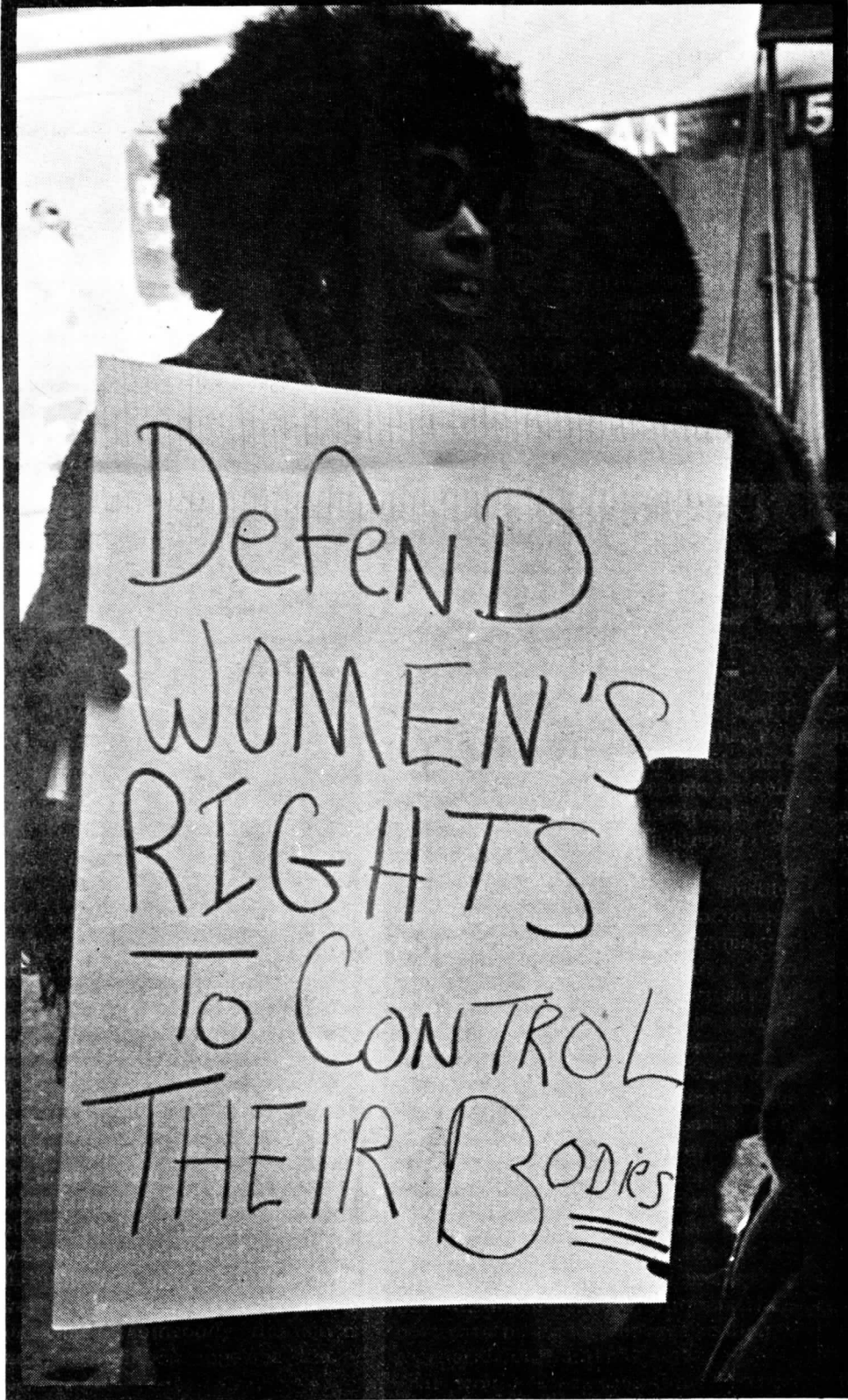


THE MILITANT

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

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REIES TIJERINA FREED: Reies Tijerina was freed on July 26 after two years' imprisonment. He is a leader of the New Mexico Chicano struggle for return of land grants stolen from Mexican and Spanish settlers after the U.S. took over the Southwest following the Mexican-American War. Tijerina was framed up for allegedly "aiding and abetting an assault" on a forest ranger during a 1969 demonstration of the land-grant movement. Tijerina is still facing charges of two to 10 years for his part in the "raid" on the courthouse at Tierra Amarilla in June 1967. Probation officers have illegally banned him from holding any office in the Alianza Federale de Pueblos Libres—the Chicano land-grant movement.

DRAFT STILL ON: Curtis W. Tarr, director of the Selective Service Administration, has urged all draft boards to inform young men that by failing to register at 18 they are violating the laws. It seems that large numbers of young men have been failing to register and failing to appear for induction or examination, thinking that the draft has been ended. The draft has simply been delayed by congressional maneuvers. A new draft lottery is scheduled to be held on Aug. 5.

POISON PAINT: Dr. Vincent Guinee, director of New York City's Bureau of Lead Poisoning Control, announced that more than 10 percent of the paint sold in New York City contains excessive quantities of poisonous lead, 2.6 to 10.8 times the legal limit. Guinee refused to name the paint companies involved or initiate legal proceedings against them, trusting them to put danger warnings on their paint cans. This is despite the fact that thousands of New York children, especially Blacks and Puerto Ricans, become ill and even die from this poison paint.

SCEF WORKERS WIN VICTORY: Kentucky State's Attorney Shelby Howard asked for dismissal of charges raised against Mike Honey and Martha Allen, two workers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). They were charged with attempting to "unduly" influence a jury. This stems from the fact that they sent out a mailing to 1,200 residents of Hart County, Ky., protesting a frame-up of six Black activists.

STATE RESTS ITS CASE IN NEWTON TRIAL: In the retrial of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton, the California prosecutor repeated the frame-up charges that Newton killed a cop in October 1967. Newton is being tried for manslaughter. A state criminologist revealed the weakness of the prosecution's case when he admitted that the gun he claims killed the cop has yet to be found. Newton does admit to carrying a law book, which was submitted as evidence in the first trial. Defense attorney Charles Garry is protesting the fact that this book has been lost by the state.

ENCEPHALOMYELITIS STRIKES: Encephalomyelitis, a disease carried by mosquitoes, has struck down hundreds of animals in Mexico and Texas, causing the Texas secretary of agriculture to declare an emergency. So far 152,000 horses, mules and donkeys in Texas have been inoculated for the disease, which also affects humans. One child in San Antonio has already died from the disease and many people in neighboring areas of Mexico—where there is a shortage of vaccine—have become afflicted with the disease.

CLEVELAND SOCIALISTS CELEBRATE JULY 26: On July 24, over 50 Cleveland supporters of the Cuban revolution celebrated the eighteenth anniversary of the July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada Barracks and the eleventh anniversary of the revolution. Sponsored by the Cleveland Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, the rally featured slides of Cuba and a talk, "The Relevance of the Cuban Revolution to My Campaign for Mayor," by John Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Nearly \$300 was raised for the Hawkins campaign at the rally.

NATIVE AMERICANS DEMAND END TO ECOLOGY DANGER: Native Americans from several tribes are challenging new pollution dangers in the "Four Corners" area where Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado meet. This area—one of the last remaining "wide open spaces"—is slated as the site for six giant power plants. The first, which is already in operation, emits 250 tons of soot each day. In addition, strip mining is being launched in several adjacent areas to provide coal for the plants. The Hopi tribe, through the Native American Rights Fund, has filed suit in federal district court to set aside an agreement that gives the Peabody Coal Company, a

subsidiary of Kennecott Copper, the right to strip mine the area. They claim that government agencies applied "undue" pressure to force the tribe's agreement. A group of five Navajos, representing a reservation of 120,000 in the same area, has filed suit demanding the government close down the Four Corners plant because of the air pollution.

JUDGE DEMANDS LAW AND ORDER: Judge George A. Sullivan Jr., presiding judge of the Stoughton District Court of Massachusetts, joined in a demonstration against the Vietnam war on May 6, 1971, in Boston. He said he was opposed to lawlessness of all kinds, including the "international lawlessness" of the Vietnam war. The Massachusetts Supreme Court issued a report condemning Sullivan's conduct as "unwise and in poor judgment."

PL-SDS HOOLIGANISM: The Chicago Youth Against War and Fascism is circulating a statement condemning an assault on a June 25 anti-Nixon demonstration sponsored by YAWF and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). Soon after the demonstration began, says the statement, "a YAWF member who was carrying sound equipment was attacked by a PL-SDS leader who forcibly took the sound equipment and proceeded to break it. Shortly after this, the two YAWF banners and the people holding them were physically attacked by PL hooligans. Despite repeated attempts by YAWF members to reason, PL insisted that YAWF should get out of the demonstration. One YAWF member was attacked by five men who repeatedly kicked him in the head while he was pinned to the ground. Another YAWF member was attacked by several PL hooligans and her glasses deliberately smashed. Meanwhile the UFWOC members were insulted and threatened by these thugs." The statement goes on to denounce PL's use of violence against those it disagrees with: "Progressive Labor Party does not have the right to be self-appointed policemen, in order to preserve the demonstration in its own sectarian image. Hooliganism is no way to resolve political differences within the movement; it can only serve to disorient the masses, demoralize the people on the demonstration, and offer undercover police agents a chance to attack the movement." The statement is signed by a dozen groups, among them the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Chicago Peace Council, Veterans for Peace, People's Information Center, UFWOC, Velma N. Tate of Mattachine Midwest and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Fred Lovgren, coordinator for the Chicago Peace Action Coalition.

Schedule change

Following this issue, the *Militant* staff is taking a three-week vacation. Publication will resume with the issue dated September 3, which will come off the press on August 27.

BRITISH TROOPS RAID HOMES: Two thousand British troops accompanied by units of the Royal Ulster Constabulary raided the homes of nationalists throughout Northern Ireland in the early morning hours of July 23. The results of the raids have not been announced in detail, but it is thought that 110 persons were arrested, according to the July 24 *Irish Times*. Most of those hauled in were reportedly supporters of the "official" Republican movement, which calls for a united workers Ireland.

MANDEL ON COMMON MARKET: For a good analysis of what effect Britain's entry into the Common Market will have on the British class struggle, read "Great Britain's Entry Into the Common Market" by Ernest Mandel in the July 26 *Intercontinental Press*. Send 50 cents to IP, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER RELEASED BY MEXICAN GOVERNMENT: An American arrested during the 1968 massacre of students in Mexico City has been released. The American, Philip Ames, spent two months in U.S. prisons after having been turned over to the FBI by Mexican authorities this May. He was released in New Orleans. Ames' release leaves at least 18 others still in prison from the infamous assault on students in 1968. (For more on political prisoners in Mexico, see *The Militant* interview with Mexican novelist Jose Revueltas on page 20.) Contributions on behalf of these prisoners can be sent to the USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10011.

—MARCEL BLACK

Nixon maneuvers while death toll mounts

By DICK ROBERTS

"GI Combat Deaths Lowest Since '65," reads a front-page headline in the July 23 *New York Times*. The subheadline reads: "Week's Total of 11 Is Said to Reflect U.S. Withdrawals and Reduced Fighting."

This newspaper — which only one month ago launched an unprecedented attack on Nixon's Vietnam policies by releasing the top-secret Pentagon papers — is now campaigning to make it look like the war is almost over.

The announcement of Nixon's plans to visit Peking next year has reshuffled all the cards. The *Times* is just as anxious as Nixon to win the maximum gains for U.S. imperialism from this maneuver. They figure on at least 10 months to continue prosecuting the war — from now until the proposed meeting.

Even at the current "low" casualty rate — 10 "combat" and 16 "noncombat" deaths in the third week of July — over 1,000 GIs could be killed in the 40 weeks between now and next May. In the same period, thousands of Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples will be killed by U.S. bombs.

Mao is consequently giving support to U.S. imperialism's central hope in Southeast Asia: to buy more time to continue pressing the war. Nixon has not abandoned the path of military conquest and he will not abandon it until he is forced to withdraw all U.S. troops and all military and financial aid from Southeast Asia.

Can Mao's gambit help Washington to win a new lease of life in Indochina? This is the question the imperialists are pondering.

New York Times correspondent Harry Schwartz estimated the possibilities in a review of the Nixon-Mao development July 25: "In Washington, some experts argued that after more than 25 years of struggle and war the Vietnamese Communists won't let themselves be 'sold out' by any big power. . . .

"But in Paris, Saigon's spokesman at the peace talks, Nguyen Trieu Dan, claimed that without large Chinese deliveries of military and other supplies, Hanoi could not continue the war at present levels. Peking obviously had a means of putting pressure on Hanoi, and Paris observers noted with interest last week that a high level Chinese delegation is scheduled to visit that city."

According to *Times* correspondent Schwartz, "Hanoi's official party newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, warned against any 'compromise between the big powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrangements.'"

But Schwartz makes the obvious point. If Mao had nothing to offer Nixon in the way of pressuring Hanoi into concessions, why the Nixon-Mao meeting in the first place? And he adds: "The Chinese have already sent out signals suggesting they would back a new Geneva conference on Indochina and support the idea of a neutralized South Vietnam."

In the Geneva conference of 1954, Moscow and Peking helped pressure the Vietminh into agreeing to a "neutralized" South Vietnam. This gave Washington the foothold in Saigon it used to launch the counterrevolutionary war. The bloody price of that Moscow and Peking betrayal is today well known.

But the fate of the Vietnamese revolution is by no means going to be settled only in secret talks between the big powers.

To a decisive extent it depends on how the American antiwar movement responds to this maneuver. It was the antiwar movement that pressed Johnson into negotiations in the first place, that forced Washington to abandon the unlimited escalation of troop shipments to Southeast Asia and that now forces Nixon to seek deals with the Peking bureaucrats.

There is no reason to stop! The massive demonstrations for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops that



have been called for Nov. 6 in major cities across the country can play a crucial role in showing Nixon that the American people want no deals that end up extending slaughter and continue to prevent the Southeast Asian peoples from determining their own governments.

Nixon's move, which is supposed

to be a "brilliant vote-getting device" can be turned into the opposite. For it most sharply poses this contradiction: If Nixon is really serious about peace in Southeast Asia, and if that is really what he plans to talk to Mao about sometime between now and next May, then what is the point of even one more death in Indochina?

Plans underway for united antiwar offensive

By JOHN BENSON

Preparations are in full swing for the fall antiwar offensive called by recent national conventions of the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

The proposal for united action, worked out between representatives of the two coalitions and ratified by the majority at both conventions, calls for Hiroshima-Nagasaki commemorative actions on Aug. 6-9, local moratorium activities on Oct. 13, and massive regional actions in 15 cities on Nov. 6.

Both coalitions recognize that there are major political differences between them. NPAC is oriented toward organizing mass actions for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, while the PCPJ strives to become a coalition that supports additional issues, engages in civil disobedience-type actions, and calls for "setting a date" for the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The fall action proposal, however, allows for maximum unity in action while at the same time recognizing that both coalitions will continue to maintain their different views.

The plans for the Aug. 6-9 actions are already showing important gains toward greater unity. These actions, which will open the fall antiwar campaign, will be held in many cities.

● New York — The Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and the New York Peace Action Coalition are cosponsoring a march and rally Aug. 6. A joint statement by the two groups declared: "Today the U.S. is again slaughtering the people of Asian countries. . . . Close to one and one-half million Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian people have been killed, hundreds of thousands wounded, nearly five million refugees. Chemical defoliants, like radiation, extend the agony to future generations. . . . No more Hiroshimas. No more Nagasakis. U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!" The rally in New York will also protest plans to explode the biggest nuclear device yet at Amchitka, Alaska.

● Boston — The People's Coalition, the Greater Boston PAC, the Student Mobilization Committee, and Massachusetts PAX are cosponsoring a rally on the Boston Commons. There will be a candlelight parade and the candles will be set adrift in the river.

● Washington, D.C. — The Washington Area PAC, the People's Coalition, and the SMC are planning a number of joint activities, including antiwar leafleting of GIs Aug. 2-6, and a showing of the film *War Games* on Aug. 6.

● Philadelphia — A rally will be held on the evening of Aug. 4, sponsored by the Philadelphia PAC, the People's Coalition and the SMC.

● Atlanta — A rally will be held Aug. 7, cosponsored by Atlanta PAC, the People's Coalition, SMC and Mayday.

● Chicago — The Chicago Peace Council and Chicago PAC are cosponsoring a Hyde Park rally Aug. 7 around the demand "Out Now!"

community can be mobilized against the war. It will provide SMC chapters and other campus and high school groups with an early focus for mobilizing high school and college students. Unions, churches and community groups can schedule various activities on that date, aimed at draw-

OUT NOW! Buttons, leaflets and posters for the Oct. 13 Moratorium and the Nov. 6 mass actions against the war can be obtained from NPAC: Leaflet, "Demonstrate Oct. 13 and Nov. 6," bulk rate one cent each; Buttons, "Out Now: Nov. 6," 25 cents each, 15-100, 20 cents, over 100, 10 cents; Poster for Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 listing all the cities in the action, 50 cents each, 10-50, 30 cents, 51-100, 15 cents, over 100, 10 cents; Stickers, 300 for \$1.25; Position papers: "Why Out Now" and "Mass Action Against the War," under five free, otherwise one cent each; Contingency leaflets: Women, Black, Gay, GIs and Vets, Labor, and La Raza contingents, under five free, otherwise one cent each; Also: April 24 commemorative buttons, "Enough!," designed by Jules Feiffer, 25 cents each. National Peace Action Coalition, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10011. Contact Cathy Perkus, (212) 741-2018.

Although the size of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day actions will vary, it is clear from these reports that a significant step has been taken toward establishing the kind of unity that will make the Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 actions the biggest yet.

Oct. 13 is a date when every local

ing significant new forces into the organized antiwar movement.

The fall offensive will culminate in mass actions in 15 cities on Nov. 6. These actions could very well involve more people than any previous actions held by the antiwar movement.

Juveniles tortured in U.S. institutions

By JOE JOHNSON

DENVER — James Howard, former Midwestern bureau chief for the *Christian Science Monitor*, spoke at the summer lecture series at the University of Colorado Memorial Center in Boulder July 21. He told the audience of over 200 about the shocking conditions he found in juvenile institutions that he had visited in the past four years.

Some examples of the conditions he found include the following:

- In Washington, he visited a detention home where children spend up to 20 hours a day in solitary confinement in strip cells "about the size of a home bathroom," with no mattress and nothing to read because a prisoner once tried to flush the pages down the toilet.

- In Indiana, he found an institution where children had bruises from being beaten with a heavy strap.

- In Tennessee, he talked to a reform school superintendent who admitted in front of witnesses that boys who caused trouble were put in a small room and forced to run between large men with belts and paddles.

- In Delaware, he found children whose eardrums had been ruptured from severe beatings.

- In South Carolina, he found boys as young as 9 with anal gonorrhea from sexual attacks by older boys, who were armed with sticks and paid \$2.25 a week by prison officials "to keep the younger boys in line."

It's likely, said Howard, that one third of the teen-age women in reform schools are there because they've been raped by fathers, stepfathers, uncles, or other relatives. "They're locked up as runaways and no one has bothered to ask them why they ran away," he said.

Thousands of children go to jail each year "in filthy county jails so crude that the federal government won't put federal prisoners in them because they're not fit for adults," said Howard.

At the White House Conference on Children last December, he showed a film report of conditions in these institutions. Despite these efforts, he said, "I still see no national concern for a drive to make changes."

N.Y. gays protest syndicate and police

By JOHN LAURITSEN

NEW YORK — On less than 24 hours' notice, more than 1,000 gay men and women marched through the streets of Greenwich Village here late Saturday night, July 24, in protest against both the police and the syndicate. The demonstration was called by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) and endorsed by the Daughters of Bilitis, Gay Women's Liberation Front, Mattachine Society, Gay Revolution Party and Gay Youth.

The aim of the demonstration was to protest "the monopolistic domination and exploitation of the gay community by the syndicate" and "the police corruption which has long profited and supported the syndicate's dom-

ination and exploitation of the gay community." One of the chants was "Hey, Hey! Ho, Ho! The Mafia in blue has got to go!"

Focuses of the protest were Christopher's End bar and the Sixth Precinct police station.

Within the past few weeks, general police harassment of gay people has sharply increased. And a week before the protest, a combined force of federal agents and city police called the "New York Joint Strike Force Against Organized Crime" had raided a number of after-hours clubs, most of which had predominantly gay clientele. Christopher's End was one of these, but within days it was again operating.

The Saturday protest was triggered by a sign posted outside Christopher's End referring to "weirdo sex inside." This prompted about 50 angry gays to picket the bar on Friday, June 23.

According to GAA spokespeople, several incidents occurred at the Friday night demonstration which alarmed the gay community. A half dozen men, apparently connected with Christopher's End, menaced the demonstrators and threatened to take action against GAA. A large man attacked a television cameraman and was dragged away and arrested by police. One hoodlum put out his cigarette on the arm of a demonstrator. Another brandished a knife from the doorway of the establishment.

At an emergency meeting that night, gay activists decided to call the Saturday night demonstration.

GAA representatives feel that the protest reflects a turning point in the consciousness of the gay community. Bolstered by a new sense of gay pride from such events as the Christopher Street Liberation Day march on June 27, gays are no longer willing to submit to police harassment and syndicate exploitation.

Lesbian workshop at abortion conference

A report on a proposal from the lesbian workshop was presented to the July 16-18 National Abortion Conference in New York by Connie Mayer from New Haven Women's Liberation. It was approved by the conference as a whole. It represented a minority position in the lesbian workshop, however, because the Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE) caucus, representing a small minority in the conference as a whole, marched into the workshop as a bloc and took it over five minutes before it was scheduled to adjourn. (See July 30 *Militant* for a full report of the conference.)

The proposal reported on and approved by the conference read, in part:

"As women, some of us want to have children. Some of us do not. But it must be our choice. Like all women, lesbians suffer from the unavailability of abortions, from backroom abortionists, and fears of unwanted pregnancies. Because we, as lesbians, represent women from all different backgrounds, these laws oppress us directly.

"The reactionary abortion laws throughout the country also help to perpetuate the myth that a woman's place is in the home as wife and mother. This myth is especially oppressive to lesbians.

"We propose that at the massive marches for the repeal of all abortion laws we march in a contingent as lesbians. We propose, also, that the abortion coalition put out literature

on why lesbians support abortion repeal, that gay speakers be included in all meetings that take place during the course of this campaign, and that they be available to speak in the name of the campaign for abortion law repeal when speakers are requested for other meetings.

"Carrying out these activities will not only help to build an historic national campaign to win for women the right to choose whether or not we want to have children, but it will also help us to reach thousands of lesbians who might first become active or interested in the movement to repeal abortion laws before becoming active in the gay movement. Through our participation with speakers, leaflets, etc., we can also reach out to all others building this campaign, and win them to a better understanding of the significance of our struggle."

This resolution was signed by gay women from around the country, including Catherine Anderson, San Antonio Women's Liberation; Pat Putnam, Boston Female Liberation; Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party; Rima Demarais, University of California, Berkeley; Jennifer Gau, Detroit Daughters of Bilitis; Mary Heath, Utah Gay Women's Liberation; and Ellen Monahan, Women's Liberation Front and NOW in Cleveland.

Socialist candidate fights for youth

SEATTLE — Gary Johnson, 18-year-old Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council, held a news conference here July 6 on the steps of the King County voter registration office. The focus of the conference, which was covered by all the major news media, was Johnson's registering to vote in light of the newly ratified 26th Amendment lowering the voting age. When he announced his candidacy the week before, there was speculation in the press concerning his eligibility to run.

At a news conference, Johnson noted that high school youth face virtually no prospects for work in the Puget Sound area, where unemployment is approaching 20 percent. High school rights and the removal of police agents from the Seattle high schools will be a focus of his campaign, which he said will be a vehicle for aiding those movements of people who are fighting the system.

On July 16, Johnson spoke at a Militant Forum here on the topic "Narcotics agents in the high schools: the inside dope." He has been a leader of protests against the use of agents, disguised as students, in the high schools.

Regarding the growing use of drugs, including heroin, by high schoolers, Johnson asked, "Why do high school students want to come to school stoned?" The answer, he said, lies in the alienation that comes from being denied the basic right of free speech, the right to organize, and the transmission of sexism and racism into the high schools. Police agents, he charged, were used by school administrations to demoralize high school students and to help spread the fear and suspicion that divides them and prevents unified action.

"It might also be embarrassing," Johnson noted, "if, instead of busting high schoolers, they busted the suppliers. In the Black community, it is common knowledge that police and other 'pillars of society' are involved in putting drugs in the schools."

Johnson's campaign has already made an impression on the media. Four radio stations taped his forum

and several television and radio interview shows have requested his appearance.

UAW strikers return to work

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND — After six months of striking against Pesco Products Division of Borg-Warner, members of United Auto Workers Local 363 were forced to return to work when two representatives of the international union told a packed meeting in no uncertain terms that nothing more could be won from the company.

At a previous ratification meeting July 3, an angry membership booed the international representative and voted to reject the company offer a third time.

After their "final" offer was turned down July 3, the corporation made a few "concessions." To placate the complaints that there was a cap on the "escalator clause" in the second and third years and that the clause was not included in the first year of the contract, Pesco management conceded an unlimited cost-of-living clause for the third year of the agreement, to be computed at the end of the year.

Most UAW contracts with this clause are compiled quarterly according to the government's Consumer Price Index. This "concession" did not go uncriticized by those who were lucky enough to get the floor at the meeting.

"We have only begun to negotiate with this company," said one woman. "Now that they are hurting we should hold out for the full escalator clause and for the three years."

Another member pointed out the fraud of an escalator clause in the third year of the contract that is compiled only at the end of the year. "This means that we will not get the increase in the cost of living until the contract has expired and then we must begin to negotiate with the company to include the increase in the next contract."

The meeting was conducted in the most undemocratic fashion. Warren Davis, assistant director of Region 2 and 2A, and the Executive Board members of the local union—who were unanimous for the contract—were allowed unlimited time to speak. This took one hour. After they finished, the chairman put a three-minute time limit on speeches from the floor.

When four members spoke against the proposal, Davis suggested—in a ten minute speech—that since everyone's mind was made up, the chairman should entertain a motion to cease debate. This procedure allowed one hour and 10 minutes for the proposal and 12 minutes against it.

In the three times Warren Davis spoke, he pulled out all the stops in order to stampede the members back to work. "You may have to stay out an additional two months," he told the members who have been bled dry by the company for the past six months. "And the company may make good its threat to hire scabs."

On reliable authority, many workers knew that the corporation had lost millions of dollars in new aircraft contracts because of the strike. Nevertheless, a strike of such long duration exhausts the capacity of even the most well-heeled union member. While they are bled by the corporation, the international union stands by doing nothing and waiting for the most convenient time to force an end to the strike.

The vote by secret ballot was 241 to accept the company proposal and 82 opposed.

Abortion campaign counters red-baiting

By TERRY HARDY

On Friday, July 23, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition held a press conference as the first step in getting the word out to women about the proposals adopted at its national abortion action conference held at Columbia University July 16-18.

Spokeswomen for the coalition pointed out that the conference brought together women from dozens of abortion groups around the country who have been fighting for abortion law repeal on a state level, and who now want to combine their efforts in a national campaign for repeal of all abortion laws. To do this, the conference voted to:

1) Call for national demonstrations on Nov. 20 in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco to unite women from all sectors of society in a massive, visible action for the total repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of contraception laws.

2) Set a national legislative campaign which would include researching the possibilities for national abortion law repeal legislation and establishing a national information coordination service to keep constituent groups informed of the progress of legislation in the various states.

3) Organize a nationwide effort to have the abortion laws declared unconstitutional, including encouraging women to file class action suits where none are yet in progress; and coordinating information on the laws and the progress of suits in different states.

4) To launch a national effort to win the freedom of Shirley Wheeler, a woman who faces imprisonment on "manslaughter" charges in Florida for having an abortion.

Another press conference was also held on July 22 by an organization called Feminist Organization for Communication, Action, and Service (FOCAS). This organization, as its literature states, "was formed by a nucleus of eight feminists," all of whom are members of or work with Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE). WISE was the caucus of about 150 women who walked out of the abortion conference after its demands were voted down.

The discussion at the FOCAS press conference did *not* center around building an abortion law repeal campaign, but consisted almost entirely of attacking and red-baiting the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

At the press conference, members of FOCAS claimed that the abortion conference "was dominated by a particular political party and its members—the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance," and that the more than 1,000 women at the conference were being "manipulated" by these two organizations. In addition, the FOCAS press release criticized what they called the conference's "emphasis" on mass street demonstrations, calling such demonstrations "only one narrow, indirect approach" to achieving the goal of repeal of abortion laws.

Political division

These two press conferences reflected a deep-going political division which took place at the conference itself between the WISE caucus, who walked out of the conference and disassociated themselves from the abortion action campaign, and the overwhelming majority of the 1,000 women attending the conference, who supported the campaign.

At the conference, the WISE women organized a caucus to push for the inclusion of "Freedom of sexual expression" as a fourth demand to be

put forward by the national campaign for abortion law repeal, no forced sterilization, and repeal of anticontraception laws. This proposal was thoroughly discussed during the workshops and was defeated by an overwhelming vote at a conference plenary session.

The red-baiting began when it became clear to the WISE caucus supporters that they were in a minority. Instead of continuing the debate on the political issues, they charged that the conference was "controlled" by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and that the seven to eight hundred delegates who disagreed with them on this issue were being "used" and "manipulated" by the "male-dominated" Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In addition, at various points during the conference, when the WISE women disagreed with decisions made by the majority, they disrupted the proceedings by chanting, speaking out of turn, and at one point even marched to the front of the hall as a group, unplugged the microphone, and attempted to take over the meeting.

While women from WISE attacked the abortion conference and the abortion coalition on the grounds that it was undemocratically controlled by the SWP, anyone who was at the conference knows that it was the WISE women themselves who were completely contemptuous of democratic proceedings. In fact, the WISE caucus attempted to do *exactly* what they accused the SWP and YSA of doing.

That is, instead of trying to win over a majority to their view through democratic discussion, they attempted—on a number of occasions, even through physical disruption—to undemocratically force their views on the majority.

There were many members of the SWP and YSA at the conference, and SWPers and YSAers are among those who have worked most consistently for abortion repeal and to build the abortion conference. But the great majority of women there who disagreed with the WISE caucus about adding the fourth demand, and who voted against them, were not even socialists, much less members of the SWP or YSA. WISE spokeswomen pointed this out several times themselves. The hundreds of women who sat for two days and seriously discussed and debated the important questions raised by the abortion campaign included many of the most dedicated fighters for abortion law repeal in the country today.

The idea that the women at this conference were not capable of making

up their own minds and were being "manipulated" by the SWP and YSA was seen by the participants—and rightfully so—as an insult to their intelligence. It was seen as reflecting the generally low opinion which our oppressors have of the intellectual capacities of women.

Moreover, by taking their red-baiting accusations to the public press, the supporters of the WISE caucus further indicated their lack of serious concern for building a united, democratically run abortion campaign.

The results of such a press conference could not be anything but harmful to the movement. In New York, for example, the WABC radio report on the WISE press conference consisted of the following short sentence: "The women's lib [sic] movement today made charges that two socialist organizations, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, are trying to take over the women's lib [sic] movement."

The purpose of such "reports," of course, is to try to scare off women who want to fight for abortion law repeal.

The decisions of the national abortion conference were arrived at democratically, and a democratic structure for the coalition—with one vote from each of a broad spectrum of organizations who support the aims of the coalition—was decided upon to implement the conference decisions.

The WISE women, on the other hand, would not accept the democratic decisions of the conference. If they disagree with the political approach adopted by the Women's National Abortion Conference, they have every right to organize a campaign for abortion repeal around a perspective they feel would be more effective—and also to present their views at future meetings of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

But their approach of attempting to use red-baiting to scare women away from joining a campaign to repeal abortion laws, a campaign decided upon democratically at a massive conference of abortion repeal activists—is totally destructive of attempts to win gains for women.

Red-baiting is a tactic which has been used consistently by the government and many right-wing organizations to try to discredit developing mass movements. In some cases, it has successfully destroyed them.

Red-baiting by participants in a movement is equally as harmful. The accusation that socialists in the movement have some ulterior motives for their actions, or attempts to smear people with opposing views by charg-

ing that they are "male-dominated" or being "used" by the SWP can only obscure the real issues of debate and create an emotional, antidemocratic atmosphere which makes it impossible for the important questions before the movement to be debated out in a serious manner.

Mass demonstrations

One issue which clearly needs to be discussed and has been obscured by WISE red-baiting is the view raised in the FOCAS press release that demonstrations represent a "narrow, indirect approach" to winning repeal of abortion laws. If the supporters of the WISE caucus believe that mass demonstrations are a "narrow, indirect approach"—as it is clear at least some of them do—instead of clouding the issues by red-baiting the SWP and YSA, they should have raised this as an important point of discussion at the conference itself.

In the workshops, and to some extent at the conference plenaries, useful discussion on the question of the importance of mass demonstrations as a means of building the women's liberation movement took place. The abortion conference voted to use *all* the different tactics available to women to fight for repeal of abortion laws, and it is utterly false to charge, as some FOCAS literature has done, that the conference did not consider in a serious way the use of legislative fights and court actions. The legislative workshop, which met for three hours, was one of the largest workshops at the conference and had its recommendations passed by the conference as a whole.

At the same time, with the exception of several WISE caucus supporters, there was no feeling expressed on the part of the delegates who participated in the workshops on mass demonstrations, and who discussed these workshops on the floor, that mass demonstrations represented a "narrow," or "indirect" approach. On the contrary, mass demonstrations were seen as an extremely important way of visibly uniting the massive numbers of women who *are* ready to fight for the repeal of abortion laws and no forced sterilization. It was felt that mass demonstrations would help show that women are not going to sit back and rely on the judges and the legislators to give us our rights, but that we are going to organize in an independent way, as women, to demand what is our right. The sight of thousands of women from all walks of life marching together in the streets in a national

Continued on page 28



Full rights for youth

The radicalization in this country is penetrating deep into every social layer of youth, even into the elementary schools. Young people are in the forefront of the major political and social struggles of our time. They are questioning everything that's rotten about this society—the war in Southeast Asia, racism, the draft, infringements of civil liberties, the destruction of the environment, unemployment, the oppression of women, and sterile and rigid values and traditions.

Youth are demanding all the basic rights of citizens which have traditionally been denied them, depriving them of personal freedom, intellectual freedom, and the right to full participation in the political, economic and social life of this country.

The ratification last month of the 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, granting 18 to 21-year-olds the right to vote, reflected the growing impact of the youth rebellion. But this decision is seen more and more by young people as only a first step toward winning full personal and political rights as citizens.

Another example of this pressure by young people was seen in Michigan, where the legislature voted July 13 to lower the age of majority to 18. This will grant 18-year-olds almost all legal rights of adults, including the right to serve on juries, to make a will, and to sue and be sued. Despite this gain, however, young people still face discrimination. Under Michigan law, a person must still be 21 to qualify for the bar or to have ballot status as a candidate for the state legislature, and must be 30 to run for governor or lieutenant governor. Most states, however, have not even made the minimal concessions that Michigan has.

Many young people are already pressing forward to exercise their newly won rights under the 26th Amendment. Examples are the campaigns of 18-year-old Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council in Seattle, and the three young SWP candidates in Worcester, Mass. (See stories, pages 4 and 9.)

The three SWP candidates in Worcester are waging a vigorous legal fight to win the right to register and run for office in the city where they live and go to school rather than where their parents live. The Massachusetts attorney general's ruling in their favor dealt a blow to conservative forces which would like to impose discriminatory restrictions on students because students are fighting for social change. But the fight in Worcester isn't over. Attempts to overturn this ruling through appeal courts must be fought. And similar fights are being pressed throughout the country.

The constitutionality of such reactionary residency requirements, both for voting and for welfare payments, has been under challenge in the courts in recent years. To require students to travel back to their parents' residence in order to register, and to then force them to write for an absentee ballot in order to vote, presents a serious obstacle to many young voters. Students are a part of the communities in which they live, just as nonstudents are. Their lives are affected by issues in the community, and therefore they must have the right to vote and run for office in that community.

This emerging battle of young people for greater political and social rights will be an increasingly powerful aspect of the deepening radicalization in this country.

Youth are also denied rights as citizens in the area of juvenile "justice." Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 6-3 in one case and 5-4 in another that the Constitution does not give juveniles the right to trial by jury.

The reasoning behind this decision was that juvenile courts are supposedly a place to hear evidence against the young person and then exert parent-like "guidance" to bring the wayward youth back into line. As Justice Blackmun expressed this notion: "an intimate, informal, protective proceeding."

Only in the past few years have young people even won such basic rights as the right to advance notice of a trial, the right to counsel and to confrontation and cross-examination, the constitutional right against self-incrimination, and the requirement of proof of charges beyond a reasonable doubt.

Even with these rights, young people haven't received much "protection" out of this system, however. Juveniles are punished with as much as 10 years in custody. They are crowded into detention centers awaiting trials, and are sent after trial to be locked up in institutions as bad as, or worse than, adult jails and prisons. Young people who spend time in these hellholes are branded as criminals for life.

And yet the Supreme Court has arrogantly refused to recognize the right of young people to defend themselves through a trial by a jury of their peers.

Kissinger

I guess some people are more equal than others. How come Henry Kissinger can travel to China and not be indicted and faced with five years in jail, as was journalist William Worthy a few years ago? As far as I know, Kissinger isn't even a good ping-pong player.

Not only that, but according to an Associated Press report from Saigon, Kissinger used a fake passport. What's the penalty for that?
*Ruth Porter
New York, N. Y.*

Green revolution

Over the past few years a "green revolution" has been taking place in the countries of the Eastern hemisphere. Primarily due to the development of new hybrid breeds, there has been a large increase in corn, wheat and rice production—large enough to guarantee enough food for the entire population for the first time in recorded history. It appeared that hunger could, at last, be wiped out in those areas of the world.

However, the latest reports indicate that this great technological advance has run up against that great barrier to progress: the profit system. The increased food production should result in lower prices but the farmers want to keep the prices up, so instead of feeding the hungry millions in the world, farmers are being encouraged to cut down on crops. In Malaysia, for example, the government has told farmers to cut down on rice production. The government wants them to raise only 90 percent of the needs in that country and import the rest — to avoid the problems of over-production!

The International Rice Research Institute, which developed the new rice strains, is now warning that "the fear of scarcity may be replaced by the fear of surplus."

For generations we've been told, "It can't be done. You'll never be able to feed the teeming millions in the East." Now, it has been proven that it can be done, but the benefits of increased food production are being denied to people because the capitalist system puts profit above human needs.

It isn't the population explosion of the poor that is the problem today. It's that tiny group in our population who own and control the facilities of production and distribution that is the problem. And they will remain a problem until the "green revolution" is accompanied by a red revolution across the entire world.

*Evelyn Sell
Austin, Texas*

New consciousness

It has been only a year since I transcended from a liberal to a truer, more revolutionary, or radical consciousness. Facets of the radical socio-political scene—racism, capitalism, the cultural imperialism of Indochina aggression, and liberation—have led to a greater awakening into a leftist counter-culture.

Observation of the environment and my own and others' life styles has impressed upon me even more fervently the need for new consciousness, new reason, a trashing of the

sick motivations rampant in today's mentality.

Being a journalist myself, I find *The Militant* to be highly convincing. It is not convincing in the "propaganda" sense or in the realm of appealing to the "far-out fringe," or because it is "moderate enough" for the liberals. *The Militant* is convincing because the case is presented with quality writing and in-depth, captivating reporting. Do not sacrifice this integrity.

Examples of this type of writing are evident at even a skim; for example, the series on the Pentagon papers and international liberation struggles.

You do not merely scream or mumble to your revolutionary friends directly involved. You do not compromise your purpose, yet you do not alienate the potentially radical.

You do not articulate for the majority, but the minority you speak for is growing as people are convinced we are manipulated and squelched by the corporate state ad nauseam—its domestic and international death-dealing.

Without becoming those things we hate in the enemy, we must continue to uphold the newer and higher reason.

*J. K.
Milwaukee, Wis.*

'Set the date'

The "Set the date" demand being pushed by certain sectors of the antiwar movement can only give Nixon more time to carry on the war.

Look at the present situation. Antiwar sentiment is at a new high, as shown in various polls; April 24 was the largest antiwar demonstration to date; new rifts in the ruling class have appeared, as shown by the backstabbing Pentagon paper disclosures. On July 2-4, we saw the largest adult antiwar convention to date; agreement on a common date for fall actions between PCPJ and NPAC has been reached, and this is a non-election year—the best time for building massive antiwar demonstrations. Everything is on the upswing for the movement and in the midst of this rise the "Set the date" forces pop up and in essence say: "President Nixon, please tell us your date and we in the antiwar movement will pledge to you that amount of time as uninterrupted time to carry on the slaughter in Southeast Asia. We will hold down the public outrage. No demonstrations. No protests. Yes, Mr. Nixon, the movement grants you a license to kill."

What a sham! What miseducation for the American people. What capitulation to the capitalist "doves" who are trying to pacify public opinion with future promises.

The only demand which makes sense, which is principled, and which can carry the movement decisively forward is "Out Now!" Not a license to kill, but Out Now!

*Don Bechler
Los Angeles, Calif.*

Cornell Female Studies

The Cornell University Female Studies Program is in jeopardy. We ask for your support.

In the year and a half that the Cornell program has been in existence, it has received national attention as a leader in the fast-growing

The Great Society

field of female studies. Our program has offered five different courses to over 700 students. The Female Studies Program also sponsors research and has participated in community programs.

In order to continue to develop courses, generate research and seek long-term funding, the Female Studies Program needs money for a director. The program has approached several large foundations, but so far has received no grants. And although Cornell President Dale Corson praised the Female Studies Program in his 1971 commencement address as one of the things that has made Cornell better, the university itself has not met the program's need for money.

We ask that those interested in the growth of female studies nationally and the continuing development of the Cornell University program write a letter to President Corson at Cornell, Ithaca, N. Y. 14850, in support of our program, urging that we be given adequate funds to continue. *Deborah Spitz, Coordinator Female Studies Ithaca, N. Y.*

Farm workers

I am writing this letter in order to ask for some sort of contribution from you or your organization. I am Christine Martinez, a volunteer worker for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Center, Colo. I work with 18 other volunteers like myself for \$5 weekly.

We need any contribution, such as food, money, clothes, or anything that it would be possible to contribute to us. Whatever is donated will be used to feed and clothe the needy migrant farm worker families.

Christine Martinez, Mary Garcia, Freida Valdez UFWOC Box 458 Center, Colo. 81125

Life under socialism

The analysis of U. S. imperialism was very good. Let's have some more like it. It seems that since *The Militant* is in many cases the first contact people have with socialist literature, you should tell us more about what socialism would be like, how life under socialism would be, etc.

Please publish some articles about why there won't be any material basis for war, or suppression of minorities under socialism.

It seems that *The Militant* should have more articles on what socialism is all about.

D. Z. 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.

Note to skinheads — Image-conscious, balding executives wary of slippery wigs are turning to hair transplants. The process involves removing remaining hair from the back of the neck and transplanting it in the bald area. The process can take from several months to as long as two years. Ten to 25 grafts are transplanted at each weekly sitting. The job can cost as much as \$2,500 and wind up looking a bit unnatural. But, notes **Business Week**. "It washes and combs easily and won't mat, flatten, slip or blow off." And, it's tax-deductible.

Really? — Ninety percent of parents who withdraw their children from school after primary education do so because of poverty, a Malaysian educator said.

Nuts! — Peanuts and peanut butter were declared verboten at a Johannesburg girls' high school because they are considered sexual stimulants.

Smell of blood and bread — "The essence of life and death that drew Nero and thousands of other Romans to the gladiatorial bouts. . . is what

attracts the auto racing buff today. And that's the way the second annual California 500. . . is being advertised this year. . . . The posture of the advertising 'stripped of everything but the bare essentials, is that in auto racing you win big or you lose big.'" — From a **Los Angeles Times** interview with a couple of hustling hucksters commissioned to sell the event.

What sick society? — ". . . we must give rueful recognition to the fact we are on a national binge — a bender, if you will. Alcohol, amphetamines, barbiturates, hallucinogenics, and, finally, heroin, are being used as never before in history in our desperate drive to camouflage reality." — Edward Bennet Williams, chairman, American Bar Association committee on crime prevention and control.

Holy wedlock — Traditional wedding festivities generate an annual \$8-billion in retail services. Divorce fees extra.

Dietary prospects — Insects are an excellent source of protein, says a Uni-

versity of Southern California professor, and what with pollution and population growth they may become a principal source of food. A pound of grasshoppers, he says, has three or four times as much protein as a pound of steak. We can easily foresee a booming business in New York roachburgers. But our question is this: If the food-processing companies switch to insects, will their plants be infested with animals?

Thought for the week — "The problem of theft and counterfeiting in the nation's money market is so great that some frustrated officials suggest the opening of a futures market in hot paper. We are not far away from something like that; the stolen securities market is so big that it has become an essential feature of some large business transactions. . . . The dangers of this developing situation are not hard to see. People who are not involved in the fast world of business may suspect that there is not a great gulf between the legitimate and the illegitimate anyway." — D. J. R. Bruckner in the **Los Angeles Times**.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

A team of ten students and four faculty members at the Claremont Colleges in California did a study on the care children get in the United States and issued a 55-page report called "Child Care Crisis." The study was done under the Program in Public Policy Studies. Their findings echo the contention that the women's liberation movement has made: this country needs an entire reorganization of the way children are cared for — or not cared for — in order to meet the human needs of both women and children.

Here are some of the findings from the study, as reported in the June 17 **Los Angeles Times**: "There is a critical, immediate and urgent need for child care — high-quality child-care services which ensure the maximum development of human potential.

"Alone, families cannot meet all these comprehensive child-care needs, which include needs of children from birth to early adulthood. . . .

"Every child from birth to adolescence should be guaranteed an equal opportunity to receive child care of the highest quality.

"The federal government should provide for the establishment of the child-care facilities to meet the needs of the whole family.

"The funding for these proposals in the interests of the national social welfare should be a federal matter."

The great need for child-care facilities was demonstrated in March, when the Labor Department reported on a survey which showed that almost 26 million children under 18 had mothers who were working or looking for work. Almost six million of these children were under six years old.

This compares to only 15.7 million children under 18 and four million under six who had working mothers ten years ago.

Women, like Blacks, have been treated as a "reserve army of labor" — hired when capitalists need more workers, but the first fired when there are fewer jobs. The current rise in unemployment is hitting women particularly hard, reported the July 5 **New York Times**. In May, 4.5 percent of adult males were unemployed, while unemployment for adult women was 6 percent, or 2.3 million. Unemployment among Black women was 10.6 percent, and among white women 4.5 percent. A Black woman at the Michigan Employment Service Office told the **Times**, "I'm looking for day work, meaning cleaning. But they want to pay \$12 to \$15 a day. But that's the only thing I'm educated for."

At its 1971 convention, the Association of Women Students, which is open to all female college students in the United States, passed resolutions endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment, for the "repeal of existing laws which restrict abortions," for equal involvement of women with men in "whatever selective service system prevails," and for birth-control counseling at all campus health services. The conference also decided that the titles of Miss and Mrs. are discriminatory, since males have no such distinction based on marital status, and that therefore the Association of Women Students would use the title Ms. on all correspondence and forms.

The July 1 issue of **The Spokeswoman** reports a glaring example of contemptuous treatment of women. The Isana Construction Company of Eastlake, Ohio, placed a help-wanted ad for women sewer laborers, apparently as a joke, to prove that women wouldn't want to do such heavy work. Two women, Josephine Denk and Verna Miller, applied and were hired for the job. Both have young children and were attracted by the \$6-per-hour union wage. They worked satisfactorily until the day before they would have had to join the union, and then they were fired. The union — Local 8 of the Laborers Union — refused to support the women against the company, complaining that if the women kept their jobs the union would have to provide them with separate toilet facilities. The women have the support of the National Organization for Women and the Women's Equity Action League, and have filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

The Spokeswoman, which carried this story, used to be financed by a research corporation, but has recently become an independent publication owned and controlled by a feminist. For a \$7 one-year subscription to this monthly news bulletin, write to: **The Spokeswoman**, 5464 South Shore Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60615.

On June 23 the House Judiciary Committee added an amendment to the women's Equal Rights Amendment that would open the door to laws which discriminate against women. The amendment would exempt women from the draft and permit any law that "reasonably promotes the health and safety of the people." The Committee voted to approve the amendment with the added provision.

— CAROLINE LUND

By LEE SMITH

In the furor created by the Nixon administration's reactionary attempts to suppress the publication in the *New York Times* and other papers of material exposing the warmakers' aims in Indochina, some claimed that this kind of censorship was unprecedented in U.S. history. For example, Yale law professor Alexander M. Bickel, who represented the *Times* in court, was quoted in his client's paper June 16 as saying that to bar publication of such material "for the first time in the history of this republic" would set an unfortunate precedent. (Emphasis added.)

In a front-page editorial on June 17, the Communist Party's *Daily World* stated, "For the first time in the history of this nation the government seeks, through the courts, to impose massive censorship on the press." (Emphasis added.) The *Daily World* editorial also called Nixon's move "fascist-minded" and said, "The *Daily World*, like the vast majority of Americans, is concerned that fascism shall not advance, that democracy shall be preserved."

The Communist Party and others on the left who scream "fascism" every time the ruling class makes a reactionary move do a serious disservice in miseducating their followers about what fascism really is. In the case of the Communist Party, this is done deliberately to build up support for the so-called "progressive forces" in the capitalist parties.

In actual fact, the Nixon administration's attempted suppression of the publication of the Pentagon's Vietnam study was neither "fascistic" nor without precedent in American history.

In seeking court action to stop publication of the Vietnam study, U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell said that the papers carrying the study might be guilty of violating the Espionage Act.

The main features of the revolutionary-socialist policy toward the war consisted in 1) unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist attack of Germany, 2) unconditional defense of the Chinese self-determination struggle against Japanese imperialism, and 3) no support to the U.S. ruling class, whose war aims were imperialist domination of a larger section of the globe. The SWP and *The Militant* pointed out that in order for the United States to fight effectively against fascism a workers government would be required that could inspire confidence among the German workers and aid them in overthrowing Hitler.

Roosevelt and the imperialist rulers recognized the SWP's position as a threat because it corresponded to the reality of the war, and consequently jailed some of the SWP leaders.

When these convictions under the notorious Smith Act failed to silence the party's opposition to the war, a further move was made to choke off the party's most effective voice, *The Militant*.

The Post Office impounded the Nov. 7 and Nov. 14, 1942, issues of *The Militant* without notification. The business office only discovered this action when they inquired directly after receiving word from around the country that these issues had not arrived. This began a year-and-a-half-long fight for *The Militant's* right to publish.

On Jan. 5, 1943, after several issues of *The Militant* were held up for more than a week or destroyed, the postmaster general ordered representatives of *The Militant* to report at a hearing in Washington, D.C., Jan. 21, 1943, to "show cause" why the paper's second-class mailing rights should not be revoked.

On Nov. 24, 1942, shortly after the first suppressions had come to light, the *Daily Worker* reported with obvious approval that the "Trosky-

the war, and comments showing the war's effect on the labor movement and the fight of Black people for their rights. Much of the material showed that the U.S. imperialists continued making business deals with German and Japanese capitalists as the hostilities were in progress. None of it was false.

The Post Office attorney at the hearing, William C. O'Brien, in effect, conceded that the articles in question were true, arguing, "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything *The Militant* said is true."

The principal argument of the government was that *The Militant's* criticisms of big business, its description of the war as an imperialist war, and its articles showing how labor and Black people suffered from the war tended to discourage enlistment in the armed forces. Thereby, O'Brien said, *The Militant* undermines the war effort.

The hearing board reported its findings to the postmaster general for final determination. On March 3, 1943, he issued an order depriving *The Militant* of its second-class mailing rights. For one full year, *The Militant* was mailed third and fourth class. During that time, issues continued to be held up. Sometimes issues were destroyed as "unavailable," such as the May 1, 1943, issue.

The Militant continued to publish and tell the truth about the war in the face of these difficulties. At the same time, the paper and its supporters waged a campaign to mobilize opposition to the government's action and win back full mailing rights for *The Militant*.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee that worked to rally support for the 18 frame-up victims in the Minneapolis Smith Act trial endorsed *The Militant's* fight.

The pressure generated by the defense campaign

When The Militant was suppressed for telling the truth

Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

By George Collins

1917 the power of the hateful Czarist autocracy and people of Russia was overthrown. Party led by Lenin and Trotsky, the millions became the rulers of Russia, transformed the world.

As not destroyed because the bureaucracy by its continued isolation, its great economic backwardness, the revolution will remain but performed wonders of industrialization in a short time.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Stalinists Attack SWP Candidate in Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 1.—Angered by the interest which has been aroused by the principled working-class program which Grace Carlson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator in Minnesota, has presented in her campaign, the Stalinist candidate for governor yesterday launched into a vicious attack on the Trotskyists as "fifth columnists" in a radio address over WLOL.

"The Trotskyist candidate for U. S. Senator has said that this is an imperialist war," said Stalinist Martin Mackie. "Could Gorbels ask for anything more?" Using the fact that the Socialist Workers Party has presented a sane analysis of the war as it affects the workers and farmers in Minnesota, the Communist Party announced that it attempted to show from this that the Trotskyists were "fifth columnists." Ex. Ambassador Davis' recent book, "Moscow in Moscow," was quoted as proof of the fact that Leon Trotsky and his followers in Russia were "fascist agents."

Only five days before this lying attack on the Socialist Workers Party, Mackie had an opportunity to make these charges to the candidate herself.

Administration Moves Closer To Regimentation Of Labor



This photograph from the Soviet battlefield shows Red Army soldiers rushing in to recapture a position won by the German troops.

Right To Change Jobs Would Be Limited Under New Plan

WMC Committee Asks for Executive Order Requiring Unions Approval for Job Changes

By Anthony Massini

NOV. 4.—The administration was reported to be moving closer to the regimentation of labor as President Roosevelt today studied recommendations submitted by the War Manpower Commission's labor-management committee early this week.

Stalinists Aid British Against Indian Masses

Continues' Own Services from India. Printed in Daily Worker.

The Nov. 7, 1942, Militant impounded by the Roosevelt administration

The law Mitchell referred to was enacted on June 15, 1917. It was used by the administration of "progressive" Woodrow Wilson during World War I to bar labor, socialist and pacifist newspapers from the mails (as well as to jail prominent opponents of the war, such as Bill Haywood, Eugene V. Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare). It was employed again by the administration of another liberal, "New Dealer" Franklin Roosevelt, during the Second World War.

Under Wilson's regime, people were prosecuted for saying or writing that a referendum should have preceded a declaration of war, that war was contrary to Christian teaching, that the socks knitted in U.S. homes for soldiers never reached them, etc. Espionage Act prosecutions and other actions under the law, such as the banning of newspapers, reached into the thousands under Wilson.

The Second World War was widely, although mistakenly, viewed as a crusade on behalf of democracy against fascism. Among the most enthusiastic backers of this patriotic lie was the Communist Party. When Roosevelt's postmaster general employed Title XII of the law to try to prevent *The Militant* from telling the truth about World War II, this attempt was cheered on by the Communist Party through the pages of the *Daily Worker*.

In the face of the patriotic war fever, *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party maintained a principled revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war. The revolutionary-socialist analysis of the war differentiated three separate aspects of the world conflict, based on the class nature of the states involved.

ite sheet" had been "barred from the mails for publishing subversive matter." In a Dec. 5 editorial, the *Daily Worker* asserted that *The Militant* "was banned for the same reason Coughlin's *Social Justice* and like organs of those who want the United Nations to lose the war were banned." (Coughlin was a fascist and anti-Semite.)

As the Communist Party was applauding the government's action, others came to the defense of freedom of the press and *The Militant's* right to publish. These included the American Civil Liberties Union, *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *The New Leader* (a social-democratic publication), *The Call* (a Socialist Party paper), *Labor Action*, and the *Reading Labor Advocate* (a labor paper published in Reading, Pa.). The editors of the *Reading Labor Advocate*, writing that they did not agree with "those calling themselves Trotskyists," explained that their defense of *The Militant* was based not only on "broad principles," but also on "selfish considerations," as they recalled what happened to labor papers under the Espionage Act in World War I.

In mid-December 1942, two of the three issues that had been suppressed were released because of the pressure of such criticism. However, the effectiveness of a weekly paper is reduced by such a delay almost as much as if it were simply destroyed—as future issues were to be in the course of the fight.

Prior to the Jan. 21 hearing, the Post Office made available to *The Militant* 27 excerpts from issues of the paper marked "Exhibit A" that supposedly provided the justification for its suppression. At the hearing, an additional 78 excerpts marked "Exhibit B" were presented. The excerpts included news reprinted from other papers about business and

compelled even such capitalist newspapers as the *New York Times* to take a stand. While steering clear of outright opposition to *The Militant's* loss of second-class mailing rights, the *Times* editorially opposed the arbitrary manner in which those rights had been denied. Other major newspapers that took similar positions included the *Philadelphia Record*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and the *Chicago Tribune*.

The government itself finally succumbed to the campaign on behalf of *The Militant* and restored the paper's second-class mailing rights one year and four days after they had been revoked—on March 7, 1944. However, in restoring the second-class rights, the Post Office also asserted that it retained the right to continue delaying issues of *The Militant* and destroying them if they were deemed "unavailable." *The Militant* immediately launched a vigorous protest against this continued restriction, and, on March 17, 1944, all restrictions were lifted.

The capitalist government of this bourgeois democracy stands ready to try attacking basic freedoms any time its interests are sufficiently threatened. While the capitalists are prepared to go to the lengths of assembling a fascist combat force to protect their interests in an extreme crisis, there are many measures short of that, like attempts at press censorship, which are not "fascistic" and should not be labeled as such. Both liberals and conservatives can be counted on to trample constitutional rights if they can get away with it. This is not something that originated with Nixon. The only reliable defense of democratic rights is one based on the masses of the American people, not on the Democratic and Republican party politicians who serve the ruling class.

Worcester socialist candidates assert right to ballot status

WORCESTER, MASS., July 24 — After more than four months of being denied their voting rights, it now appears that the Socialist Workers Party candidates for city office here will be able to register to vote. This will make it possible for Eric Poulos, Kay Lydon and Brent Farrand to appear on the ballot in this fall's municipal election. This appears likely in light of the ruling by state Attorney General Robert Quinn July 21 allowing college students to register to vote in the community where they attend school. All the SWP candidates are students whose parents reside outside Worcester.

On March 8, Poulos had successfully registered to vote in the city. On March 17, he announced his candidacy for City Council, making him the first 19-year-old ever to run for public office here. The next day, City Clerk Robert O'Keefe informed Poulos that his name had been removed from the voters' rolls due to "erroneous information" he had allegedly supplied. Poulos filed suit July 20 seeking to overturn O'Keefe's arbitrary decision. The next day, Quinn made his ruling.

On July 23, both Eric Poulos and Kay Lydon attempted to register once again to vote. Flanked by reporters, the two socialist candidates confronted O'Keefe and demanded their voting rights. O'Keefe refused to register them, claiming he had not yet read the attorney general's ruling and that

he would have to wait until the entire board of registrars could meet and reach a decision on the student voting question.

The ACLU, which is handling the candidates' legal battle, feels confident that the SWP candidates and all other college students in Worcester will be able to register within the week. Should the local board decide to refuse to comply with the guidelines set down by Quinn, the ACLU is prepared to follow through with Poulos' suit.

Following their unsuccessful attempt to register, Poulos and Lydon conducted a news conference about their campaign. "Our candidates," Poulos stated, "... will soon be official candidates and will provide Worcester voters with the only basic alternative to the O'Keefes and the vested interests the city administration represents. . . . We are an alternative to the morass of selfish and profiteering politics practiced in City Hall. The city administration tried to keep us and other students from voting. They failed. We won. This will not be the first time they will lose and we will win."

In order to get on the ballot, a candidate must be a registered voter and have a petition signed by 50 other registered voters. Within the next week, the SWP candidates should meet both of these requirements, putting the SWP on the ballot for the first time in a Worcester election.

—ALAN EINHORN

Mass. ruling extends young voters' rights

By ALAN EINHORN

The voting rights of young people were significantly extended in the state of Massachusetts when state Attorney General Robert H. Quinn ruled July 21 that college students could register to vote in the community where they attend school. This concession, which establishes precedent for similar situations in other states, came only after mass pressure was placed upon the state administration to grant students the same voting rights as other citizens.

The final signing of the 26th Amendment on July 5 granted the right to vote to 11.3 million young people between the ages of 18 and 20. Of these, four million are college students. But while the law has given these people the right to vote, local registrars have arbitrarily prevented college students from registering where they attend school and reside for a minimum of nine months of the year.

The traditional view is that a person must have established a "domicile" in a community in order to register to vote there. This has usually been interpreted to mean that if the young person's parents live out of state and will financially support him or her, then the person must register where the parents reside. This has made it possible to exclude large numbers of students and non-students from voting, since 13 states have no provisions for absentee voting. It has also made it virtually impossible for students to run for public office.

In Massachusetts, a number of legal suits have been filed in federal court in Boston to allow students to vote where they attend school. The most recent suit was filed on July 20 by Eric Poulos, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Worcester City Council. Poulos, who had previously registered to vote, had his name removed from the voters' list the day after he announced his candidacy. According to American Civil Liberties Union sources, it was Poulos' suit that prompted Quinn to release his statement the following day.

Attorney General Quinn had been requested as early as March 2 to come out with a set of guidelines to clarify the situation. It took more than four months for his decision to be formulated. When it finally became public on July 21, it was a clear victory for more democratic elections.

The ruling, which was generally unexpected, overturned an 1843 opinion by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts which held that Harvard students should vote where their parents live. Quinn's opinion stated, "The decision whether a minor voter is entitled to vote should be reached in the same manner as a like decision regarding an applicant for registration who is over 21 years of age and has recently moved into the city or town." He went on to say, "To restrict the 18-year-old's right to choose his residence for voting purpose — a right possessed by voters over 21 years of age — would be to 'abridge' his right to vote 'on account of age' in contravention of the 26th Amendment. Consequently, it must be concluded that for purposes of registering to vote, a minor, either emancipated or unemancipated, over the age of 18 years, has the right to establish his own domicile with or without the consent of his parents or guardian."

The 10-page ruling wiped out virtually all of the previous guidelines for establishing domicile: whether the person is financially supported by his

or her parents; whether the parents live in Massachusetts or elsewhere; and whether the student lives in a dormitory or other college residence.

In Massachusetts alone there are 395,000 new voters between the ages of 18 and 20. Of these, 65,000 are students from out of state who will now be able to vote in Massachusetts.

Those opposed to allowing students to register where they go to school generally contend that students would be able to take over towns and institute radical programs. Quinn's ruling, however, stated that "Fencing out from the franchise a sector of the population because of the way they may vote is constitutionally impermissible." Students constitute 25 to 50 percent of the potential voters in seven Massachusetts communities, including Cambridge. In Amherst, students constitute 90 percent of the population. In 17 other communities, including Boston and Worcester, students make up about 10 percent of the potential voters.

Because of this high concentration of student voters, some local communities will probably appeal Quinn's ruling. The chief clerk of Cambridge's election commission, Madeline Mullen, has already stated that the commission would "probably go to court on the matter rather than register students." The chief registrar in Amherst, upon hearing of Quinn's ruling, could only find words to say "Oh, brother!" The situation will probably be resolved by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The recent decision establishes an important precedent nationwide. For depriving students of their voting rights has been a national phenomenon. Only three other states — Vermont, Washington and Oklahoma — have established guidelines similar to those in Massachusetts. Last month, New York's Governor Rockefeller signed into law a bill that would make it extremely difficult for students to register in college towns. The attorney general of California recently ruled that the 2.5 million students in that state must vote where their parents live unless they are married. Eleven states currently face court cases on the question of student voting rights. One of the first was filed last February by students at the University of Alabama and Auburn University.

Many liberal Democratic senators, such as Alan Cranston of California and Fred Harris of Oklahoma, have suggested that students be allowed to vote in federal elections where they attend school and leave local regulations up to local officials. This position skirts the basic question of whether or not a person is entitled to decide where his or her own home is and where to vote. The Massachusetts ruling is a positive step in that direction. The next step must be the application of the Quinn ruling to students throughout the country. This extension of civil liberties is of vital importance to all Americans.

Liberal politicians, to be sure, see this democratization of the election laws as a way to redirect the political energies of young people back into the mainstream of capitalist politics and off the streets. But in fact it will only give added impetus to the youth radicalization. It will open tremendous possibilities for the campaigns being waged by the Socialist Workers Party and to the ideas of revolutionary socialism by making it possible to reach even greater numbers of radicalizing youth with a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Speeches for Socialism



by James P. Cannon

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Women's Political Caucus goes wrong

By LINDA JENNESS

On July 10-11, over 300 women met in Washington, D. C., to form the Women's National Political Caucus. Initiators of the Caucus included, among others, Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.), Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.); Nancy Banning and Virginia Cairns of the Women's Unit of the Office of Governor Nelson Rockefeller; Virginia Allen, president of Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights; several officers of the National Organization for Women; representatives from the National Council of Negro Women; Women Strike for Peace; and National Welfare Rights Organization.

Their Statement of Purpose states: "We will rally national support for the campaigns of women candidates — federal, state, and local — who declare themselves ready to fight for the needs of women and of all under-represented groups. We will confront our own party structures, and, when necessary, cross party lines in support of such women candidates."

The Women's National Political Caucus is a reflection of the impact of the new feminist movement that is sweeping the country. Women are recognizing that we are unrepresented and misrepresented in public office and in the government. The fact that women are joining together as women to fight for representation is an indication of our growing awareness that we must rely on ourselves to fight for our liberation.

Thus, it is not surprising that the conference in Washington was the target of a lewd attack by President Nixon, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and national security affairs adviser Henry Kissinger. At a meeting in San Clemente, Calif., Rogers referred to Gloria Steinem as "Henry's old girl friend" and said a photograph of the leaders of the Caucus "looked like a burlesque." President Nixon glibly answered, "What's wrong with that?"

This disgusting ridicule from high government officials shows that they have absolutely no understanding of the oppression of women and no thought of ending it.

Fundamental mistakes

The Women's National Political Caucus, however, makes some fundamental political mistakes. The Caucus is attempting to organize women to support the Democratic and Republican parties and candidates. Gloria Steinem makes this clear in an article in the July 26 *New York* magazine, entitled "What Nixon Doesn't Know About Women." She states: "I

found many well-meaning people who still think the Caucus is a 'women's party,' designed to run candidates outside the major parties."

She emphasizes that this is not the case and says: "It also means women may desert their parties, when necessary. I have often felt that I have more in common with Republican women, for instance, than I do with Larry O'Brien [chairman of the Democratic Party National Committee]." (Steinem is currently a member of the Democratic Policy Council.)

By "crossing party lines" and "deserting" parties, the leaders of the Caucus mean leaving the Democratic Party and switching to the Republican Party or vice versa.

The composition of the Caucus, which includes many representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties, also indicates that the main orientation of the Women's Political Caucus is to mobilize women behind candidates of these parties. The Caucus plans to use the timeworn theory of "reward your friends," which consists of offering support to whichever of the Democratic or Republican party candidates appears to be speaking for your cause.

What's wrong with this? The Women's Caucus is saying that if good individuals — i.e., progressive-minded women — are elected to office, it will help improve the status of women.

It is true that there is wide diversity among the Democratic and Republican party candidates, and that in order to woo votes, some are more sensitive than others to the demands of women and other oppressed groups. But despite this diversity, all of them — female and male — have one thing in common. They are all candidates for parties that support and perpetuate a system that depends on the oppression of women.

They support and defend the capitalist system, which finds it *unprofitable* to provide child-care facilities; *unprofitable* to provide equal pay for women; and which views the greater freedom for women implied by legalization of abortion as a *threat* to the stability of capitalist society.

For over 100 years, both the Democratic and Republican parties have governed this country and helped defend and preserve this sexist and racist social system. In all this time, they have done nothing to improve the miserable condition of women. Anything and everything that has been won — including the right of women to vote — has been won only through the hard struggle of women organized as an independent force.

"But we aren't interested in ending capitalism," someone from the Political



Caucus might argue. "We only want to win reforms that will better the status of women. If we can get some women in Congress and in state legislatures, we can perhaps get some legislation passed in the interests of women."

Mass action

Even in the struggle to win reforms for women, concentrating on building support for women Democrats or Republicans is not effective. In fact, it does serious harm to the struggle for immediate goals of women such as abortion law repeal because it encourages women to look for liberation to the parties responsible for our oppression, rather than encouraging them to depend on the mass power of women fighting uncompromisingly for our own interests.

The approach of the Political Caucus places confidence almost entirely on electing "friendly" legislators who will sponsor bills, guide them through months of committee work and win enough support to get them passed.

The women's liberation movement is currently fighting to get reactionary laws repealed and progressive legislation passed, as well as favorable court rulings on the status of women. But the movement is not relying on the maneuvers and promises of Democratic and Republican legislators to accomplish this.

We are building a powerful mass

movement with street demonstrations, public speak-outs, publicity campaigns, and class action suits in order to place the maximum pressure on the politicians to act.

The effectiveness of the giant Aug. 26, 1970, demonstrations in projecting the basic demands of the women's liberation movement all over this country is an example of the power of the women's movement as an independent force. The Nov. 20 demonstrations for repeal of antiabortion laws and the campaign of activities leading up to these demonstrations will be another powerful confrontation with our oppressors.

The strength of the feminist movement today, like the antiwar movement, lies in our independence from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Our organizations and coalitions are separate from these parties and their policies, and we do not patiently sit by through countless committee meetings and years of appeal proceedings waiting for them to act. We do not stop putting pressure on them for fear of embarrassing them or hurting their chances for election. If the Democratic and Republican party politicians, including women candidates, thought they had our support sewed up simply because they spoke out against sexism and racism, they would be much less responsive to our

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Progress in California abortion fight

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The state appellate court threw out key sections of the California Therapeutic Abortion Law July 22 in an important decision that will affect the lives of thousands of California women.

The court's ruling lifted the severe restrictions that had previously forced a woman to declare herself either mentally unfit or the victim of rape or incest in order to get a legal abortion.

Under the new ruling, it is now legal for a woman to obtain an abortion provided that is performed by a doctor in a hospital and before the 20th week of pregnancy.

Representatives of the newly formed Women's Abortion Coalition applauded

ed the new decision in a press conference here July 26, but they pointed out that the restrictions the court left in the law are a continuation of the government's attitude that women should not have the right to control their reproductive lives. They declared the coalition's intention to struggle for total repeal of the California abortion law.

WAC spokeswomen blasted the court-established restrictions as highly arbitrary, citing the divergent time limits in other states, such as that of 24 weeks in New York and 16 weeks in Washington.

Spokeswomen were particularly critical of the hospital requirement, which hits hardest women who are poor,

Black, Chicana, Asian, or Native American. One of those who pointed this out was Yolande Lorca of the Third World women's newspaper *Fourth World*.

Coalition spokeswomen announced their plans to continue building support and gathering co-plaintiffs for their class action women's law suit, and to mobilize women for the West Coast Nov. 20 demonstration in San Francisco demanding total repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of contraception laws.

Women from the WAC expressed the opinion that the state of California would appeal the appellate court's decision to the state supreme court. They also expect that the hospitals will not

respond rapidly to the new decision, and that any gains to be won from this new decision will have to be fought for.

Statements released at the news conference came from Aileen Hernandez, president of the National Organization for Women; Womenpower; a 17-year-old Chicana Catholic high school student; Female Liberation of UC Berkeley; Marijean Suelzle and Adah Maurer of Berkeley NOW; Zaide Kirtley, class action suit lawyer and president of San Francisco NOW; Lorraine Wong, a Catholic student from Lone Mountain College; a representative of Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, and the Office and Professional Employees Union and others.

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

A little over a year has gone by since the first electoral victory of La Raza Unida Party in South Texas and the statewide campaign of La Raza Unida Party in Colorado which was launched as a result of the Second Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver. The massive National Chicano Moratorium against the war Aug. 29, 1970, in Los Angeles showed that the radicalization in the Chicano community is broader than just the youth and students. These events have had a dramatic impact on the Chicano community and have stirred discussion in many parts of the country about the need for an independent Chicano political party.

The idea of forming an independent Chicano party, first picked up by the barrio youth and students — where it rapidly grew in popularity — has now penetrated and won adherence in many sections of the Chicano community, including within some of the traditionally more moderate organizations.

California MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) in particular has been under tremendous pressure from Raza youth critical of its support to the Democratic Party and its generally moderate approach toward solving the problems facing La Raza. In Northern California, many Mapistas helped organize La Raza Unida parties

MAPA weighs political action for La Raza

in such places as Sacramento and Stockton, while in the Oakland and Berkeley city elections this spring, MAPA endorsed the campaigns of La Raza Unida Party, in which some of its own members had been active.

Cesar Chavez, the farm workers union leader who has helped keep this movement within the fold of the Democratic Party, has also taken note of this development. Earlier this year he spoke at a rally in Crystal City, Texas, which launched the Raza Unida election campaign there. He has called upon Chicanos in California to use their "collective vote" for "Raza Unida candidates." Recently, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee formed a "Political Action Committee," primarily for legislative purposes, but we should not be surprised if this committee begins reflecting to some extent the independent thrust of the Chicano movement.

Senator McGovern

The ruling class, however, is also aware of the potential threat the growth of independent Chicano political parties represents. In a speech to the California Democratic Council this spring, Senator George McGovern, an announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, made a carefully prepared pitch for the Chicano vote in 1972. He pointed out the lack of political representation of the state's Chicano population.

Presently there are only two Chicano representatives in the State Assembly and none in the State Senate. According to our numbers in the population, La Raza should have at least 12 State Assembly seats and five state senators.

McGovern urged the Democratic Party in California to redistrict the legislature to provide more Chicano representation, warning them that "this is not simply an altruistic position for the Democratic Party to take. It is necessary for the sur-

vival of the Democratic Party as the party of all the people [sic]. If the Democratic Party does not take positive steps to include America's minorities in — and not just with rhetoric but with a full share of power — the day will surely come when those minorities will leave the Democratic Party out in the political cold." (*Congressional Record*, April 21, 1971)

Recognizing the depth of the radicalization in this country, McGovern goes on to say, "You can't play games with people any more. You either give them what they deserve or they will give you what you deserve."

McGovern, who has voted consistently to give the growers large government subsidies while Chicano farm workers go hungry on the same land, can hardly be expected to make more than token changes, if any. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can be counted upon to solve the basic problems of jobs, housing and education for La Raza. They are both committed to the capitalist system, which profits from and is based on super-exploitation of our people, Black people, and working people.

McGovern, like other capitalist politicians, is worried about the recent study by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican-American Bar Association, which revealed that a shift of only 6 percent of the Chicano vote in the states of Texas, California, Illinois, and New Mexico could determine the outcome of the 1972 presidential election. These states hold 101

pendence of the Chicano community socially, culturally, economically and politically. This strategy is the creation of La Raza Unida Party."

Calling upon MAPA to throw its resources behind obtaining ballot status for a California Raza Unida Party in the 1972 elections, the position paper explained that this would give La Raza the power "to deny our votes to the lesser-of-two-evil candidates and the parties of the Anglo establishment — the Democratic and Republican parties — by running our own candidates on our platform. A people, a movement or a group can only maximize its fullest potential power when it carries with it at all times the ability to be *for itself* and its *true interests* under any and all circumstances." (Emphasis in original.)

An important aspect of Corona's concept of La Raza Unida Party is that it should not just participate in elections. "We must include in our platform and policy formation meetings and conferences all the significant day-to-day issues that confront the masses of our people," he states. "Fights to defend our people's income, jobs, welfare and other benefits, the fight to defend our people against police, sheriffs, and immigration and border patrol arrests and brutality, defense of our poor in the courts, probation, housing projects, hospitals, etc., etc., must be Raza Unida issues at work!"

"Joining with MECHA groups [Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan] in the struggle to retain EOP and Chicano studies departments in high schools, colleges and universities is Raza Unida work. Participating in the farm workers'



Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium, Jan. 31, 1971

votes in the electoral college, only three votes fewer than the 10 Southern states combined. Assuming a 50 percent Chicano voter turnout in California next year, the study pointed out that La Raza will have 894,000 votes, 25 times greater than the difference between the Republican and Democratic vote in 1960, when Kennedy defeated Nixon.

Bert Corona's proposal

It is within this context that a recent call for the formation of La Raza Unida Party in California by Bert Corona, a former president of MAPA and a well-known leader in the Chicano community in Los Angeles, takes on importance.

Corona issued a position paper to MAPA members for discussion at their statewide convention over the July 30 weekend in Fresno. He starts out with an estimate of the significance of the present mass movements.

"The decade of the 1970s that is now unfolding will undoubtedly be the most politically intense and significant decade in the history of our people. The degree of intensity of political activity by Chicanos in the present period stems not only from the fast-developing political maturity of Chicanos themselves, and from coming to political legality for voting of our youth from 18 years to 21 years, but also from the rapid politicalization of large groups of people in the U. S. A. who in the past had not been nearly so active politically. Among these are the poor of all races and colors, students and young people, Black people as a total community, and women as a group. The very dramatic projecting into political activity of these groups throughout the nation impels and influences Chicanos to move politically too."

He concludes that "The time is here for change and for a totally new political strategy for Chicanos. That strategy comes naturally out of the manifested need for self-determination and inde-

struggles — such as in their strikes and boycotts — and in those of workers in other unions for better pay and working conditions for workers is Raza Unida and MAPA work."

Corona points out that to accomplish the mammoth feat of getting La Raza Unida Party on the ballot—in view of California's unconstitutional and restrictive election code — will take 135,000 registrations to guarantee fulfillment of the required 67,000 valid registrations. Some 2,500 new deputy registrars of voters must be deputized to carry this out.

Outlining an ambitious plan of mobilization for the rest of the summer and next fall to get the necessary registrations, Corona emphasizes that "the key is to reach and involve the mass organizations of our people. These are unions where we have large numbers, groups in the *vecindades* [neighborhoods], the community centers, the churches, the high schools, colleges, and most important, directly involve workers at the shops, factories and fields where they work. This means leafletting, sound-trucking, voter registration tables at plant gates, county hospitals, clinics, welfare offices, HRD offices, etc."

In order to mobilize and organize the number of people necessary for this work, Corona is calling upon MAPA to "join hands with MECHA, Brown Berets, Chicano Moratorium Committee and all other groups to organize local area workshops, conferences, and seminars as has been the case already in Oakland, Hayward, Sacramento, San Jose, Stockton, San Bernardino, East Los Angeles. . . ."

Of central importance to the successful building of the Raza Unida Party is clarity on the fundamental question of the nature and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. These parties are

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"The time for abortion law repeal has come, and we shall triumph!"

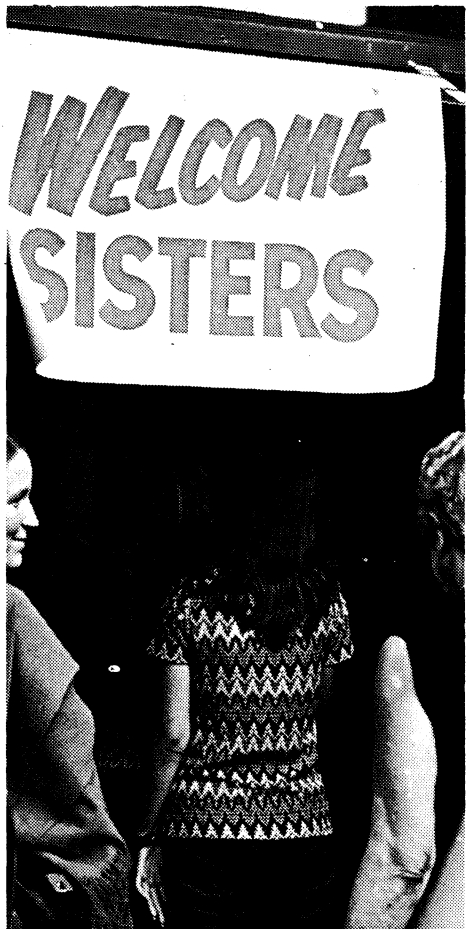


Photo by Lora Eckert

The rally which opened the Women's National Abortion Conference, held in New York July 16-18, heard a wide range of speakers. In a program that had a powerful impact on the women present, more than a dozen women from many different backgrounds took the floor to express the stake that all women have in winning the repeal of abortion laws. In the following excerpts from some of the speeches, we have attempted to capture both the breadth and the spirit of this rally.

Unionists

Jeanne Walton, Washington D. C., teachers union.

I was asked to speak about . . . what trade unions are doing about abortions. . . . I don't know too much about what any union is doing except my own, but I did come across the resolution of the United Auto Workers. . . . (It says:)

"This is the most comprehensive resolution ever passed by any group for women's rights and was adopted unanimously by the UAW at its 21st Constitutional Convention, April 22, 1970."

I read it quite carefully, and I did not find the word "abortion" in here at all. As a matter of fact, there's a nice statement about how they deplore the necessity of women having to go to work and neglect their homes and families. But, they added, that does not mean that a woman does not have the right to work. . . .

My own union, the Washington teacher's union, maybe does not have so comprehensive a resolution, but we did enter a resolution last year at our convention demanding free abortion on demand. You might have thought in the teacher's union, which is predominantly a female organization, it might have fared better than evidently the women did in UAW. But we did not.

The men thought that was the funniest thing they ever heard, and it was hooted down off the floor. They eliminated that section dealing with abortion and contraception, which we asked for students and for teachers. And they also eliminated those sections critical of the lack of women's rights within the American Federation of Teachers. . . .

The UAW. . . has an Executive Board of 25 people; one of them is a woman. In the teacher's union, we have pretty much the same situation; we do a little bit better on our Executive Board, but on our paid staff we have one woman out of about 25. . . .

So we did this year write a new resolution. Maybe we compromised too much but we thought we would go and ask for the right of students and teachers to counseling about contraception and abortion. So. . . we have our convention in August and we will see how that goes.

But. . . if this UAW resolution is the most far-reaching resolution ever passed by any group for women's rights, it would seem that the unions have not up to now dealt with this fact of abortion. And I think that we as teachers are particularly concerned, not perhaps so much for ourselves (because most people think that teachers are too smart to get into trouble, you know. . . .), but particularly for our students. . . . So we are particularly concerned about the right of abortion for women of all ages and we are opposed to these arbitrary restrictions. . . .

We hope that. . . our union at the convention can get the American Federation of Teachers to take a stand this year on that whole issue. . . . I think that one of the problems is the male chauvinism that we have in the unions which prevents us from taking a forthright stand on these

things, because we are completely male-dominated at the top levels in the unions. . . .

This whole topic is something that meets with ridicule from men. It's just almost impossible to bring it up and be taken seriously, and we will just keep bringing it up year after year till they know we mean business.

Black Women

Marsha Coleman, staff of the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition, which helped build the conference, and part of the Michigan Black Women's Abortion Class Suit. As Black, Asian and Latina women, as Puerto Rican, Native American and Chicana women, we have come from all over the country to support and build this national abortion conference. . . . We have come together to demand our right to choose whether or not we should bear children, our right to control our reproductive organs. . . .

One thing that is very important for Third World women is the slogan "no forced sterilization." For centuries we Black and Third World women have been thought of as breeders for this country, breeders of workers, breeders of slaves, breeders of everything they needed in this country. Our bodies have been experimented on and used without our permission.

The practice of treating Third World women, especially Black, Latina, Puerto Rican, Native American, as stupid cattle, to be manipulated and controlled by men who say they know what's best for them, is exactly what this abortion campaign is fighting. This is a vivid demonstration of the need of tying the demand of "no forced sterilization" with legalization of abortion.

All branches of this government are participating in attempting to control the lives of women. They are against us having our right to choose to control our bodies and our lives. And the ultimate conclusion of that whole logical sequence is forced sterilization.

It is nothing but colonial racism and sexism for white men to have control over Black women's lives. We must make it clear to all women, especially Black and Third World women, that the campaign of women to control our own bodies has nothing in common with population control. Population control clouds the real issues of the right to decide, and divides Black and white women. The government tries to use this to discredit the whole women's liberation movement, the whole abortion movement, among Black women.

But by tying these two demands together, we are showing Third World women we are serious in our efforts, in our fight against the misuse of our bodies by racist, anti-woman doctors. They will join our movement by the thousands and will make it a very strong nationalist movement, realizing that we suffer the most from the racist, male-supremacist government in this country.

If we build a massive movement for the repeal of all abortion laws and no forced sterilization that is visible, effective and unites women from all walks of life, this will show that we are fighting one of the most fundamental aspects of the repression of women, that we will march, demonstrate, show the government that we will stop at nothing less than the complete control over our bodies and reproductive organs.

The national campaign to repeal all abortion laws and for no forced sterilization will also give impetus to other struggles, such as day care, women's studies, equal pay for equal work. Also we'll have victories for the Black liberation struggle, the gay

liberation struggle and the children's liberation movement in this country. . . .

If there is one thing we must say, we must say "no" to Nixon, "No, you will not control my life, No, you will not control my community, No, you will not control my body. And we will organize and demonstrate all the way to Washington and San Francisco and make our demands very explicit to you and your government. You will not kill any more of my sisters with your dumb abortion laws and you will not force any more sterilization on my sisters!"

Doctors

Dr. Barbara Roberts, from the class action suit *Women vs. Connecticut*. I always feel a little self-conscious at feminist gatherings when I am introduced as a doctor, because the women's movement is rightfully very down on the medical profession, but I want to reassure you all that I am a sister first and a doctor second. . . .

A popular medical dictionary defines "disease" as "literally, the lack of ease," venereal disease as "one usually transmitted through sexual intercourse." It's obvious, therefore, that unwanted pregnancy is the most common venereal disease. When I said that in front of the legislature in Hartford, I was almost lynched.

(This disease) is associated with immense, physical, mental, social, and economic suffering. Seeking to be cured of this disease, women from time immemorial have risked pain, mutilation, and death in numbers that really stagger the imagination. Today, when the cure for this disease is statistically safer than carrying that pregnancy to term, abortion is still widely withheld by antiquated laws and religious tenets which are not shared by the majority of people. . . .

Because these laws have been around so long, you're taught in medical school and residency that abortion is a complex operation, fraught with danger and technical hazards. I was highly doubtful of that line, and so I arranged to be trained in the performance of saline and suction abortions at a nearby medical center. My experience directly refuted what I had been taught. Every woman in this room could become a competent abortionist with about one month's training.

So why is there a significant complication rate, even for legal abortions here in New York City, and why do male physicians complain that they don't like to perform them? I think the answer to this question is fairly simple.

The reason so many uteruses get perforated is that men are rough. They're taught to be rough as little boys and as adolescents and adults, they're taught that "he-men" are rough on women. You know, women are all masochists and the more you beat them, the better they like it. So they fuck rough, and if they're gynecologists, they examine you rough, and they abort you rough. . . .

As Victor Hugo has said, no army can withstand the force of an idea whose time has come. The time for abortion law repeal has come, and we shall triumph!

Asian-American Women

Hanna Takashiga, from Boston Female Liberation and Black and Third World Women's Liberation. Many people think that Asian-Americans, the smallest ethnic, racial minority in this country, have made it

and are no longer oppressed.

This is not at all the case, as we are discriminated against in jobs, schooling, housing, and are racially stereotyped as immature, passive and not quite human. The prejudice is that a gook is a gook, whether born in Vietnam or the United States.

Asian women have been victimized by sexist as well as racist stereotyping. The humiliating images of the sweet, passive prostitute and the patient, ignorant domestic slave have been forced upon us. We have been denied control of our bodies, as in China where for centuries our feet were bound so we could not move fast or far.

In Asian-American communities women have found it impossible to obtain information on where to get an abortion and have been forced into motherhood or to their deaths by resorting to butcher abortionists.

We Asian-American women must struggle around issues that directly affect our lives. Therefore, it is essential that we involve as many Asian-American sisters as possible in building a national campaign for the repeal of all abortion laws and for no forced sterilization.

Chicanas

Elma Barrera, organizer of the first national Chicana conference, held May 28-30 in Houston, Texas.

I have been told that the Chicana's struggle is not the same as the white woman's struggle. I've been told that the problems are different and that . . . the Chicana's energies are needed in the barrio and that being a feminist and fighting for our rights as women and as human beings is anti-Chicano and anti-male.

But let me tell you what being a



Elma Barrera

Photo by Sally Feingold

Chicana means in Houston, Texas. It means learning how to best please the men in the Church and the men at home, not in that order.

You know, it's really funny the way that the Church has . . . grasped onto this "sinful" thing about abortion and birth control. It's really funny how the laws only apply to the woman and not to the man. . . . Chicano men . . . fool around, have mistresses, and yet, when it comes to abortion or birth control with their wives, it's a sin. . . .

I will take just one minute to read the two resolutions which came out of the Sex and the Chicana workshop (at the national Chicana conference in Houston May 28-30): "Free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano community, controlled by the Chicanas. As Chicanas, we have the right to control our own bodies."

And then out of the workshop on

Marriage: Chicana Style. . . . "We as *mujeres de La Raza* recognize the Catholic Church as an oppressive institution and do hereby resolve to break away and not to go to them to bless our union. So be it resolved that the national Chicana conference go on record as supporting free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them."

Betty Friedan

Betty Friedan, author (a message read to the conference).

If we really mean it in this women's liberation movement . . . we must begin to do more than just talk about it. We must take the action needed to bring about irreversible changes in our social institutions to make a new fullness of life possible for all women, not just a few.

There is no way for women to enjoy full personhood, full human dignity, self-determination, or freedom if we do not have the right to control our own bodies.

The moment is here when we have the political force of the majority of the American women, 53 percent of the country's population, to establish as an inalienable right a woman's right to control her own reproductive processes, a right that cannot be abridged by any state. No man, priest or politician, doctor or hospital administrator, government official or husband, should have the right to force a woman to bear a child against her will. . . .

Lawyers

Nancy Stearns, an attorney who has helped in the class action suits challenging the constitutionality of abortion laws in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Jersey.

A couple of years ago, a group of women in New York decided that the means that had been attempted up until then—of going to the legislature and writing letters and all that sort of thing—to get rid of the abortion laws weren't sufficient. And at that point they finally decided that they would get together and try a new avenue, and that would be the courts.

Now not for a minute did they think the courts would be any different. They did not believe the judges would rule in their favor. . . . In fact, they thought that that was just a joke. But what they would do would be to use those courts as a vehicle to organize. . . . They would try to get as many women to join together to sign their names to one piece of paper and to bring them to the judge to say, "We've had it! We're not going to stand for it anymore. We have rights, and you're going to have to deal with those rights. . . ."

And what the New York women did ended up being a model for women in a number of other states. In New York, no court ever ruled. In fact, what ended up happening, as everyone knows, is the legislature moved, not . . . completely to our satisfaction, but they moved.

Perhaps even more because there were four or five thousand women out in the street in Union Square around the campaign that was going on, demanding that there be a change. And I frankly think it scared the shit out of them, because they'd never seen four or five thousand women together before. That's our role, I guess.

Anyway, after New York, the same kind of thing was tried in New Jersey and in Connecticut and Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, and now the most recent thing I've heard is that 45-50 women in Oklahoma are joining to-

gether to do the same thing. I guess you all have the same feeling I do, that 45-50 women in Oklahoma is the same as four or five thousand in New York, and that is how they feel and they are very, very proud. . . .

Lesbians

Dorothy Dillon, gay activist, Chicago Committee for a National Abortion Coalition.

From the very inception of the feminist movement, gay women have been among the first to support and to fight for the liberation of all women. Because of the special kind of injustice and indignity that we suffer in a chauvinist society, lesbians see very clearly the horror of women's oppression, the crimes committed against women, when faced with a life of domestic servitude to the male sex and forced to bear children against her will in the name of sacred motherhood.

This is especially repugnant to a gay woman, because her "sickness," as the Great Society labels it, is that she loves women. She sees other women not just as uteruses, as machines to regularly turn out babies. Rather, the lesbian sees her sister as having full potential to be many things. This is one reason why we have a real gut-level understanding of the abortion struggle and why we will help to build it.

There is another reason. Gay women have and will become pregnant. We also need the right to control our own bodies. There are millions of gay women in this country. We are from every sector of society and we live in every town and city. Some of us live with women, and some of us live with men, or by ourselves. Many of us are even married, by our own decision or because we are forced by prejudice or by law into the closet. . . .

A massive women's movement to demand abortion law repeal is something that we support very deeply and is something which we will fight for. The abortion fight is our fight, and many of the women who will be drawn to it will be gay and will participate in every action until we win what should be ours now.

Welfare mothers

Janet Wringle, Detroit Welfare Rights Organization, West Side Mothers and the Michigan Black Women's Abortion Class Suit.

Horace Greeley, in 1811, wrote, "Morality and religion are but words to him who fishes in the gutter for his means for sustaining life and crouches behind a barrel in the street for shelter from the cutting blades of a winter night."

We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite. Legal abortions are expensive. Hospitals, financing of legal tie-ups, put legal abortions beyond the average poor Black woman. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

More than 100 years ago, this country banned slavery, but a woman pregnant against her will is doomed to years of serving by a society which has forced her not only to carry a pregnancy, but if parenthood results, forces her to continue this serving until the child becomes self-supporting. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

A woman who seeks relief from pregnancy may be a young single woman with no visible means of support. She may be a married woman who has already strained and stressed herself beyond relief, beyond her physical and emotional powers, to cope with a new infant. She may be married to a man for whom this next child

presents a burden he cannot assume and it forces him to desert her and the children they already have. She may be a woman who has used every known method of contraception, and failed. She may be a woman for whom pills or other devices may have caused serious side effects. She has become pregnant in spite of all of these. Diaphragms, jellies, loops, all require constant vigilance on the part of a woman as well as financial support. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

In the state of Michigan, we have Medicaid. But of course you know Medicaid wouldn't pay for an abortion, nor does it pay for certain birth-control pills. It doesn't pay for dia-



Janet Wringle

Photo by Sally Feingold

phragms and it doesn't pay for jellies or loops. The nation cries about the growing welfare rolls, but it refuses to help you to do anything beforehand.

Is it important to a Black woman to relate to the abortion issue? Hell, yes! In April we had an abortion hearing in Detroit. And I sat down and told of my experiences when I had an abortion—and I had one. I didn't have money to go to a registered nurse, nor did I have money to go to a good doctor. I went asking to try and find out what I could do. Someone told me about a purple pill that you could get from certain pharmacists without a prescription. I got the pill. I inserted it in the vagina, and the blood came gushing down. I said, "Oh, boy! Everything is great."

A month went by, two months went by, nothing else. I went and I found out I was pregnant. So again I asked around to see what I could buy for my money's worth, which wasn't very much because I just had a menial job washing dishes. I found somebody that would do it for \$50. I went to a dirty, filthy place in the super-ghettos, as I would call them. The lady took me in a room. She didn't change the linen on the bed. She inserted a tube and I waited for three days. Nothing happened.

I went back and she said, "Well I'm going to get a pill for you and you take this pill and it's going to be OK." Well, it did come down, and I'm one of the fortunate ones that can stand up and can tell you that I'm alive, but I'm sure there are a lot of our sisters that didn't make it. And this is because abortions are not legal. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

If we are to give women who happen to be poor the same choice the non-poor woman has, abortion must be removed from the criminal codes of our states. There must be fewer restrictions and expenses cannot be above the means of our poor or medium-class workers. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

Continued on page 30

Setback for the Palestinian struggle

By TONY THOMAS

The recent defeat and large-scale expulsion of the Palestinian resistance from Jordan culminates a year-long offensive against the Palestinian revolutionaries, planned in Washington and backed overtly or covertly by the Arab states and Israel.

The struggle against Zionist settler-colonialism in Palestine has long been the focus of the Arab struggle for national liberation and socialism. The Palestinian resistance has emerged since the 1967 Mideast war as a major political factor in the struggle against Zionism.

By organizing and mobilizing the masses of Palestinians in the Arab countries, the Palestinian resistance represents an alternative leadership to the pseudoradical bourgeois Arab leaders such as Nasser and the Baathists of Syria and Iraq.

By launching actions against Zionism, the resistance organized and armed thousands of Palestinians in Jordan, where the Palestinians are a majority. They began to play a crucial role in the internal Jordanian class struggle. By the summer of 1970 a situation approaching dual power between the Palestinian masses and the reactionary government of Hussein existed.

This crisis was heightened by the inability of the Arab leaders and the Israelis to come to a quick negotiated settlement of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The Arabs, led by the Egyptian government, demanded the return of all occupied territories as the price of recognition of Israeli "sovereignty" over Palestine. However, the expansionist Israeli government refused to support any program for withdrawal from the occupied territories.

In the summer of 1970, the U.S. launched a two-pronged offensive to solve this crisis. It combined diplomatic maneuvers designed to give the U.S. a more "pro-Arab" image, and

a campaign to physically and politically eliminate the Palestinian resistance—especially in Jordan.

The vehicle for this repression was to be the Hussein regime in Jordan. Supplied and trained by U.S. and British imperialism, with both Israel and the U.S. committed to go to war if it were defeated, the Jordanian Army was a difficult foe for the Palestinian resistance, largely cut off from outside help.

Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya and Algeria could have provided the Palestinians sufficient help to prevent Hussein from crushing them. To do so, however, they would have had to allow the replacement of the Hussein regime by one based on the Palestinian and Jordanian masses. And such an example would have deepened the class and nationalist consciousness in their own countries. Thus, these governments substituted verbal support for the crucially needed material and political aid.

The first and most significant blows struck against the Palestinians came in September 1970. The Jordanian Army launched a full-scale offensive against the Palestinians and boasted they would eliminate the armed resistance groups in a few days. An incredible depth of support for the resistance appeared—extending even to certain sectors of Hussein's entourage. The Jordanians turned from military attacks on the commandos—after they were unable to beat them in a few days—to indiscriminate slaughter of the Palestinian people, shelling huge sectors of Amman and the massive refugee camps.

Thousands of Palestinians were killed or wounded, and their movement was qualitatively weakened. But they were not decisively destroyed. The resistance still had the freedom to organize in the cities, full-time commando bases were restricted to northern Jordan, and Yasir Arafat was

treated as the overall spokesman for the Palestinians while leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who had been outlawed were granted amnesty.

This settlement was only temporary. The Jordanian Army needed some time to rearm (all material losses were quickly replaced by U.S. and British grants). In addition, a piecemeal, rather than wholesale, annihilation of the Palestinian freedom fighters would help the Arab regimes to evade blame for their complicity. The piecemeal approach also allowed the use of diplomatic weapons such as the West Bank Palestinian "mini-state" to chip away support for the fedayeen among the war-wearied Palestinians.

The Jordanian Army resumed its attacks step by step. The Palestinians were denied rights to organize and station full-time commandos and armed militia in greater and greater sections of Jordan. They were gradually pushed out of the cities and forced into a semi-underground existence.

Finally, in the last few weeks—after most commando operations had already been shifted to Lebanon and Syria—all the remaining Palestinian commandos were physically expelled from Jordan, murdered or imprisoned.

All of this came without any concrete action against Hussein by the so-called progressive Arab states—despite their routine statements condemning the Jordanians after every attack on the Palestinians.

The September 1970 defeat of the Palestinians shifted the political spectrum to the right throughout the Arab world. In Egypt, a section of the ruling Arab Socialist Union that favored a slightly tougher policy toward Israel was purged. In Syria, the Atassi regime, which had temporarily

allowed Palestine Liberation Army forces based in Syria to enter the September Jordanian conflict, was overturned.

While the Palestinian struggle has suffered a big setback, the defeat can be only temporary. The same objective conditions which led to a new rise of the Palestinian movement still exist: the inability of the Arab rulers and Israel to come to terms on the Israeli-occupied territories; mass anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-Zionist sentiment among the Arab people; and the refusal of the Palestinian people to submit to national oppression.

Added factors are wider support for the Palestinian struggle around the world, including in Israel and the U.S., and a deepening social crisis in Israel, beginning with the rise of the Israeli Black Panthers and the recent wave of massive strikes.

In preparing for the next resurgence of the Palestinian struggle, the U.S. and Israel, which have financed and planned this whole campaign, must be singled out as the main targets of supporters of the Palestinian resistance. U.S. intervention in the Mideast and military aid to tyrants like Hussein must be stopped.

In addition, the Palestinian resistance and Arab supporters of their struggle can not rely on any Arab regime, but must depend primarily on the independent mobilization of the Palestinian and Arab masses. On this basis, it can utilize the mass anti-Zionist sentiment of the Arab people to demand that all Arab governments give unconditional political and material aid to all sections of the Palestinian resistance.

Finally, a revolutionary-socialist party in the Middle East organized among both Arabs and Israelis is needed to raise the demand of unconditional support to the Palestinian demand for a democratic Palestine.

¡La Raza en Acción!

In a speech to 700 Chicano and Black GIs on June 17 at Fort Carson, Colo., Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales urged the GIs to follow the example of Chicano and Black students across the country and begin to organize. The June 18 *Denver Post* quoted Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, as telling the GI gathering, "Power means that people stand up and control their own destinies."

The recent issue of *La Raza* (Vol. 1, #6) is an example of how the emerging movement of Chicanas for liberation is catching on. In two unsigned articles, one on the movement and the Chicana and another on the May 8 regional conference of Chicanas held in Long Beach, Calif., the question of the organization of Chicanas around our particular oppression as women is discussed. It is viewed as an important aspect of the struggle for liberation of all of *La Raza*.

Both articles point out that much talent goes untapped because Chicanas are forced to remain in the background of the movement. The argument that Chicanas organizing as women will divide the movement is not valid, one article points out, because such divisions have already been created by this system and cannot be ignored. It is because of these divisions that women must organize ourselves before we can forge unity with other social forces fighting the same oppressor.

The Chicana regional conference held on May 8 in Long Beach, was seen as an important step forward for Chicanas and our struggle. The articles express concern that Chicanas are not politically active in proportion to our numbers in the population, and that of those of us who are involved, only a small number are recognized as leaders. They also indicate that if the situation does not change, many Chicanas—who are becoming more and more aware of our oppression as women—will become frustrated and may leave Chicano organizations and eventually be lost to the movement.

The Chicana must organize herself, but she must also see her struggle as an integral part of the total struggle of *La Raza* for liberation. She must be able to identify the real oppressor—the system—and must be ready to fight this system alongside her Chicano brothers.

These articles recognize the tremendous potential of Raza women as a force in the struggle for liberation of *La Raza*.

Subscriptions may be obtained by sending \$10 for 12 issues to *La Raza*, P. O. Box 31004, Los Angeles, Calif. 90031.

Estaban Torres, executive director of The East Los Angeles Community Union and an international representative of the United Auto Workers, told a U.S. Senate subcommittee on economic development April 1 that unemployment for East Los Angeles, the largest Chicano barrio in the country, is 20 percent.

In addition, he stated, "A 1969 survey of 8,248 dwelling units in East Los Angeles conducted by the county of Los Angeles showed that 72 percent had serious building code violations. . . . Median family income for a Mexican-American in East Los Angeles is \$5,600 a year. For his Anglo counterpart living next door in Monterey Park, Montebello or Alhambra, the median family income is \$13,000.

"The average Mexican-American can expect to complete only an eighth grade education, compared to the Black average of the 11th grade and the average Anglo completion of one-and-a-half years of college.

"The county welfare department indicates that 45 percent of the population in the area is now receiving some form of public assistance.

"Politically, East Los Angeles mirrors this deprivation. An adroit system of gerrymandering has left the community without a single Mexican-American city councilman, county supervisor or state senator, and only two state assemblymen and one U.S. Congressman.

"If the Mexican-Americans were represented in proportion to their population in East Los Angeles, there would be two Los Angeles city councilmen, one county supervisor, two or three state senators, three or four state assemblymen and at least one additional congressman."

The June 5 issue of *El Grito del Norte* has an excellent special section devoted to Chicanas. It includes articles on the Chicana's role in the history of our struggle. For a three-month subscription, send \$1 to *El Grito del Norte*, Box 466 Fairview Station, Espanola, New Mexico 87532.

Among the best-selling literature from the Pathfinder Press table at the recent Denver Chicano Youth Conference was the pamphlet *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth* by Mirta Vidal. More than 75 copies were sold. Also ranking high in sales were *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*.

— OLGA RODRIGUEZ

CHILE



Is Allende's government on the road to socialism?

By PETER CAMEJO

Was the Sept. 4, 1970, victory of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition in the Chilean elections a victory for socialism? Did it at least set into motion an evolution toward socialism? Does the Popular Unity government represent the interests of the workers and peasants of Chile?

Many radicals in the United States would answer these questions with an unhesitating "Yes." Foremost among them is the Communist Party, whose mouthpiece the *Daily World* has given enthusiastic coverage to events in Chile. "Class struggle sharpens as Chile moves to socialism," reads a *Daily World* headline on May 11 of this year, for example.

This sentiment is shared by many others, and not all of them on the

left. From some accounts in the major daily press, one might wonder if a socialist revolution had not already taken place in Chile.

What are the facts?

Important reforms

Since his election, Allende has implemented a number of reforms, some of them significant. Probably the most important was the general pay increase averaging approximately 35 percent. Some very poorly paid workers received even more.

Soon after his election, Allende announced and sent to Congress his plans for nationalization of the copper mines and a few other corporations. By February 1971, the Senate had endorsed his project with only moderate alterations, and the mines are expected to

be completely nationalized by 1972.

The land reform initiated by the previous government prior to Allende's election has been speeded up.

The income of families with children has been supplemented with free milk for each child.

A special riot police unit of 2,000 was disbanded and its men sent into other units of the Chilean national police, which is called the Carabineers Corps.

Political prisoners—most of whom were young revolutionaries who had engaged in expropriation of banks and other armed actions—were set free. In return, they called for a moratorium on such actions.

Allende established diplomatic ties with Cuba, China and East Germany.

The reforms the Allende government

has implemented are a direct product of mass pressure generated by the struggles of the workers and peasants of Chile. They have brought him increased popularity, which was reflected in the municipal elections last April in which the Popular Unity coalition received more votes than all of its opponents combined.

Can these and other proposed reforms be taken as a sign that Chile is moving toward socialism?

To answer this question, we should look at how Allende became president of Chile, what the Popular Unity is, exactly what his reforms are, and how they are being implemented.

What is Popular Unity?

"The program of the Popular Unity is not a Communist program," de-

Allende: "With each day my conviction becomes stronger that the forces of Chile are an expression of the masses which are irrevocably and essentially proletarian."

clared Allende last October, "nor is it a Socialist program, nor a Radical program, nor the program of the MAPU [Movement of United People's Action], or the API [Independent Popular Action]. It is the convergence of opinion." In other words, it is a program that is acceptable to all the parties involved. And the Popular Unity coalition is a familiar combination of bourgeois and working-class political parties.

The MAPU is a left split-off from the Christian Democratic Party with some support among the peasantry. The API has its historical roots in the movement of ex-dictator Carlos Ibañez del Campo in the 1950s.

But foremost among the bourgeois parties participating in the Popular Unity coalition is the Radical Party. Back in 1964, Allende ran for president because of what he called "betrayal" of the people by the Radical Party and declared that the people have "no possibility whatever with the Radicals." Before the year was out, however, he had made an impassioned plea for the Radical Party to join his coalition. It refused.

Yet as time went by, the Radical Party came to realize that a radicalization was occurring and that it not only went deeper than a similar one in the mid-thirties, but it was considerably broadening the electoral base of the Socialist and Communist parties. An indication of this process was that by March 1969, the SP had 14.4 percent of the vote and the CP 15.7 percent. Thus, if the 12.9 percent of the Radical Party were added, the combined total would indicate that the chances in 1970 were excellent for an electoral victory for a popular front coalition between these groups. Such a popular front combination would be similar to the one that came to power in 1938.

Unlike 1938, however, this time there was a new problem: The radicalization was so deep that powerful left-wing pressure within the SP could have effectively blocked the formation of a popular front. The nomination of SP leader Salvador Allende as the coalition candidate was necessary to placate the left wing and to assure the SP's participation.

And so the Radical Party "betrayers" of yesterday, who only six years earlier had been in a political alliance with the extreme right wing, joined in the formation of a popular front coalition. They received a warm welcome. "We hope that the new situation will allow [the Radicals] to win back some of the strength which made them the top Chilean formation for a long time," purred the leading CP senator Volodia Teitelboim following the elections.

The election

An Allende victory on Sept. 4, 1970, was made possible by several factors. Among these were the decline in the influence of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) in the six years since it won the elections in 1964; and the split in the bourgeois forces reflected by the candidacies of Radomiro Tomic of the CDP and Jorge Alessandri of the National Party (the traditional Liberal and Conservative parties had united to form the National Party).

Alessandri concentrated his campaign on the danger of a Communist takeover. He combined nationalist demagoguery and a hard line on alleged "disruptions" of the economy by labor

and peasant strikes.

Tomic put forward a left-reform program designed to attract radicalizing social layers, especially the peasants. At times, Tomic appeared to be to the left of Allende, and it was not always easy to distinguish between them.

The final vote was 1,075,616 for Allende, 1,036,278 for Alessandri, and 824,849 for Tomic. Since no candidate received more than 50 percent of the vote, the outcome of the election was referred to a joint session of the House and Senate for a decision on Oct. 24.

Wheeling and dealing

The Tomic-led CDP agreed to make Allende president if he, along with the rest of Popular Unity, would accept certain constitutional amendments to strengthen capitalist institutions (referred to by the CDP as "reinforcing democracy"). These amendments would limit the authority of the president while increasing the independence from Congress and the executive of certain bourgeois institutions; they constituted a kind of blackmail.

The constitutional changes provided that: No military officers would be appointed who had not attended the technical academies; no changes in the size of the army, navy, air force or the Carabineers could be made by the president; "private" militias would be unconstitutional; Allende "guaranteed" not to tamper with the press, radio, schools, unions, judiciary, etc.

When discussions about these proposals began between Popular Unity and the CDP, the Communist Party reacted with indignation. "We understand, from this dialogue, that there is not and could not be on the part of this party [the CDP] any question about the prerogative of the next president of the Republic or any conditions imposed on the Unidad Popular or any concessions to the blackmail of 'Alessandriism,'" declared Orlando Millas in his report from the Communist Party's Political Committee to its Central Committee on Sept. 14, 1970.

On Sept. 30, Allende released a seven-page statement in which he indignantly refused to accept the CDP proposal.

The CDP's purpose was not to extract a promise from Allende that he would attempt to maintain capitalism; of that they had no fear. "The new Chilean chief of state has at least as many friends in the Christian Democratic ranks as in those of the left," wrote Marcel Niedergang in the Paris daily *Le Monde* Oct. 23. "While some of his daughters, who are also his collaborators, are considered to have 'leftist' sympathies, he himself is not loath to frequent Santiago high society. Throughout his long career he has always strictly respected the rules of the democratic game, and this 'detail' has certainly helped temper the fears of some right and center leaders."

No, the CDP had another purpose in mind: to take advantage of the situation created by the closeness of the election to improve its own position in coming battles between the ruling class and the masses by alternating some of the rules of the game. The CDP stuck to its demands in spite of declarations by the CP and Allende that they would not capitulate.

In less than two weeks Allende capitulated. The agreement was signed and Allende's election to the presidency assured with the support not only of the CDP, but even of Alessandri, who

said, "My best wishes for success go to the next president of Chile, whose long and proven democratic convictions, reflected in attitudes of constant respect for the constitution and the laws, are well-known."

The majority of the Chilean ruling class would have preferred Alessandri or Tomic as president. The masses, however, could not be persuaded to go along with the ruling class' first choice, and so an alternative had to be accepted, one that would be able to co-opt the electorate's desire for change by granting reforms without exceeding the boundaries of capitalist property relations. This alternative was Allende.

Nevertheless, Allende and his government represent a very left-wing version of such a reformist regime. This is true because of the general radicalization among the masses and the economic instability that plagues Latin America. To be sure, the ruling classes in Chile and the United States do fear that under Allende the masses may become uncontrollable; they are afraid that the masses, believing that Allende represents them, may grow more daring in both their demands and their actions. At the same time, however, Allende warns the ruling class that unless it accepts him, the masses will certainly revolt. It is precisely this misguided faith which the masses have in him that makes Allende useful to the ruling class in its efforts to contain those masses.

Allende's inauguration

In return for the bourgeoisie's endorsement, Allende set up a cabinet in which the majority (eight out of 15) of the members come from the bourgeois parties in the Popular Unity coalition, in spite of the fact that these parties accounted for only a small fraction of the Popular Unity vote. Of the remaining seven cabinet ministers, three are Communists and four Socialists.

Allende began his inauguration with a speech calling for "work and sacrifice" from the masses. He pledged before Congress to "keep and obey the constitution." Once installed in the presidential palace, he made a speech rendering homage to the armed forces and the national police: "Permit me, on this solemn occasion . . . to voice our people's thanks to the armed forces and to the Carabineers Corps, which abide by the constitution and the rule of law." Although he paid honor to army commander-in-chief René Schneider Chereau—assassinated by the right wing two days before his formal election by Congress—Allende had not one word for the martyrs among the miners, the landless, the homeless and the Mapuche Indians, murdered in cold blood by this same police and army.

Of Chile's youth, Allende said: "A rebellious student in the past, I will not criticize their impatience, but it is my duty to ask them to think calmly."

The inauguration ceremonies included a visit to church, where Allende was greeted by Cardinal Raul Silva Henriques as the choir sang Hallelujahs. The reactionary Catholic Church, which is attempting to adapt to the rhetoric of revolution only in order to better swindle the masses of Chile, was defended by Allende last October in these words: "Before, for centuries, the Catholic Church defended the interests of the powerful. To-

day the church, after John XXIII, has become oriented toward making the Gospel of Christ a reality . . . I have read the declaration of the Bishop at Medellin, and the language the used is the same that we have used since we were born into political life 30 years ago. I believe the church will not be against the Popular Unity government. On the contrary, they are going to be a factor in our favor. . . ."

With the blessings of outgoing President Frei, the army, and the church Allende took office and promised to lead Chile to socialism by obeying the constitution based on capitalist property relations and upholding the primary defenders of capitalist private property, the army and police.

How has Allende's law-and-order road to socialism been working out? Let us look at the program of the Popular Unity coalition and see how it is being applied in reality.

Despite the leftist tone of its introduction and its vague references to socialism, this program in no way challenges the continued existence of capitalism. It challenges neither the armed defenders of capitalism, the army and police, nor the sacred bourgeois right of private property. It aims to improve the infrastructure of Chile's capitalist economy by helping private business while not eliminating foreign investment.

Nationalization of the mines

The nationalization of the mines—copper in particular—is an important part of the Popular Unity program and it will represent a victory for the Chilean masses. Still, nationalization in and of itself does not mean that the working class is in power or that capitalism is being eliminated. (Bolivia nationalized its mines almost 2 years ago, yet capitalism remains in power and the masses are as exploited as ever.)

Fidel Castro told a delegation from Chile in 1966 that the nature of the Chilean revolution could not be judged by whether or not the copper industry was nationalized, but that "what really defined a revolution was the will to change the social structure for the benefit of the exploited classes . . ." and that "the nature of the revolution had to be judged by its acts, by all its policies toward each social class."

Allende's plan for nationalization is to buy the mines from the United States. This policy was actually begun under the previous Christian Democratic regime of Eduardo Frei, which had already bought 51 percent of the major mines by the time Allende was voted into office. The first mine purchased by the Allende regime, belonging to the Bethlehem Iron Mines Company and worth \$20-million, is being bought for \$30-million to be paid over a 10-year period—at a profit of \$10 million to the company.

Allende has similar plans for the banks and large estates.

Before Allende even begins his campaign to purchase Chile from the rich, however, he is confronted by a foreign debt of more than \$2-billion, not counting the annual interest that must be paid on it. Most of this debt is owed to the United States. If all the U.S. interests in Chile were to be nationalized, it would cost close to an additional \$1-billion.

Allende is promising the capitalists that he will do two things: 1) pay the foreign debt, interest and all, ac-

quired by . . . and 2) pay nationalizes the bourgeoisie by the bourgeoisie parliament of Allende re "legal" and

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quired by previous bourgeois regimes; and 2) pay for any interests he nationalizes on a basis acceptable to the bourgeoisie. (This is guaranteed by the bourgeois-dominated Chilean parliament which must approve all of Allende's reforms.) This is what Allende refers to as the "democratic," "legal" and "peaceful" way.

Why do the representatives of Chilean capitalism approve Allende's plans for nationalization? The main reason is their fear of the masses, their fear of a revolution that would actually make fundamental changes in the social structure. They see the wisdom of nationalizing copper with full compensation and hoping the masses will think they have achieved socialism. Meanwhile, the masses will be forced to extract millions of dollars each year from their pitiful wages and send it off to U.S. millionaires. And who is to oversee the flow of this wealth to the United States? The "socialist" government of Allende, of course.

Just how criminal Allende's plan is becomes clear in light of the great amounts of wealth the imperialists have already taken out of Chile. From an original investment of \$3.5-million, American corporations have built up their holdings in Chile to the value of close to \$1-billion—all of it at the expense of Chile's working people. In addition, the imperialists have drained billions of dollars from Chile since the 1930s. Thus, Chile has already paid for the total U.S. investment many times over.

The way this works is that the American companies first mine the copper in Chile and then sell it to themselves at artificially low prices to avoid both paying taxes and paying Chilean workers a decent wage. In 1966, for instance, the price of copper was set at 36 cents per pound, while the price on the world market was 60 cents per pound.

It would be more appropriate for Allende to expropriate the mines without compensation. Or, if he wants to pay compensation, he should pay only the \$3.5-million of the original investment. Then, if the companies demanded more, Allende should insist they return the billions of dollars they have stolen over the years, or at least that they pay in taxes the difference between the world price of copper and their own arbitrarily low price.

The imperialists go along with the nationalizations for several reasons. First, while it is true that the nationalizations cut into the profits (sometimes up to 27 percent) they were making until recently on their mine holdings, they will still continue to make money on their investments for at least another 20 years.

Second, they realize that any attempt to block nationalization by force could provoke a revolutionary situation which in turn could lead to the loss of the mines without any compensation at all. And third, the bourgeois state apparatus, including the army and the police, remains intact and could thus be called upon at some time in the future to help reverse the present left-wing trend.

Moreover, present imperialist investments in Latin America are switching from mining, petroleum and other raw materials to non-mining industries, such as manufacturing. These Allende is not threatening to nationalize. The Nov. 4, 1970, *Washington Post*, for example, estimated 1968 U.S. investments in Chile to include \$586-million

in mining and \$377-million in non-mining industries. The 1969 Rockefeller *Report on the Americas* confirms this trend. While 53.3 percent of U.S. investments in Latin America in 1961 were in mining and petroleum, by 1967 this had fallen to only 41 percent while investments in manufacturing rose from 20.3 percent to 32 percent during the same period, making it the largest single area of investment.

In addition, the Popular Unity program guarantees that most businesses in Chile will remain in private hands and be aided by the government. Of the 30,500 businesses in the country, fewer than 1 percent (150) fall into the category for possible purchase, or "nationalization."

Land reform

Allende is also promising to pay with interest for the land reform. The law under which Allende is operating is the same one passed by the previous, openly pro-imperialist, Frei government.

Because of foot-dragging by both Frei and Allende, peasants throughout the country—including the 250,000 strong Mapuche Indians in the south—are simply taking over the land. If Allende were to attempt to prevent the takeovers by force, his popularity would plummet and his government might face peasant uprisings or a revolutionary situation. Instead, his government is quick to assure the landowners that they will be paid for their land.

This may not be so easy, however. "The government is financially able only to expropriate about one-eighth of the large farms and estates this year," wrote Rick Nagin in the *Daily World* last May following a trip to Chile. Meanwhile, the peasants are supposed to wait around until Allende can find money to pay the rich landowners, for implementing the land reform without paying compensation to the landowners would be "ultraleft": "Unfortunately, certain ultraleft groups have also encouraged illegal land seizures," Nagin complained. (If one went by Nagin's criterion, the Russian revolution would represent the epitome of ultraleftism.) "Illegal" or not, however, the Chilean peasants are continuing to carry out the land reform on their own.

Land and housing occupations

The "pressure for a faster pace" toward socialism, says the Dec. 6, 1970, *New York Times*, is the "keenest difficulty" Allende faces. It is this pressure which is most dramatically reflected in the occupations of land and unfinished buildings.

In the past, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party associated themselves with similar efforts by the masses to alleviate their oppression. Now that they are part of the bourgeois government, however, they are singing a different tune. CP senator Volodia Teitelboim, for instance, is quoted in the Dec. 3, 1970, *Washington Post* as saying, "We have stopped urging people to go out and take sites for themselves... These invasions must now cease."

On Feb. 13, 1971, Allende announced special legislation to punish land invasion instigators. According to the Feb. 14 *New York Times*, José Toha, Allende's minister of the interior, warned that "the government of President Señor Allende would act vigorously against any armed group operating in rural areas." These announcements were made following a meeting between Allende and re-

presentatives of the National Farm Owners Organization.

A few days later, all the component groups of the Popular Unity front issued a declaration opposing the land seizures. Toha was sent to different parts of the country in an effort to talk the peasants out of seizing the land. "The occupations of land and other similar acts only retard the carrying out of the agrarian reform," he explained.

In March, Daniel Vergara, under-secretary of the interior, began to warn that force might be used to prevent the land seizures. Juan Rubiliar, the president of the Federación Campesina de la Provincia Llanquihe (Llanquihe Province Peasant Federation), was actually imprisoned, though he was quickly released. However, force has recently begun to be used to remove peasants from occupied land.

Army and police

The Popular Unity program contains a section entitled "National Defense." It not only calls for providing the latest "modern military science" for the armed forces, but it declares: "It is necessary to assure the armed forces the material and technical means and a just and democratic system of remuneration, promotions and retirement that guarantees to officials, sub-officials, ranks and troops economic security during their tour of duty in the ranks and under their conditions of retirement. . . ."

In relation to its population, Chile has the largest armed forces of any South American country. Only the military in Brazil have received more aid from the United States. Between 1960 and 1965 alone, Chile sent 2,064 of its men to the U.S. for military training, a figure surpassed only by Brazil and Peru.

This army and this special police, formed to protect and maintain the privileges of the capitalist ruling class, are not only to remain intact, but workers and peasants who correctly suspect that these forces may soon be used against them again will be forbidden to arm themselves.

"I have absolute confidence in the loyalty" of the armed forces, Allende stated in an interview in the *New York Times* last March 28. "Our forces are professional forces at the service of the state, of the people. . . ."

"With each day my conviction becomes deeper that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people, and therefore are irrevocably and essentially professionals and democratic," Allende said in an interview published in the February 1971 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*.

"The Chilean armed forces, which assure the sovereignty, independence and dignity of Chile, are the guarantee of our political process," Allende said at a news conference for representatives of the foreign press May 25.

Hand in hand with this confidence in the armed forces goes a fear of the masses being armed. Minister of the Interior Toha made clear in the same issue of *Clarín* that "the government reaffirms its decision not to accept the existence of armed groups of any kind; the functions relating to order and security are exclusively the armed forces' and Caribineers' jurisdiction."

Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party, stated months before the electoral victory of the Popular Unity coalition that the CP opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army." The army, he explained, "is not invulnerable to the new winds blow-

ing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere."

Yet it does not take much thought or knowledge of history to understand that if the army were on the side of the oppressed workers and peasants, there would be no fear of arming them. These fears are themselves proof that the oppressed do not run Chile. Allende, by refusing to arm the masses and by supporting the army and police, assures the capitalist ruling class that so long as he is president, the workers and peasants will not run Chile. Revolution is not part of his program.

Foreign policy

Allende has declared his intention to maintain relations with all countries. This represents a victory for the Chilean masses because it means the establishment of relations with countries like Cuba and China.

The mere recognition of China and Cuba, however, in no way changes the capitalist nature of Chile. One of the campaign promises of the right-wing candidate in last year's elections, Jorge Alessandri, was that if elected, he would recognize Cuba. And the Frei government too was not only considering recognition of Cuba, but actually reopened trade with Cuba before it was voted out of office.

A closer look at Allende's foreign policy will indicate that rather than being anti-imperialist, it is actually a sophisticated cover-up for imperialism.

"Our international policy is based, as it was yesterday, on respect for international commitments freely assumed, self-determination and non-intervention," Allende is quoted as saying in the winter 1971 issue of the *New World Review*. In a feature interview with *Prensa Latina* Sept. 5, 1970, Allende claimed that Chile has never been a puppet of the United States, and that he only intends to continue a great tradition of Chilean independence. "We have always stressed our respect for the self-determination and full sovereignty of the peoples," he states. "That has also been the policy of the Christian Democratic government of Sr. Frei, in keeping with a Chilean tradition. Therefore, relations and ties are above and beyond regimes, and I think Chile has done well to maintain a position in line with that criterion."

What is the truth behind all this piety?

The "international commitments" Allende referred to include the \$2-billion to the United States "freely assumed" by Chile's rich, but to be paid for by Chile's poor.

Neither the present nor the previous Chilean regimes have a very good record on the question of self-determination. Allende knows well that Chile, used as a tool by British imperialism in the nineteenth century,



took over through war the southern parts of Bolivia and Peru that contained the richest mines. That imperialist-promoted venture left Bolivia landlocked, a handicap it has sought to overcome by requesting an outlet to the sea.

If Allende were a revolutionary, he would support Bolivia's request. But the Chilean bourgeoisie has created a national climate of chauvinism and racism (unlike Chile, Bolivia is predominantly non-white) which makes such support unpopular. Allende takes advantage of this to deny Bolivia's just demand.

Allende talks about a policy of opposing imperialist intervention into the affairs of other nations, and the Popular Unity program even contains a passing sentence calling for "active solidarity" with Vietnam. As president, however, Allende has neither condemned U.S. aggression in Indochina nor done anything to aid the Vietnamese.

Not only does he remain silent in the face of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, but he even tries to play down its interventionist role in Latin America. He was asked in the interview in the *New York Times* March 28 if he thought the United States would conspire with business interests against Chile. "Obviously I do not think the United States government would lend itself to such efforts . . .," he replied. "I simply cannot imagine that the United States government would make common cause with private enterprise on an issue like this and frame policy accordingly. Unfortunately, history does teach that on occasion in the past this has been the case."

Wages and work

In 1966, Castro insisted that "a government can ask the workers to make sacrifices when a revolution has been made for the workers, when there is a change in the social structure to the benefit of the workers; but no government can tell the workers to make sacrifices for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, for the benefit of the rich. No government can tell the workers

in a position to launch an offensive against the working class. The result is that the bourgeoisie is disrupting the economic situation in the country.

Businesses are firing workers or refusing to hire new ones. Unemployment is estimated at around 9 percent of the total work force. (In Santiago alone, 21 percent are unemployed.) Many landowners are refusing to make the necessary expenditures for the next crop, fearing an extension of the land reform. Others are selling even their pregnant cows for slaughter in order to get quick cash. Corporations are slowing production and allowing their stocks to be depleted.

"There are economic problems," Juan de Onis reported in the Feb. 7, 1971, *New York Times*. "Unemployment has risen since October, private investment is at a standstill and the government's public works program has bogged down. Some manufacturing concerns are near bankruptcy because of little business. . . ." In March he reported that Chile was falling behind by about 20 percent in meeting its contracts for copper—a difficulty that was at least partially due to the removal of technical personnel by the imperialist corporations.

With its endless financial obligations to imperialism and the local rich, and in the face of the anarchy of capitalist production and the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the popular front in Chile will find itself compelled to call upon the masses to make further sacrifices to keep the economy above water. The continued hardship on the masses can only lead to disillusionment and demoralization once it becomes clear that their situation remains the same or even becomes more difficult while the millionaires continue to drive luxury cars and find their wealth and privilege untouched.

The capitalist ruling class can, of course, be expected to take advantage of the failures of its own system to campaign against the alleged failures of socialism. This will intertwine with the demagoguery of the government and

that were organized among the workers, peasants, and the poor in general during the election campaign last fall. These committees functioned in neighborhoods, factories, and on the land throughout the entire country. Unfortunately, however, following the ratification of the electoral victory on Oct. 24 last year, the Communist and Socialist parties allowed the Popular Unity committees to be demobilized.

CP murders MIR member

Since Allende took office, the government, as we have already seen, has not had a policy of supporting militant struggles of peasants and the homeless. Things have not gone well for the revolutionary left either, as one incident last December illustrates particularly well. This was the killing of a revolutionary student and the wounding of another in Concepción by a Communist Party commando. The incident occurred when a group of students belonging to the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) attempted to prevent a CP commando group, the Ramona Parra Brigade, from tearing down its posters. It is a telling fact that the CP, which urges the workers not to arm themselves, nevertheless would send out an armed commando to tear down revolutionary posters.

Allende immediately intervened to get both the MIR and the CP to put out a joint statement declaring it all a misunderstanding. The CP, in its paper *El Siglo* (which finances itself by publishing "girlie" magazines), condoned the action of the commando.

Allende gets help

While the peasants, the homeless and the MIR were running into difficulties with the government, bourgeois forces were becoming increasingly cooperative. Senator Victor Garcia of the right-wing Nationalist Party, for instance, who is a "public-finance expert," has been pitching in to help out the Communist minister of finance, America Zorrilla Rojas. Even the executive di-

rector of the right-wing Santiago daily *El Mercurio* declared last January that "the newspaper is willing to support change in Chile's property structure and social relations such as Dr. Allende proposes."

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Popular front vs. united front

The kind of popular front represented by the Allende government and the Popular Unity coalition is nothing new. It has been tried before—and with disastrous results. What is a popular front? What are its limitations? And what are the implications of the class-collaborationist policy upon which it is based?

The concept of a popular front (or people's front) was developed to its current polished form by the Communist parties during the 1930s. Their claim at that time was that the popular front was a continuation under new conditions of the original policy



"We shall never make parliament disappear. About this there should not be the slightest doubt. It is the essential form of Chilean democracy."



"The program of the Popular Unity is not a Communist program, nor is it a Socialist program, nor a Radical program. . . . It is the convergence of opinion."



"Permit me, on this solemn occasion . . . to voice our people's thanks to the armed forces and to the Carabineers Corps, which abide by the Constitution and the rule of law."



"A rebellious student in the past, I will not criticize the impatience of the youth, but it is my duty to ask them to think calmly."

not to demand salary increases in order to develop an industry as the private property of the capitalists. . . ."

The Allende government has chosen not to follow this admonition. By the end of February 1971, Allende was already making speeches against absenteeism and "exorbitant" wage demands. In the March 16 issue of the Chilean magazine *Punto Final*, Allende criticized the present wages of copper workers (\$1.84 a day) as being too high and he proudly referred to a speech he made to coal workers where he told them "You have to work more, produce more, sacrifice more."

By early April, Allende was even calling on workers to work without pay. "Dr. Allende asked for harder work and even called for several hours of voluntary labor each week by the copper workers," reports Juan de Onis in the April 12, 1971, *New York Times*.

The attitude of the Chilean ruling class is to bide its time, looking forward to better days, when it will be

the reformist parties as they call upon the masses to make even greater sacrifices for "socialist" Chile.

Parliamentary democracy?

The Popular Unity program also provides for a structural change in the parliamentary system. This proposal boils down to replacing the present bicameral system with a unicameral system. Whatever the value of such a reform, Allende has made it clear that this provision does not intend the elimination of the bourgeois parliament. "We shall never make parliament disappear," he said last April. "About this there should not be the slightest doubt. It is the essential form of Chilean democracy."

Rather than content itself with reforms of the bourgeois parliamentary system, the Allende government should have initiated popular forms of dual power in opposition to the bourgeois structure. It could have begun this process with the Popular Unity committees

of the *united* front advocated by Lenin and the Communist International in the early 1920s. In reality, however, it was the exact opposite.

The concept of a united front is to bring together working-class organizations and other organizations representing oppressed social layers on the basis of common agreement on specific issues and above all to engage in united actions against the ruling class. The united front tactic is an effective tool for bringing to bear the maximum strength of the oppressed against the ruling class. It is founded on uncompromising independence from and opposition to the ruling class. Its main purpose is to prevent sectarianism, or isolation of the politically advanced workers from the more conservative workers who could be won over in struggle.

The popular front is the exact opposite. It seeks to contain whatever actions the working class undertakes

"I simply can't imagine that the United States government would make common cause with private enterprise...and frame policy accordingly."

in order to assure a coalition with a section of the ruling class. The most famous popular fronts were built in France and Spain in the 1930s. Both were miserable and costly failures in terms of defending the interests of the working class and of preventing the rise of fascism.

In Chile, such a government was formed in 1938, with Allende as minister of health. That popular front, known as the antifascist front, was so broad its presidential candidate was endorsed by the Chilean Nazi Party! Popular front governments continued on and off in Chile until the 1950s.

Others developed in other countries in Latin America, including Cuba, where former dictator Fulgencio Batista came to power with the support of the Communist Party and even included some Communists in his government.

Today, similar popular fronts are taking shape in Latin America. The most important so far is in Uruguay, and is called the Broad Front (Frente Amplio).

These popular fronts by their very nature are incapable of responding to the needs of the masses. The solution to the pressing problems of poverty lies in the abolition of capitalism.

A socialist revolution in Chile would begin, like the Cuban revolution, by disarming the army and police and creating armed units of the working class and peasantry to defend their interests. Foreign as well as national corporations would be nationalized without compensation. Democratic control over Chilean political, economic and social life would develop through worker and peasant committees.

A popular front government will be unable to see to it that such anticapitalist transformations take place. The reason is that the essential limitation of a popular front government is that it cannot exceed the bounds of bourgeois legality and the respect of private property.

A popular front is characterized by the fact that it prevents the working class from struggling for a government of workers and peasants that could abolish capitalism and carry through a socialist transformation of society by going beyond these bourgeois property relations. The essence of a popular front is determined not by the relative weight of the various parties involved or the size of the bourgeois component of the coalition, but by the fact that the working class is kept corralled within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie, or a section of the bourgeoisie.

In this way, it is possible for a popular front to exist even without any bourgeois parties within it.

In Chile, although the most important bourgeois party, the Christian Democratic Party, does not belong to the Popular Unity coalition, it is in fact functioning as a silent partner. It is the Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats who together constitute the necessary working majority in Congress.

If the Christian Democrats are not a part of the Popular Unity, it is not because the Communist Party has tried to keep them out. Here is what CP leader Orlando Millas said in reference to these favorites of American imperialism in Latin America in his report to the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party Sept. 14, 1970: "The enemy would like to isolate the forces of the left, create splits between the working class, the farmers, the students and the general public and place

us in opposition to the Christian Democrats. But they will not succeed. . . ."

"Unity at any price" could well be said to sum up the attitude of the Communist parties to popular fronts. For the price has often been great—even for the Communists themselves. Still, in Chile as elsewhere, they go on advocating them.

Other popular fronts

Ceylon is a current example of a popular front government—and one, moreover, in which the Communist Party is participating. Its success at the polls was hailed by Communist parties throughout the world as a victory for the masses. Yet today the Ceylonese "people's" government is receiving U. S. helicopters and military aid from other imperialist powers in its ferocious campaign to suppress its own people.

Perhaps the best-known "people's" government in recent history was the Sukharno regime in Indonesia. There, as in Chile today, the Communist Party called for a worker-peasant-national bourgeois alliance. The Indonesian CP even went along with the concept that the Sukharno regime represented a peculiar but necessary blend of nationalism, Islam and socialism. (This has a familiar ring today in the Chilean CP's assertion that "the three great ideological currents will work together: the Marxists, the Christians and the Masonic laity.")

Even Communist parties do not speak any more about the "peaceful" road to socialism that was followed by the "people's" government in Indonesia. When the bourgeoisie turned on its working-class and peasant "allies," the massacre that ensued left up to a million worker and peasant militants dead and the third largest Communist Party in the world (with 3,000,000 members and 20,000,000 sympathizers) decimated. None of this would have happened had it not been for the fact that the Communist Party assured the masses that they could trust the armed forces and that to arm themselves would be a provocation.

Similarly, the Guatemalan CP assured the people in 1954 that the army could be trusted and that the masses should not arm themselves. Then, when the CIA-led invasion occurred, the army switched sides, the CP-supported reformist regime fell, and a military dictatorship took over.

Today this is very similar to what is happening in Chile, where the CP campaigns against arming the peasants and workers. Neither its policy nor the arguments it uses to justify it have changed. Some people never learn.

Peaceful road to socialism

No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its rule without putting up a fight. The revolutionary forces have had to physically disarm the state apparatus and repressive forces of the ruling class they wished to replace. In light of the lessons of history, to advocate a "peaceful" road to socialism is the same as not advocating revolution.

Nevertheless, the Chilean Communist Party (not to mention the American and Soviet parties) deliberately promotes the illusion that a peaceful road to revolution is possible and that one is now being traveled in Chile.

Yet the Chilean capitalist state (its army, its police, its courts and its governmental bureaucracies) remains intact. To spread illusions that the removal of that ruling class can be achieved without it resorting to force

to prevent such a removal is not only absurd but dangerous. The Chilean bourgeoisie did not create its army and its police in order to allow pieces of paper in a ballot box to abolish its wealth, privilege and power.

That, however, does not prevent Chile from being held up by the Communist parties in other countries as a shining example to be imitated. Last April, the Soviet Communist Party's specialist on developing countries, Rostislav A. Ulyanovsky, called on colonial and semicolonial countries to follow Chile's example.

This has been the approach of the American Communist Party too. In that organization's newspaper, the *Daily World*, last November, CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall called the Allende victory "a new revolutionary experience." In the Jan. 30, 1971, issue of that paper, Tim Wheeler asserted that "Chile's victory opens a new phase of the world struggle against war, racism and exploitation."

An editorial in the December 1970 issue of the CP's theoretical journal *Political Affairs* terms the election of Allende a "transfer of power from the old ruling-class groups to the workers, to the peasantry and to the progressive sections of the middle class of the city and country." It concludes that we should look forward to Popular Unity-type coalitions in the United States too.

This notion that a ruling class can be defeated by placing enough pieces of paper into a ballot box represents a rejection of the Marxist view of the state and of bourgeois society. Marxism holds that every state apparatus reflects the interests of the ruling class and that the state apparatus of the ruling class cannot be used to serve the needs of an oppressed class. In Chile and other capitalist societies, this means that the working class must replace that apparatus with one of its own.

The revolutionary left

Although it is likely, it is not certain that with Allende the Chilean masses will once again be disoriented, demoralized, and demobilized by a popular front government. The objective conditions in Latin America today are very different from what they were during previous popular front governments during the thirties and forties. The "leftism" of the Allende popular front is itself a by-product of the new conditions.

Once again, a left wing is developing within the Socialist Party. This time it is under the impact of the Cuban revolution, which has convinced many young people that a socialist revolution is possible and that armed struggle

is necessary to achieve it. In such a context, it cannot be ruled out that a revolutionary alternative could develop out of an intensification of the contradictions within the Popular Unity coalition.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary left, particularly the Fidelista tendencies of the MIR, is largely confused. The victory of Allende left the MIR and other ultraleft groups disoriented. Since the election, the MIR has tended to give Allende critical support, while at the same time it has found itself forced to reassess some of its positions, especially its lack of work in the mass movement.

The revolutionary left's lack of a political analysis of popular frontism and its critical support of Allende's candidacy in both 1964 and 1970 have tended to diminish the possibility of a revolutionary party developing out of the sharpening class struggle in Chile.

Fidel Castro's support to Allende has only added to the disorientation of the revolutionary left, as have the illusions he has at various times expressed about other bourgeois regimes like the present military dictatorship in Peru. In a speech last April, Castro expressed "our confidence in the Chilean revolutionary process, in the Popular Unity movement, in the Chilean people and government. . . ."

In Chile it is only the Trotskyists, both as an independent current and within the ranks of the Socialist Party, who are helping to bring clarity into this confusion. On the eve of last September's election, the Chilean Trotskyists wrote: "If Salvador Allende wins, we will see the formation of a worker-bourgeois coalition government which, under cover of party politics, will block authentic mass participation in the administration of the country and will defend the capitalist structure. . . ."

"The arming of the proletariat is the essential condition for further advance of the struggle and for the victory of the revolution. . . ."

"The reformist parties refuse to accept the task of arming the people and put all their energy into preventing them from taking up arms. Their refusal to carry out such an urgent task vividly reveals their rejection of revolution.

"The revolutionary vanguard, which has already taken the initiative in this work, will have to raise the level of its activity and extend it, offering the mass movement all its experience and knowledge. By its determination, it will have to carry this process through to its conclusion."

This, not the popular frontism of the Allende government, points the way for the Chilean masses.



A peasant of the MIR

The following interview with the well-known Mexican novelist Jose Revueltas was obtained by Linda Jenness in Mexico City July 3. Revueltas was arrested and imprisoned Oct. 2, 1968, and was finally sentenced on Nov. 12, 1970, to 16 years in prison as the "intellectual instigator" of the 1968 student and popular movement. He was released from Lecumberri prison in Mexico City May 13 of this year as part of the new government's policy of freeing the most prominent political prisoners jailed when the 1968 movement was repressed. Upon release, he accepted a position as professor at the Autonomous University in Mexico City.

Militant: When did you get out of prison and why did they let you out?

Revueltas: The question of our having been released is an enigma—just like our arrests and trials. I was sure that I would be there a much longer time, and they notified me when I least expected it that I would be leaving with a group of companeros of mine. So it came as a big surprise to me. They told me one-half hour before releasing me, just time enough to gather up some things and leave. We have never known why they let us out and not some of the others. It has been a totally irrational procedure from the beginning. A clerk from the justice department came to tell us that the judge had dropped the charges. They had arrested me on 10 counts; with these other counts dropped I could leave the jail free. That was the legal explanation.

Militant: Why were you arrested and put in prison?

Revueltas: The formal reasons were charges that they made against all of us. These charges were totally manipulated from the very beginning and did not have any legal grounds whatsoever. They were totally manufactured through accusations made by people in authority, people of the judicial police and other police. These people accused us of the crimes. I never went to trial. They never had a trial of my case. I appeared in court at the very first when they formally arrested me and declared me a prisoner. The law says that after you have been formally charged you can only be held in jail for 72 hours and then you have to be released or tried. After I was formally arrested I never had any kind of trial. I was never called before any kind of jury or anything again until the time when our formal sentences were read.

Militant: How many prisoners are there still in prison?

Revueltas: I don't know the exact number because we were put in different places. But I think there are still over 20 in prison.

Militant: And exiled?

Revueltas: All of them have returned.

Militant: How many have been freed?

Revueltas: I don't have all the facts and can't be too exact. But more than 50 must have been released. I'm not sure about this because others have also been released who were arrested before '68.

Militant: What were conditions like in the prison?

Revueltas: They were bearable. The conditions were comfortable enough but we won the conditions by fighting for them. If we had not fought for

decent conditions we would have had a very bad time. But we confronted the prison director and we won certain liberties within the small section that we occupied. We got rid of the prison guard in the watchtower in our section and we got the use of the garden outside of our cells.

Militant: Are the prisoners in good health? Have any of them been mistreated or anything like that?

Revueltas: They are generally all right. The medical service is not totally adequate because of lack of personnel, but it's there and more or less correct.

Militant: What about the women prisoners?

Revueltas: Of course, we didn't have any contact at all with them. The only time that we saw them was in

the government. In that sense, yes, they could have an influence in freeing the rest of the prisoners.

Militant: How many of the prisoners were given additional sentences since June 10?

Revueltas: One person was given up to 18 years. But the companero who was given 18 years, Martin del Campo, was one who was released. There is the case of two companeros who are accused of being guerrillas and accused of a crime they did not commit. (They proved that when the soldier died that they were accused of killing they were being held at the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala.) But even though they have documented proof of this, they were still sentenced to 30 years. The review court lowered the sentence by 3 years, so they have sentences of 27 years. And they are faced with the danger of not

Revueltas: More than half.

Militant: Do you have any debts for the defense?

Revueltas: The lawyers were totally free. Since none of us had any money to pay them they volunteered their services. There have been collections for the necessary expenses and I simply don't know of any other debts.

Militants: What are the defense committees in Mexico doing?

Revueltas: I don't think there are any formal defense committees outside of the lawyers who are handling the legal defense. There were some but they don't exist or function any more. In 1969 there was a committee that did propaganda work and publicity about the prisoners. Then that stopped functioning.

Militant: Are there many meetings, panel discussions, etc. here in the university about the prisoners?

Revueltas: There has not really been a systematic defense of the prisoners. We definitely must organize one. We were thinking of having a tribunal to do an independent investigation of the events of June 10 composed of lawyers, legal people, etc. We thought this tribunal could help reaffirm the legality of the demonstrations and would help in the case of the prisoners.

Militant: How has the press dealt with the events?

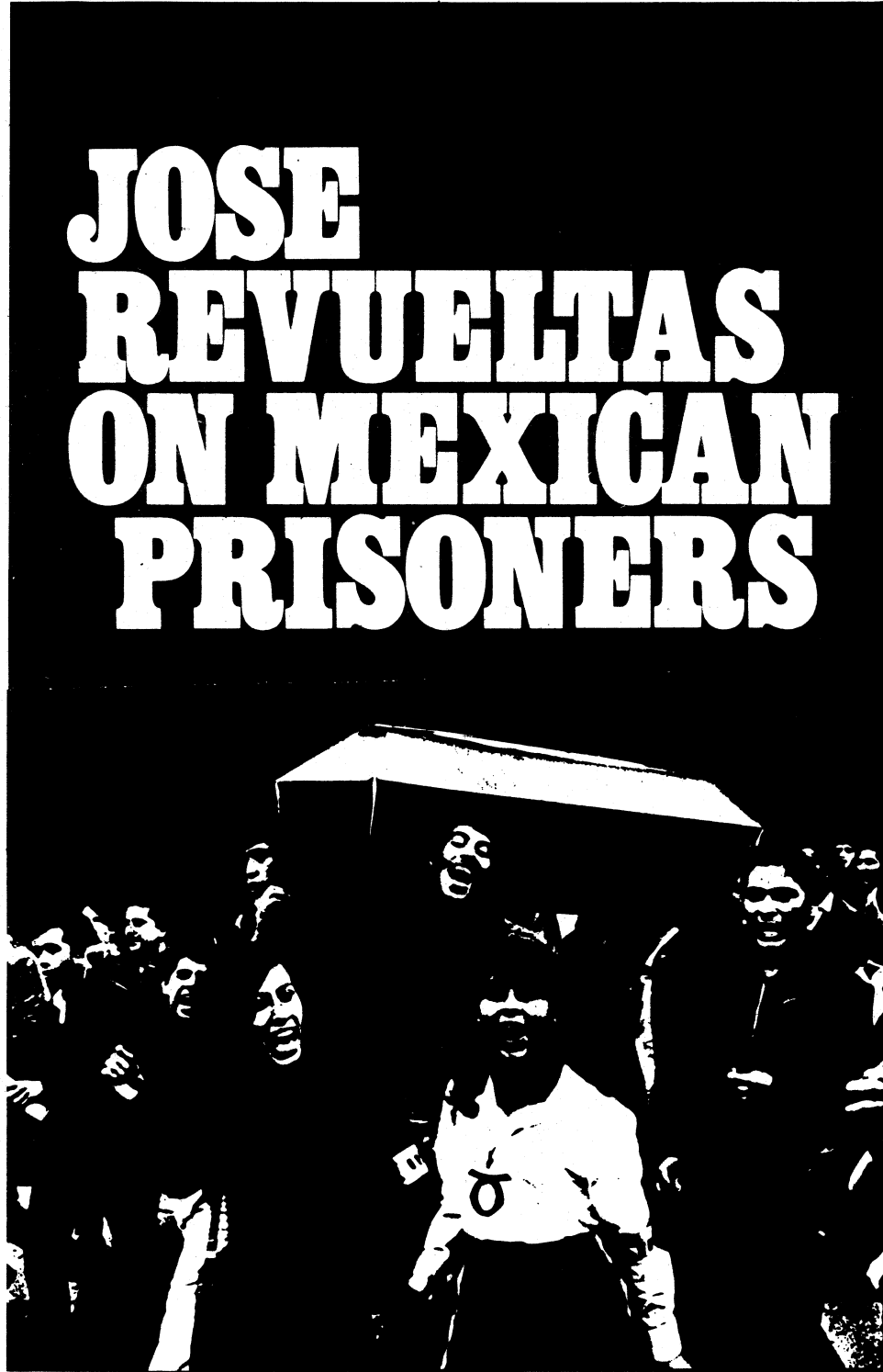
Revueltas: Some have been ambiguous, others have attacked the authorities, and a very few have defended justice.

Militant: Did the press cover the June 10 events better than the '68 events?

Revueltas: There has been some change in the position of the press since 1968, and particularly in Excelsior, the largest paper here. Excelsior has opened up a defense of legality and democracy—that is, as much as one can expect in a country where the press is so controlled by the state as it is here in Mexico.

Militant: What can people in other countries do to help the prisoners here?

Revueltas: I don't think they should let their guard down. For example, I have some friends in France who got very confused when the Mexican government started letting some of the prisoners out. They didn't understand the releases within our national context, which is so complicated and so full of lies. They were afraid that if they tried to apply any pressure that the authorities would only turn the screws on the remaining prisoners. So, they have more or less stopped their activity or at least don't know what to do. We must tell them not to stop. They must continue as they did before until every single one of the prisoners is freed. I would also like to ask the American movement, the American left and USLA (U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners), to defend Philip Ames. He is a companero who was a prisoner with us and was then imprisoned in Los Angeles and from there taken to New Orleans. He is a prisoner there charged with various misdemeanors in order to hide the fact that he is a political prisoner, but he is a political prisoner and a companero of ours. I hope the American movement will do all it can for his release.



the courtroom. We have been told that their situation is very hard. They are in the same section with the common prisoners and so their conditions are much worse than ours.

Militant: Do you think the June 10 events (See July 9 Militant.) were significant in helping to release the remaining prisoners?

Revueltas: Well, I don't think you can relate the two events. What happened on June 10 represents a new wave of official repression, although the government didn't directly carry it out. The June 10 demonstration had an influence to the extent that it initiated a great discontent in public opinion. Almost all the newspapers are demanding an honest, legal investigation that could certainly expose

getting out until they have served at least half of the sentence.

Militant: But weren't some sentenced once, and then later given another sentence?

Revueltas: Some of the companeros had two types of charges—one district and one federal. So the first sentence was from one court, and the additional sentence came from the other court. I was actually in the same position, but I went to only one court. There have been all of the irregularities conceivable in these cases. Very gross, totally illegal maneuverings have gone on.

Militant: How many of the prisoners had the double charges?

This is the first of four articles assessing current economic and political difficulties in Cuba. Harry Ring has written on Cuban developments for *The Militant* over the past decade. He spent several weeks in Cuba in 1960. In 1968 he was able to get a firsthand view of the already developing problems during a three-month stay there. He is the author of the pamphlet *How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination*.

By HARRY RING

Recent political events in Cuba have underlined the fact that a significant toll is now being taken by the U.S. imperialist blockade and the con-

Cuba in '71

Mounting problems take their toll



"The most dramatic expression of the heavy price Cuba has been paying for Moscow aid came last year with the failure to achieve the goal of producing 10 million tons of sugar. . . . The decision to shoot for this unrealistic and costly goal did not originate in Cuba."

sequent Cuban dependence on the counterrevolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy.

The most widely publicized of these events has been the scandalous treatment by the Cuban regime of the distinguished poet Heberto Padilla. The five-week jailing of Padilla, his subsequent debasing "confessions" of alleged wrongdoing, and Fidel's attack on the international body of pro-Cuban intellectuals who voiced concern about Padilla manifest the difficulties now besetting the Cuban revolution.

An award-winning poet and novelist, Padilla has been a consistent supporter of the revolution, serving it in a variety of journalistic and literary capacities. At the same time, he has been a thinking, critical individual whose literary work has sought to depict the entire reality.

From the outset, he rejected the artistically and politically false Stalinist concept of a "socialist realism" that demands a sterile and false portrait of an untroubled march toward utopia.

In addition to defending the revolution as it exists in reality—with its defects as well as its virtues—Padilla became a controversial figure by challenging those hacks who would stifle creative literary work in the name of an allegedly higher "political responsibility."

Because of his independent bent, Padilla has been in hot water on more than one occasion. But it came as a distinct shock when word was leaked that he had been jailed March 20 on unspecified charges.

Nothing illegal

After a period in prison, an almost implausibly debasing "self-critical" statement was issued under Padilla's name, and on April 25 he was released.

Two days later, Padilla appeared before a meeting of the Cuban Writers Union, where he doggedly elaborated on his abject "self-criticism" and called on others in the audience, also known for their critical inclinations, to step forward and do likewise.

Throughout, there was not a single specific charge or confession of actual wrongdoing. The "crimes" to which Padilla pleaded guilty boiled down to an alleged extreme case of ego-tripping which, he asserted, drove him into making unwarranted criticisms of associates and of the revolution. An additional "crime" was that he freely expressed his views to European visitors. All of this, he asserted, was for the sake of currying literary favor outside Cuba and being published abroad.

Even if everything Padilla said about himself were true—and those who know the man and his work well reject the idea out of hand—no one has pointed to a single violation of Cuban legality, or a violation of socialist norms of the kind calling for imprisonment.

Yet when internationally prestigious long-time partisans of the Cuban revolution expressed their

excruciating problems. He indicated that significant public dissatisfaction had resulted from this and, most hopefully, he began to publicly project the need for developing a structured socialist democracy as the basic means of remedying these problems. Massive workers' participation in economic planning and management was necessary, he declared, to avoid future costly bungling.

But now, as the case of Padilla dramatizes, Fidel is yielding to the pressure of those who would cope with these difficulties by the very opposite means—i.e., bureaucratically.

When I visited Cuba in 1968, it was already apparent that the country was beset with serious economic difficulties, that the U.S. blockade and the disgraceful Kremlin policy of doling out economic aid with an eyedropper was taking a heavy toll. As I reported in a series of articles in *The Militant* assessing Cuba's situation, there was already an acute shortage of consumer goods and rationing was far more severe than those outside Cuba realized.

I reported then that Moscow was withholding necessary aid to Cuba and that there was strong pressure on the Cuban regime to adapt to Moscow's reformist foreign policy as a price for what aid it was getting.

As an example, I cited the then current Soviet denial of a Cuban request for a desperately needed increase in the amount of oil being shipped from the U.S.S.R. Shortly after Brezhnev and company rejected that urgent plea, the Cuban press reprinted, without comment, articles from *Izvestia* and *Pravda* which offered glowing accounts of how new deposits and improved extraction methods had boosted Soviet oil production significantly beyond projected quotas.

Price for Moscow 'aid'

But the most dramatic expression of the heavy price Cuba has been paying for Moscow aid came last year with the failure to achieve the internationally publicized goal of producing 10 million tons of sugar. Cuba had taxed its labor power to the maximum to try to achieve that goal and expended material resources far beyond its limited means to reach a target Fidel declared involved the very honor of the revolution.

In a May 20, 1970, speech, Fidel detailed in an unusually frank way the errors in planning and administration responsible for the failure to win 10 million tons. He also disclosed that the decision to shoot for what was proven to be an unrealistic and costly goal had not originated in Cuba.

He disclosed that the long-term agreement made with Khrushchev in 1964 for the sale of sugar to the U.S.S.R. included a proviso to increase annually the amount produced until a peak of 10 million tons was reached in 1970. This was stipulated by Moscow, Fidel said, to reduce Cuba's mounting Soviet trade deficit.

The whole arrangement also made plain that there was no altruism involved in the Soviet decision to buy Cuban sugar on a long-term basis, even at a price somewhat above that prevailing in the world market. European economists have estimated that the cost of producing Soviet beet sugar is two to three times the price paid for Cuban sugar, so the purchases represent a clear savings for Moscow.

In reporting the failure to harvest 10 million tons, Fidel made it clear that there was much more involved than simply failing to meet a quota. At the time, some unthinking partisans of Cuba sought to shrug the matter off with the comforting notion that while the 10-million mark had not been achieved, a record 8.5-million tons had been produced, so why worry.

But Fidel explained that the effort to make the 10 million tons required a huge expenditure of funds to improve and expand the island's sugar mills beyond their previous capacity. At the same time other vital development projects had to be shelved while transportation, power and other pitifully scarce resources were diverted into the sugar drive. It was, Fidel bluntly declared, a costly failure for the Cuban people.

The failure did not originate in the massive planting and harvesting effort for which the entire Cuban labor force was mobilized. It stemmed rather from an antiquated chain of sugar mills which were inadequate for refining so huge a harvest and which could not be properly improved and expanded in time to carry through the prodigious task.

In addition, as Fidel stated at the time, there were serious errors of planning and administration. In his speech explaining the failure, Fidel declared:

"We must point out something which is basic in the problem of the 10 million, and that is that the people aren't the ones who have lost the battle for the ten million. . . . We—we alone—are the ones who have lost the battle. The administrative apparatus and the leaders of the revolution are

Continued on page 30

concern about Padilla, Fidel took it upon himself to launch a vituperative attack on them, branding them "bourgeois liberals" and "false friends" of the revolution.

Those who had joined in expressing concern included people like Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and distinguished Latin American revolutionary literary figures like Julio Cortazar and Carlos Fuentes. Others included the revolutionary Mexican novelist José Revueltas, then imprisoned in Mexico City, and Carlos Franqui, one of the heroic fighters of the Cuban revolution, who now lives in Rome.

A cogent point was made in response to Fidel's attack on these figures by José Yglesias, the Cuban-American writer and well-known partisan of the revolution. Writing in the June 3 *New York Review of Books*, Yglesias recalled that Fidel had offered copious praise to these very same intellectuals at the January 1970 Cultural Congress of Havana. Those Europeans whom he now scornfully dismisses as "bourgeois liberals" were singled out by Fidel for particular commendation in his speech to the Congress. During the missile crisis of 1962, Fidel recalled, it was these intellectuals, and not the European Communist parties, who had rallied to Cuba's defense.

The Padilla affair points up the reality that the Cuban regime—caught in the vise-like pressure of the U.S. blockade and economic dependence on Moscow—is making serious concessions to the Kremlin method of dealing with internal dissent—i.e., stifling it with a heavy bureaucratic hand.

The victimization of Padilla, which makes a mockery of the socialist democracy Cuba has sought to achieve, comes at a time of deep economic difficulty for the beleaguered island and an apparent incapacity of the Cuban leadership to cope effectively with those difficulties and the political problems related to them.

Less than a year ago, Fidel spoke frankly of the mistakes made by his regime and how those mistakes had served to compound Cuba's already

What's at stake in the steel talks?

By FRANK LOVELL

JULY 26—Negotiations for a new three-year union contract in basic steel are now going on. The negotiations began in earnest after President Nixon met July 6 with steel industry and union negotiators, including Steelworkers President I.W. Abel and Vice-President R. Heath Larry of U.S. Steel. The negotiators were called in to hear a report on the U.S. steel industry's adverse competitive position in the world market.

The report, prepared by Hendrick S. Houthakker of the Council of Economic Advisers, was clearly aimed at strengthening the position of the steel corporations and providing ammunition for the government's general campaign against prevailing wage standards. Not surprisingly, it blamed the troubles of the U.S. steel industry on high labor costs.

After hearing the government report, the negotiators slipped behind closed doors with government mediators to decide the three-year fate of the steelworkers. The present contract expires July 31, and the union will strike if a new agreement has not been reached by that date.

A strike of 350,000 steelworkers will be a decision determined by the steel corporation heads. The union tops have made it clear that they will do everything within their power to avoid a strike.

The Steelworkers leadership, under Abel's command, began nationwide bargaining this year with four major industries—can, aluminum, copper and basic steel. So far there have been industry-wide settlements in can and aluminum.

These settlements were far below the goals set by the 1970 convention of the Steelworkers union. One of those goals was shorter hours—a six-hour day or a four-day week, with no reduction in pay.

Another goal set by the convention was full restoration of the cost-of-living escalator clause in all contracts. Abel promised to fight for this as well as for a "substantial" wage increase to make up for wage raises wiped out by inflation after union officials gave up the cost-of-living escalator clause in the 116-day strike in 1959-1960. The convention also called for improved pension and medical plans.

None of the major goals were won.

Unfavorable pattern set

In February, the Steelworkers leadership opened negotiations with the can industry, signed an agreement with one company, and settled with the others after a strike of less than a month. The terms of the settlement were modest. Average wages had been about \$4 an hour. The new contract provides increases of about \$1 an hour spread over three years.

This hardly qualifies as the "substantial" wage gains promised by Abel. The 50 cents an hour for the first year pegs steelworkers' average wages *below* the scale of autoworkers and truck drivers *before* the unions in those industries won their 1970 strikes.

Though the settlement included an escalator clause, it applies only to the second and third years of the contract, and then only after price increases have offset half of the hourly wage increase that is part of the guaranteed wage package.

The demand for a shorter work week disappeared entirely. It was not even brought to the bargaining table.

In exchange for their "concessions," the employers are free to reorganize and consolidate can-making facilities, speed up production and lay off workers. This process was well underway at the time of the can settlement and has accelerated since.

This settlement set a precedent for settlement in the aluminum industry in June.

A similar give-away has been offered to the copper corporations. One small company, Magna Copper, signed with the Steelworkers on July 18 and received a cut-rate bargain: a wage settlement of 92 cents over three years. The major companies are expected to settle on these terms.

This record is the starting point for negotiations in basic steel. But the steel industry seeks to drive down the wage standard even further by pleading "unfavorable foreign competition." They hope to convince the workers in the mills that if they refuse to work for low wages, the steel industry will go broke, close up shop and everyone will be out of a job.

'Foreign competition'

Nothing could be farther from the truth. The steel industry is not endangered by foreign competition in the way they claim. According to a special report on the steel industry in the May 15 *Business Week*, U.S. labor is by far the most productive in the world. It is estimated that "the labor content of a ton of carbon steel is \$30 in Japan and \$68 in the U.S." However, the report adds,

U.S. millworkers "produce 84.9 tons of steel in 1,000 man-hours, while Japanese labor produces only 57.9 tons."

The problem is that the U.S. steel industry can no longer compete in foreign markets at the high rate of profit it formerly enjoyed.

Owners of the steel industry falsely claim they are in great financial distress. The Feb. 1 *U.S. News & World Report* reported that the steel corporations raked in \$830-million in 1967, \$992-million in 1968, \$850-million in 1969, and an estimated \$600-million in 1970. This doesn't include hundreds of millions in interest paid to the banks and insurance companies.

All the top executives are well paid. One, Edward H. Gott, chairman of U.S. Steel, received \$300,000 last year.

If the owners of the steel industry are so worried about foreign competition, it is hard to account for their clamor to raise prices all the time. There have already been two price increases this year, one in January, another in March. One of the features of the "free enterprise system" and competitive selling in the open market is supposed to be lower prices to meet the competition.

The truth is that there is no competition in this country's steel market. The steel industry is a giant monopoly protected by the government, which limits foreign imports.

The government economists claim they are worried about the competition of foreign steel and about inflation, but the real purpose of the government mediators in the steel wage negotiations is to hold down wages as part of the employers' efforts to shift the entire burden of war expenditures onto the workers of this country. It is these war costs—especially the cost of the war in Southeast Asia—and the deficit spending of the government that are the major and immediate cause of inflation.

New militancy

In all districts of the Steelworkers union, small, often isolated, rank-and-file militant groups are pressing the needs of the steelworkers. Typical of the demands almost universally talked about is a \$1-an-hour raise right now and a cost-of-living clause to keep wages in line with rising prices.

There is also a general demand for the right to call local strikes when the companies violate safety rules, introduce arbitrary work standards, and unilaterally change piecework rates. And the workers want to vote on whatever wage settlement is finally reached.

These are the things mill workers talk about, but their problem is how to gain control of their union. Since the early days of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, under Philip Murray, the union has been bureaucratically controlled by a staff far removed from the heat of the blast furnaces. Changes are in the making, however, and many local officers have recently been elected right out of the mills.

Steelworkers no longer accept the idea that their fate will be settled in a hotel suite in Washington where the steel bosses and government labor experts gang up on the union negotiators to put over a low wage settlement.

These are signs that big changes are coming in the steel industry and the Steelworkers union.

There are other demands that genuine militants in the union are talking about. The continual complaint about how poor the industry is and how small the rate of profit has prompted some union militants to ask why the powerful United Steelworkers union has not long ago demanded to take a look at the bookkeeping system of the steel companies and the banks that own them.

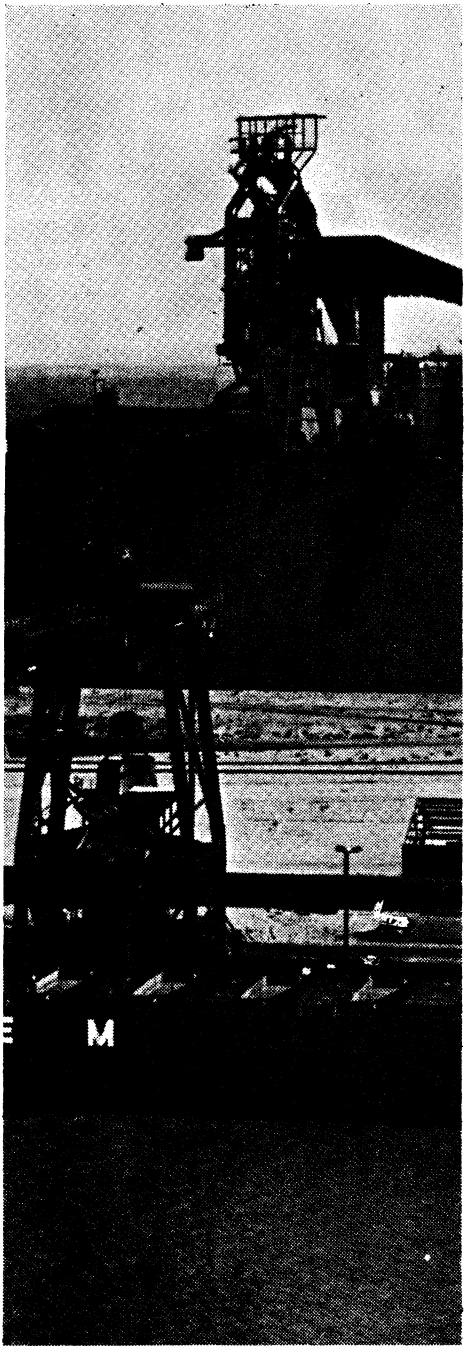
The intervention of the government for the purpose of holding down wage gains has raised another question. If the U.S. steel trust, despite the most productive labor force in the world, is unable to compete in the world market, why has the Steelworkers union failed to demand that this industry be nationalized and operated at full capacity under workers control?

Unemployment has hit the steel industry particularly hard. What happened to the demand of the Steelworkers convention for shorter hours with no reduction in pay? Why does the union allow companies under contract to lay off workers?

And what about inflation? When will the Steelworkers union demand a strict accounting and adjustment in wages every three months to conform with the rise in the cost of living?

These are basic questions that working men and women in the steel mills are thinking and talking about today. Their demand to vote on any settlement signed in their name and regulating their lives is one way of getting to these other questions, of taking control of their own union in order to fight for the most meaningful demands.

There will be big changes in the steel mills in the next three years regardless of what may happen this summer at the steel talks in Washington.



Chicago rail pact may set pattern

By GUY MILLER

CHICAGO, July 26—The Chicago & North Western on July 22 became the nation's first railroad to settle with the United Transportation Union (UTU).

It appears now as if this agreement may become the pattern for a settlement in the railroad industry, and may have been part of the bargaining strategy of rail management to break down work rules and cut back the work force.

The settlement closely resembles the presidential fact-finding board's recommendations. Many of the recommended work-rule changes will be put into effect along with a 42 percent pay increase (based on January 1970 wages) to be spread over a three-and-a-half-year period. A UTU spokesman at the union's headquarters in Cleveland described the settlement as "beautiful." However, the 3,800 North Western UTU members, faced with the loss of jobs and less pay, were not jubilant.

Perhaps the most significant work-rule change in the package was the interdivisional-run rule, which will permit the railroads to run crews through terminals at distances greater than the former mileage limit of about 100 miles.

The wife of an Illinois Central brakeman explained the effects of interdivisional runs in a letter to the *Chicago Daily News*: "My husband goes from Clinton, Ill., to East St. Louis, a distance of about 150 miles, and is gone anywhere from two to four days, and then is home one day and is gone again. There are times when his crew cannot even make the distance in 14 hours. . . . If the railroads are successful in changing that work rule, my husband would probably be gone at least a week, for the company would probably expect him to go to New Orleans."

Within three days of the settlement, the North Western abolished over a dozen yard jobs in the Chicago terminal alone; each job involves five men. Men with little seniority are being forced back onto the already overcrowded "extra board," where three- and four-day workweeks are becoming the rule.

Meanwhile, on railroads not being struck, the entire set of recommended work rule changes have been put into effect in retaliation against the union's selective strike. Railroad workers realize that the longer these changes remain an accomplished fact, the harder it will be to keep them out of a new contract.

In some areas, the frustration of the men working under the new rules has reached the boiling point. On the Rock Island Lines, a wildcat shut down all operations in Peoria, Ill., on July 21.

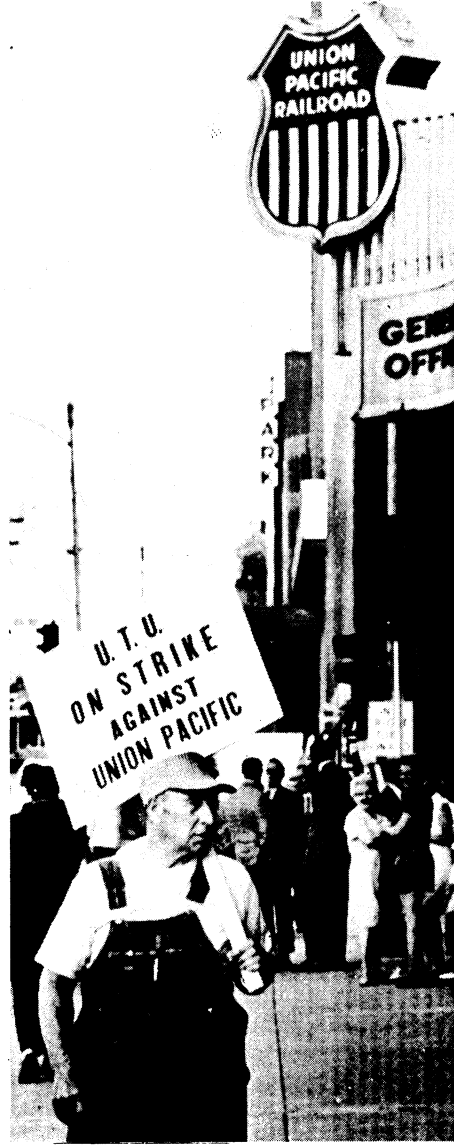
The *Militant* has been told by yardmen from the Rock Island's Chicago terminal that "gumshoes" (railroad jargon for railway police) have been harassing switchmen in the yards. Armed with shotguns and Mace, teams of four "gumshoes" followed yard crews around for several days, supposedly to prevent "sabotage." However, when the men refused to be intimidated and responded by working safer and slower, the railroad police were withdrawn by Rock Island management.

A safety or "work-to-rule" campaign has slowed down operations throughout the huge Chicago terminal. On some lines, the slowdown has been organized through special local union meetings, while on other lines it was organized spontaneously through

word of mouth. Large yards, like the Baltimore & Ohio's Barr yard and the Chicago Belt's yard, can only be described as "plugged."

When asked about the effectiveness of the work-to-rule campaign, one Milwaukee Road switchman answered "100 percent." "Some crews," he added, "are more 100 percent than others, but everyone's got the spirit of the thing. The train masters and superintendents don't like what's going on. They're all over the yard running into each other. But there isn't much they can do about it as long as the men stick together."

Many railroads are also having a hard time assembling road crews with



Union Pacific being picketed in Omaha.

the changed rules. Experienced conductors and brakemen are calling in sick and delaying the "train order time" by several hours.

Switch engines are crawling into yards at speeds well below the authorized limits. This requires the cooperation of engineers, who, as members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), are usually part of actions taken by UTU members. This cooperation of engineers, carmen and other crafts cuts across the tradition of inter-craft antagonism that has plagued railroad workers since the Debs era.

In the UTU, a movement has sprung up around the issue of the right of the membership to vote on contracts. Because of this movement and other rank-and-file pressures, international president Charles Luna wants some kind of settlement before the Aug. 8 UTU convention in Miami. No matter what kind of contract is secured, it will be hailed by Luna and his lieutenants as a victory.

The strike itself has now spread to four major carriers. Together, these carriers originate 20 percent of the rail freight and employ 120,000 people. On July 30, the strike will spread to a number of other lines if no nationwide settlement has been reached.

Railroads stepping up harassment of crews

By DAVID SALNER

CLEVELAND, July 26—As the selective strike of the nation's railroad unions spread to Cleveland, shutting down Norfolk and Western operations, crewmen working for Penn Central, a line that has not yet been struck, are beginning to boil under the planned harassment this immense profit-maker is dishing out to them.

Penn Central is intent on doing its part to break the nationwide strike by making life miserable for the crews that remain on the job. When asked if he thought this pattern of harassment was intentional, one brakeman in his early 30s said, "They send a man by airplane from Buffalo to Chicago to do one hour's work. He has to dead-head [commute] all that distance for \$3.47 when there are men right in Chicago who are waiting for work calls."

Another instance of Penn Central's arbitrariness is the seemingly irrational switching of home terminals. Crewmen with homes and families in Toledo, for example, have been assigned home terminals in Cleveland. The result is that during layovers in Cleveland, they are no longer entitled to lodging and have had to pay motel rates out of their own pockets while earning no pay.

Since the beginning of the selective strike, the possibility of developing

regular living habits has been completely sabotaged by the railroad industry. A layover can last anywhere from several hours to several days. If a layover stretches past the first 24 hours, the men begin to feel the pinch of paying away-from-home prices while earning nothing.

Another grievance is the elimination of eating stops. On Boston to Chicago runs, men have been forced to go 16 hours without a stop for food.

While complaining about the elimination of food stops and the switching of home terminals, one Toledo crewman proudly described a demonstration in Toledo organized by Penn Central employees and featuring such slogans as "Let our fathers eat."

By creating exceptionally miserable working conditions for the crews not yet out on strike, the company hopes to force a breach in solidarity between the working and striking railroad employees. They depend, of course, on the fact that the railroad unions, among the most undemocratic in the country, will take no decisive steps to unite all railroad employees.

But the policies of the Penn Central and the other railroads may prove to be counterproductive in the long run. As one engineer nearing the age of retirement said, "The men will never forget this treatment. Some of them are becoming radicals like me."

Phone workers defy back-to-work order

By BOB BRENNER

DETROIT, July 26—Telephone workers in New York have rejected a contract signed July 19 by President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO). Beirne's surprise settlement came after a five-day strike that brought out 600,000 workers in a nationwide action against the telephone system.

Key union demands centered upon a 25 percent wage increase, a short-term contract of one or two years instead of three, more rapid advancement from low to higher paid categories, improved work rules, and better fringe benefits. The company countered with what it termed a 30-percent wage boost over three years.

The quick settlement came on company terms. Daniel Keenan, president of CWA Local 1103 in Scarsdale, N. Y., a leader of those defying the back-to-work order, says the settlement accepted by Beirne makes the strike appear senseless because the workers were called back to work after only five days on the same terms the company had offered before the strike. This is the way it looks to phone workers here in Detroit too.

In addition to 50,000 strikers in New York, the spirit of militancy has swept into other areas, where thousands are continuing to strike—16,000 in Pennsylvania, 15,000 in New Jersey, 1,300 in Connecticut, and 700 in Florida.

Most of those remaining out are members of CWA locals, but many belong to independent unions that came out in support of the CWA-called strike.

An example of such a group is the Federation of Women Telephone Workers of Southern California (independent) which responded to the CWA strike call with the following announcement: "All members are ordered not to cross the picket lines." (Union members are also wearing buttons with the inscription "FWTW—Woman Power.") In many other similar instances, however, the supporting organizations have been unable to continue the strike when CWA locals return to work.

President William Ellinghaus of the New York Telephone Company says there will be no further negotiations, the agreement is final, that it was "accepted by the CWA." This is typical of what phone management would like to believe.

There is a recent history of wildcat actions in this industry. In the Michigan area there have been several in the past months, touched off by local issues.

Although the back-to-work movement is gaining in most areas, it is possible workers all over the country will join the strikers in New York and other eastern states before the issues in dispute are resolved.

This is the third in a series of articles on the top-secret Pentagon papers revealed by the New York Times. The series is reviewing the history of the war in Indochina and The Militant's coverage of the war.

By DICK ROBERTS

If John F. Kennedy had outlived the assassin's bullets in 1963, would he have escalated the war in Vietnam as Johnson did?

Liberals give a negative answer to this question. They foster a myth about Kennedy which excuses him from the aggressive foreign policies of the other postwar Democratic and Republican administrations.

They recall Kennedy's three-year term in the White House as a period when the United States was supposedly relatively free from foreign wars and cold-war hysteria.

But this conception is way off base. Like Eisenhower and Truman, Kennedy pursued a foreign policy aimed at crushing the colonial revolution and containing the countries where capitalism has been overturned. He led the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust no less than four times in

ade designed to strangle the Cuban revolution, and his brother Robert, as attorney general, prosecuted Americans who dared to visit the revolutionary island.

The Pentagon papers now make clear Kennedy's record in Vietnam. In the first months of his administration, Kennedy ordered an escalation of the secret war against North Vietnam initiated by Eisenhower. Kennedy increased U.S. combat strength in South Vietnam from 685 to 16,000, following a strategy that his top advisers believed would defeat the revolutionaries *without a major Southeast Asian war.*

This included the horrifying program of driving the South Vietnamese peasants into militarily guarded "strategic hamlets" surrounded by barbed wire. The old villages and those peasants who refused to leave them were napalm bombed.

"One special object of praise and of American official confidence," the *New York Times* summary notes, "was the strategic-hamlet program as an all-embracing counterinsurgency strategy in South Vietnam."

Kennedy pressured South Vietnamese generals into overthrowing Ngo Dinh Diem. He sent Henry Cabot Lodge as U.S. ambassador to Saigon to carry out this task. Lodge was in almost daily

established to train Vietnamese so that essential functions now performed by U.S. military personnel can be carried out by Vietnamese by the end of 1965. *It should be possible to withdraw the bulk of U.S. personnel by that time.*" (Emphasis added.)

What Kennedy said

In December 1961, a public exchange of letters between Kennedy and Diem signaled the change in Kennedy's policy toward major U.S. troop commitment to South Vietnam. The number of American servicemen in Vietnam jumped from 948 at the end of November to 2,646 by Jan. 9, 1962. Here is how Kennedy's letter to Diem opened:

"Dear Mr. President: I have received your recent letter in which you described so cogently the dangerous condition caused by North Vietnam's efforts to take over your country. The situation in your embattled country is well known to me and to the American people.

"We have been deeply disturbed by the assault on your country. . . . Your letter underlines what our own information has convincingly shown—that the campaign of force and terror now being waged against your people and your government is supported and directed from the outside by the authorities at Hanoi.

"They have thus violated the provisions of the Geneva Accords designed to ensure peace in Vietnam and to which they bound themselves in 1954."

Thus Kennedy initiated the series of lies that he and the subsequent occupants of the White House tirelessly repeated for the next decade in order to "justify" the murderous U.S. attack on Vietnam. There are at least six significant lies in the lines quoted above.

1-2) "North Vietnam's efforts to take over your country" contains two lies: First, Hanoi had not initiated the revolt in South Vietnam; it was an indigenous rebellion. Second, South Vietnam was not Diem's country; it was the "creation of the United States," as the Pentagon study itself concluded.

3) "The situation in your embattled country is well known . . . to the American people." Nearly the opposite was the truth. All the top officials of the Democratic and Republican parties had been lying about Vietnam since the outbreak of the revolution in 1945.

They had the close cooperation of the leading capitalist newspapers and other news media, which had maintained almost a total blackout of news from Indochina for the previous 15 years. When more and more of the truth about Vietnam began to filter through to the American people, it helped create the basis for an effective mass movement against the war. This movement is now an insurmountable obstacle to Washington's carrying out its initial war plans.

4) "Our information has convincingly shown" U.S. intelligence showed the opposite, as we will describe in a moment.

5) "The campaign of force and terror now being waged against your people. . . ." In fact it was Diem who was waging a campaign of force and terror, with the aid of U.S. advisers and dollars, against the South Vietnamese people.

6) "They have violated the provisions of the Geneva Accords. . . ." The Geneva Accords called for elections in 1956 for the reunification of Vietnam, which Washington had blocked. They set a limit on the number of military forces the U.S. was supposed to have in South Vietnam, which Kennedy was in the process of secretly violating as this letter was dispatched. In effect, the letter was a public promise to Diem that *Washington would not respect the Geneva Accords.*

What Kennedy knew

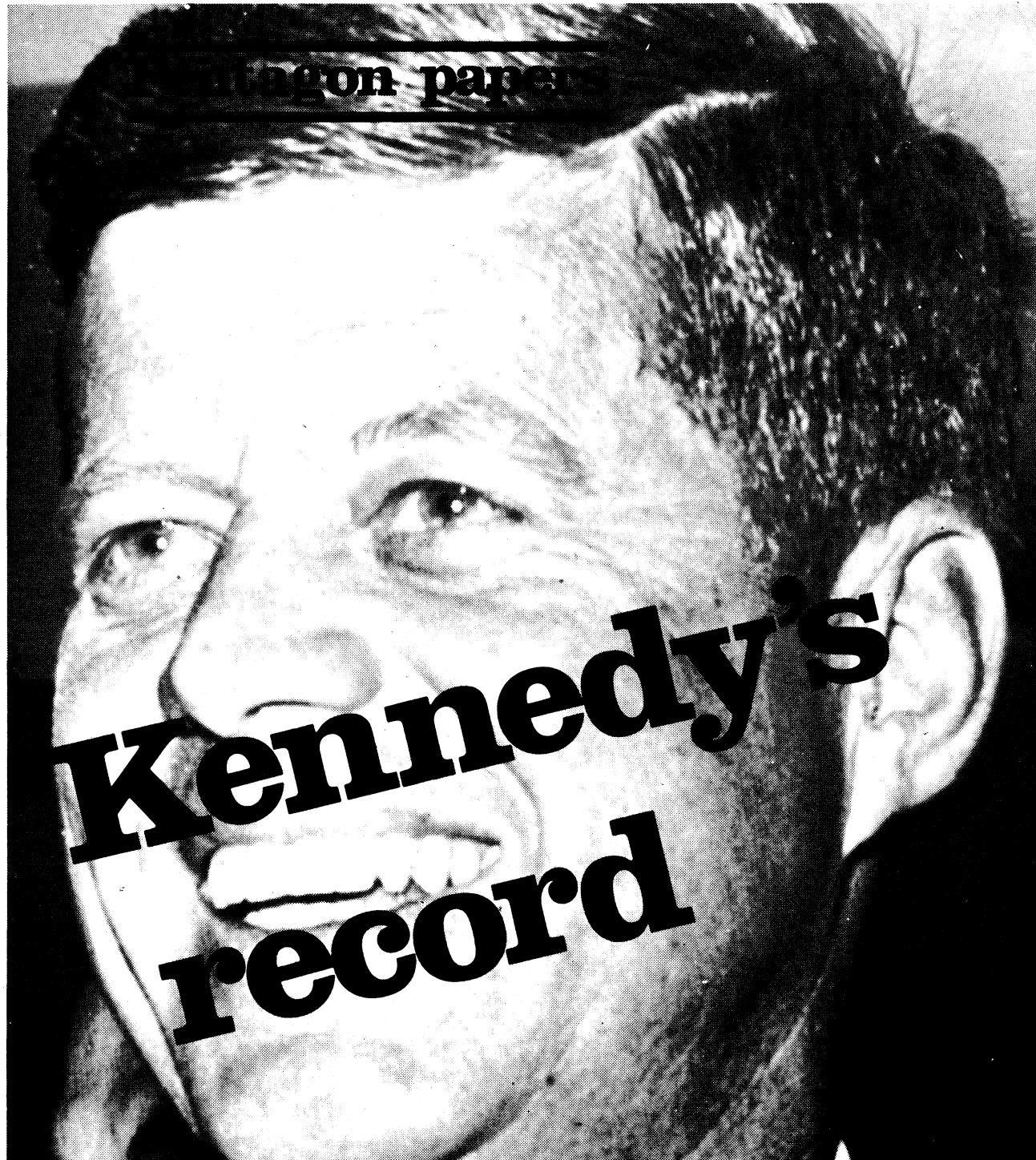
The truth about the roots of revolution in South Vietnam was no secret to Kennedy, whose utter contempt for the opinions of Americans is underscored by the lines just quoted.

According to the *New York Times*, "a special national intelligence estimate on Oct. 5 [1961] reported 'that 80-90 percent of the estimated 17,000 VC had been locally recruited, and that there was little evidence that the VC relied on external supplies.'"

From intelligence reports in the Pentagon papers *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield summarized the history of the South Vietnamese revolt. Butterfield writes that "American intelligence during the 1950s shows . . . that the war began largely as a rebellion in the south against the increasingly oppressive and corrupt regime of Ngo Dinh Diem.

"Most of those who took up arms were South Vietnamese and the causes for which they fought were by no means contrived in North Vietnam," the Pentagon account says of the years from 1956 to 1959 when the insurgency began. . . .

"American officials in Saigon, including those



his three-year term.

Only two months after taking office, in March 1961, Kennedy threatened to launch a war in Southeast Asia to rescue the tottering U.S.-backed military regime in Laos. The Pentagon papers show that as this crisis deepened the Joint Chiefs of Staff alerted the U.S. commander in chief of Pacific forces, Adm. Harry D. Felt, "to be prepared to undertake air strikes against North Vietnam and possibly southern China."

In April 1961, Kennedy ordered the ill-fated "Bay of Pigs" attack against the new revolutionary government in Cuba.

In the "Berlin crisis" of July 1961, Kennedy threatened to go to war with the Soviet Union if Moscow passed a treaty undermining the Pentagon's cherished occupation "rights" in West Berlin.

In the second Laotian crisis of his administration, in May 1962, Kennedy dispatched 4,000 U.S. troops to Thailand and mobilized the Seventh Fleet for a war in Indochina when it was "revealed" that the North Vietnamese were aiding the Laotian revolution. But this revelation turned out to be a CIA fabrication.

And in October 1962, the sabre-rattling "New Frontiersman" threatened a U.S. nuclear attack on the Soviet Union for installing missile bases in Cuba. Kennedy instituted the economic block-

contact with the plotting generals; he made no move to rescue Diem, sweet-talking to him over the phone only a few hours before the assassination.

Kennedy did not move any "faster" than this to crush the South Vietnamese revolution because his administration believed it could accomplish this with the force levels it was using.

The *New York Times* prints extracts from a memorandum handed to Kennedy, Oct. 2, 1963, by two of the highest-ranking officials concerned with Vietnam policy, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. This was only a few weeks before Kennedy's death.

"The military campaign has made great progress and continues to progress," the Taylor-McNamara memorandum opens. It takes note of the unpopularity of the Diem government and states: "A return to more moderate methods of control and administration. . . would substantially mitigate the political crisis." (Diem was assassinated one month later.)

McNamara and Taylor recommend "A consolidation of the strategic hamlet program, especially in the Delta, and action to insure that future strategic hamlets are not built until they can be protected. . . ."

And they continue: "A program [should] be es-

in the embassy, the CIA, and the military command were fully aware of President Diem's shortcomings. They regularly reported to Washington that he was 'authoritarian, inflexible and remote,' that he entrusted power only to his own family and that he had alienated all elements of the population by his oppressive policies.

"From 1954 to 1958 North Vietnam concentrated on its internal development, apparently hoping to achieve reunification either through the elections provided for in the Geneva settlement or through the natural collapse of the weak Diem regime. The Communists left behind a skeletal apparatus in the South when they regrouped to North Vietnam in 1954 after the war with the French ended, but the cadre members were ordered to engage only in 'political struggle.'

"In the years before 1959, the Diem regime was nearly successful in wiping out the agents, who felt constrained by their orders not to fight back. Their fear and anger at being caught in this predicament, however, apparently led them to begin the insurgency against Mr. Diem despite their orders, sometime during 1956-57. . . .

"The Diem land-reform program, instead of redistributing land to the poor, ended up taking back what the peasants had been given by the Vietminh and returning it to the landlords. In 1960, 75 percent of the land was still owned by 15 percent of the people.

"Mr. Diem abolished the traditional elected village councils out of fear that Communists might gain power in them. Then he replaced these popular bodies with appointed outsiders, northern refugees and Catholics loyal to him.

"In [Diem's massive campaign of repression], which was begun in the summer of 1955, from 50,000 to 100,000 people were put in detention camps. But, the account says, many of the detainees were not Communists at all. . . .

"The National Liberation Front for South Vietnam was officially founded on December 20, 1960, the study relates, and within a year its membership had quadrupled. . . . By then the insurgency had taken root."

The miserable oppressive regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, armed and financed by Washington, whose reactionary character was fully known to Washington's leaders, was the one John Kennedy decided to support — at all costs, including the sacrifice of hundreds of young American GIs.

The Militant exposes Kennedy

There was never any mystification of Kennedy in the pages of *The Militant*. When Kennedy first took office, *The Militant's* number one concern was to warn about the impending attack on Cuba.

"Rarely has a major world power planned naked aggression against a small country as openly and brazenly as Washington is preparing the projected invasion of Cuba," Harry Ring wrote on April 12, a week before the Bay of Pigs attack.

"As these lines are written, a well-armed mer-

cenary force of pilots, naval units, paratroopers, guerrilla fighters and saboteurs—financed and trained by the government of the United States — stands poised for an attack on Cuba," Ring stated.

From the first hint that Kennedy would come to Diem's rescue with U.S. troops, *The Militant* warned about the grave consequences of such a move. An editorial on Nov. 6, 1961, called attention to the ominous implications of Kennedy's sending Gen. Taylor to visit Saigon and demanded: "No U.S. troops for Diem!"

The editorial stated, "The U.S. government has already sunk \$1.5-billion into Diem's government and already has a group of U.S. military men 'in the field' against the guerrillas. But even the U.S. commercial press, which is hell bent for 'saving' Vietnam from the Viet Cong peasant revolutionaries, cannot conceal the fact that Diem's government is hated by the mass of the people of South Vietnam."

A photograph on the front page of the Jan. 1, 1962, *Militant* showed a mother weeping over a flag-draped coffin. The caption under the photo declared:

"IT'S BEGINNING AGAIN. When Mrs. Carmen Salcido's two sons returned to Chicago from the Korean war, only one, Arthur was alive. Mrs. Salcido weeps at the casket of the other, Armando, one of the 140,000 U.S. casualties in Truman's 'police action.' Now Kennedy is committing U.S. troops to combat without the consent of Congress or the American people. This time it is in South Vietnam."

Headlines in the following months were self-explanatory:

"Kennedy to send more GIs into Vietnamese civil war"

"GIs die for tyrant in South Vietnam"

"Vietnam build-up invites major war"

"U.S. acts to turn Vietnam into a concentration camp"—this article reported the first facts that had come out about Washington's cherished strategic-hamlets program, from an article by Homer Bigart in the March 28, 1962, *New York Times*:

"Operation Sunrise was begun modestly in this area [Bencat] a week ago. . . . In this region 1,200 families are to be moved voluntarily or forcibly from the forests controlled by the Viet Cong and resettled in new strategic villages. The abandoned villages will be burned to deprive the Viet Cong of food and shelter. . . . A young woman stood expressionless as she recounted how troops had burned the families' two tons of rice."

More headlines:

"GI toll continues to mount in Vietnam"

"Pretense dropped that GIs are not fighting in Vietnam"

"Kennedy's brinkmanship courts a major war in Southeast Asia"

"Guerrillas inflict defeats on U.S. in Vietnam war"

To read these pages of *The Militant* might give the impression that masses of people were in mo-

tion against the war, as is the case today, and that the horrifying fraud perpetrated by Washington was easily seen. This was not the case.

Fred Halstead, chief marshal of the massive April 24, 1971, demonstration against the war in Washington, D.C., described a demonstration in *The Militant* May 6, 1963. The article was entitled: "The Peace Walks—Why No Stand on Vietnam?"

This was a description of the 1963 Easter peace walk. These had become a tradition in the anti-bomb campaigns of the late 1950s and 1960s. At this time the leadership of the peace movement was dominated by reformists, particularly the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who attempted to prevent the movement from sharply confronting the Democratic Party, and particularly Kennedy. They demonstrated against war—in general—but not against the actual policies of the Democratic administration in power.

Halstead reported: "The leaders of most of the peace groups defaulted on their most important duty—to protest and to expose the war that their own country is involved in right now. The 'recommended' signs of almost all the peace groups *did not* include any protest against the war in Vietnam. In addition, in at least three cities, attempts were made by persons within the leadership of some peace groups to have signs protesting the war in Vietnam removed from the demonstrations. . . .

"These incidents, small in themselves, point up a serious crisis in the U.S. peace movement. The movement is still attracting significant numbers of young people. . . . These young people will not be satisfied with a movement which refuses to oppose and expose the war of aggression and atrocity being perpetrated in Vietnam.

"They owe no loyalty to leaders who default on the duty to organize effective protests against this war. They should not be expected to follow 'recommendations' to refrain from making this war a major issue at peace demonstrations."

Kennedy's last act in relation to the war was to get rid of Diem. *The Militant* carried a front-page editorial on this, Nov. 11, 1963: "The new regime, in another transparent lie, denies that the U.S. was involved in the coup. Yet Washington has been seeking for months to put an end to Diem's rule. It had even made public statements indicating it would support a military coup. . . .

"Embarrassed before the world by the Buddhist revolt, Kennedy dumped Diem not so much because he was a tyrant as that he had become an unreliable one, unable to control his own oppressed people. The figureheads have changed but the aim of the Washington masters remains the same—hold on to that piece of real estate.

"The American people should demand an end to U.S. intervention in a war that has nothing to do with 'democracy.' Let the Vietnamese people decide their future for themselves. Bring the GIs home!"

To be continued.

By Any Means Necessary

Don't drink Budweiser beer. The following statement issued by the Black Brewery Workers at the Newark plant of the Anheuser-Busch Company explains why.

"The Black Brewery Workers, in cooperation with the Committee For Unified Newark, Congress of African People, and Operation Breadbasket, want to awaken the Black and Puerto Rican community to the racist nature of the Anheuser-Busch Company (better known as Budweiser); and that at this time we are beginning a nationwide boycott of all Anheuser-Busch products. Don't buy Bud!

"Anheuser-Busch is the largest brewer in the country (with its second largest plant located in Newark), yet it employs less than 1 percent of the Black and Puerto Rican community, most of which are not regular employees. No one can use the Black and Puerto Rican community in this way. No one can come into our community, make millions by selling us beer, but can't share any of this money with us by hiring us.

"When approached by the Black and Puerto Rican community, one of the company officials, Hoise Poeschla, indicated that Budweiser is not a part of Newark and will not relate to the community. We are confused by this reasoning, they must be also. How can you be in a place, but not be a part of it? Newark has one of the best natural resources for brewers: water. We have reason to believe that Anheuser-Busch pays very little in taxes for the use of this water. At the same time, Newark desperately needs revenue and must raise property taxes while Anheuser-Busch makes millions and pays little.

"Since April 1971, the State Division of Civil Rights has been investigating the discriminatory practices of Anheuser-Busch, in public hearings. Several brothers who have testified at these public hearings have been fired for some flimsy reasons. Those who are still with Anheuser-Busch have been subjected to undue mental and physical harassment. Many of the white workers (who don't live in Newark) are members of the KKK, John Birch Society and other racist groups.

"Many of the stores and bars have supported our boycott and are already cutting their orders with Anheuser-Busch. On a national level, the boycott has begun in Chicago, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Boston, San Diego, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Philadelphia. No longer can we stand by and let these racist

companies use us for profits and disregard us as humans.

"We, the Black Brewery Workers, demand that Anheuser-Busch rehire those brothers fired on trumped-up excuses; and that all Black workers be made regulars. Since Newark is comprised of 75 percent Black and Puerto Rican peoples, Anheuser-Busch's hiring practices should reflect this on all levels. Anheuser-Busch must relate to the Newark community, or it will not be allowed to exist in our midst."

Black GIs continue to receive lopsided justice at the hands of the Man's army. Pfc. Percy Reltherford, according to the July 2 *Muhammad Speaks*, has been dishonorably discharged and flown back to the U.S. to serve four months at hard labor for allegedly starting a brawl outside a bar in Berlin, West Germany. This frame-up was engineered by U.S. Army officers and it stems from an incident that occurred at the McNair Barracks in Berlin on the night of Feb. 10.

Reltherford, 22 years old and a Vietnam vet, was sleeping when a white GI—drunk and reminiscing about "being down home"—came upon him with a KKK-style sheet over his head and proceeded to stab him three times in the chest and groin. Reltherford survived and the white GI was sentenced to two years at hard labor. However, the white GI was not discharged; he remains in the U.S. Army.

From that time on, Reltherford was harassed by officers, despite his physical condition, and given several Article 15s—culminating in the brawl frame-up.

From the same barracks arose the case of Specialist Elton Marshall. Marshall, on extra duty as a cook, refused to clean up a mess left by another soldier when ordered to do so by a lieutenant. So he left the scene, rushing past the officer in what the lieutenant described as "an aggressive and dangerous manner."

Marshall was put in the stockade without being formally charged. After two weeks, he was released, went AWOL, was captured, jailed again, escaped, captured again—and finally given one year at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge.

—DERRICK MORRISON

In Review

Books

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany by Leon Trotsky. Introduction by Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 479 pp. \$12.50 cloth. \$3.95 paper.

On March 5, 1933, the last "free elections" were held in Germany, immediately prior to Hitler's final consolidation of power. (On March 23 the Reichstag voted him dictatorial powers.) Only the Nazis and the ultraright Nationalists were permitted to campaign in the week preceding the elections. Civil liberties had been suspended on February 28. Even so, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) polled 18.3 percent of the vote. The Communist Party (KPD) won 12.3 percent of the vote. And the Nazis, who had hoped to poll a majority, received 43.9 percent—a good deal less.

In all previous elections, the Nazis had done worse. Clearly, they never had a majority of the German electorate behind them.

To be sure, political-minded people know that the question of state power is not decided in the polling booth. Yet for that very reason it should be somewhat unsettling to know that the Nazis came to power in January 1933 without, as James P. Cannon put it in his *History of American Trotskyism*, "even the semblance of a civil war, without even a scuffle in the street."

The workers' parties, the Communists and the Social Democrats, had together polled more than 12 million votes on March 5, 1933—on a day when a worker who voted for those parties was taking a perilous risk, a day when the leaders of those parties were in jail or had taken flight. Many of those workers had been members of organizations pledged to defend the Weimar government from the Nazi onslaught; others had been in once-armed Communist detachments. Cannon was not exaggerating when he wrote: "Had the German workers been united in action they could have scattered the fascist riffraff to the four winds with one solid blow."

The subject of *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* is how and why the fascist catastrophe occurred.

Here are collected, for the first time in book form in English, Trotsky's major writings on German fascism. There are 24 articles in all. One (*What Next?*) was published as a book in 1932; several others were published as long pamphlets at the same time or even earlier. Many of the other pieces were translated in late 1932 and early 1933, and appeared in *The Militant*, which was being published three times a week during the height of the crisis in order to get all of Trotsky's writings on the German events published and out in the street as fast as possible. One article was specially

translated for this book. Nearly everything has been unavailable (except in the largest libraries) since a year or so after the material was first published.

A creative application of Marxism

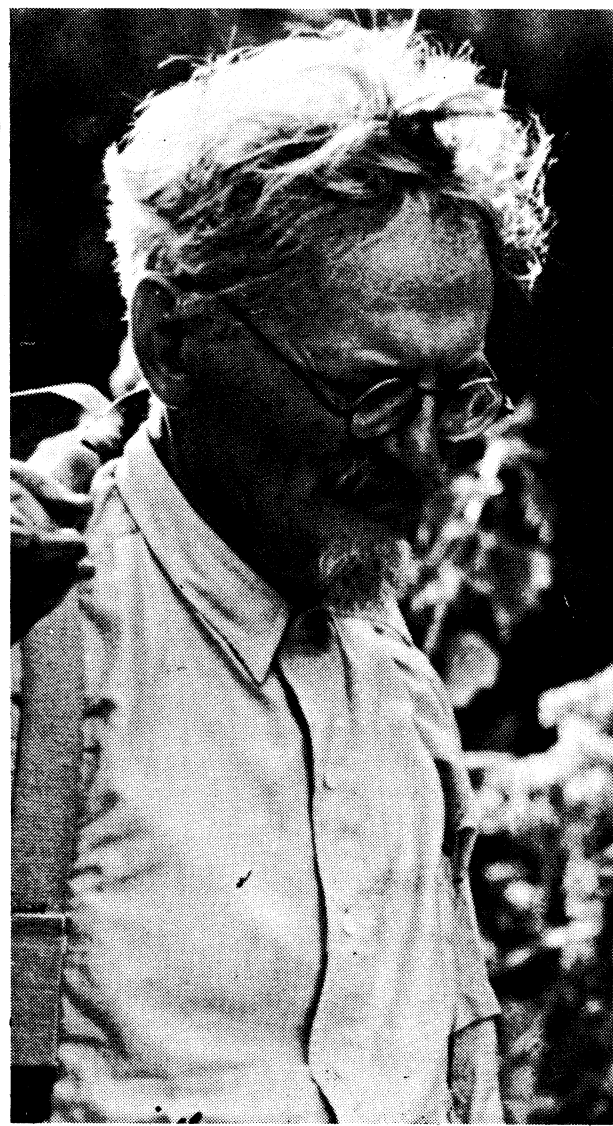
It was Leon Trotsky who first isolated the essence of fascism and recognized its function. While other theoreticians stood disarmed and helpless before this new social phenomenon, attributing the rise of fascism to Hitler's personality or to a vague "German national character" or "Prussian mentality," Trotsky studied fascism from the point of view of historical materialism, to learn what it was and how to fight it.

"The pamphlets, articles, and letters by Leon Trotsky collected in this book, most of them written before Hitler came to power in 1933," the preface explains, "represent an application of Marxism to a complex contemporary phenomenon that is as brilliant, creative, and educational as any produced by the revolutionary movement since Marx's time. If Trotsky's analysis and proposals for action had been accepted by the German working class, the subsequent history of this century would have been profoundly different."

The reader of this book will quickly come to understand what stood in the way of acceptance by the German working class of Trotsky's ideas on fighting fascism. Unity of the German workers, even for the simple purpose of preventing fascist physical attacks upon their headquarters and newspapers, was opposed and undermined by the workers' leaderships—the labor aristocrats of the Social Democratic Party and the Stalinized bureaucracy of the Communist Party.

In 1930, when the first article in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* was written, Trotsky was living in exile with members of his family and a few secretaries on the island of Prinkipo in the harbor of Constantinople. The forces of the Left Opposition within Russia were under constant attack and their ability to organize—even to stay alive—was diminishing daily. Trotsky could count only a handful of followers around the world. His son, Leon Sedov, was in Berlin. There he published the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Left Opposition*. Perhaps the largest group of followers was in the United States, in the Communist League of America (formed after their expulsion from the Communist Party in 1928).

The events in Germany which led to the fascist seizure of power unfolded with such rapidity that a lesser politician than Trotsky would have had every reason to throw in the towel. Still, the picture of Trotsky in exile, pushing against a tide of events as a fly might push a charging rhinoceros, has been overdrawn by many, Isaac Deutscher included.



The spirit and tone of the effort to get a hearing from the German vanguard was set by Trotsky:

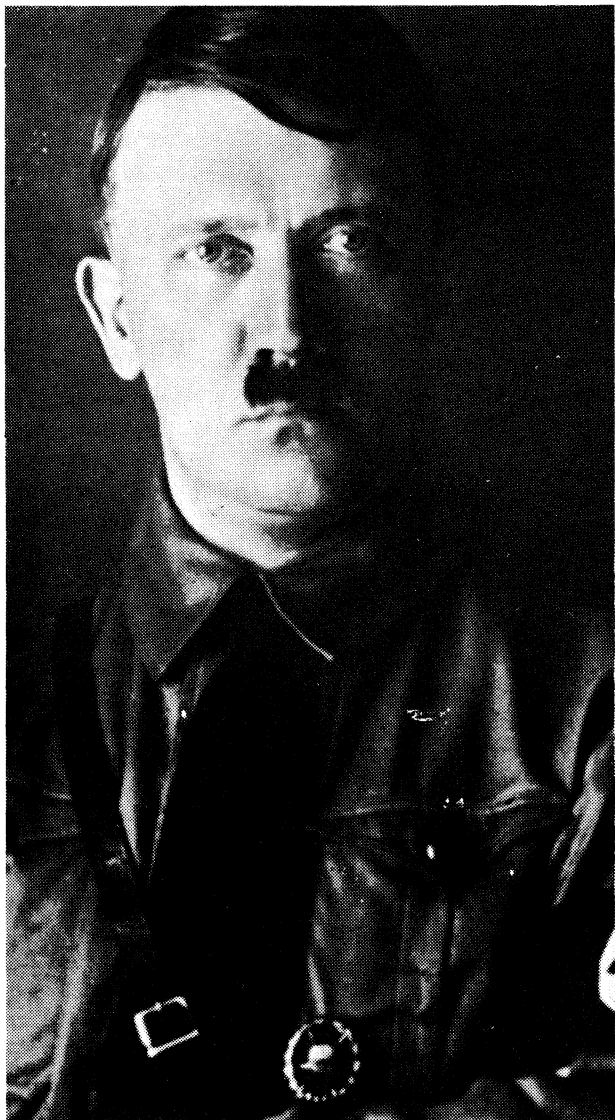
"When of necessity one must follow conditions in Germany through newspapers that arrive almost a week late; when one must allow another week before manuscripts may bridge a gap between Constantinople and Berlin, after which additional weeks must pass before the pamphlet reaches its public, involuntarily the question arises: 'Won't it be altogether too late?' And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are so colossal that one need not fear a lightning-quick settlement of the issue. The strength of the German proletariat has not been drained. Its powers have not yet been brought into play. The logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously with every passing day. And this justifies the author's attempt to add what he has to say even if it is delayed a few weeks, i.e., an entire historical period."

The response of the Trotskyist movement around the world was to campaign to get Trotsky's ideas out to as many militants in the Communist vanguard as would listen—and more and more of them listened as the betrayal of the Stalinist party in Germany became clear.

Here is Cannon's description of the American effort, from the *History of American Trotskyism*:

"We sounded the alarm on the impending showdown between fascism and Communism in Germany. . . . we did an absolutely unprecedented thing for a group so small as ours. We transformed our weekly *Militant* . . . and brought it out three times a week, each issue blazing away with the message of Trotskyism on the events in Germany. If you should ask me how we did it I wouldn't be able to explain. But we did it. It wasn't impossible, but there is a saying among Trotskyists that in times of crisis you do not do what is possible, but what is necessary. . . ."

"We did everything we could to awaken, arouse and educate the American Communist workers in those fateful weeks. . . . All over the country, *The Militant* reports, mass meetings were held by the local branches of the Communist League of America. . . . We even invaded a Stalinist mass meeting . . . and asked for the floor. The audacity of the demand seemed to nonplus the fakers in charge and there were demands from the floor 'let 'em speak!' We spoke and gave our message. . . ."



Through the tiny Trotskyist vanguard, Trotsky spoke to the larger Communist movement. Throughought the first half of the book, it is for this vanguard that he analyzes the nature of fascism and the sources of the impotence of the workers' parties before the threat of fascism. It was to them that Trotsky addressed his plea to raise and discuss the burning need of the hour: unity of all workers' organizations in action against the fascist menace.

The 'Third Period'

This unity was in the first place blocked by the KPD, which operated on the pernicious ultraleft Stalinist theories of the "third period" and "social fascism." According to the Stalinist schema, a "first period" of capitalist crisis and revolution in 1917-1924 was followed by a "second period" of capitalist stability in 1924-1928, whereupon Stalin decreed the advent of a "third period" in which—although nothing in the objective situation warranted it—a revolutionary situation was again on the order of the day. The Social Democracy was thought to be on the verge of permanent eclipse and about to lose its large following in the German working class to the KPD. All the SPD-led workers needed was to be told that their leaders were "social fascists," in no way distinguishable from the Nazis themselves.

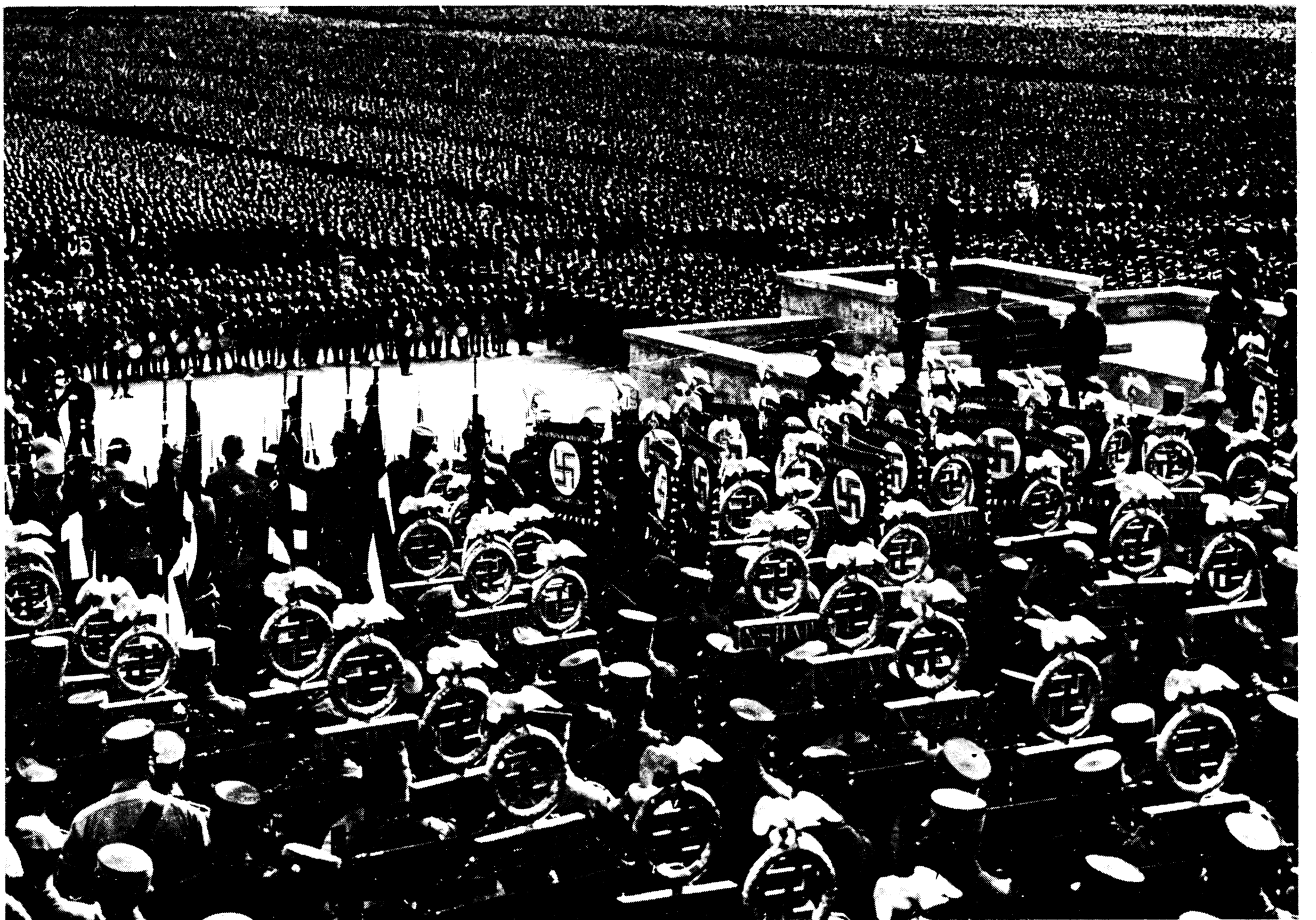
Since the SPD was led by "social fascists," the Stalinist theory ran, the only way to achieve a united front of the workers was "from below." That is, followers of the SPD had to break with their leadership at the urging of the Communists and come rushing into the revolutionary ranks, or else no united front would be possible.

This theory was adhered to, with peculiar twists and turns, right up to the moment of the fascist seizure of power.

'Red referendum'

One twist in Stalinist policy was the episode of the "red referendum," which Trotsky discusses in the article "Against National Communism," included in this book. In this one small incident Trotsky finds an illustration of almost the whole range of Stalinist and Social Democratic errors.

The "red referendum" took place in August 1931 in Prussia, Germany's most populous province, containing Berlin where the SPD was in power. The Nazis obtained enough signatures on a petition to hold a referendum which would have had



Hitler reviewing troops at Nazi rally in Nuremberg

the effect, if passed, of dissolving the Prussian government. The Stalinist response to the plebiscite was utterly astounding. First—temporarily abandoning the "united front from below" policy—they demanded that the SPD join in a united front against the fascists under certain conditions. Then, when the SPD rejected the Stalinist demand—in reaction against the KPD's past "social-fascist" line—the Stalinists supported the plebiscite and urged the Communists to vote alongside the Nazis for the overthrow of the SPD government in Prussia! They did this in spite of the fact that power in Prussia would surely have fallen into the hands of the Nazis had the referendum passed.

"What political aim," Trotsky asks, "did the leadership of the Communist Party pursue with its turn?" The KPD explanation was that the policies of the Social Democrats were paving the way for fascism. Therefore they had to be defeated. Hence the fascist referendum, which would defeat the Social Democratic government, had to be supported.

Fortunately, the plebiscite failed to gain a majority of the electorate. But Trotsky summarizes the position in which it left the KPD:

"The red referendum did not fall from the skies: it grew out of an advanced ideological degeneration of the party. But because of this it does not cease to be the most malicious adventure imaginable. The referendum did not at all become the point of departure for a revolutionary struggle for power. It remained fully within the framework of a subsidiary parliamentary maneuver. With its aid, the party succeeded in inflicting upon itself a multiple defeat. Having strengthened the Social Democracy, . . . having covered up the defeat of the fascists, and having repelled the Social Democratic workers and a considerable portion of its own electorate, the party became, on the day after the referendum, considerably weaker than it had been on the eve of it."

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany is divided into seven parts. Part One, "Sounding the Alarm," is the attempt to call the attention of the German Communist Party to the danger which fascism had begun to represent. Part Two, "The United Front Explained," sets forth Trotsky's ideas on the strategy of the united front of the workers' organizations and discussed all of the factors in the German situation, analyzing the positions of all the parties on the left in Germany. Part Three, "The Nature of Bonapartism," deals with the left response to the rise of "presidential" government in Germany—that is, the process by which the constitution and parliament were undermined by the tremendous crisis of German capitalism and the extremely precarious balance of forces.

Part Four, "The Decision Is Made," deals with the events between the time Hitler was appointed chancellor and the time he consolidated his power—that is, the events of February 1933.

Part Five, "Reviewing the Lessons," takes up what was learned in the whole series of events about the nature of fascism, about the response of the Soviet Union, and about the responsibility

of the leadership of the workers.

Part Six, "For a New International," is devoted to Trotsky's conclusion that, in light of the Stalinist betrayal and the subsequent failure of the Third International to turn from and repudiate the policies which led to it, a new International was needed, composed of new parties unstained by the greatest defeat ever inflicted upon the working class by the default of its leaders. Here Trotsky addresses those followers whom he had gathered over the preceding period, some of whom were reluctant to make the final break from the well-organized and still powerful Communist International.

Part Seven, "Later Generalizations," consists of an article from 1934 on the subject of Bonapartism and fascism, and an article Trotsky was working on when he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in August 1940.

A major publishing event

The appearance of *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* is a publishing event of the first magnitude. Students and scholars alike should be pleased to have in their hands at last a full selection of Trotsky's writings on German fascism. Although several letters and short articles had to be left out for reasons of space, the collection presented is nevertheless politically complete.

The book has been edited in a very helpful fashion. Notes discuss more than 400 names of persons, organizations, and places mentioned in the text. Footnote numbers in the text for these notes are well placed, at the logical rhetorical and grammatical spots, and don't interfere with a reading of the text.

Brief introductions to the seven parts set forth the political situation in relation to the text, analyze the results of the various elections, and provide any relevant details about Trotsky.

There is a comprehensive name index (which indexes the notes as well), and a list of the newspapers and journals cited in the text, indicating what political tendency published or was associated with each one.

In addition, the introduction by Ernest Mandel examines Trotsky's theory of fascism, contrasting it with the various theories presented by his opponents as well as present-day theories.

"Trotsky's theory of fascism is a product of the Marxist method of social analysis," explains Mandel. "It expressed in a particularly striking way the superiority of this method and the results of its application to the multitude of bourgeois historical and social interpretations."

These penetrating and prophetic results are handily available at last. *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* will be especially read and studied by revolutionists. For Trotsky's writings on German fascism are not merely a penetrating analysis of the past; they also provide the basis for understanding and dealing with the problems and possibilities of the present and the future.

— MARY KRAFT

Rouge editor on trial for cop 'libel'

From *Intercontinental Press*
By JON ROTHSCILD

The trial of Charles Michaloux, executive editor of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, French section of the Fourth International), opened in Paris on July 6. Michaloux is charged with five counts of libeling the police in separate articles that appeared in *Rouge* over a five-month period. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 12, p. 662.)

In the face of the general attack by the Pompidou regime against civil liberties, of which the *Rouge* indictment is a part, a broad defense movement has developed.

The July 5 *Rouge* described the three fronts on which the regime has chosen to try to restrict the functioning of the left: limitation of the right of association, limitation of the right of assembly, and attacks on the freedom of the press.

The Pompidou regime has already suffered a partial defeat on the first point. On July 17 the French Constitutional Council ruled that the 1901 law guaranteeing free association could not be annulled, as Pompidou had sought. This marked the first time that the Council, widely regarded as a Gaullist rubber stamp, had overruled the regime on such a significant issue.

In its assaults on the press, the government has run into strong resistance. The number of signers of the statement of solidarity with *Rouge* (including solidarity with the allegedly incriminating articles) exceeded 120 as of July 5.

Michaloux, writing in the July 5 *Rouge*, outlined the counterattack planned by the Ligue Communiste:

"... we will do everything in our power to fight on both fronts: to prove the truth of our articles, and to use this legal battle to open a general political campaign denouncing the

bourgeoisie's repressive plots.

"In this regard, the reopening of the Thévenin affair is to the point (it is not for nothing that we raised this issue). [Thévenin, a young worker, was killed while in police custody. One of the counts against *Rouge* is that it expressed doubts about the police claim that Thévenin had committed suicide.]... It appeared that the police were absolved of all suspicion, since the magistrates ruled that there were no grounds for prosecuting them. But now, this judgment has been overruled. The police are again on the carpet. Minister Marcellin [secretary of the interior], who has proved a bit too quick to react, may find himself on the carpet with them. During the trial we will do all in our power to mark out clearly the path that will take him there."

The campaign in defense of civil liberties has been marred by the sectarian actions of the Communist party.

On July 8, the CP withdrew from a press conference convened by the League for Human Rights on the grounds that the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière had been invited. The CP claimed that the terms of unity had been violated by that invitation. It further explained that it refused to be associated with groups "whose activity makes a game out of the government's attacks on civil liberties and the demands of the workers."

In spite of the CP's attitude, the press conference continued. Daniel Mayer, president of the League, said that the rights established by the 1789 revolution were today "eroded, limited, and scoffed at." He protested the so-called antiwrecker law, which allows the government to hold any individual who participates in a demonstration responsible for any destruction of property that occurs during the action, and to place restrictions on that person's civil liberties even prior to trial.

The stir created by the antidemocratic actions of the French government, as well as the notoriety of the French cops, has already spread beyond France.

The July 21 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* contained a two-page article entitled "Police Terror in France." The article detailed five cases in which people arrested for such charges as drunkenness, disorderly conduct, etc., mysteriously died while in the hands of the police. (One of those cases was the Thévenin affair.)

In no case were the police involved brought to trial.

Presumably, a French newspaper publishing the *Spiegel* article would be liable to the same prosecution to which *Rouge* has been subjected.

Pompidou apparently chose the summer months for launching political trials because during this time students and many workers are on vacation. The regime hoped 'to bring the trials to a conclusion before the intended victims could mobilize support.

The extent of the opposition to the *Rouge* trial, to the indictment of Jean-Paul Sartre for his support of press freedom, and to the government's attempt to abrogate freedom of association indicates that Pompidou may have miscalculated the response to his assault on civil liberties.

D.C. Blacks to protest military recruiting

By KEN MILINER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — At a July 14 planning meeting of the Black Action Coalition (BAC) here, it was decided to begin mass picketing July 31 of the armed forces recruitment centers in the Black community. There are three such centers in the Black community but none in the white community.

The meeting was held at All Souls Church and was attended by about 80 people. During the previous week, BAC activists obtained 2,500 signatures on petitions demanding removal of the centers.

The featured speaker at the gathering was Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.). He made the point that Black people had to develop an understanding of the relationship between America's domestic and foreign policies. He said that if the U. S. government isn't stopped in Vietnam, it will be in Africa next.

Other speakers included representatives from the Black Moratorium Committee, Student Organization for Black Unity, Washington Draft Information Center, National Association of Black Students, Black Panther Party and the

United Student Front.

The participants agreed to put out a fact sheet on the recruitment centers and to organize committees on the various aspects of the campaign.

The Black Action Coalition was formed on June 26 by the Black Moratorium Committee, the National Association of Black Students, and the Black Panther Party. It has since grown to include other organizations as well as individual activists.

Florida convicts woman for abortion

Shirley Wheeler, a young woman in Daytona Beach, Fla., has been convicted of "manslaughter." Sometime in August she will be sentenced, possibly up to 20 years in jail. Her "crime" was having an illegal abortion. Like millions of other women, Wheeler had to have an illegal abortion because the laws of her state would not permit her to legally terminate pregnancy, even though doctors had warned her that giving birth might endanger her life, since she had had rheumatic fever.

Shirley Wheeler developed complications from her illegal abortion, and had to go to a doctor to have her abortion completed. She was arrested and imprisoned for four or five days while she was still sick from the effects of the completed abortion operation.

She was harassed in jail by the police, who showed her photographs of the dead fetus and accused her of murder. She was tried and convicted of manslaughter when she refused to give the authorities the name of the abortionist.

On July 16-18, the Women's National Abortion Conference voted to support the case of Shirley Wheeler and give it national publicity.

Telegrams of protest should be sent to Governor Ruben Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304

For further information on her case, contact the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, 137A W. 14 St., New York, N. Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 924-0894 or 675-9150.

...caucus

Continued from page 10

pressure for specific goals like repeal of abortion laws.

The path that the Political Caucus proposes for the women's liberation movement will not lead to greater political power for women, but to our subordination to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. To win real political power, women must consistently confront and oppose the Democratic and Republican parties — the parties responsible for our oppression — both in the streets and in the electoral arena.

In the electoral arena, the only candidates who have been actively building the women's liberation movement and who support building a mass-action movement, independent of parties which have oppressed us for so long, are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. If women involved in the Political Caucus want to support female—and male—candidates who are fighting on a day-to-day basis for the emancipation of women, they should seriously consider deserting both the Democratic and Republican parties and support the SWP candidates currently running in municipal

elections in several states and those who will be running in the 1972 elections.

...B. Dosh

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from the strain. His chief hope is U. S. financial and military assistance.

Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on July 22 disclosed that the U. S. is planning to send police units to Bengal to help Yahya stay in power. On the following day, Senator Stuart Symington disclosed that the Nixon administration still plans to deliver \$15-million in arms to West Pakistan despite statements implying that an embargo had been imposed on all arms.

This stepped-up U. S. support for intervention in Bengal, similar to the early stages of the "police action" in Vietnam, is aimed at the growing specter of social revolution posed by the Bengali independence struggle.

An article by S. B. Kolpe in the June 12 issue of the Bombay daily *Blitz* describes the deepening radicalization of Bengali resistance fighters: "There is a view among sections of the Mukti Foj [Bengali Liberation Army] that the exodus from Bangla Dosh might

have been reduced had there been a political program capable of engaging the masses of workers, students and peasants in action around their immediate economic issues like land, control of factories, etc. Even now, some argue, it should be possible for the Bangla Dosh government to decree free distribution of the land among the actual tillers."

...abortion

Continued from page 5

demonstration is something that will be difficult for the government to ignore.

The unity achieved by the majority of women at the abortion conference was based on agreement on simple demands which women of many different political views are ready to fight around. At the coalition press conference, attorney Nancy Stearns, who has been the lawyer for a number of abortion class action suits, spoke about the significance of abortion as a unifier of the movement. She said that in the years she has been fighting for abortion law repeal, she has not found an issue around which more women are ready to unite.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which was formed at the conference, already includes women from a broad spectrum of organizations, and representatives for the coalition at the press conference stressed the fact that all women, regardless of their political views, are welcome and are urged to participate, including those who walked out.

The potential exists for building a campaign for repeal of abortion laws which can have an immense impact on this country. This struggle is only one aspect of the struggle of women for liberation, but it concerns a life-and-death matter for women. It concerns a denial of our rights which is fundamental to our whole oppression as women. In the course of this struggle, we have an opportunity to show that women can unite and carry out an effective campaign to win concrete gains for our sisters all over this country, and in the process of doing this we can win large numbers of new women to our movement.

By uniting around our common support for getting rid of the abortion laws which oppress us, it will soon become clear that millions of women in this country are saying, "The state will not control our bodies." Abortion — A Woman's Right to Choose!

Why Trudeau lost in Quebec

The following article is reprinted from the July 5 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.

By ART YOUNG

"It's a victory for freedom of speech," exclaimed Robert Lemieux on hearing the jury acquit Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois of the charge of "seditious conspiracy" on June 15.

Lemieux, lawyer for Larue-Langlois and a prominent defendant himself in the Québec political trials, was certainly correct. The acquittal verdict is a major victory for the Québec nationalist movement and for civil rights in Canada. The failure of the government to convince the jury, despite the voluminous evidence it presented, undermines its whole justification of the October repression it launched.

The trial was the most important of the series of political trials since the War Measures Act. It developed out of the government's attempt, last fall, to convict five leading Québec nationalists of conspiring to overthrow it. Michel Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois soon became known as the "Montréal Five."

The seditious conspiracy charge against them was later thrown out of court as being "too vague," but Gagnon, Larue-Langlois and Vallières were charged again with the same offense. Owing to ill health, Vallières' trial was put off until the fall. He is now awaiting trial on the charge of having conspired with Gagnon and Larue-Langlois, whom the jury has decided did not conspire with anyone!

Québec juries have consistently refused to believe the government's claim of an apprehended insurrection last October. All five of 14 persons charged with seditious offenses who have come to trial have been acquitted. Six of the seven persons tried for membership in or support of the FLQ [Front de Libération du Québec — Québec Liberation Front] have been acquitted.

Last October, the federal government seized upon kidnappings by two groups identifying themselves as the FLQ, to unleash a massive repression against the Québec left, declaring that there was a conspiracy to foment an insurrection. Québec was occupied by the federal army, civil rights suspended, and almost five hundred nationalists were rounded up and jailed. The Montréal working-class political formation, the Front d'Action Politique [Political Action Front], then challenging Mayor Jean Drapeau's hold on city council, was crushed. The federalists launched a campaign to identify radical independentism with the FLQ, violence and murder.

Trudeau's aim was to deal the left-wing nationalists a heavy blow, through outright repression and imprisonment of their leaders and through this kind of propaganda campaign.

To justify such repression, he had to unearth an insurrectional conspiracy. But the more than 3,000 police raids in Québec failed to turn up more than 33 firearms, mostly hunting weapons.

The "sedition" charges were then levelled against the nationalists. But these have now been rejected by a jury.

The failure of the government to justify its arbitrary actions in October, and its lengthy imprisonment of many accused, have discredited it among wide layers of the population.

With the acquittal of Gagnon and Larue-Langlois, a whole chapter of the post-October struggle comes to a close.

The government's attempt to turn the October FLQ adventure to its own advantage has largely failed. It has

not succeeded in passing permanent repressive legislation to supplant the War Measures Act. The main Québec nationalist leaders are now out of jail. Québec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette's project of forcing all Québécois to carry police identity cards has been abandoned. In short, the relationship of forces that existed before October is now largely restored — the nationalist, labor and student movements have succeeded in regaining their freedom of action.

This is not to say that there is no longer arbitrary police action and denials of civil liberties in Québec, but Trudeau and [Québec Premier Robert] Bourassa have been thwarted in their basic aim, which was to use the crisis to make permanent gains against the Québec nationalists and civil liberties.

How was this important victory won?

Trudeau's imposition of the dictatorial War Measures Act met immediate opposition across the country. The New Democratic Party [NDP—Canada's labor party] took a principled stand against the Act, immediately shattering any pretense of unanimity in favor of the repression. Meetings and protest demonstrations were organized across the country, in the early stages largely by left-wing groups including the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action. The repression did not go unnoticed outside Canada; the American radical movement staged a number of protests, and the Trotskyist Fourth International issued an appeal for solidarity with the victims of the repression.

Significant protests continued throughout English Canada during the October period. Many meetings were held; tours were organized for victims of the Act, notably Penny Simpson of the YS/LJS [Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes], Robert Lemieux and Michel Chartrand. The tours received an excellent response; audiences became bigger and more sympathetic as time passed. The largest meetings were those addressed by Michel Chartrand in Winnipeg and Toronto in March. Both drew over a thousand people.

An important development was the

becois pour la Défense des Libertés (CQDL). An emergency meeting of leaders of Québec's three union federations denounced the military occupation on Oct. 18, together with spokesmen of the Parti Québécois [PQ] and other nationalist groups.

An unprecedented unity meeting of over 500 rank-and-file representatives of the union federations met in Québec City on Oct. 22, and reaffirmed their opposition.

The CQDL, and another defense committee, the Mouvement pour la Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Québécois (MDPPQ) organized numerous actions, rallies, and demonstrations which gave voice to growing discontent with the repression. They began to involve other broader forces, such as those of the artistic community, and the PQ, the mass-based bourgeois-nationalist party. (The PQ at first tended to be very cautious in its opposition to the War Measures Act, most often limiting its criticisms to the "excesses" of the government.)

The government, forced to yield ground, released most of those arrested, and replaced the War Measures Act with the Public Order Act. This latter, supposedly more moderate, maintained the essential powers of the previous act. But protests continued, growing in scope.

The opening in November of the trials against the political prisoners gave a new impetus to the defense movement. From the prisoners' dock, the defendants vigorously counter-attacked, breaking through the attempts to silence them by contempt of court convictions and outright banishment from the courtroom. They succeeded in demonstrating the absence of evidence against them; this, in conjunction with the protests outside the courthouse and across the country, transformed public opinion.

Indicating the depth of the growing defense movement were the demonstrations against the political trials by two of the most conservative layers of students—those of the engineering and law faculties—that took place in January. In the same month, the top-name artists of Québec organized a

they now entirely supported these actions. More people declared in March that they feared the army and the police, than said they feared the FLQ. According to this poll, published in the Montréal daily *Le Devoir* on May 29, almost 60 percent said they never had believed that in October the government was menaced by an insurrection.

The pressures on the government were greatly increased with the outbreak in February of the teachers' struggles against declassification. Québec City had arbitrarily changed the job classifications of thousands of teachers, cutting many of their salaries; it hoped to save money and to profit from the after-effects of the War Measures. But the teachers hit back in a powerful series of rotating strikes that brought the educational system to the verge of chaos; they enjoyed massive public support of their cause. Other sectors of Québec labor were also beginning to move.

Trudeau and Bourassa had to retreat. They dropped the "seditious conspiracy" charge against two of the most prominent defendants, Chartrand and Lemieux. They let the Public Order Act lapse without replacement at the end of April. But the protests continued. The accused fought back. And the partial victories only increased the possibilities of winning a fuller victory. Government prosecutors were no more successful in their attempts to convince the juries.

The acquittals of Gagnon and Larue-Langlois mark a major turning point in the defense struggle. Already the Crown has announced that it will not appeal the acquittals. It has finally released Vallières on bail, and it is almost certain that the conspiracy charge against him will be dropped.

Far from being crushed, the main forces of the mass movement have recovered and are pressing forward. The October crisis, it would seem, has increased the class polarization in Québec society, increasing at the same time independentist sentiment among Québec workers.

While its entire justification for the War Measures has now crumbled, the government has not abandoned its



Mass action was key to victory in Quebec trials. Above, a Toronto demonstration in solidarity with political prisoners.

Photo by White/Labor Challenge

important support for Québec's right to self-determination shown at the April federal NDP convention. The resolutions of the left-wing "Waffle" group and the nationalist Québec NDP demanding that the party recognize this right had dominated the pre-convention public debate. One-third of the delegates supported self-determination, against the opposition of the party brass.

In Québec itself, the repression did not, as Trudeau hoped it would, suppress protest. The Québec left, with most of its leaders behind bars, rapidly reorganized itself. Within hours of the proclamation of the War Measures Act on Oct. 16, a first defense committee was formed, the Comité Qué-

show entitled "Poèmes et Chants de la Résistance," hitting out at the trials and repression. It played to full houses.

In a by-election held in February in the very riding the assassinated Pierre Laporte had represented, the Parti Québécois increased its vote over what it had received in the same riding during the April 1970 provincial elections. Clearly public opinion had not turned against the independentists. While polls had reported that during October more than 70 percent of Québécois supported fully the government's actions, another poll showed that in March half this support had melted away: only 38 percent said

use of the courts against the nationalists. The "Montréal Five" and others are still charged with membership in the FLQ, even though the Public Order Act banning such membership has now lapsed and no longer applies. Chartrand, Vallières and Gagnon, among many others, must still serve sentences for contempt of court which they received in fighting the government's frame-up.

Montréal police are continuing to harass and arrest radicals.

An acceleration of the defense movement in Québec and in English Canada can put an end to this repression. It can halt the remaining political trials, scheduled for this fall. It can turn Trudeau's retreat into total rout.

...MAPA

Continued from page 11

controlled by the very people responsible for our oppression. They can never be "used" or "pressured" into giving us freedom. That we will have to take through independent struggle and mass mobilization of our people.

It is on this point that both Corona and MAPA tend to be vague. In a list of demands presented to McGovern the day following his speech to the California Democratic Council, MAPA stated that it "is fully committed to the building of a national Raza Unida Party that will serve as a vehicle and mechanism through which endorsement and coalition or any other form of political contact with the already established parties shall take place." (Emphasis added.)

Such a statement implies the possibility and desirability of endorsing Democrats while claiming to be an "independent" Raza Unida Party. This would be a step backward from work already done in Texas and Colorado and would seriously weaken our ability to organize our people independently. A complete break with the Democratic Party is necessary in order to organize our people and win meaningful changes in jobs, housing, and education.

Communist Party

Reformists in the Chicano movement such as the Communist Party are opposed to making a com-

plete break with the Democratic Party and also are not in favor of a party organized along nationalist lines. They have continually counterposed the Peace and Freedom Party, a reformist "people's party," to an independent all-Raza party.

The June 19 *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, reported on the Corona proposal. It stressed that MAPA, since its founding in 1959, "has mainly tried to make its gains through the Democratic Party, in which the overwhelming majority of Chicanos are registered" [thanks to groups like the CP and MAPA].

The *People's World* breathes a loud sigh of relief when noting that while "MAPA can help create and build such a Chicano party. . . the formation of La Raza Unida need not spell the demise of MAPA. . . For MAPA chapters to transform themselves into La Raza Unida units, Corona contends, 'would be a mechanical device that would greatly shortchange our communities' potential for truly broad-based and more intense [read Democratic Party] political activity and strength.' "

La Raza Unida Party is necessary as an independent party of only Raza because although we share a common oppression with all workers as workers regardless of race, we also suffer racial and cultural oppression that is unique and requires our own organization.

If the upcoming MAPA convention endorses such a concept and throws its membership into the building of La Raza Unida Party in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans, it will indeed be a step forward for La Raza in Cali-

fornia and will help spark similar developments in other states.

The issues raised by Corona's proposal should be discussed by Raza activists in local and state conferences and at the national conference of La Raza Unida Party activists that has been projected for the Thanksgiving weekend by the recent Chicano youth conference in Denver.

...Cuba

Continued from page 21

the ones who lost the battle. . . And I think we must say this as a matter of elementary justice because it is the plain truth."

The point was an important one because it related not only to the failure of the 10 million tons, but to other, more generalized economic problems as well.

Lack of adequate planning and widespread administrative failures have served to compound even further the acute economic problems created by the U.S. blockade and intensified by Moscow's self-serving approach to Cuban problems.

The economic scarcity, numerous bureaucratic blunders and the toll of a back-breaking work schedule have inescapably had an effect on the morale of the Cuban workers. This has been most graphically expressed in a rising absentee rate on the job.

(To be continued.)

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

COMMUNITY RADIO WORKSHOP. A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on WFCR-FM, 88.5. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on WMUA-FM, 91.1, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

Socialist summer school

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...welfare

Continued from page 13

It is our shame that women have so little knowledge of their own reproduction. Abortions, safe and legal, have always been available to women with means or funds to leave the country or reach qualified physicians. For the poor, this has always meant seek-

ing the cheapest, and most often dangerous, drugs.

Knitting needles, metal, plastic, rubber tubing, glass, wood, hot gin or hot wine and then there's always the coat hanger or you know what else, aiming for the womb, but entering the bowels, the bladder, the abdomen, leaving the fetus untouched and the patient in jeopardy. We need a nationwide action, a plan to unite.

In Detroit, I went to the doctor and he said, "Mrs. Wringle, how old are you?" and I said "27." He said, "How many children do you have?" I said "two." He said, "Well, we're going to give you a D & C, but have you considered a hysterectomy?"

This is getting to be a common quotation. The walls are very thin in most clinics, and I've heard the same thing asked other patients. For anybody over the age of 25, they feel if you have two children, this is enough. I do not believe that a doctor has the right, nor does society have the right, to enforce sterilization on a woman. We must have more control over our bodies and our lives. We must have adequate financing and assistance for every woman who wishes to have children. We need day-care facilities for children (that are) cheap enough so that the low-income woman can be increasing her earnings while knowing her children are adequately cared for.

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The trial is now scheduled to start on August 9, 1971.

Defense attorneys expect it to last 5 months. Conservative estimates put the cost of the defense (expert witnesses, special investigators, travel expenses for witness interviews from all over the state, the bare necessities for supporting three attorneys and their staff during the trial, etc.) at \$125,000. The state will be spending many times this amount in its ruthless attempt to railroad the Soledad Brothers to the gas chamber. Your money is urgently needed to prevent a legal lynching. Please send your contribution immediately to:

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THE MILITANT

Resistance forces gaining momentum in Bangla Desh

By MARCEL BLACK

By all accounts, "reasonable stability" in East Bengal is a long way off. On July 13, the *New York Times* published portions of the report of a World Bank mission that toured the area at the beginning of June.

"The situation," the report said, "is very far indeed from normal, nor are there any signs that normality is being approached or that matters are even moving in that direction."

The mission reported a "complete dislocation of the communications system," "fear and lack of confidence on the part of most of the population," and "persistent failure or refusal to report for duty" by Bengali workers.

A separate report by economist Hendrik van der Heijden, who toured the western part of the province, described the widespread devastation. Typical was the situation in Kushtia:

"It was only April . . . that the army moved north from Jenidah and into

When everyone had gathered, troops arrived, picked out the 300 Hindus in the crowd, led them away and shot them."

The Bengali resistance, Schanberg reported, "appears to be gathering momentum. . . . Thousands of young Bengalis are being trained in demolition and guerrilla tactics—often on the Indian side of the border, with India providing many of the instructors. The first elements of the new guerrillas are beginning to flow back into East Pakistan.

"More and more road and railway bridges are being blown up and electrical power supplies knocked out. Some of the demolition work has been expert. Road mines are becoming common. Often the army, which is on combat alert, cannot get local contractors to repair the damage, so it uses forced labor, with meager results."

In the July 11 London *Observer*, Colin Smith wrote from Sylhet, de-



East Bengali refugees at Calcutta airport

Kushtia. There must have been very strong resistance. When the insurgents withdrew, the army punitive action started. It lasted 12 days and left Kushtia virtually deserted and destroyed. The population was down from 40,000 to 5,000. Ninety percent of the houses, shops, banks and other buildings were totally destroyed. People were sitting around dazed. When we moved around, everyone fled. It was like the morning after a nuclear attack. . . ."

New York Times correspondent Sydney H. Schanberg, who was expelled from East Bengal on June 30, reported similar conclusions in the July 14 *Times*.

" . . . the killing," Schanberg wrote, "though it is more selective and less wholesale, has not stopped, and the outlook, most observers believe, is for a long and bloody struggle.

"Foreign missionaries, who are posted even in the remotest parts of East Pakistan, report new massacres almost daily. One missionary said that the army recently killed over 1,000 Hindus in a day in a section of Barisal District, in the south. Another reported that in Sylhet District, in the northeast, a 'peace committee' called a meeting of all the residents of one area, ostensibly to work out a reconciliation.

scribing the guerrilla struggle in that area:

"During the past six days, the guerrillas . . . have been stepping up their own activities. They have made a series of raids on tea factories, power pylons and bridges in the area."

The Bangla Desh forces have been attempting to stop production on British-owned tea estates, which export most of their product to West Pakistan.

"Road transport," Smith reported, "is out of the question. Bridges are regularly blown throughout the area. The British-built steel bridge on the River Khowai . . . has been so neatly blown it looks as if somebody has sawn through it with a gigantic hacksaw. . . ."

"The Bengalis' liberal use of mines—including some particularly devastating British antitank models made in 1955, which rip Land-Rovers to shreds—has proved a good psychological weapon against the 'super soldiers' from the West."

The continued resistance of the Bengalis makes it increasingly unlikely that West Pakistan dictator Yahya Khan will be able to accomplish his goal of subduing the province before the West Pakistan economy collapses

Continued on page 28

Angela Davis trial set for Sept. 27

By HOLBROOK MAHN
and MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL—Angela Davis won an important victory on July 27 when Judge Richard E. Arnason ruled that she would be able to act as co-counsel in her defense. At the same time, during her arraignment in California superior court, she pleaded not guilty to the charges of murder-kidnap-conspiracy.

Her trial is scheduled to begin Sept. 27, despite objections that this date does not allow enough time for over 400 potential witnesses to be questioned by the defense. Arnason also denied the motion of the defense to dismiss the case because of prejudicial publicity against Davis in the press.

The motion to act as co-counsel in her defense is depicted by Davis as "perhaps the most important motion in my case." On July 21 Davis described the grounds of the motion, stating, "I would like to draw for the court a picture of what a Black defendant finds in an American courtroom. He finds a white judge, a white prosecutor, an overwhelmingly white jury, and is often urged to plead guilty by a white public defender or a white court-appointed attorney. It is my belief that 85 percent of Black defendants plead guilty even when they are innocent."

Army drops charges against Jurenas

By BONNIE SHEPPARD

SAN FRANCISCO, July 28—The U.S. Army today announced that it is dropping all charges against Pvt. Ed Jurenas. Jurenas had faced court-martial charges for his role in publishing a GI antiwar newspaper, the *Arctic Arsenal*, while stationed at Ft. Greely, Alaska.

The revoking of these unconstitutional charges, as a result of intense pressure brought to bear against the Army's harassment of Jurenas, is an important victory in the struggle of GIs for civil liberties. It is also a victory for the antiwar movement.

On July 27, the day before the Army reversed its position on Jurenas, the Berkeley City Council passed a resolution supporting the antiwar GI. Proposed by Councilman D'Army Bailey, the resolution was sent to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird. It read in part:

"The case of Pvt. Ed Jurenas of Ft. Greely, Alaska, has been brought to our attention. . . . Pvt. Jurenas is reported to be under charges leading to a general court-martial.

"It would seem that these charges may be unwarranted, and that, in fact, the action of the post commander in banning the publication may have been a violation of Pvt. Jurenas' constitutional rights under the First Amendment.

"We urge you to take necessary action to assure that Pvt. Jurenas' rights are duly protected, and would appreciate learning of the action taken."

Among other recent expressions of the growing support for Jurenas was a July 19 letter from Rep. Thomas Rees of California to Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, the commanding general of

Davis argued that she should be allowed to represent herself "because my life is at stake—not simply the life of an individual, but the life given to the struggle of Black people tired of racism, poverty, injustice, and imprisonment." Because of her controversial political views, she added, it was necessary for her, rather than her lawyers, to challenge and cross-examine witnesses.

Davis cited the sentencing to life imprisonment of Ruchell Magee for a \$10 robbery in 1963, after his white, court-appointed attorney advised him to plead guilty. Magee, who has been seeking to represent himself in court, was codefendant with Angela Davis before their trials were severed on July 19.

Pretrial motions in Magee's case are scheduled to resume July 28. On Aug. 2, Davis' defense has been granted a public hearing in order to question the selectors of the grand jury which indicted her. Defense counsel has charged that youth, Blacks and poor persons were systematically excluded from serving on the grand jury.

Chief counsel Howard Moore indicates that the defense is still seeking a change of venue from Marin County. Moore claims that their choice for a trial site has been narrowed to only two or three California counties where the chances of obtaining a fair-minded jury are possible.

the Sixth U.S. Army. Rees requested that he be kept informed of developments in the Jurenas case and asked that the charges be dropped.

"I am sure the U.S. Army has more urgent things to do than harass an individual GI whose feelings about the tragedy in Vietnam parallel the thoughts of most Americans," Rep. Rees stated.

Pvt. Jurenas had been transferred from Ft. Greely to the Presidio San Francisco Army base, where he reported July 12. Upon his arrival, Jurenas was informed that the new base commander, Lt. Gen. A. D. Surles Jr., in collaboration with the Central Intelligence Division (CID), was reviewing the charges preferred against him in Alaska: disrespect to an officer, disobeying a post regulation, and promoting "disaffection" and "disloyalty" among the troops. If convicted on these frame-up charges, Jurenas would have faced a number of years in prison.

The Jurenas case was supported by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee (GICLDC), which sponsored a speaking tour for Jurenas while he was on leave between Ft. Greely and the Presidio.

On July 23, the GICLDC sent a letter to Lt. Gen. Surles stating, "The facts about the case of Pvt. Ed Jurenas have been well publicized throughout the nation. Any attempt at denying Jurenas' rights or punishing him for exercising these rights will have to be carried out in the face of widespread public opposition and with the eyes of the citizens throughout the United States upon you."