aires on July 12 and held without charge, remains in the city's Villa Devoto prison while the fight to prevent his deportation from Argentina continues. The government order expelling him was issued on July 19, but Blanco is appealing it in the courts.

The law on which the expulsion order is based was promulgated by the military dictatorship that came to power in the June 28, 1966, coup. It provides for deporting within five days any foreigner who is held to be a threat to "national security." It places foreigners in Argentina under a kind of permanent state of siege.

Blanco's lawyer has appealed the deportation order on the grounds that it is arbitrary, since Blanco has done nothing to interfere with social peace, national security, or public order, as the law on aliens stipulates; and on the grounds that banishment constitutes a form of punishment, something the president is explicitly denied the right to impose by the Argentine constitution.

Since his arrival in Argentina on June 12 from his previous place of exile in Mexico, Blanco has limited his pronouncements on politics to Peru. "His words irritated Peru's ambassador," observed the July 26 issue of the weekly *Avanzada Socialista*, published by the Argentine Socialist party (PSA—Partido Socialista Argentino).

"Hugo Blanco is in prison and is going to be deported," the newspaper charged, "because his presence continues to spur the combativity of those whom we are increasingly winning away from the trap of the Great Agreement that the bourgeoisie is setting for us."

"Hugo Blanco is in prison because his words, his life, and his teachings by themselves point to the true path that will lead the people to power and to the building of socialism."

"Hugo Blanco is in prison because

his experiences indicate the genuine path of struggle and because, by pointing up the errors of *foquismo* and guerrilla struggle in isolation from the mass movement through his own experience as an armed fighter, he is helping to strengthen the workers and socialist pole and mass mobilizations as the road to victory for the workers and the exploited."

Following his arrest, Blanco was placed in a tiny cell at the headquar-



Hugo Blanco Militant/Ben Atwood

ters of the DIPA (División de Investigaciones Policiales Antidemocráticas—Division of Police Investigations into Antidemocratic Activities). The light in the cell was left on day and night and Blanco could not even use his handkerchief to cover his eyes without permission from the guards. Later he was transferred to Villa Devoto. Although physical conditions are re-

ported to be better there, *Avanzada Socialista* indicated that Blanco's supporters were not able to see him for more than a week, in spite of the fact that they had been granted permission to visit him freely.

The Argentine Socialist party immediately launched a campaign for the release of Blanco and permission for him to remain in Argentina. The campaign has now taken on new urgency. According to the August 2 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, Blanco will not be allowed to go to Chile if he is deported from Argentina because it borders on Peru. Blanco had indicated that he preferred to remain in Argentina, but that if that was not possible he would choose to go to Chile.

The same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* reported that more than one hundred working-class leaders, intellectuals, and artists have backed the defense effort. Among these it listed the following: Alicia Moreau de Justo and Jorge Selser (right-wing Partido Socialista Popular—Popular Socialist party); Jorge Mackariz (Frente de Izquierda Popular—Front of the Popular Left); Luis Segovia (Unión del Pueblo Argentino—Union of the Argentine People); Norma Kennedy (Partido Justicialista—Justicialista party, the Peronist party); Felipe Alberti and Luis Narice (Light and Power Union of Córdoba); Carlos Mugica (a priest).

As a sign of the mounting international support, *Avanzada Socialista* noted the campaign has received the backing of two Uruguayan deputies, Zelmar Michelini and Alberto Foro, as well as the periodicals *Marcha*, *El Oriental*, and *Tendencia Revolucionaria*.

On August 7, Argentina's trade-union federation, the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor), also called on the government to allow Blanco to stay in Argentina. □

## Achtung!

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### El Salvador

## Army invades universities, occupies trade-union headquarters

After being in power for less than a month, the government of Colonel Arturo Molina in El Salvador ordered the army to invade the university premises in the capital of San Salvador and in the cities of San Miguel and Santa Ana. Tanks were used in the operation July 19. Dozens of students, a large number of professors, the university rector, vice rector, and secretary general, the university's counsel, and the head of the Faculty of Humanities and Sciences were seized.

"The intervention of the army into the university took place minutes after the Legislative Assembly, which is controlled by the ruling party, issued a decree stating its agreement that the university authorities should be dismissed," reported the Managua, Nicaragua, daily *La Prensa* July 21.

The decree followed a decision by the Supreme Court of Justice in favor of a challenge to the constitutionality

of the election of the university authorities last year. According to the July 28 issue of the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, the court also charged the authorities with "promoting social instability and Communist indoctrination."

Teaching functions were suspended for approximately two months.

One of the worst "crimes" of the university leadership, Colonel Molina stated on radio and television, was allegedly to have used "state money" to publish material that "insults free enterprise." According to *Bohemia*, he also accused the imprisoned professors of "distributing training manuals on urban guerrilla warfare."

The day after troops invaded the university, the army occupied several trade-union headquarters, including that of the left-leaning Federación Unitaria Sindical (United Trade-Union Federation). Salvadorian newspapers provided few details. The official gov-

ernment explanation for the action was that it was dealing with a "Communist conspiracy."

The violation of university autonomy, which the ruling junta has stated that it will no longer guarantee, sparked a sharp reaction in intellectual circles. Eight students took over a radio station in an unsuccessful attempt to broadcast a denunciation of the attack against university autonomy. In some cases, students barricaded themselves inside university buildings.

The well-orchestrated invasion of the university "crushed a process of democratic reforms within education that would make study accessible to popular sectors by opposing the age-old discrimination that is economic in origin," observed *Bohemia*. "A considerable broadening of the registration in the Faculty of Medicine—traditionally the exclusive reserve of the oligarchy—had already been achieved along these lines." □



# THE CHICANO SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT?

published by McGovern in the May 22, 1972, *Wall Street Journal*, he stated that "The strength of the American economy is due mainly to the dynamic growth of the private sector led by corporations and other businesses. It is sound public policy to create the conditions for business to function effectively."

The question is not whether McGovern as an individual will refrain from eating boycotted lettuce but whether he favors making the kind of fundamental changes in this society that are necessary to improve the conditions faced by most Chicanos.

War, racism, economic exploitation, and the oppression of women are inherent features of capitalism. McGovern, since he supports capitalism, must inevitably end up supporting the results of that system.

But McGovern uses the rhetoric of many of the movements for social change, and for good reason. His aim is to ride to the White House on the wave of social discontent that has shaken this country in the last few years. He is attempting to direct all the energy from these movements, including the Chicano movement, into support for the very system that oppresses us, through support to the Democratic Party.

R.W. Apple, writing in the May 5

*New York Times*, explained this strategy very graphically. "The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process, thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution." And McGovern's campaign manager, Gary Hart, was even more candid when he told the *New York Times Magazine*, "Our strategy all along was to co-opt the left."

Most symbolic of McGovern's entire strategy was his visit not only to Chávez's bedside but to that of Alabama Governor George Wallace. How can he befriend Wallace and be Chávez's friend too?

When there is a strike, you cannot support both the worker and the *patrón*. But McGovern's strategy is simple. The *patrón* supplies most of the money, and the workers supply most of the votes. Who do you think he'll owe his allegiance to?

## Independent political action

A growing number of Chicanos, however, have begun to see through the two-party con game. Because of the growing disenchantment of La Raza with both the Democratic and Republican parties, we have witnessed the emergence of La Raza Unida parties, first in Texas, then in Colorado, California, and Arizona, and recently

in New Mexico.

The launching of independent Chicano political parties was the result of some very real and practical considerations. First of all, La Raza has not benefited in any fundamental way from its support to the Democratic Party. Nor has the Republican Party produced on the campaign promises made to "improve the lot of the Spanish speaking."

Inferior education, racist hiring practices, over-crowded and dilapidated housing, and malnutrition is still the lot of La Raza. And things are getting worse not better. The per capita income for Chicano workers in 1959 was 40 percent that of Anglo workers. Since then, the income gap between Anglos and Chicanos has widened. In Texas 52 percent of Chicano families live in poverty; in New Mexico, 42 percent; 35 percent in Colorado; 31 percent in Arizona; and 19 percent in California.

When Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales wrote into the *Plan de Aztlán* in 1969 that "political liberation can only come through independent action on our part, since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough," he was not theorizing but talking from practical experience. Gonzales was the first Chicano district captain of the Democratic Party in the history of Denver. In 1960 he was the Colorado coordinator of the "Viva Kennedy" committee, which helped turn out the highest Democratic vote in the state's history.

By working within the Democratic Party—as many are still advocating that we do today—Gonzales realized that although he might improve his own personal career, the masses of Chicanos would continue suffering the same degradation, exploitation, and oppression.

Likewise it was the practical experience of South Texas politics that

led José Angel Gutiérrez to the conclusion that "If you want to implement and see democracy in action—the will of the majority—you are not going to do it in the Democratic Party. You can only do it through a Chicano Party."

What then has been the experience of the young, still relatively small Raza Unida Party formations?

If we judge success only by electoral victories, the parties have been successful only in a few small towns in South Texas where La Raza constitutes a majority. If, however, we look at the impact La Raza Unida parties have had on local, state, and national politics in places like Colorado, California, and Texas, we see a different picture.

In Colorado, although the RUP has not won any elections, it has become a factor in the politics of that state. Through election campaigns, the Colorado Raza Unida Party has been able to reach thousands of Chicanos, as well as Blacks and sympathetic Anglos, explaining the plight of Chicanos and organizing La Raza to fight for change.

The Raul Ruiz campaign in the fall of 1971 in Los Angeles resulted in the defeat of a liberal Chicano Democrat, Richard Alatorre, in a district that was registered 2-to-1 Democrat. This event shook up politicians of both capitalist parties and brought the ideas of the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party to the attention of thousands of Chicanos.

In Texas, where the Raza Unida Party is on the statewide ballot with a full slate of candidates, La Raza has become a central and important campaign issue. Finding some way to divert or defuse the independent direction of the Texas Raza Unida Party has become a serious preoccupation of not only the state Democratic Party but of the national committee of the Democratic Party as well.

Continued on page 14

# FOE OF LA RAZA?

bottling plant and a vegetation dehydration plant in the predominantly Chicano town. According to the July 7 *El Sol de Texas*, a Crystal City delegation has been invited to Mexico to continue the discussions.

One cannot help but comment on the hypocrisy of Echeverría's gestures. Foreign aid to Crystal City when only 60 miles away on the Mexican side of the border, beggars roam the streets and thousands suffer from chronic unemployment and hunger?

But even more incredible are statements by Echeverría that he is sympathetic to La Raza Unida Party. Unfortunately some RUP activists have taken this for good coin. How can all this be when Mexico is ruled by one party, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary Party)? The PRI has not lost an "election" in more than 30 years. It brutally suppresses any serious electoral opposition, not to mention the wholesale murder of students, workers, and *campesinos* who organize against the oppressive conditions in Mexico.

When Echeverría visited Los Angeles he was also met by demonstrators. CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo), an organization for the defense of the rights of undocumented Raza workers, along with other Chicano and radical groups, sponsored a picket line of 300 outside the posh Century Plaza Hotel in Beverly Hills. Among the protesters were supporters of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Inside, the Mexican president was

being feted by California Governor Ronald Reagan and Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty while the U.S. Marine band played "From the Halls of Montezuma" (the Marine Hymn inspired by the U.S. occupation of Mexico City in 1847). Romana Bañuelos, the U.S. Treasurer who serves as Chicana window-dressing for the Nixon administration, was present, as were dozens of other "prominent" Spanish-speaking people.

Echeverría, however, did not find it possible to get this demonstration called off nor to meet with Chicano movement leaders. Nacho Uribe, a leader of CASA, told *The Militant* that when an envoy of Echeverría approached him to participate in the banquet honoring the Mexican president, he calmly replied, "Thank you, but we don't dine with the murderer of students."

CASA leader Bert Corona stated later in an interview with *The Militant* that Echeverría was hoping to "get the blessing of liberal and radical dissident groups and the Chicano movement, using the favorable reception that he would get to offset the criticism that is growing and mounting in Mexico about his inhuman, undemocratic and oppressive, repressive policies."

Corona went on to state, "Our feeling was that there was absolutely no point in meeting with Echeverría because we knew what the real purpose of his trip was. We knew that he was a lackey for American imperialism in Mexico and he was a lackey for the Nixon administration in this country and that he himself was trying to strengthen or to expand his lackey role.

"So how could we go to him for any assistance in our struggle for liberation? It would be like going to the overseer, if you were a slave, and asking the overseer to set you free. Some people went and think that they got something out of him. My feeling is that history will prove to them that they actually got nothing."

What did Echeverría get from the Chicano leaders he met with? Gutiérrez's statements in favor of having a cultural and educational exchange and of trying to improve conditions for Chicanos and *mexicanos* are admirable. However, subordinating criticism of Echeverría in exchange for books, medical aid, and even economic assistance—although greatly needed by Chicanos—can only serve to disorient La Raza here as to who our enemies really are.

But more important, such political concessions on the part of Chicano leaders are a great disservice to the Mexican masses struggling against the oppressive capitalist regime in Mexico.

Without a doubt Echeverría will attempt to get maximum mileage out of such "negotiations" in an attempt to

disorient those in Mexico who look to Chicanos here as allies in a common struggle.

This has already been borne out by articles that appeared in the July 5 mass-circulation Mexican magazine *Siempre*. In one article, Echeverría himself explained away the demonstrators that met him by stating that they were "badly informed in regard to what is happening in Mexico, and they are badly informed as to their opportunities there [in the U.S.]." And he added, "We encouraged them. We spoke with their representatives."

In this same issue, in a commentary by Salvador Barragan Camacho, the point was made to the Mexican left and the whole nation that "In these times in which in Mexico pseudoleft groups mistakenly resort to violence to make themselves heard, the presence of Luis Echeverría in the highest office is felt even when he finds himself far from the fatherland, and his figure is projected before the eyes of the world as an authentic defender of the humble and as a standard-bearer of equality and justice. . . ."



Echeverría and Nixon

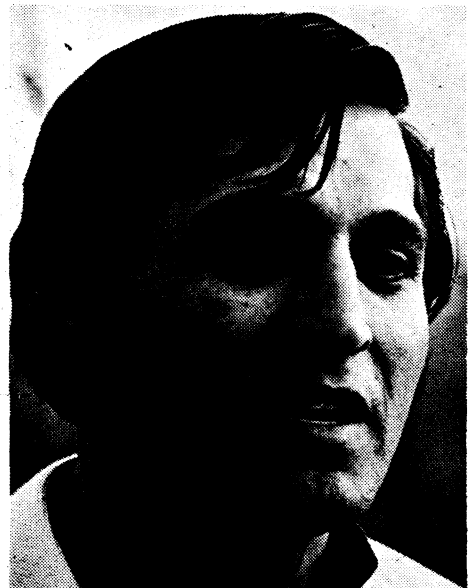
# Tex. RUP: Muniz campaign makes impact

By TANK BARRERA

HOUSTON, Aug. 25—Certification for ballot status and a vigorous campaign for governor by Ramsey Muñiz were two of the high points for Texas Raza Unida Party activists this summer.

In a three-week period the independent Chicano party gathered 25,000 signatures of registered voters who had not voted in the primaries to comply with the undemocratic Texas election code.

Muñiz has toured throughout Texas.



Ramsey Muñiz

Militant/Howard Petrick

He has supported various struggles by Chicano students and workers. For example, last spring he joined striking high school students in Robstown who were protesting the rotten conditions and lack of proper facilities in the school.

More recently, while on tour in El Paso, Muñiz joined the picket lines of striking Raza workers at the Farah Clothing Manufacturing Plant. He was supporting the strikers' boycott of stores carrying Farah products. Later, he spoke to a mass meeting of the strikers.

Support for the Raza Unida campaign has come from many sources. A number of officials of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), a very moderate civil-rights group, have endorsed Muñiz. Tony Bonilla, state director of LULAC, not only gave his endorsement but donated \$1,000. Other endorsers include State Representative Paul Moreno and leaders of many chapters of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) and MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization)—Chicano student groups.

Since the Democratic candidate for governor is Dolph Briscoe, a millionaire rancher who supported Wallace at the Democratic national convention, there are more Texans than usual looking for an alternative to the candidates of the two capitalist parties. An example of this potential for support was recently reported by Muñiz.

He said he received a phone call from a group of Black Houstonians who had been at the Democratic convention. Their response to Briscoe's support for Wallace was: "From now on, it's Blacks for Muñiz."

In a step away from an independent course, Muñiz recently told the news media in Houston that he would endorse Democratic presidential hopeful George McGovern if McGovern

would endorse him. He said he didn't think it was very likely that McGovern would endorse him.

The Chicano party is running a full slate of candidates for state offices and many on a city and county level, particularly in South Texas where Chicanos are a majority.

## Colorado Raza Unida fields slate

By AL BALDIVIA

GREELEY, Colo.—The Colorado Raza Unida Party state convention held here Aug. 5 approved a party platform and announced candidates for the November elections. About 150 people from all over the state attended.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, state chairman of the Chicano party, gave the keynote address. He described the Republican and Democratic parties as "one monster with two heads." He went on to condemn the policies and actions of the two capitalist parties and stressed the need for Chicanos to organize independently of both parties.

A platform was unanimously adopted after a very democratic discussion. The platform deals with the problems facing La Raza in Colorado and throughout Aztlán. The introduction to the platform asserts that "It is the right, responsibility, and obligation of Chicanos, urban and rural, to seek and gain control of their lives



Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales speaking at Chicano antiwar rally.

ElGallo

and communities—politically, economically, educationally, and socially."

The platform demands an immediate end to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. It calls for "a free, independent Puerto Rico, and for an end to all U.S. military and economic intervention in Latin America."

The complete independence of the

Raza Unida Party and its opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties are reaffirmed in the platform. Demands were formulated in behalf of the farm workers, undocumented workers, students, and prisoners.

The following candidates were announced: José Calderón and Maria Arellano for Weld County commissioners, José Muñiz for state house in District 3 (Denver), Emilia Alvarado for state house in District 8 (Denver), Tina Sánchez for state house in District 48 (Greeley), Carlos Gonzales for state house in District 50 (Weld County), Ron Martínez for state senate in District 50 (Greeley), and Florencio Grando for University of Colorado Board of Regents.

## N. Calif. RUP wins election suit

SAN FRANCISCO — An important partial victory has been won in a suit by La Raza Unida Party (LRUP). The suit involves LRUP candidate Onofre Antonio Abarca in the 13th assembly district in Alameda County, Calif. Although the Chicano party had registered more than 20,000 members in California by January of this year, the state's reactionary election laws deny it ballot status.

In an attempt to qualify as an independent candidate, Abarca, represented by Legal Aid Society attorney Larry Baskin, filed suit challenging the procedure for putting independents on the ballot. Only seven candidates have ever met these highly restrictive requirements, which include signatures of at least five percent but no more than six percent of the last vote for that office (Abarca would have had to collect at least 5,157, but could not turn in more than 6,190). Signatures must be gathered in the 24 days from Aug. 15 to Sept. 7; no one may sign who voted in the primary; and the candidate may not have voted in the primary or been affiliated with any party in the previous year.

Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian declared that "the California restrictions are realistically 'suffocating' and make it impossible for the new voices 'struggling for their place' to work directly through the ballot process." He removed all restrictions on Abarca except the minimum signature requirement and the Sept. 7 deadline for submitting the signatures.

However, since the decision came on Aug. 4, it still would have meant collecting more than 5,000 signatures in only one month. Although the RUP felt it would be unable to complete the effort and withdrew from the race, this court decision marks an important precedent in the long fight against the most restrictive election law in the country.

## ...Chicanos

Continued from page 13

More Chicanos were present—and with more fanfare—at the Democratic Party national convention than at any other convention in its history. Out of the convention came a commission headed by Texas State Senator Joe Bernal and U.S. Congressman Herman Badillo of New York to get out the Chicano and Puerto Rican vote for McGovern.

It is the threat posed by the independent example of the Raza Unida parties that has forced the Democratic Party to do some face-lifting and at least promise to improve things.

### Promises, promises

But just as quickly as they make promises, they will renege on them if given the opportunity. Johnson promised peace before the elections and gave us more war. Nixon promised to bring peace and then expanded the war. And McGovern is promising even more. But his first commitment is to serve the interests of the capitalist ruling class whose interests the Democratic Party serves.

Gutiérrez's proposal that we throw support to McGovern or even Nixon if he "meets half of our demands before November . . . and then wait [until after the elections] and see the other half of [the] demands met," would not promote the interests of La Raza. The capitalist ruling class is not particular about which of their two parties we vote for—as long as we vote for one of the two.

Rather than strengthening our bargaining power, voting for either party lessens the threat that an independent Chicano political party poses to the two-party system, and thus weakens the pressure we might exert for concessions.

Even more important, such an action would seriously miseducate our people about the nature of the two capitalist parties and strengthen their illusions that the road to liberation lies in looking to one or another section of our oppressors for salvation.

Instead, we should tell the masses of our people that the only way we are going to bring about either immediate reforms or fundamental change is to rely on our own power—a power built through mobilizing our people in struggle against every manifestation of the oppression we suffer. It is precisely through continually pointing out that neither Democrats nor Republicans can be trusted or depended upon to represent our interests and by engaging in struggles to control our own communities that fundamental changes will be brought about.

If Chicanos stopped voting for the Democratic Party, it would be defeated in several states. This would weaken the Democratic Party and force potential allies of La Raza—such as Black people and the labor movement—to reconsider their strategy of looking for reforms through working within that party. A massive Raza Unida Party would be a living example that would help inspire a political break from the Democratic Party by Blacks and labor. That would spell the end of that party and the two-party system.

Such developments would strengthen the oppressed and weaken the capitalists. Overturning this rotten system and replacing it with one in which human rights would supersede property rights would present itself as a serious possibility.

So whether we're talking about immediate reforms or the prospect of fundamental change, the most effective strategy is building our own independent power. The local and state campaigns of the Raza Unida parties point the way forward.



"DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES. The only difference between these two parties is the spelling. The only thing the Democratic Party has done for our people is to deceive them and use our vote during election time. . . . We must destroy the myth of the Democratic Party and its supposed relevance to our people." From the platform of Raul Ruiz, RUP candidate for the California assembly.



# Atlanta Black workers in 'wildcat' strike

By LYNN HENDERSON

ATLANTA — Following the lead of predominately Black Sears and Roebuck workers who won a major strike here last month, employees of Atlanta's huge Mead packaging plant walked off the job Aug. 16. They shut down the second and third shifts completely and reduced the first shift to a partial operation using a small number of scabs and supervisory personnel.

Despite the fact that Mead obtained an injunction against the strike almost immediately, the predominately Black work force has maintained a spirited around-the-clock picket line.

The demands of the strikers at Mead, which employs more than 1,400 workers in Atlanta, center on working and health conditions in the plant, speedup, racial discrimination, "compulsory" overtime, and inadequate medical and pension programs.

The incident that apparently sparked the strike was the collapse of a woman worker, suffering from anemia, who was working "compulsory" overtime. The employee had been ordered by her physician to limit herself to a 40-hour week, but under the threats and harassment of plant supervisors, many employees have to

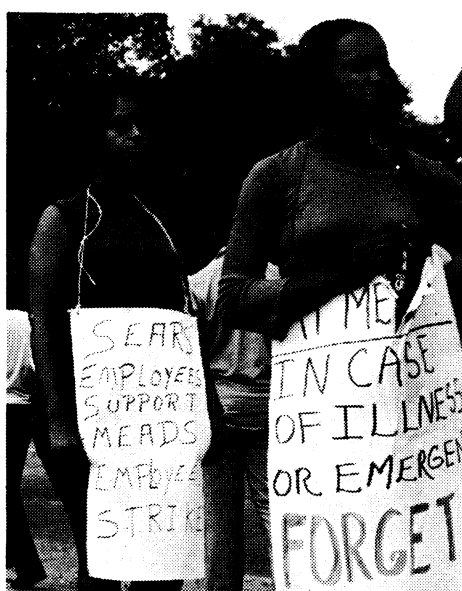
put in as many as 60 hours a week or risk losing their jobs.

The work force in the plant is approximately 70 percent Black, and racial slurs and harassment by the supervisory personnel is another major factor in the strike. Strikers charge that health conditions, in what appears from the outside to be an ultra-modern plant, are intolerable. Conditions throughout the plant and especially in the gluing department are described by strikers as "unbelievable."

These complaints are underscored by the recent forced retirement of an employee who contracted emphysema from working in the plant. After working at Mead for 20 years, the worker who was forced to retire received a measly \$35 a month allotment. He died from his condition shortly after "retiring."

The strike does not have the support of the local union and has been characterized as a wildcat. The Atlanta Printing Specialties and Paper Products Local 527 and its international, the International Printing Pressmen, AFL-CIO, have refused to sanction the strike.

The spokesman for the strikers, Sherman Miller, is a 21-year-old Black



Militant



Militant

Striking workers and supporters picket Mead packaging plant in Atlanta

worker who took the initiative to call a mass meeting of Mead employees Aug. 13. That meeting set up the Mead Caucus of Rank and File Workers.

Miller told *The Militant*: "The union has neglected its responsibilities. It has consistently ignored the rights and demands of the workers and played a sweetheart role in the plant. The union

has lost the right to represent us — and doesn't represent us. That's proved by the fact that 80 percent of the workers are staying off the job despite demands from both the bosses and the union that we return."

One of the strikers' demands is that the present officers of the union resign  
*Continued on page 22*

# Puerto Ricans demand independence at UN

By RENE TORRES

NEW YORK, Aug. 23 — Three thousand five-hundred young Puerto Rican militants marched from 43 Street to 47 Street and rallied at the United Nations Plaza on Aug. 18, demanding independence for Puerto Rico.

The spirit of the demonstration was indicated by a variety of militant chants shouted in unison: "A Vietnam yo no voy, porque yanqui yo no soy" [To Vietnam I'm not going, because I'm not a Yankee]; "Si los yanquis no se van, en Boricua moriran" [If the Yankees don't leave, in Puerto Rico they will die].

The action was called by a coalition of pro-independence organizations to coincide with the discussion of the colonial status of Puerto Rico by the United Nations committee on colonialism. This committee, composed of 24 member-nations and headed by Tanzania, is now considering whether to discuss the question of placing Puerto Rico on its list of colonial territories.

In the past, attempts to have Puerto Rico's colonial status reviewed have been blocked by a U.S. veto on the grounds that in 1953 the UN

declared Puerto Rico a "free associated state" of the United States.

Among those addressing the rally was a delegation of *independentista* leaders from Puerto Rico, including Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Mari Bras referred to the UN committee as "the last door to a peaceful transition to an independent Puerto Rico . . . independence is inevitable."

Other speakers from Puerto Rico were Pedro Grant, president of the Movimiento Obrero Unido [United Labor Movement], and Rubén Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. James Forman of the Black Workers Congress, Lorraine Leong of I Wor Quen, Federico Lora of El Comité, and Gloria Fontánez of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (formerly the Young Lords Party) also spoke.

Adding to the enthusiasm of the rally was entertainment by a Puerto Rican group called El Grupo Taone — El Topo, Ray Brown, Pepe and Flora and Andrés Jiménez — better known among Puerto Ricans as "El Jibaro."

This group inspired the demonstrators to sing the songs of a free Puerto Rico, songs which have inspired the cry of liberty from generation to generation of Puerto Ricans.

Reflecting the radicalization among Puerto Ricans both here and on the island were hundreds of Puerto Rican and nationalist flags, red banners, and posters of Puerto Rican patriots.

The pro-independence movement sees the UN discussion on the status of Puerto Rico as a means to publicize the struggle against U.S. domination of the island. Cuba's ambassador to the UN, Ricardo Alarcón Quesada, submitted the original resolution to the committee. The representatives from Ecuador, China, USSR, Bulgaria, Syria, Iraq, and Czechoslovakia have spoken in favor of the resolution.

AUG. 28 — The committee on colonialism voted today to recognize the "inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence." The vote was 12 to 0 with 10 abstentions. Supporters of Puerto Rican independence regard the decision as an important victory.



Claridad/Bambi Belaval

Demonstration at UN Aug. 18

# British workers win gains in dock strike

By TONY THOMAS

AUG. 22 — British longshore workers have returned to work after a month-long strike following a settlement between union and industry officials reached Aug. 16.

The key demands of the strike centered on job security. British longshoremen face large-scale unemployment because of containerization and automation, problems also faced by U.S. longshoremen who went out on strike last year.

The strike was called in response to the imprisoning of five union militants on July 21. This deepened solidarity between the longshoremen and truckers unions who had been involved in a jurisdictional battle over the right to handle containers.

Opposition to this attack mushroomed within the British working

class. Bus drivers, miners, printers, airport workers, engineers, and other workers either struck or threatened to strike in solidarity with the longshoremen. The Trades Union Congress, the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO, scheduled a meeting to discuss a general strike on July 31 if the longshoremen were not freed.

On July 27, delegates from all British ports turned down a back-to-work plan supported by Transport and General Workers Union General Secretary Jack Jones. This plan included increasing dock jobs and higher severance pay. Militant opponents of the Jones leadership attacked the settlement because it had insufficient guarantees of job security. The delegates voted the settlement down, deciding to continue the strike by a 38 to 28 margin with 18 abstentions.

The strike remained strong throughout August, locking hundreds of ships in British harbors and costing big business hundreds of millions of pounds. The British government was unable to use emergency antistrike legislation because it feared another upsurge in defense of the dock workers.

On Aug. 16, Jones and the employers reached a new settlement with strengthened provisions on job security. According to the Aug. 17 *New York Times*, this agreement includes "guarantees that every man who is now registered as a dock worker will be assigned to an employer and given full pay whether there is work for him or not. If an employer goes out of business, his workers will be apportioned among the remaining employers in the port." In addition, the settlement provided for severance pay of

up to \$10,000 for workers voluntarily leaving the industry.

Militant dock workers who had led the opposition to the previous agreement also opposed this settlement. They claimed that it did not give them "assurance that the private wharves and small ports that are taking container and other traffic away from the big ports would be covered by union agreements." In Jones's settlement these points would be left to future discussion between the unions and the employers.

On Aug. 16, a meeting of union delegates approved the settlement.

Opponents of the settlement associated with the National Port Shop Stewards Committee—leaders of the opposition to the July 27 settlement—physically attacked the meeting. Ac-

*Continued on page 22*

# Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions held Aug. 5-9

By DAN ROSENSHINE

Thousands of activists in more than 20 cities across the United States participated in antiwar actions between Aug. 5 and 9 to commemorate the 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The actions were called by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, NPAC and SMC also issued a joint call for international actions together with GENSUIKEN (the Japan Congress Against A and H Bombs).

A common theme of the actions was the comparison between the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and that caused today by U.S. bombing in Indochina. The weekly tonnage of U.S. bombing over Vietnam now equals many times the tonnage dropped on Hiroshima.

● The Aug. 5 New York action began with a picket line in Duffy Square, followed by a march to the Bandshell in Central Park. Five to six hundred people participated.

The speakers at the New York rally included Katherine Sojourner, a national coordinator of NPAC; Eldon Clingan, the minority leader of the New York City Council; Ted Glick of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; B. R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 19th C.D.; and José Stevens, Communist Party candidate in the 19th C.D. Representatives of the Irish Republican Clubs, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and the People's Party also spoke.

● An Aug. 5 action of 400 in San Francisco began with a commemoration ceremony for the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki held at the Japanese Trade Center Peace Pagoda. About 100 Asian-Americans participated, and representatives of the Japanese-American community addressed the ceremony. A survivor of the Hiroshima blast chaired the gathering.

A march and rally followed the commemoration. Hanna Takashigi of the Student Mobilization Committee and Kathryn Pon of the Northern California Peace Action Coalition were among the rally speakers.

The next day another antiwar action, initiated by the Bay Area Asian Coalition Against the War, was held in San Francisco. Four hundred people participated, about one-half of them Asian-Americans. A rally at the Japan Trade Center Peace Pagoda was followed by a march to the Presidio Army base protesting the use of atomic weaponry and chemical and biological weapons against Asians.

● The Washington (D.C.) Area Peace Action Coalition sponsored a day-long antiwar exhibition on Aug. 5 with the theme "Vietnam is Today's Hiroshima." More than 20 organiza-

tions set up antiwar exhibits, which were viewed by 2,000 people throughout the day.

An evening rally and candlelight procession of more than 300 to protest the bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam followed the exhibition.

● The Detroit Coalition to End the War Now sponsored an Aug. 9 "Hearing on the Air War" attended by more than 300. The speakers included Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers and a national coordinator of Labor for Peace, and professor E. W. Pfeiffer, author of the recent *Scientific American* article "The Cratering of Vietnam."

● A downtown speak-out in Pittsburgh drew 400 people on Aug. 7. Jerry Gordon, NPAC coordinator, and Alex Knopp, an antiwar activist who recently surveyed the destruction in North Vietnam, were among the speakers.

● Four hundred and fifty people participated in an Aug. 5 night-time march and rally in Hyannisport, Mass. Fred Lovgren, national SMC coordinator, spoke at the rally.

● The Houston Peace Action Coalition held an Aug. 6 rally attended by more than 200. The speakers included two participants in the Freeport Dow Chemical strike, who revealed that Dow is producing war gas in Freeport through a dummy corporation.

● In Minnesota a four-day series of activities was held in the Twin Cities by the ad hoc Hiroshima Week Committee. The activities included an Aug. 5 march of 125 and an Aug. 8 Nagasaki memorial held in St. Paul and addressed by the city's mayor.

● Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati each had antiwar actions of 250. Other actions were held in Atlanta, St. Louis, Cleveland, Denver, Portland, Tucson, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Providence, and Willimantic, Conn.

● In Japan, several hundred Tokyo demonstrators tried to block the shipment of U.S. tanks to Vietnam on Aug. 5. More than 40,000 people gathered in Hiroshima on Aug. 6 to commemorate the 1945 bombing.

● Actions were also held in Vancouver, Canada, and Glasgow, Scotland.

The Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions marked the beginning phase of preparations for the fall actions called by the recent Los Angeles conference of the National Peace Action Coalition. The fall actions, scheduled for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18, will demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Initial material for the fall actions — posters, buttons, stickers, and brochures — is now available from NPAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011.

# Ellsberg trial halted for wiretap review

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — A petition was filed with the U.S. Supreme Court Aug. 23 to review an admission of government wiretapping involving the defense team of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, defendants in the Pentagon papers case.

The trial of Ellsberg and Russo was halted July 29 by Supreme Court Justice William Douglas and on Aug. 5 the full court agreed it would review the issue during its session that begins in October. The court rejected a government petition to hold an immediate special session on the matter.

Defense attorneys Leonard Boudin and Leonard Weinglass won a halt to the trial after the presiding federal judge, Matt Byrne, inadvertently blurted out that the government had secretly informed him that it had tapped a phone conversation involving a member of the Ellsberg-Russo defense team.

The decision to suspend the trial came immediately after the jury was selected in the case. Judge Byrne then refused to dismiss the jury that is now supposedly expected to keep itself uninformed about the case until the trial resumes sometime this winter.

Revelation of the government wiretap came in response to a defense motion for disclosure of electronic surveillance. In an initial brief, the government said there was none. However, in a subsequent brief it added, "except as may hereafter be disclosed to the Court *in camera* [in secret]."

In the course of defense objection that this was purposefully vague, Judge Byrne apparently slipped and disclosed that the government had in fact already secretly informed him of one case of such surveillance. Astonishingly, he has refused to disclose the facts about it because it allegedly involved a "foreign intelligence installation."

He said that the bugged conversation involved one of the attorneys or defense consultants. The defense, Judge Byrne insisted, must simply take his word for it that the conversation recorded by the Justice Department had no relation to the case and therefore did not violate the constitutionality guaranteed attorney-client privilege of private communication.

When the trial was halted, the defense attorneys sought unsuccessfully to have the jury discharged. They presented a motion that Boudin said "may be a first." If the judge would discharge the present jury, the defense

said, they would waive their right at the time of selection of a second jury to seek dismissal of the case on grounds of double jeopardy.

The defendants, they said, are not seeking victory on technical grounds but "want to have a trial on the merits of the issues."

Ellsberg, who had been a Pentagon adviser on Vietnam, decided the Pentagon papers should be disclosed to the American people after he came to



Daniel Ellsberg

realize how they were being duped about the true nature of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

After publication of the papers in the summer of 1971 in the *New York Times* and elsewhere created a political furor, Ellsberg and Russo were indicted on charges of conspiracy, theft of government "property," and violation of the Espionage Act.

Judge Byrne asserted that since the trial had been suspended by the Supreme Court he could not act on the motion to dismiss the jury.

According to a special report of the Pentagon Papers Peace Project, Judge Byrne then instructed the jury as follows:

"If you happen to see or hear anything relating to the trial on radio or TV, turn it off or walk out of the room. Have someone in your family go through the newspaper each day and clip out all articles relating to the trial. . . . You may go now until further notice."

## NPAC meet plans fall actions; antiwar education stressed

PHILADELPHIA — The national steering committee of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) met here on Aug. 27 and discussed plans for nationwide antiwar protests this fall.

Picket lines of federal buildings are scheduled for Oct. 26, followed by mass demonstrations set for Nov. 18. The actions were called at the recent NPAC national conference in Los Angeles.

The weekend meeting was attended by more than 100 people from local antiwar groups.

A major report was given by James Lafferty, an NPAC coordinator, who stressed the need for educating the

American people about the murderous U.S. bombing being carried out in Indochina.

A task force was established to coordinate educational activity on a national level.

The steering committee issued a statement condemning the federal "conspiracy" indictments against six leaders of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War involved in organizing antiwar actions at the Republican convention.

The next NPAC national steering committee meeting is scheduled for Boston on Oct. 8. An expanded national steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee is slated for Boston on Oct. 7.



Chicago antiwar action, Aug. 5

Militant/Scott Apton



# GOP convention—Nixon puts on slick show

By CAROLINE LUND

One of the most prominent themes of the Republican national convention was expressed by Representative Gerald Ford (R-Mich.) when he said the reelection of Richard Nixon to the presidency would mean "the greatest opportunity for peace in the history of mankind."

Nixon, the peacemaker! The double-speak was so outrageous that even prominent columnists in the capitalist newspapers couldn't stomach it. Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* called it "obscene."

Anyone listening to the convention would not get an inkling that an actual war continues in Southeast Asia. The crude propaganda film shown, describing Nixon's four years in office, made no mention of his escalation of the war and invasion of Cambodia in May of 1970, nor of the massive protest by the American people in response to this move.

In his Aug. 22 and 28 columns, Anthony Lewis notes that, far from being a "peacemaker," Nixon has "intensified American destruction of the shattered societies of Indochina." In three and a half years, Nixon has dropped more bombs on Indochina than Lyndon Johnson did in four years. Twice as many B-52s are now being used than ever before. The Nixon administration is accountable for more than one-third of American casualties in the war—not to mention the much greater Vietnamese casualties.

How could Nixon be so smug and

self-confident in projecting himself as a "peace candidate" while he rains bombs on Indochina? Only four months ago he had to go on TV, sweating and defensive, to try to justify to the American people his decision to mine and blockade North Vietnam. News commentators pointed to the risk of a nuclear confrontation, and many young people were ready for protests.

But the worldwide revulsion at Nixon's mining and bombing was dealt a severe blow by the Moscow summit. The Kremlin bureaucrats—who claim to be the best defenders of the Vietnamese—welcomed Nixon to "talk peace" rather than condemning his genocidal war policy. The Peking and Moscow bureaucrats thus aided Nixon in his election-year attempt to fool the world's people and the American people that he is trying to bring about peace.

In addition to appealing demagogically to the desire of the American people for an end to the Vietnam war, the Republican strategists employed other lies, as well as concessions, in their attempt to cast as wide a vote-catching net as possible.

As an overture toward the labor vote, the Republican platform praises the record of the trade unions and omits supporting right-to-work laws, as the 1968 platform did.

The Republicans adopted a plank on women's rights for the first time. It contains support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as well as for "the development of publicly

or privately run, voluntary, comprehensive, quality day-care services, locally controlled but federally assisted, with the requirement that the recipients of these services will pay their fair share of the costs according to their ability." The right of women to abortion, however, was not even raised in the convention.

Appealing to youth, the Republican platform calls for lowering the age of majority to 18 for all purposes.

Trying to cash in on discontent over economic problems, the Republicans tried to assert that the wage controls were cutting down inflation and Nixon's policies were reducing unemployment. Even the *New York Times*, a mouthpiece for a section of the ruling class, felt the Republican demagoguery regarding the economy was too crude to let pass. The *Times* pointed out editorially Aug. 22 that unemployment under Nixon has risen from 3.2 percent in 1969 to just under 6 percent for the past months, and that consumer prices continue to rise.

The one section of the population that didn't receive even demagogic or token concessions from the Republicans were the Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities. Rather, the Republicans appealed to racist sentiments by expressly opposing busing to achieve equal education for Black children; opposing hiring quotas to assure Blacks the right to some good jobs; and opposing housing desegregation projects.

While the Democrats attempted to attract new supporters to capitalist pol-

itics by cultivating the image of an open, democratic organization, the Republicans tried to do the same thing by eliminating any political controversy and staging their convention for television viewers. The "Richard

## Lettuce-eaters

"Elephants like lettuce." That was the message on huge buttons worn by delegates at the Republican national convention to express their opposition to the lettuce boycott called by the United Farm Workers Union. During the Republican convention in Miami Beach, California Governor Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz held a news conference to denounce the boycott. Butz urged Americans to "eat all the lettuce you want."

Reagan and Butz felt compelled to hold the news conference, they said, because the Democratic convention last month had given a "false impression" of overwhelming support for the boycott.

Nixon Show," as one television commentator referred to the convention, was replete with maudlin films, a script for the entire convention that even included the "spontaneous" ap-

Continued on page 22

# 1,200 arrested in Miami Beach protests

By LAURA MILLER

MIAMI BEACH, Aug. 26—Police arrested more than 1,200 antiwar demonstrators during three days of protest actions here while the Republican national convention met to renominate Richard Nixon for president. Most of the arrests took place on Wed., Aug. 23 as over 1,000 protesters attempted to prevent Republican delegates from entering the Miami convention center and tie up traffic in North Miami Beach. All but five of those arrested have since been released.

The Wednesday action was the culmination of a series of marches, rallies, and other activities organized by the Miami Convention Coalition, an ad hoc formation that included the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), New York's Attica Brigade, Students for a Democratic Society, and a number of other groups. The actions were called in support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's Seven Point Peace Program.

Other activities included a Vietnamese Cultural Event on Sunday evening, a Monday afternoon march of more than 1,000 led by the VVAW to a National Guard encampment, and a rally against repression of more than 3,000 held on Monday night in honor of slain Soledad Brother George Jackson. Bobby Seale and William Kunstler were among the speakers at this rally.

Chanting, "No more rape in Vietnam, no more rape at home," more than 500 women marched on Monday afternoon from Flamingo Park, campsite for the demonstrators, to a rally in front of the convention hall. There they were addressed by a number of female activists, including Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party, Mary Scoblick of the Harrisburg Seven, and antiwar actress Jane Fonda, just returned from a trip to North Vietnam. Fonda gave moving



Militant/Laura Miller



Militant/Laura Miller

March down 'Street Without Joy' dramatized opposition to war (l). Demonstrators surrounded by police (r).

testimony of the damage being done by U. S. bombs:

"I saw the dikes . . . and I bear witness to the fact that they are being bombed and it is on purpose. . . . We must do anything and everything to preserve the Vietnamese and ensure them freedom and independence. Voting is one way but it is only the beginning. . . ."

One of the week's most dramatic events was the "Street Without Joy" on Tuesday evening. More than 2,000 demonstrators, many wearing white-face and Vietnamese garb, paraded silently through the streets to the sound of a drum roll. Among those participating were many Vietnam veterans, including some in wheelchairs and others on crutches.

Many senior citizens stood on their porches in South Miami Beach and expressed their support to the antiwar movement as the demonstrators passed by. The demonstration ended with guerrilla theater at the convention site, complete with simulated dike bombings and air-raid sirens.

Following this, a rally addressed by Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger of PCPJ, Jane Fonda, George Wiley

of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Daniel Ellsberg, and others spelled out the theme of the demonstrations. As Davis expressed it, "We are going to do to Richard Milhouse Nixon what we did to Lyndon Baines Johnson. . . . We are going to confront the Dinosaur Republican Party and shake this convention to its fascist core. . . ."

Dellinger explained, "We will not accept the nomination of a war criminal as president. . . . [However] we must issue a warning to McGovern. It was people in the streets . . . that was the background which forced McGovern from a weak candidate into a primary winner. . . . He said he was 1,000 percent for Eagleton and he yielded. . . . Although we believe that McGovern is sincere in his pledge to end the war, if we abandon him to . . . the invisible government that has never been elected, then his pledge to end the war will be no better than his pledge to back Eagleton. . . ."

That a majority of the demonstrators supported George McGovern's candidacy was evidenced by the cheers and applause that greeted Daniel Ellsberg when he said:

"Any reservations we have about McGovern, still we must do everything in our power to see him elected."

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP), including members of the Young Socialist Alliance, were present at the demonstrations, campaigning against the candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Their literature table in Flamingo Park was a focal point for many animated discussions with pro-McGovern demonstrators, and they distributed thousands of pieces of Socialist Workers Party campaign literature and sold 225 *Militants*. More than 50 people signed up for more information about supporting the Jenness-Pulley campaign, and 25 people endorsed the campaign.

Typical of some of the responses given the YSJPer and one from a young Chicago woman who looked over a copy of the SWP platform and said:

"This looks pretty good. I used to support McGovern, but now I'm not so sure. Every time I hear him speak he says something different. I want candidates who stick to their principles."

# Majority in U.S. now favor right to abortion, says poll

By CINDY JAQUITH

Sixty-four percent of the American people now support repeal of all anti-abortion laws, according to a new Gallup poll. This rise in pro-abortion sentiment is an important index of the growing impact of the abortion law repeal movement.

The Aug. 25 *New York Times* took special note of the fact that a majority—56 percent—of Catholics in this country now agree that "The decision to have an abortion should be made solely by a woman and her physician." This information seriously undercuts the claim of the Catholic Church hierarchy that its reactionary anti-abortion campaign speaks for all Catholics.

Support for abortion law repeal has risen sharply during the past four years, said the *Times*. In 1968, surveys indicated that less than 15 percent favored women's right to abortion. The figure jumped to 40 percent in November 1969, and to 50 percent in October 1971.

The Gallup poll found even greater support among those surveyed for the distribution of birth control devices and information to teen-agers. Seventy-five percent of the total sample of 1,574, including 68 percent of the Catholics, favored such

measures.

The results of this new survey are all the more significant in light of the moves by state and federal legislators and the Catholic Church hierarchy to roll back the gains won by the pro-abortion movement. The poll also exposes Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern's claim that abortion is "irrelevant" to American politics.

Abortion law repeal activists around the country will be able to use this new survey to build support for the Oct. 21-22 International Women's Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization. The tribunal was initiated by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

The changing attitudes of the U. S. public toward abortion have also been reflected in new court rulings on the abortion laws.

On Aug. 24 a three-judge constitutional court in New York overturned the directive from the State Social Services Commission barring Medicaid payments for abortions.

In Michigan the State Court of Appeals ruled Aug. 24 that therapeutic abortions may be performed in the state up through the third month of pregnancy. Previously, Michigan's law had been interpreted to allow abortions only to save the life of a pregnant woman.

Anti-abortion forces are continuing their campaign, however. In New Jersey Dr. Robert Livingston, a gynecologist who has stated publicly that he is performing abortions, was indicted Aug. 24 with charges of "conspiracy, intent, and attempt to commit an abortion."

Authorities are trying to charge Livingston partly on the basis of a state anti-abortion law that was ruled unconstitutional last March by a three-judge federal court. This blatantly illegal move has already begun to stir protests by New Jersey women supporting Livingston.



Militant/Lora Eckert

## Women's marches & rallies commemorate August 26

By CAROL LIPMAN

AUG. 27—Women took to the streets in New York City Aug. 25 to commemorate the fifty-second anniversary of the winning of women's suffrage. Estimates of the size of the march range from 2,000 to 5,000.

Signs and banners leading many of the contingents showed participation from a broad range of women's groups and political organizations, including Staten Island National Organization for Women (NOW), New York Radical Feminists, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), Radicalesbians, New York NOW, Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, and Young Workers Liberation League.

The WONAAC literature table at the rally sold \$100 worth of buttons and collected 700 signatures on petitions supporting the Abortion Rights Act, introduced into the U. S. Congress by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.).

On Aug. 26 a feminist teach-in held in San Francisco drew 500 women from the Bay Area. WONAAC initiated the conference, which was endorsed by a broad range of groups, including the Berkeley and San Francisco NOW chapters, Female Liberation, Independent Campus Women, National Welfare Rights Organization, Union WAGE, and others.

Highlights of the teach-in were an international women's panel and the sessions on the international abortion tribunal called by WONAAC, on female sexuality, and on the Equal Rights Amendment.

In Atlanta a march and rally on Aug. 26 attracted 175 women—the biggest feminist action ever held in the city, according to march organizers. The Georgia Women's Abortion Action Coalition and NOW sponsored and actively built the demonstration.

Three hundred fifty women participated in a fair and rally in Washington, D. C., on Aug. 26. Dr. Barbara Roberts, a WONAAC national coordinator, was one of the rally speakers. Several women signed up at the WONAAC literature table to testify at the abortion tribunal and 150 women signed the Abortion Rights Act petition.

Actions around Aug. 26 also were held in Chi-

cago, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Denver, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The size and character of this year's Aug. 26 actions were uneven. The relatively small size of most of the actions did not reflect the potential that exists for large-scale demonstrations of the growing sentiment for women's liberation. The Aug. 26, 1970, demonstration in New York, for example, drew 35,000 women around demands for abortion, child care, and equal job and educational opportunities.

The New York August 26 Coalition sponsored this year's march. While initially quite broad, by the time of the demonstration it was limited to groups such as the New York Radical Feminists, the Women's Center, and Radicalesbians.

While formally part of the coalition, NOW concentrated on organizing small actions of its own rather than helping to build the main Aug. 25 demonstration. Jacqui Ceballos, eastern regional coordinator of NOW, was quoted in the Aug. 23 *New York Post* as saying, "If we don't have everybody, it will be a gay march, and we need everybody to come together." Ceballos's thinly-veiled gay-baiting was an excuse for not seeking to involve the NOW membership in building the action.

Barely half the marchers in the New York action attended the rally, where the speeches reflected the narrowness of the coalition. Most of the speakers represented organizations whose perspective is to counterpose work in small consciousness-raising groups and "self-help" clinics to building mass actions. Rally organizers opposed inviting Dr. Barbara Roberts to speak, although WONAAC was active in the coalition from its inception.

Carmen Pérez of the Puerto Rican Women's Commission even drew applause from the dwindling crowd when she attacked the feminist movement, saying, "The women's liberation movement is [only] for prospering, white, middle-class women."

In Philadelphia, organizers of an Aug. 26 rally of 150 voted to exclude political parties from the coalition—a motion aimed primarily at the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The rally organizers even tried to prevent SWP and YSA members from passing out leaflets at the rally that called for an open, democratic women's movement.

# By Any Means Necessary

**RHODESIA OUSTED FROM OLYMPICS:** Protests and threats of withdrawal forced the ouster of Rhodesia from the 20th Olympic Games just four days before the opening ceremonies. The International Olympic Committee (IOC), a band of princes, lords, and magnates that coordinates the Olympics' functioning, barred Rhodesia after originally inviting the apartheid-dominated country to participate.

This action was a worthy climax to weeks of protests ranging from individual athletes and organizations to governments opposing the white settler-state's participation in the games. Even the United Nations Security Council warned that Rhodesia's participation would be a violation of its sanctions against that country. Eleven African nations; several Latin American countries; and India, Jamaica, and other countries had threatened to boycott the games altogether unless Rhodesia was barred. In addition, many African-Americans, some of the U. S. squad's best athletes, threatened not to participate unless appropriate actions were taken against Rhodesia.

Rhodesia was excluded from the 1968 Olympics, but the IOC, headed by Avery Brundage, apparently hoped to slip Rhodesia back into the games this year by pawing its athletes off as "British subjects" competing under the British flag. (Rhodesia split from the British empire in 1964, charging Britain with interfering in its internal affairs.) Oddly, these very same Rhodesian sympathizers, with Brundage heading the list, were the first to cry "dirty politics" at the ouster of Rhodesia this year.

Following Rhodesia's ouster, Brundage announced his resignation as president of the IOC.



African World/R. Douglas

The Aug. 19 African World reports that longshore workers at the Dundalk Marine Terminal in Baltimore, Md., refused to unload a nickel shipment from Rhodesia on Aug. 1 in solidarity with a picket line of 100 Blacks protesting U. S. trade with racist regimes in Africa.

**'PSYCHOLOGICALLY DISTURBED' COPS ASSIGNED TO BLACK COMMUNITY:** Representative Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.) recently conducted a series of public hearings on police brutality in Chicago.

Militant correspondent Andrea Land reports on the hearings: "Two psychologists, both former consultants to the Chicago Police Department, agreed that there is no adequate method of psychological testing currently used in the selection of policemen. Dr. Evrum Mendelsohn of the Elmhurst Psychological Center testified that police candidates are given no psychological testing of any kind until after they have been hired by the police department. . . . candidates who do poorly on the psychological tests or who demonstrate personality problems while undergoing training in the police academy are classified as 'calculated risks.' These men are then assigned to 'stress areas' in Chicago's Black and Brown ghettos."

Other revealing facts were brought out in the hearing, according to Land. A team of law students from Northwestern University found that at least 79 civilians were killed by Chicago police last year. This is three times the number killed in New York, Los Angeles, or Detroit. Seventy-five percent of these victims were Black.

— BAXTER SMITH



## Tombs Three acquitted

# D.A. charges that jury was too 'political'

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, Aug. 26 — The Aug. 18 verdict of not guilty on all charges reached in the trial of three alleged leaders of the 1970 prison uprising at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs) has set off a heated public debate among various New York City officials. This victory, along with other recent acquittals such as that of Angela Davis, has forced recognition that it is increasingly difficult—no matter how elaborately the precautions—to find jurors unaffected by the radicalization and willing to simply rubber-stamp the judge's opinion.

District Attorney Frank Hogan, notorious for his vindictive prosecution of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, set off the dispute by terming the acquittal "a hideous miscarriage of justice" and "a political statement." Referring to other recent acquittals, Hogan went on to remark, "This is a new ball game. What we face in this type of case is jurors making political statements and not doing what their oath requires them to do—returning a verdict based on the evidence adduced by witnesses. . . ."

Several of the jurors immediately issued a letter to Hogan, demanding that he repudiate his attack on the

seriousness of their 20-hour deliberations. According to the Aug. 25 *New York Post*, all the jurors, except two who could not be reached, indicated they would sign the letter.

The evidence presented to the jury during the 12-week trial was, at best, contradictory and inconsistent. Prosecuting Attorney John Fine based his case on the charge that the three defendants had allegedly kidnapped and terrorized hostages during the rebellion. Actual testimony indicated, however, that defendants Ricardo DeLeon and Nathaniel Ragsdale had merely been spectators in the uprising, and that Curtis Brown had stepped into the leadership in order to prevent unnecessary violence either to the hostages or to inmates.

Finding himself unable to provide the jury with testimony to prove his case, Fine fell back on demagoguery. In summing up the state's case in a four-hour speech that quoted authorities ranging from *The Bible* to Dickens, Fine turned to the jury and asked, "By what right, by God, by what right did those men do that to these men, to their lives, to their families?"

Defense attorneys claimed in their concluding comments that the trial was aimed at curbing prisoner mili-

tancy. Attorney Robert Markfield told the jury, "They picked men who were well-known and whose prosecution would put fear in the inmate community."

The acquittal is particularly significant in light of Judge Harold Birn's refusal to hear testimony relating to the conditions in the Tombs that the defense claims led to and justified the rebellion. In his concluding words to the jury, Birn reiterated this position by offering an analogy. "An armed robber," he said, "would not be excused if he wanted to use the money to buy a home in a better neighborhood or if he wanted to send his children to college."

Two other inmates—Stanley King and Herbert X Blyden—remain to be tried in connection with the same uprising. Blyden was later a leader of the 1971 Attica rebellion. Hogan's violent reaction to the acquittal has led another city official—William vanden Heuvel, head of the Board of Corrections—to challenge his ability to fairly prosecute the remaining defendants. Vanden Heuvel has called on Governor Rockefeller to appoint a special prosecutor for these cases. Those involved in organizing King's and Blyden's defense are asking that the cases be dismissed.



Tombs prisoners during 1970 protest.

## Study documents CIA part in heroin traffic

By ERNEST HARSCH

For the past few months the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been trying to harass and intimidate Harper & Row, Inc., into making changes in a book by Alfred McCoy entitled *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*. The publishing house has decided, however, to bring out the book in its original form despite CIA pressure.

The book documents the production and trafficking of heroin in Southeast Asia and the CIA's involvement with it. McCoy says, "American diplomats and secret agents have been involved in the narcotics traffic at three levels"—complicity by allying with groups engaged in drug traffic; abetting the traffic by covering up for Southeast

Asian traffickers; and active engagement "in the transport of opium and heroin."

McCoy supports his charges with documentation and illustrations. For example, Air America, "which is really a CIA charter airline," he says, has been actively involved in transporting opium products out of Laos. His sources include former Laotian Chief of Staff Ouane Rattikone (himself a suspected drug smuggler); Laotian Air Force Commander General Thao Ma, a U.S. Agency for International Development officer in Laos; and McCoy's own interviews with officials in Laotian villages.

The CIA responded by asking Harper & Row to let them see the galley proofs of the book in order to "check

the documentation" and to see if "some of the statements might be harmful to the government." The publishing firm agreed.

McCoy protested that "submitting the manuscript to the CIA for prior review is to agree to take the first step toward abandoning the First Amendment protection against prior censorship." He also said that "visits by the CIA to Harper & Row, the telephone calls, and the letters are extralegal attempts by the CIA to harass and intimidate me and my publisher."

After reviewing the book, the CIA submitted a critique to Harper & Row that denied a very small portion of the documentation. McCoy responded that "there are over 200 pages of material on American operations in the Golden

Triangle area. Out of all that, this is all they (the CIA) could come up with. They're only criticizing about 2 per cent of my total information."

After this abysmal failure by the CIA to "prove beyond doubt" that McCoy's facts were wrong, Harper & Row announced that the book would be released in its original form on Aug. 17.

"The most remarkable thing about the CIA's critique," said McCoy, "is that the agency actually admitted that one of its own mercenary army commanders, Laotian General Chao La, was running a heroin lab in northwestern Thailand. Although the CIA said it destroyed his laboratory in mid-1971, it had been operating since 1965 with the agency's full knowledge."

## Racist doctors let Blacks die of syphilis

By ERNEST HARSCH

Jean Heller, in an Associated Press story published in the July 26 issue of the *Washington Post*, revealed the grisly facts of a barbarous experiment undertaken in Tuskegee, Ala.

The Tuskegee Study, as it was called, was held under the direction of the federal Public Health Service (PHS). It was designed to determine through autopsies what damage untreated syphilis does to the human body.

The experiment began in 1932 and lasted until the present year when facts about it became more widely known. It involved 600 Black men. Two hundred had no syphilis, 200 had it but were treated, and 200 were allowed to suffer the disease and its side effects without treatment—even after penicillin was discovered as a cure for syphilis. PHS officials say that if treatment had begun in the 1940s, when penicillin became widely available, many of the victims could have been saved.

Instead, the officials responsible continued the experiment, providing the participants with free transportation to and from hospitals, free hot lunches, free medical treatment for ailments other than syphilis, and—free burial.

Of the 200 untreated Blacks, 126 died, either

directly due to syphilis or to its side effects, such as heart disease. The 74 who survived continued to suffer the effects of the disease, such as blindness; deafness; deterioration of bones, teeth, and the central nervous system; insanity; and heart disease. The benevolent PHS officials say that the survivors will get "whatever aid is possible."

Conveniently enough, as Heller points out, "PHS officials responsible for initiating the Tuskegee Study have long since retired and current PHS officials said initially they did not know their identity."

Later, however, health officials named Dr. J. R. Heller as one of those responsible, although those guilty of withholding the penicillin are still unknown. As Dr. J. D. Millar said, "I doubt that it was a one-man decision. These things seldom are." Millar is chief of the venereal-disease branch of the Atlanta Center for Disease Control and now is in charge of what remains of the Tuskegee Study.

Even if the names were known, the responsibility for this horrendous experiment cannot be placed on their shoulders alone (although they should be dealt with as murderers) but on this capitalist system that thrives on racism and the oppression of Black people. The doctors were a

product of their social schooling, as were the doctors who experimented on Jews in Hitler's concentration camps.

But has the racism in the medical profession changed much since the 1930s and 1940s, as Dr. Millar contends? He says, "The study began when attitudes were much different on treatment and experimentation. At this point in time, with our current knowledge of treatment and the disease and the revolutionary change in approach to human experimentation, I don't believe the program would be undertaken."

He is apparently unaware, or unwilling to admit, that hundreds of Black and Chicano people die every day in this country because of the lack of adequate and inexpensive medical care. Nor does he seem to be conscious of the recent experiments on Chicano women in San Antonio, Texas, to test birth control pills, allowing many of them to become pregnant against their will.

Contrary to Dr. Millar, these racist medical practices can only be changed when this racist system is changed. Then Black people can ensure that no more Tuskegee Studies take place and that medicine becomes responsive to the needs of all Black and poor people.



# In Review

## Pamphlets Impact of Chicano nationalism

*Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth* by Mirta Vidal. Pathfinder Press. 15 pp. 35c.

*Documents of the Chicano Struggle*. Edited by Antonio Camejo. Pathfinder Press. 15 pp. 35c.

*Chicanas Speak Out! Women: New Voice of La Raza* by Mirta Vidal. Pathfinder Press. 15 pp. 35c.

The deepened radicalization among Chicanos is the theme of three recently published Pathfinder Press pamphlets. The aspects of the Chicano movement the pamphlets deal with include Chicano farm workers, students, women, and the growth of Raza Unida parties.

In *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth* Mirta Vidal correctly interprets the Chicano movement as a reaction against the two-fold oppression of Chicanos: exploited as workers and oppressed because of their race, language, and culture. Because of this double oppression, the Chicano struggle has a profoundly revolutionary character.

Vidal documents the facts of Chicano oppression in areas such as education and income. She describes the

historical development of La Raza and the evolution of Chicano nationalism during the 1960s.

In the formation of this nationalist sentiment Chicano youth and students stand in the forefront. Chicanos in high schools and universities have organized and demanded education relevant to the problems they face as an oppressed people. As a result, in some places Chicano studies, bilingual education, and other changes relating to their interests have been won.

The leadership role of the Chicano youth finds no better expression than the 1969 *Plan de Aztlán* adopted at the first National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver in March of that year. This major document comprises one part of *Documents of the Chicano Struggle*, edited by Militant staff writer Antonio Camejo. As Camejo points out in his introduction, "The plan presented for the first time a clear statement of the growing nationalist consciousness of the Chicano people."



The plan calls for Chicanos to struggle "for the control of our barrios [ghettos], campos [countryside], pueblos [towns], lands, our economy, our culture, and our political life."

"We are a bronze people with a bronze culture," the plan states. "Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in

the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlán."

The plan not only represents the first significant document of the Chicano movement to emphasize the concept of a Chicano nation—Aztlán. It is the first to urge the creation of an independent Chicano political party to assist in the goal of liberation. The impetus for such a party comes from the recognition that Chicanos should no longer work within the two-party system since both the Democrats and Republicans represent the interests of the capitalist class that oppresses Chicanos.

"Political liberation," the plan explains, "can only come through independent action on our part, since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough."

The increased awareness among Chicanos of the need to create an independent party is one of the most significant developments of the Chicano movement. Besides being instruments to achieve political victories through elections, the Raza Unida parties can also organize La Raza on a day-to-day basis on issues that directly touch them, such as police brutality, education, housing, and health. This concept is reflected in the Oakland Area Raza Unida Party Program, written in November 1970 and reproduced in *Documents*.

An important element in the struggle for Chicano liberation is the growth of feminism among Chicanas. Evidence of this can be seen in the pamphlet *Chicanas Speak Out*, which contains an article by Mirta Vidal called "Women: New Voice of La Raza" as well as reprints and resolutions from the first national Chicana con-

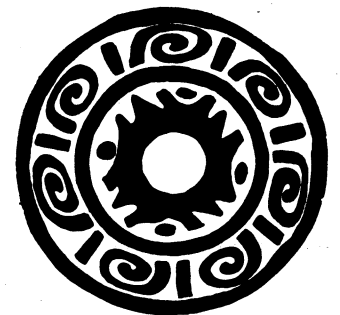
ference.

Vidal points out that the oppression of Chicanas is three-fold: as workers, as members of an oppressed nation, and as women. More and more Chicanas reject the false idea that Chicano liberation can be achieved while "maintaining the age-old concept of keeping the woman barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen."

The necessity of Chicanas organizing around their special needs was reflected at the National Chicana Conference in May 1971 in Houston. Resolutions adopted at the conference and reprinted in *Chicanas* call for family planning; an end to the sexual double-standard; free and legal abortion; and 24-hour day-care centers in every Chicano community.

Vidal's pamphlet *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth* is based on her report to the Tenth Annual Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Vidal is presently national secretary of the YSA.

She concludes that the Chicano nationalist radicalization is on the rise and will confront every aspect of the oppression of the Chicano people. At the same time, she points out, "The oppression of the Chicano people is so deeply rooted in the capitalist system in the United States that it cannot be fully ended without ending capitalism itself." —MARIO T. GARCIA



## Film

## Women's internat'l film festival



"We are not to knock at the door but to kick it to get in," said Nelly Kaplan, French film director of *A Very Curious Girl* and *Papa Les Petites Bateaux*. She was speaking as one of eight very lively and kicking women film makers on a panel held in conjunction with the First International Festival of Women's Films.

The festival took place in New York City in June. Kristina Nordstrom conceived and organized the event, which featured nearly 100 films made by women. The films, dating from 1922 to the present, ranged from highly stylized art films and warm, "home-movie"-like documentaries, to full-length dramas.

The intention of the festival was simply to illustrate the competence and artistic achievement of women in film, with the expectation, indeed, of "kicking in the door" of opportunities in this strongly male-dominated medium.

However, the films could hardly avoid exploring feminist themes, such as the rebellion of women against their male-defined roles and the struggles of women for power over their own lives. The subjects dealt with included abortion, prostitution, illegitimacy, pregnancy, child birth, homosexuality, and old age.

In *The Girls* by Swedish director Mai Zetterling, three women's lives are interspersed and combined to dramatize what has been, what is, and what could come to pass regarding the liberation of women from the exclusive and limited domain of beds, babies, and kitchens.

In one sequence we see an audience of women watching a film depicting male political leaders of World War

II against a background of marching armies glorifying war. In rage the women throw food at the screen. When the male producers come forward to protest, the women continue to throw pies and tomatoes.

While there are obvious similarities between this film and Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, the theme of *The Girls* is not simply antiwar but encompasses the revolt of women against all forms of subjugation in their lives.

*Growing Up Female* by Julia Reichert and Jim Klein is probably one of the best feminist propaganda films made so far. This documentary shows the lives of six females in six stages—from childhood to motherhood—and illustrates how they are indoctrinated into their roles as servants of men.

Another very fine entry is *Schmeerguntz* by Gunvor Nelson and Dorothy Wiley. This film employs the technique of rapid intercutting and superimposed images to contrast the romantic myths ladled out to women with the gross reality of their lives.

Miss Americas in 1940s bathing suits and red lipstick jerk across the screen insanely and are intercut with images of a woman wiping a baby's bottom, vomiting in a toilet, picking up greasy garbage from a kitchen sink, and well, you know, the Way It Really Is.

Another notable film is *Maedchen in Uniform*, made by Leontine Sagan in 1931. This film depicts the life of daughters of the military in a boarding school that is attempting to "mold iron beings for the Fatherland." These young women are raised under harsh discipline for the single purpose of bearing sons for the army.

They cry out timidly against this abuse and exploitation.

Manuela, played by Hertha Thiele, is a lonely young woman in the film. She declares her love for the one affectionate female teacher and is severely punished with ostracism. She cries out in bewilderment, "What have I done?" The other women students rebel against the abuse of Manuela, rescue her from a suicide attempt, and human sympathy and joy finally win out.

Among the other films worthy of special mention in the festival are *The Girl* by Hungarian film maker Márta Mészáros, *Man Alive: Gale is Dead* by Jennie Barraclough, *Three Lives* by Kate Millett, and *Something Different* by Vera Chytilova.

If this festival of women's films can be said to reflect a trend, it is most surely one toward realism. The majority of the short films are documentaries and overwhelmingly conceived from a feminist point of view—that is, telling the truth about ourselves as women and stressing a harsh, critical analysis of society.

Correspondingly, the audience is not bombarded by the values inherent in this patriarchal society—such as romanticism, the definitions of women as "virtuous" if they are nonsexual and "promiscuous" if they enjoy sex, and the glorification of war and violence.

If enthusiastic audience attendance is any indication, people are ready and eager for these films. Hopefully the festival opened up opportunities for women film makers and we will see more frequent screenings of these fine films. —LUCILLE IVERSON

# Jane Fonda under attack for telling truth

By LEE SMITH

AUG. 24—Since she returned from North Vietnam in late July, Jane Fonda has been spreading the word on the U. S. bombing destruction she witnessed there. The antiwar actress has described the damage done to North Vietnam's dike system by deliberate U. S. air attacks in news conferences, speeches, and interviews.

While the Academy Award winner has been telling people about the criminal U. S. bombings, some politicians and prowar veterans groups have been denouncing her for treason. Much to the dismay of such flag-wavers as Representative Fletcher Thompson (R-Ga.), however, no official moves against Fonda seem likely.

Attacking Fonda for antiwar radio broadcasts she taped in Hanoi, Thompson compared her to Tokyo Rose. Calling the actress "Hanoi Hannah," the Georgia congressman publicly asked that she be subpoenaed to testify before the witch-hunting committee on which he serves, the House Internal Security Committee. The rest of the committee voted down Thompson's request. Another committee member charged that Thompson just wanted to use an investigation to get some publicity in his campaign for U. S. Senate.

What the committee did do was request an investigation of Fonda's trip and radio broadcasts by the Justice Department. The same request was made Aug. 23 by the national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in a resolution that called Fonda and former U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark "traitorous meddlers." A similar motion was introduced the same day at the convention of the American Veterans of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.

Clark, who visited North Vietnam directly after Fonda, also made radio broadcasts from Hanoi and has also insisted since his return that the U. S. is systematically bombing the dikes there. A member of the Danish parliament, Frode Jacobsen, visited North Vietnam along with Clark. Jacobsen has appeared on TV in Denmark since his return, testifying to the destruction of the dikes and saying, "The American government is simply lying."

The calls for a Justice Department investigation of Fonda are a means for the prowar minority to vent its spleen. Such an investigation was already underway before the earliest public requests were issued. But Stan Carter reported in the Aug. 4 New York *Daily News* that "administration officials, acknowledging the unpopularity of the war, doubt the advisability of prosecution, for political reasons; they fear it would merely turn the Academy Award-winning actress into a martyr."

In part of an interview with the Asia Information Group, printed in the Aug. 12 *People's World*, Fonda described how bombing around dikes where there are no military installations has caused fissures weakening the dikes, bringing about the danger of disastrous floods.

One indication that the bombing is systematic, Fonda is quoted as saying in this interview, "is the fact that the first—coastal—dikes were bombed during the typhoon season. The salt water rushing into the rice paddies will destroy the soil for a long time if not forever."

"The next wave of bombings hit the inland dikes, during the monsoon season."

"Another indication of the aim of flooding the Red River Delta is shown



Militant/Laura Miller

Jane Fonda described U. S. bombing of North Vietnam at street rally in Miami Aug. 22.

by the bombing of dams, hydraulic systems, sluices, and pumping stations and repair crews."

Fonda told of interviewing a woman from Thanh Hoa province on the Ma River who related what happened in an air raid carried out while a repair crew was working on a dike that had been bombed three times. "Planes dropped steel pellet bombs on them," Fonda said, "killing many."

Asked what she thought of Fonda's charges about the bombing, Pat Nixon told reporters at a White House news conference Aug. 8: "I think she should have been in Hanoi asking them to stop their aggression. . . . Then there wouldn't be any conflict."

Judging that the public will not prove receptive to charges that Fonda

is a traitor, some supporters of the administration have attempted instead to use sexism to discredit her charges. For example, in the *Daily News* article already quoted, Stan Carter wrote: "Miss Fonda does not give the impression of being a conscious agent of the other side. She appeared terribly sincere—but totally taken in, like a romantic schoolgirl. . . ."

But many people are more inclined to trust Jane Fonda than Stan Carter or Pat Nixon. And some of them may be among the GIs who heard her tell them from Hanoi: "You know that when Nixon says the war is winding down that he's lying. . . . If they told you the truth, you wouldn't fight, you wouldn't kill. . . . you have been told lies so that it would be possible for you to kill."

## ...social crisis in Argentina

Continued from page 4

Even at its weakest moments the working class never lost the trade-union structure it had built up through the years. The factory committees also survived, despite periods of apathy within the working class. Each resurgence of class struggle has found its most powerful expression in the mass industrial unions and a revival of intense political life within the factory committees.

Through the years changes in the economy have brought different sectors of the working class into a vanguard role in the class struggle. During the Second World War the meat workers were in the forefront. Later, during the resistance after Perón's overthrow, it was the metal workers who set the pace. Today it is workers in the auto industry who have been in the vanguard.

The new mood of struggle, initiated by the auto workers in Córdoba, has spread in the last three years to ever wider layers of the working class and urban poor as well as to radicalized sectors of the middle class throughout the nation.

The Cordobazo was met by repression. In spite of betrayal by the trade-union officialdom nationally, the repression was answered by a general strike in Córdoba in June 1969.

The ruling class—shaken by the power of the workers movement and fearing further popular hostility to the regime—began to divide on how to handle the situation. This division has resulted in oscillations between repression and concessions, all aimed at demobilizing and disorienting the masses.

In response to the June 1969 strike, the military dictatorship altered the cabinet and promised changes. As soon as things seemed to have quieted down, the government once again turned toward a hard line and threatened to crush new strikes proposed by the unions.

In September 1969 a political confrontation took place. In direct opposition to governmental decrees forbidding strikes, both Rosario and Córdoba workers carried out general strikes.

The division in the ruling class deepened. The government's social base was diminishing as the mass actions revealed its social isolation and exposed its unkept promises. The government responded again with a concession—freeing the political prisoners arrested during the Cordobazo.

Finally in June 1970 the Onganía dictatorship was overturned by another military coup that brought General Roberto Marcelo Levingston to power. Levingston likewise made promises to the masses and assured the sector of the ruling class favoring a return to a parliamentary regime that civilians would be included in the government.

During Levingston's rule a campaign was launched by some sectors of the capitalist press and by professional parliamentary politicians for a return to parliamentary democracy.

Further strikes led to new cabinet changes in October 1970. New repression in turn brought about the "second Cordobazo" on March 12, 1971. On March 23 Levingston was in turn overthrown by the military, and General Alejandro Lanusse, the strongest

military leader, assumed power himself.

Lanusse immediately offered new concessions and lifted the siege on Córdoba. Seeking to heal the rifts within the ruling circles and to raise hopes in the new government, Lanusse declared his support for Perón's return to Argentina from his long exile and a return to parliamentary rule.

Rightist elements in the military who opposed a turn toward parliamentary democracy attempted a coup in May 1971 but failed.

Instead of demobilizing the masses, the never-ending promises of political and economic reforms resulted in ever larger mass actions. In September 1971 five and a half million workers in this nation of 24 million people joined in a general strike. Again, on the last day of February and the first of March in 1972, the entire nation was shut down by the unions in a general strike.

Soon afterwards, a "Cordobazo" took place in the city of Mendoza. This "Mendozazo" differed from the Cordobazo in that the population as a whole participated. Since the Mendozazo, mass struggles involving non-working-class sectors of the population in addition to the workers have continued to occur, with some of the urban, non-industrial workers and middle-class sectors taking the lead.

The military dictatorship, confronted with the rising combativity of the workers, has also been selectively carrying out criminal repression of the workers movement. They have intervened in certain unions, especially in those that have played a vanguard

role such as Sitrac-Sitram in Córdoba, or in unions whose actions have isolated them from mass support.

Workers who attempt to offer an alternative leadership to the trade-union bureaucracy face not only the usual forms of repression, such as being fired from their jobs, but also the possibility of arrest and torture. In some cases workers have been tortured to death.

Opponents of the dictatorship who have engaged in armed actions have been systematically tortured upon arrest. Arbitrary arrest, torture, and assassination have been used to one degree or another against all sectors of worker opposition to the government.

The economic situation of the masses is rapidly deteriorating. Lanusse allowed only a 15 percent pay increase for 1972, after a 37 percent inflation in 1971 cut deeply into the workers' real wages. In the first half of 1972 the inflation has already surpassed 25 percent.

Like all capitalist elections, Argentina's projected elections are aimed at helping the capitalist class maintain its rule. The problem facing the Argentine ruling class is how to gain advantages for themselves from the electoral process in terms of creating illusions and confusion among the masses, and at the same time to prevent the workers from using the increased democratic forms to aid their struggle both organizationally and politically.

The elections offer opportunities for revolutionary groups to present an anticapitalist alternative for the working class in the elections.

# Calendar

## EQUAL TIME

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on the Public Broadcasting System, Wed., Sept. 6, 8 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, in a special broadcast covering candidates from the smaller parties.

Jenness will also appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m., Eastern Standard Time.

## BOSTON

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS.** Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station.) For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

## LOS ANGELES

**THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM** presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the anti-war movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE TRELEW MASSACRE: ITS MEANING IN ARGENTINA.** Speaker: Frank Grinnon, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Fri., Sept. 8, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY.** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

**Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.**

## ...Oberlin

*Continued from page 8*

and intervenes in the class struggle."

In Spain, he said, "hardly a month goes by without struggle in the labor movement and in the student movement, major demonstrations being mentioned in the Spanish press, and

the role of the Trotskyist nucleus as one of the small but vanguard forces being identified and spoken about."

One of the keys to the growth and development on solid foundations of revolutionary parties around the world is the exchange of ideas and full discussion within the world Trotskyist movement, Barnes explained. This is necessary "so the membership can be familiar with the issues, can discuss them, can learn from them, and ultimately . . . can continue the principles and deal with the problems of the Fourth International."

(The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are in political solidarity with the Fourth International although reactionary U.S. legislation prevents both organizations from formally affiliating with the International.)

"We are building an internationalist party based on an internationalist program here in the United States," explained Barry Sheppard, SWP national organizational secretary, in his talk on the tasks facing the Socialist Workers Party. Sheppard analyzed the opportunities and the problems confronting U.S. socialists during an election year, linking the work of revolutionaries in this country to the strengthening of the world Trotskyist movement.

The conference ended with the more than 1,100 participants singing "The Internationale."

## ...dock

*Continued from page 15*

cording to the *Times*, they "stormed the building where the delegates were meeting and roughed up Jack Jones. . . .

"Mr. Jones was punched, a metal ashtray was thrown at him and he was hit by a paper cup of water."

After the delegates' meeting, longshore workers overwhelmingly approved the settlement, including those in London and Hull, two strongholds of the National Port Shop Stewards Committee. A return to work was delayed in Liverpool where a strike by clerks remained unsettled.

Despite the settlement's weaknesses, the outcome of the longshore strike was a victory for the British working class. The government's aim was

not simply to defeat the dockers' demands for job security but to force a setback that would impair the ability of the entire British working class to strike.

Not only have the dockers won some advances in job security. They have dealt a blow to the Heath government's attempt to smash the dockers union. As in the coal mine and railway strikes in Britain earlier this year, this strike represented the growth of class solidarity between different sections of the working class.

## ...strike

*Continued from page 15*

and that a new election be held.

As the Sears workers did in their successful strike (see Aug. 4 *Militant*), the Rank and File Caucus has asked for and received significant support from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). SCLC has organized picketing by strike supporters from the community and from the ranks of Sears employees. The Caucus has elected Hosea Williams, SCLC leader, as its official negotiator. But so far Mead has refused to meet with the workers' representatives.

On Aug. 29, Keith Jones, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Georgia's 5th C.D., issued the following statement: "I unequivocally support the demands of the strikers. I have walked the picket lines at Sears and at Mead, but I haven't seen my Democratic opponent, the Reverend Andrew Young, on the picket line.

"It is through such struggles as these strikes that Black people—both in the community and on the job—will be able to better our social conditions."

## ...GOP

*Continued from page 17*

plause from the orchestrated youth cheering section, and a 1,347-to-1 vote for Richard Nixon, with no other nominations even allowed. The Republican hand-raisers nominated Spiro Agnew by a similar margin.

The one debate that did take place at the convention produced a victory

for the right wing of the party. Delegates voted down a proposal that would have brought representation of larger states more into line with the number of Republicans in those states.

The Republican convention was a big show designed to cover over the reality of racial oppression, attacks on living standards of working people, the continuation of a war of genocide in Southeast Asia, and all the other rotten features of this capitalist society.

## Children held in mental hospitals

According to the Aug. 11 *New York Daily News*, hundreds of children are being kept in New York psychiatric hospitals simply because the state has no place else to put them. The children are orphans, have been abandoned, or their families have disintegrated.

The New York City institutions for children "in need of supervision" are overcrowded already, so the formerly disturbed children cannot be transferred there. According to social workers with the Department of Child Welfare, children in the city institutions are regularly beaten up by other children.

The largest New York psychiatric hospital for children reported that 125 of its 350 patients would be better off not hospitalized. Dr. Hagop Mashikian, director of the Rockland Children's Hospital in Orangeburg, N.Y., said that finding homes for formerly disturbed children is "a nationwide problem," but particularly acute in New York City.

This holding of children in mental hospitals is just one more indication of the brutality of the capitalist system and its indifference to human welfare. And those who are worst off under this system are the very young and the old, who are dependent upon their families—if they have a family.

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# LAND OR DEATH

## The Peasant Struggle in Peru by Hugo Blanco

"Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example . . . ." — Che Guevara, Algiers, 1963

"Blanco, the revolutionary's revolutionary . . . a couple of days after his release was already addressing a rally of 10,000 people who had come to see their folk hero and carry him off on their collective shoulders." — Marlene Nadle, The Village Voice

**LAND OR DEATH** describes the conditions of peasant life and tells the fascinating story of how thousands of Quechua Indians began to take back the lands stolen from them. Drawing on his experience as the main leader of this mass-based peasant movement, Blanco takes issue with those who believe that revolutionary change in Latin America can come about through elections or by the actions of small groups of dedicated but isolated revolutionaries. Blanco's incisive analysis and strategy for revolutionary action make this one of the decade's most important books on Latin America.

Translated by Naomi Allen with an introduction by Peter Camejo. 192pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

**PATHFINDER PRESS**, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 Tel. (212)741-0690

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# THE MILITANT

## Issue facing Congress of African people: Black party or support to Democrats



African Liberation Day in Washington, D. C., May 27

Militant/B. R. Washington

By TONY THOMAS

AUG. 25—The second national conference of the Congress of African People (CAP) will convene in San Diego, Calif., on Aug. 30. The last CAP convention, held in Atlanta in September 1970, passed a resolution calling for an independent Black political party. This proposal was initiated by Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones), who is program chairman of CAP and leader of the Committee for a Unified Newark (CFUN).

Coming after much maneuvering around the 1972 election on the part of Baraka and other CAP leaders, the San Diego conference provides an opportunity to draw a balance sheet on how far these maneuvers have gone toward reaching the Atlanta conference's goal of Black political independence.

The proposal made at the Atlanta conference in 1970 was not accompanied by any steps to implement such a party. However, it stimulated much discussion on the question in the Black liberation movement. A Black political convention was held by CAP supporters in Brooklyn, N. Y., in November 1970 to attempt to lay the basis for the formation of an independent Black party in Brooklyn.

But this proposal and other steps toward a Black political party were stymied by the decision of Baraka and his supporters to remain within the confines of the Democratic Party.

This perspective was most fully formulated in "The Need for an African Political Party" and "Strategy and Tactics of a Pan African Nationalist Party," two position papers written by Baraka and circulated in Pan-Africanist circles in 1971. While Baraka in these articles talks about the need for an independent Black party, he proposes that Blacks first work within the Democratic Party as "African Nationalist Democrats."

In "The Need for an African Political Party," Baraka claims that initiating a Black party independent of the Democrats would only alienate Black Democratic Party supporters. Instead of this course, he advised supporters of a Black party to "deal with the ways and means of co-option of the democratic [party] structure and utilization of that structure to the benefit of Black people. Because even though the political consciousness of the community is raising, it has not raised completely past the political party structure as it now exists."

He proposed building an alliance of Black nationalists with Democratic Party "ward leaders, community leaders, and district leaders," within the Democratic Party out of which the

"nucleus" of a future Black party would come.

He said that the thrust of this strategy would be "geared towards the 1972 election year. At which time there will be movement towards a National Black Political Party Convention," which would launch an independent Black party. However, in "Strategy and Tactics of a Pan African Nationalist Party" Baraka argued for a "National Convention" that would prepare for "African Nationalist Democrat" campaigns in Democratic primaries to win control of local Democratic organizations from regular Democrats.

Baraka predicted that this strategy would create unity in the Black community between pro-Democratic Party figures and Pan-Africanists. He has said that this "unity without uniformity" was in the interests of deepening the struggle for Black liberation.

This "unity" was not to be based on mutual agreement on specific actions to further the Black struggle. An example of this type of unity was the coalition of Pan-Africanists, Democrats, revolutionary socialists, Black Panthers, and other Blacks who united to build the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations. This type of unity in action maintains the independence of the Black community. In addition, these types of action coalitions can help more revolutionary-minded Pan-Africanists and nationalists overcome their isolation from broader segments of the Afro-American community.

Attempting to build a Black political party through mass action, through confronting the Black Democrats with a political alternative that articulates the needs and desires of the Black community, would undoubtedly have the effect of winning large masses of Blacks and many Black Democrats to such an independent party. However, Baraka's submission to the Black Democratic politicians has only led to an increased drift of Baraka and his supporters away from building an independent Black party.

Under the tow of these Black Democrats, Baraka helped give a radical and nationalist cover for the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., in March. He was co-chairman of the conference along with U. S. Congressman Charles Diggs and Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, both Democrats. The conference's aim was to utilize this "unity" to pressure for a better position for Black Democrats in the Democratic election campaigns.

To insure this "unity," Baraka opposed a proposal made by delegates from Louisiana that the conference

initiate a Black party. At first, Baraka tried to bureaucratically hustle the proposal off the floor, using his power as chairman to prevent discussion. Later he joined with supporters of Mayor Hatcher and the Reverend Jesse Jackson of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) to push the proposal off the floor by claiming it was "premature."

The Gary convention adopted a radical program of nationalist demands, the National Black Agenda. The Agenda was supposed to be the basis for negotiations between the convention and the Democratic and Republican candidates.

When Black Democrats objected to this program as too unreasonable—that is, too unacceptable to the Democratic candidates they supported—Baraka was unable to strenuously object without disrupting his own "unity." The Black Democrats, led by the Congressional Black Caucus, first had demands on busing and Israel removed from the Black Agenda. Later they junked the whole Agenda and substituted a "Black Bill of Rights" with only a few demands. Still later, the "Bill of Rights" was dropped as the Black Democrats scurried into the camps of the different white Democratic hopefuls.

No African Nationalist Democrats appeared in Newark or elsewhere to challenge the regular Black Democrats even within the confines of the Democratic Party.

The editors of *African World*, publication of YOBU (Youth Organization for Black Unity), commented on the maneuvers that surrounded the Black Agenda in its July 22 issue:

"Now that the Democratic Convention has come and gone, most tradi-

tional Black 'leaders' have come out for McGovern and are hitting the campaign trail. . . .

"Some elements of the National Black Political Convention insisted on 'scoring' the presidential candidates on their acceptance of the Agenda in return for Black electoral support. Obviously the Convention's slogan of 'unity without uniformity' was replaced by 'opportunism without accountability' as soon as people left Gary."

Baraka's strategy facilitated the tying of the Black vote to McGovern and the prevention of an independent Black alternative. McGovern opposes most of the demands of the Black liberation movement as put forward in the Black Agenda: Black control of the Black community, a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income, and support to African freedom fighters.

By allowing Blacks to be hitched to this campaign, Baraka's strategy has led to Blacks actually campaigning against the demands in the Agenda. But this is the logic of all attempts to work within the political parties of the oppressors of Afro-Americans.

Hopefully, the Congress of African People and its leaders will be able to look at this negative balance sheet of "unity without uniformity" and decide on a different course. Hopefully, the San Diego CAP convention will endorse a strategy of fighting to build a mass Black political party as an independent alternative to Nixon, McGovern, and the Black Republican and Democratic politicians as well as raise a program of mass action for the demands of the Black community—a program that can unite the Black community against its Republican and Democratic oppressors.

## SCLC endorses McGovern

More than 1,000 delegates attended the 15th annual national convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which met during the week of Aug. 13-19 in Dallas, Texas. Under the theme "Politics 72: The Challenge of Poor People," the conference's principal step was to condemn the Nixon administration and endorse Senator George McGovern, the Democratic presidential candidate. This was the first time in the history of SCLC that it had endorsed a presidential candidate.

Angela Davis addressed the convention on Aug. 17. More than 1,700 attended that session, giving Davis an enthusiastic welcome.

One of the problems faced by the convention was a deepening financial and organizational crisis. According to the Aug. 20 *New York Times*, SCLC officials announced the organization was "Broke but Proud." The *Times* said that SCLC's "payroll last month was met with a donation by Harry Belafonte. . . . Nobody knows, or at least nobody is saying, where the August money will come from."

A number of SCLC leaders, such as the Reverend Andrew Young and the Reverend Hosea Williams, are running for office in the Democratic Party. Others left in the split from SCLC led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who formed PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). — T. T.