

THE MILITANT

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

Socialist presidential candidate urges:

Organize a congress of labor to fight wage freeze



Photo by Brian Shannon



Photo by Hermes

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president in 1972. See story, page 11.

The following statement was made by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, at a news conference in New York on Aug. 24.

President Nixon's sudden imposition of a freeze on wages for at least a 90-day period, coupled with his attempt to abrogate the right to strike, is a direct assault on the rights and living standards of the American working people. To properly answer this attack, the labor movement needs to call its own congress of labor to draft a program of action to fight the wage freeze.

With the support of virtually every Democratic and Republican politician, including the so-called friends of labor in Congress, the Nixon administration is attempting to make the workers and poor bear the brunt of the severe economic problems faced by American capitalism. First and foremost, Nixon intends to make the American working people foot an even greater share of the bill for the dirty, unjust war Washington is waging in Indochina.

All of the capitalist politicians of both major parties and the daily news media are united in propagating the myth that wage increases are the cause of inflation. The opposite is the case. Workers have had to fight for wage increases to keep up with galloping prices, and have seen their real wages reduced. The average pay check buys less today than it did five years ago.

The chief cause of inflation is the billions and billions of dollars Washington squanders on war spending—above all, the billions spent on the war in Indochina. Any real program to fight inflation must begin by calling an immediate halt to this war, and for a stop to this wasting of the nation's resources.

But Nixon has no intention of doing this. In his Aug. 15 speech, Nixon claimed that his new economic policies were designed to meet the "challenges of peace." This is a monstrous lie. Nixon's policies are designed to continue the war in Southeast Asia and make the working people bear the costs of it in higher prices and taxes. Far from ending the war, Nixon has ordered stepped-up bombing and shelling in Vietnam since his Aug. 15 speech. This is clear proof that inflation will continue whatever Nixon says about a "price freeze."

Nixon's "price freeze" is a fake. The government hasn't even set up any machinery to attempt to control prices, and if it had, it would be neither capable nor willing to impose a "freeze" on prices. The corporations will find thousands of ways to circumvent the price "freeze"—and the workers will find prices rising while their wages remain frozen.

No special government machinery is required to police the wage freeze. Every employer, backed up by the federal edict, is all too willing to become an enforcement agency for the government on freezing wages. What Nixon has given every corporation is a formula for a profit bonanza, to take money out of the pockets of the workers and "instead put it in its own coffers," as Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, has said.

The wage freeze means that the working people will not be allowed to win wage increases even to catch up with galloping prices. By Washington's edict, workers covered by escalator clauses and due cost of living increases will be denied them. The government thus is stepping in to tear up contracts containing the escalator clause, won by workers in struggle on the picket lines, and blocking the process of collective bargaining in favor of the employers.

Contracts already signed giving workers needed pay raises during the period of the wage freeze have likewise been overruled by the capitalist government. This trampling upon the rights of the unions to collective bargaining is underscored by Washington's attempt to deny workers the right to strike, an attempt so far rejected by the union movement. This attempt to abrogate the right of workers to use the most basic weapon they have is an ominous sign for every working man and woman.

The wage freeze hits the poor and underpaid workers the hardest. All attempts by Blacks, Chicanos, women, youth, the unorganized, all the underprivileged, to fight for any betterment in their wages whatsoever, have been declared illegal by Washington. It has frozen the gap that exists between the wages of these most oppressed workers and those of other workers.

On top of this, Nixon's economic package includes laying off an estimated 100,000 federal employ-

Continued on page 21

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 30,000 new readers in 11 weeks
Nixon steps up attacks on Vietnamese
- 4 Nixon's offensive in world trade
- 5 Why wage increases not cause of inflation
Why 'price freeze' a fraud
- 8 Aug. 6-9 actions begin fall antiwar offensive
Longshore strikers defy Nixon
- 9 Labor response to wage freeze
- 11 SWP election campaign launched
- 15 Press collective joins YSA in Minneapolis
- 16 1,100 attend SWP convention
- 18 Retreat from fight for socialist democracy in Cuba
- 19 N. Ireland internment move creates wide resistance
- 21 SWP candidate fights for ballot status
- 24 Masses suffer defeat in Bolivia
George Jackson murdered
Abortion campaign mounts

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion
Letters
- 7 Great Society
Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 10 La Raza en Acción
- 20 In Review

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MISSISSIPPI CHARGES NATIONALISTS WITH TREASON: When a force of heavily armed cops moved on the offices of the Republic of New Africa in Jackson, Miss., the morning of Aug. 18, a 20-minute gun battle ensued in which one cop suffered fatal wounds. Hinds County District Attorney Jack Travis responded by arresting 11 members of the Republic of New Africa, initially charging them with murder. On Aug. 23, the 11 were bound over without bail for grand jury action on the murder charge, and Travis announced that the charge of "treason" would also be sought. "The act of killing one police officer and wounding two others constitutes levying war against the state," he said.

"GOVERNMENT INSPECTED": On Aug. 22, the Campbell Soup Company announced that it had discovered botulism toxin in 200,000 cans of its chicken vegetable soup more than a month earlier and had recalled them. (Recalling such a quantity never gets the entire amount off the market.) On the next day, it was disclosed that a U.S. Department of Agriculture inspector had been in the Paris, Texas, plant when the contaminated soup was being packed. Earlier this summer, after botulism had been discovered in a supply of Bon Vivant vichyssoise, it was learned that an FDA inspector had monitored Bon Vivant's production line while the tainted soup was being undercooked. A department spokesman was quoted by the New York Daily News Aug. 24 as saying "it is too early to speculate on the implications of the two incidents for departmental inspection programs."

CAIRO STRUGGLE: Aug. 28 protests were scheduled to take place in Chicago and St. Louis, demanding the release from jail of the Rev. Charles Koen, chairman of the Cairo, Ill., United Front. Koen is being held in St. Louis on frame-up charges stemming from his 1968 organizing activity in the St. Louis Black community. Support for Koen's release continues to grow; groups and individuals backing the demand to free him already include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its leading figures, Ralph Abernathy and Jesse Jackson; Coretta King; Senator Eugene McCarthy; Rev. C. T. Vivian; and Walter Fauntroy, nonvoting representative to Congress from Washington, D. C.

MITCHELL CLOSES BOOKS ON KENT STATE: John Mitchell, the husband of Martha Mitchell, announced in the middle of August that a Justice Department review of the facts in the Kent State massacre had convinced him "there is no credible evidence of a conspiracy between National Guardsmen to shoot students on the campus. . . ." Although his statement flies in the face of evidence already publicized by the American Civil Liberties Union, Mitchell's action received guarded editorial endorsement from both the New York Times and the Washington Post on Aug. 18. The same day, however, the Akron Beacon Journal carried a letter from an Ohio guardsman who had been on duty at the scene of the massacre, condemning Mitchell's decision. The guardsman, whose name was withheld at his request, stated, "As a guardsman who was present at Kent State, I cannot wholly dismiss the possibility of a deadly collusion. . . I find it almost incomprehensible that the Attorney General could close the official books on the May 4 tragedy while paradoxically agreeing with previous investigations that the shooting deaths were unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable. . . ."

GOVERNMENT TO BAN POVERTY: An inter-agency committee of the federal government, according to the July 16 New York Times, is recommending that the phrase "low-income level" be substituted for the word "poverty" in all official reports. The Census Bureau has already indicated it will switch to this "more precise" terminology.

GAYS BRUTALIZED: On Aug. 22, three weeks after 250 gay men and women turned out in a drenching rain to protest the inaction of Bridgeport, Conn., cops in numerous cases of unprovoked attacks on gays by gangs of hoodlums, a group of gays from the Gay Activists Alliance of New York and Long Island were attacked by cops at a Long Island demonstration against police harassment. The Aug. 22 protest at Hauppauge, Suffolk County, Long Island, was organized in response to the capricious arrest of a Suffolk County man for sodomy. (Sodomy laws are selectively enforced only against homosexuals.) At the demonstration, one protestor was jumped and brutally beaten by a cop who smashed his head against the pavement. When others from the peacefully protesting group attempted to intervene, the cops maced them. The initial victim was then charged with "harassment" and "resisting arrest." In response, GAA called for a massive turnout of gays to protest this brutality at the same site on Aug. 27.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS AT LOUISIANA PRISON: An Aug. 18 dispatch from Liberation News Service reports that Dorothy Taylor, Louisiana's only Black legislator, denounced conditions at Angola State Prison as "inhuman" after making a surprise inspection of facilities there. Nearly all of the inmates at Angola are Black, and Taylor reported three men sharing six by 10 cells without bunks or toilets. In other cells, men were forced to use the toilets as their only source of drinking water, Taylor said.

HOOVER RED-BAITS MAOISTS: J. Edgar Hoover, who last year smeared the Young Socialist Alliance in the pages of the VFW Magazine, this year in the June issue of the same publication turns his tar brush against the Progressive Labor Party, SDS and the Revolutionary Union. Implying that these groups are linked to Chinese "espionage agents," the FBI Director warns his readers that "the shadows of pro-Peking subversion are daily becoming a more serious problem in this country."

QUINCY FIVE: After two deputy sheriffs were shot and one of them died in a grocery-store robbery a year ago, the cops in Tallahassee went on a campaign to round up scapegoats on whom they could pin this and other unsolved crimes. The victims of the frameup are Black activists known as the Quincy Five because they all come from Quincy, Fla. Two of the five have already been convicted on the basis of confessions obtained under duress, and one, David Keaton, has been sentenced to die. The other three go on trial this month. Contributions to help overturn the convictions and win acquittal in the coming trial can be sent to the Quincy Five Legal Defense Fund, c/o Raleigh Jugger, Box 653 FAMU, Tallahassee, Fla.

MEMPHIS PANTHERS TRIED UNDER "RUNAWAY SLAVE LAW": The trial of 16 Black Panthers in Memphis began Aug. 10 under an 1858 conspiracy law originally directed against runaway slaves. The Panthers' "crime" was attempting to move 10 poor families from slum housing in the Black community to vacant units of the Memphis Housing Authority. After they agreed to negotiate with the Panthers, MHA officials instead summoned the cops who surrounded the occupied housing project with an armed force on the morning the negotiations were scheduled to begin.

NEW ORLEANS PANTHERS ACQUITTED: Twelve members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism in New Orleans were found innocent in August of frame-up charges of "attempted murder" stemming from their self-defense against an armed attack on the committee's headquarters by cops a year ago. The judge, Israel M. Augustine, who is Black, at the conclusion of the trial instructed the jury of 10 Blacks and two whites that if they believed the evidence showed the cops had fired first, the Panthers' actions were reasonable. The jury took 31 minutes reaching its "not guilty" verdict. Despite their acquittal, the 12 continue to be held without official explanation, but presumably pending new charges.

BERRIGAN BROTHERS: On Aug. 6, five inmates at Danbury federal prison began a hunger strike to protest the denial of parole to Daniel and Philip Berrigan by the U.S. Board of Parole on July 28. On Aug. 9, six more prisoners, including Philip Berrigan, joined the strike. The next day an additional 20 joined. Danbury warden John Norton segregated the strikers from the rest of the inmates. Then, claiming that the strikers would strain the limited bed space available at Danbury, on Aug. 11 Norton shipped 10 of the strikers out to the federal prison hospital at Springfield, Mo. According to the Aug. 18 Washington Post, the last four prisoners who remained on strike called off the protest and returned to their daily routines on Aug. 17.

CONNIE TUCKER OUT ON APPEAL: Connie Tucker, chairwoman of the Florida Black nationalist organization, JOMO, was released from jail July 1 on \$5,000 bond pending her appeal of the frame-up marijuana possession conviction for which she was imprisoned. Contributions for her continued defense can be sent to Southern Student Defense Fund, P.O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33733.

CAPITOL EIGHT CASE: Eight demonstrators, including Professor Sidney Peck, who had been arrested during the Mayday actions in Washington for "unlawful entry" and "disorderly parading" at the capitol, were acquitted in Washington superior court July 28.

—LEE SMITH

30,000 new readers in 11 weeks

By DAVID THORSTAD

The Militant will be launching the biggest drive for new subscriptions in its history Sept. 15. The goal of this drive, which will continue for 11 weeks until Dec. 1, will be to win 30,000 new readers for the paper. The introductory subscription offers new readers 10 issues of *The Militant* for only \$1.

Subscription salesmen and saleswomen all over the United States, including four full-time teams, will be selling subscriptions on street corners, in college dormitories, on demonstrations, and at factory gates during the next few weeks. In addition to introducing *The Militant* to thousands for the first time, they will be seeking 5,000 new readers to the Marxist theoretical journal, the *International Socialist Review*. A three-month introductory subscription to the *ISR* will sell for \$1.

The only previous subscription drive to approximate the present one in scope was a 13-week drive during the 1945 post-war radicalization. During that campaign, *The Militant* increased its circulation by 22,437 readers.

Another measure of the ambitious character of this latest drive is that its goal is exactly twice as big as last year's goal of 15,000. That subscription drive ran for nine weeks last fall and actually exceeded its original goal by bringing in a total of 16,044 new readers.

The decision to regularly bring *The Militant* into the hands of 30,000 new people, while ambitious, is nevertheless realistic. It is a sign of the unprecedented opportunities that exist today for the revolutionary forces for whom *The Militant* speaks. As the process of radicalization that is sweeping this country has spread, it has produced thousands upon thousands of potential readers of *The Militant* who have yet to be reached. The aim of this drive will be to reach as many of them

as possible during the weeks ahead.

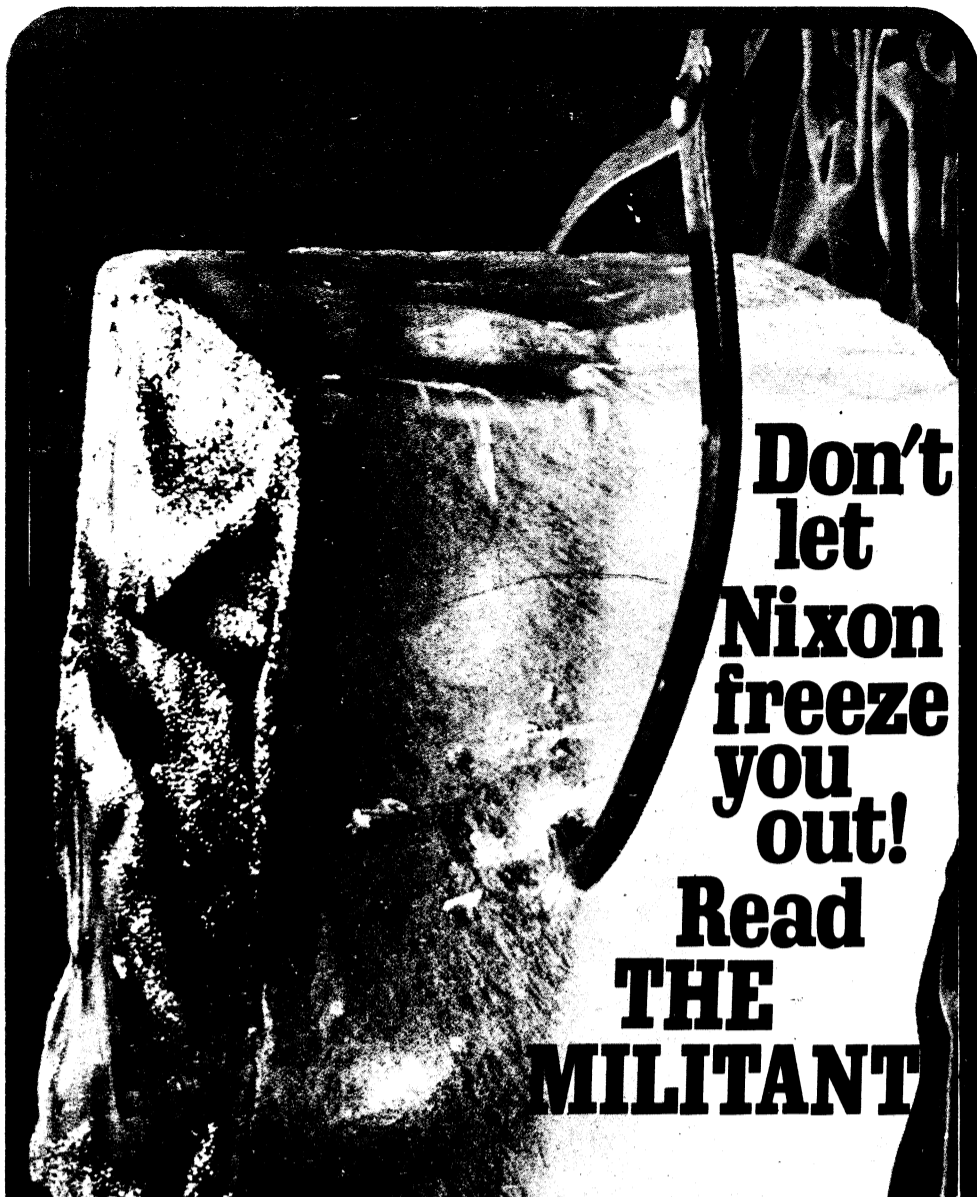
The 24th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting Aug. 8-11, voted to support this campaign. Supporters of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have pledged to obtain the bulk of the new subscriptions—24,000.

The remaining 6,000 will be brought in by special sub-getting teams. These teams, consisting of four persons each, will travel throughout the South, the Southwest, and the Mid-Atlantic states for the entire duration of the campaign. These teams will be coming into contact with people who have probably never before even heard of *The Militant*. Their extensive traveling will significantly help expand the breadth of *The Militant's* circulation. Much of their effort will be focused on college and high school campuses.

As in the past, individual readers of *The Militant* are also being encouraged to set quotas for themselves that they feel they can realistically meet. Those readers who can do so should send in their quota to *The Militant* right away. A subscription kit will be sent to you immediately, consisting of subscription blanks, back issues of *The Militant* for promotional purposes, attractive poster strips, and buttons.

At the time of last fall's subscription campaign, *The Militant* was a 16-page weekly. It is now a 24-page weekly, and has been able to considerably improve and expand its coverage of the developing mass movements for social change in the United States and throughout the world. Increasing its circulation is the next necessary and vital step in this process of expansion. The drive for 30,000 new subscribers is that step.

Throughout this campaign, *The Militant* will be carrying regular reports and a running scoreboard on the progress of the drive.



Don't
let
Nixon
freeze
you
out!

Read
**THE
MILITANT**

The capitalist rulers have launched the biggest attack against the American working people in over 25 years. Why? Why now? What does President Nixon's wage freeze mean for American working people? How can labor fight back against Nixon's attack? Why is the "price freeze" a fake? What causes inflation? Why did Nixon take the dollar off the gold standard? What does the 10-percent tax on imports mean? What is the international monetary crisis? How does Nixon's move affect workers in other countries?

You can learn the answers to these questions and many others by reading *The Militant* each week. To make sure that you receive the paper during the weeks ahead, get our special subscription offer of 10 issues for \$1. If you already have a subscription, take a quota and help sell subs to your friends. Fill out the coupon below.

- Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*
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Nixon steps up attacks on Vietnamese

By SUSAN LIND

In his Aug. 15 speech imposing a nationwide wage freeze, Nixon asserted that the country could now "move forward to the new prosperity without war." Contrary to this blatant lie, the Vietnam war continues, with U.S. bombs and artillery raining death and devastation on the country, and American GIs still dying. About 260,000 U.S. GIs are still on Indochinese soil.

On Aug. 20, the U.S. admitted for the first time that the Seventh Fleet, stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, has been firing regularly on the demilitarized zone since November 1968, when the U.S. claimed to have stopped the bombing of North Vietnam except for "retaliatory strikes." On Aug. 22, U.S. officials said that this naval bombardment was averaging about 500 rounds a day.

Another new admission came on Aug. 17, when the U.S. command acknowledged that American B-52 bombers have been conducting raids

in the demilitarized zone "over a period of the last several months." An Aug. 18 Associated Press dispatch reported that about 25 B-52s flew from bases in Thailand and dumped 750 tons of bombs inside the demilitarized zone. These are reported to be the heaviest bombing raids in this area in over a year.

About 1,000 American soldiers remain in areas along the demilitarized zone, aiding the South Vietnamese Army units in major clashes with liberation forces.

On Aug. 22, the U.S. made two bombing strikes inside North Vietnam. These were the fiftieth and fifty-first bombings of North Vietnam that the U.S. admits to making this year alone.

As U.S. bombers were pounding the Vietnamese countryside, Nixon intervened in the preparations for the South Vietnamese presidential elections, attempting to give the elections an appearance of democracy by ensuring

that two candidates will be on the ballot in October rather than just one.

The South Vietnamese elections are a farce from start to finish. In June, President Thieu forced a new election law through the National Assembly in order to cut down on the possible number of candidates. The new law says candidates must obtain the written endorsement from 100 provincial and city councilors or 40 national legislators in order to qualify. Any candidates considered to be working for "communism" or "pro-communist neutralism" are automatically disqualified.

First President Thieu got Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky disqualified on the grounds that some of the provincial councilors who had endorsed his candidacy had previously endorsed Thieu's candidacy. The Aug. 8 *New York Times* reported that councilors held a press conference to protest the fact that they had been inveigled into signing blank papers, which were la-

ter filled in to assert they endorsed Thieu's campaign.

Then, on Aug. 20, the only other candidate in the race, General Duong Van Minh, withdrew from the elections, saying the elections were a farce. General Minh presented documents to substantiate his contention that the Thieu government was attempting to rig the elections through intimidation and harassment of the opposition. These documents included multiple voting cards which would enable a person to vote more than once, and a secret directive from the Thieu campaign to Thieu-appointed province chiefs outlining ways that police and officials should intimidate any opposition.

The prospect of having only one candidate in the elections was embarrassing to U.S. officials, who want to be able to claim popular support for their puppet government in South Vietnam. After a trip to Washington

Continued on page 22

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's sudden reversal of U.S. economic policies marks a critical turning point in the history of postwar world capitalism. It thrusts into the forefront of American and world politics the overriding concern of the monopolists headquartered in Washington: their deteriorating competitive position in world trade.

Nixon's wage-freeze attack on the American workers, the tax credit incentives promised to U.S. corporations, and the de facto devaluation of the dollar coupled with a "temporary" tax surcharge on imports to this country have one and the same aim. This is to shift the problems of U.S. imperialism onto the backs of workers, in this country and around the world.

The historic upsurge of stock prices on Wall Street as stock prices declined in London and Frankfurt—and plummeted in Tokyo—gauged the initial reactions of world business to Nixon's moves.

U.S. monopolists had visions of a profit bonanza with foreign imports restricted and the wages of American workers frozen by decree.

Industrialists abroad reacted to the new aggressive policies emanating from Washington by voicing fears of an international trade war.

A blunt assessment of Nixon's policies appeared in the Aug. 21 issue of *Business Week*. "From here on, U.S. policy will be active intervention in the domestic economy and vigorous defense of American economic in-

terests abroad. . . . declining position of U.S. industry in international competition: the wage differentials between U.S. workers and foreign workers, the rapidly closing productivity gap between U.S. and foreign industry, and the inflation of the U.S. economy.

It is no secret that the standard of living and the wage scales of American workers are higher than those of workers abroad. *Time* magazine, in its May 24, 1971, issue, placed the labor costs per hour in the steel industry at: U.S., \$5.68; West Germany, \$2.55; Japan, \$1.80.

For a long period, however, the higher wages of American workers were more than compensated for by the giant scale of U.S. production and the high level of technology in U.S. plants. The productivity of American workers—that is, the average amount each worker can produce in an hour—was many times that of workers in foreign plants. It is this productivity gap that has been significantly closing in the past five years.

The Aug. 20 *Wall Street Journal* singled this factor out to justify Nixon's economic moves: "According to figures compiled by New York's First National City Bank, U.S. productivity, or output per manhour, rose by only 3.2 percent a year between 1960 and 1970. Even Britain did slightly better—3.3 percent—and other nations of Western Europe, as well as Japan, far outpaced the U.S."

The degree to which the other advanced capitalist nations outpaced the U.S. in productivity gains can be seen from these average annual productivity increases for 1965-70, given by the August 1971 *Monthly Labor Review*

pretends. The main source of inflation is war spending and Nixon has no intentions of cutting back on war spending or pulling out of Vietnam. As world attention was focused on the economic arena, Nixon stepped up attacks in Vietnam.

Just the day before Nixon's TV address, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird announced that he would seek a \$3-billion increase in the war budget, bringing it up to \$80-billion in fiscal year 1972.

Nixon's economic policies are designed to increase the competitive edge of U.S. corporations in world trade while continuing the war and war spending. They are designed to improve U.S. competitiveness without ending the inflation—and this is what gives them a more drastic character.

International monetary crisis

The weakness of the dollar reflected in international finance the weakening position of the U.S. economy in international trade. The exchange rates of the dollar with other world currencies which prevailed until Nixon's moves, were established when U.S. industry was in a far stronger position in relation to European and Japanese industry.

But it had become apparent for some time that Washington would eventually be forced to devalue the dollar, and this expectation sparked the crisis of the international monetary system which has shaken money markets this year.

Nixon's attempt to blame so-called "international money speculators" for the dollar crisis was another case of

and most important in the capitalist world. Thirty percent of all Japanese exports are consumed in America. And it is the power to cut off this market that Nixon is now threatening to wield against Japanese and European competitors.

The combined effects of dollar devaluation and the 10-percent surcharge on imports can be explained in a hypothetical example. Suppose a Toyota sells in the United States for \$2,000 before Nixon's moves and Japan is ultimately forced to revalue the yen upward by 10 percent in relation to the dollar.

The cost of production of the Toyota would not change, so to produce the Toyota would still cost the old value of yen. But this would now be worth 10 percent more dollars. The price of the Toyota would be forced up to \$2,200.

In addition, it would automatically be subjected to a 10 percent import surtax. This would add on \$220. The final price comes to \$2,420—which is clearly a significant change in the competitive small-car field.

It is precisely such calculations which explain the economic power of Nixon's moves and the chill of international trade war, which was most strongly felt in Tokyo. For if this combination of policy decisions in Washington can create new jobs in the U.S. car industry, as the administration claims, then how many jobs will be lost to Japanese workers and what will be the effects of these job losses on the Japanese economy?

Nixon's offensive in world trade

terests abroad. . . .

"The U.S., as President Nixon pointed out, is still the strongest economy in the free world, but it no longer is the only strong economy. From here on, it will be using its strength more and more to look out for itself."

World competition

The central factor underlying Nixon's "new economic policy" is the slipping position of U.S. industry in world trade. On one side, there has been a huge invasion of the American market by foreign-made goods. At the same time, products manufactured in this country are being increasingly squeezed out of markets abroad.

The case of the automobile industry is well known to Americans who have been barraged by the TV commercials representing the contending forces in the battle for the cherished \$2,000-car market. Japanese car sales in the U.S. jumped 100 percent in 1970 and were expected to double again in 1971.

A no less gloomy picture for U.S. businessmen appeared in the statistics of U.S. exports to foreign countries. In the first half of 1971, U.S. exports abroad were lower than imports of foreign products into this country, threatening to produce the first yearly *balance-of-trade deficit* in the twentieth century! The first, in fact, since 1893!

Wages and productivity

There are three main causes of the

of the U.S. Dept. of Labor: United States, 2.1 percent; Canada, 3.5 percent; United Kingdom, 3.6 percent; Italy, 5.1 percent; Germany, 5.3 percent; France, 6.6 percent; and Japan, 14.2 percent. Thus the productivity of Japanese workers increased almost seven times as much in the last five years as the productivity of American workers.

Inflation

Alongside the growing problems of U.S. monopoly in world trade and an important cause of these problems has been the war-primed inflation of the U.S. economy.

The billions and billions of dollars Washington has poured into the economy for the manufacture of weapons and the huge budget deficits required by the government to finance this war spending have combined to produce a high rate of price inflation—just when U.S. products were already slipping in international competition. The high prices of U.S. goods by comparison with those manufactured abroad all the more weakened the U.S. position in world trade.

Moreover, the inflated dollar came under heavier and heavier attack in the international money markets as it became evident that Washington would ultimately have no other choice than devaluation of the dollar to correct U.S. imbalances in international trade.

But Nixon's economic program is not designed to end inflation, as he

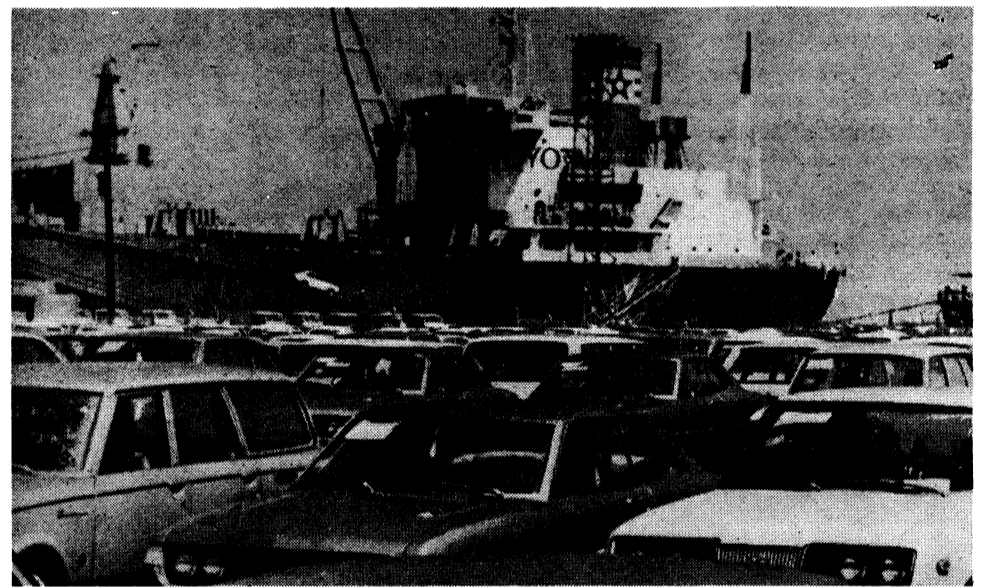
complete fabrication. For it is entirely within the realm of "good business" to get rid of a currency if there is a reasonable prospect of devaluation—and the larger part of the "international speculators" were U.S. multinational corporations trading in foreign markets and currencies.

Beginning last March, the "flight from the dollar," the dumping of massive quantities of dollars for other currencies, reached floodtide proportions. It was only a matter of time before Washington would be forced to act. The announcement of the historic U.S. balance of trade deficit for the first half of 1971, which has already been mentioned, was the straw that broke the dollar's old exchange rates.

Effect of Nixon's moves

How could Washington move from a position of defending a weak dollar to an offensive position in world trade which sent foreign stock-market prices tumbling? Britain's influential financial magazine *The Economist* summed up the contradiction as between "an America whose power relative to that of its allies is visibly waning," and an America "which yet will remain much the most powerful free country for as far ahead as one can see." This captures the essence of the matter.

Although U.S. industry is slipping in certain key sectors of international trade, especially in auto, steel, electrical appliances and textiles, the U.S. market remains by far the biggest



Japanese cars at Boston dock

A permanent crisis

This dilemma emphasizes the anarchy of the world capitalist system. There is no way out of the present conjuncture of international monopoly competition but intensified trade war and intensified attacks on the working classes of the competing capitalist nations.

The fundamental problem is not a scarcity of goods in any markets but *world overproduction*. This is a dramatic expression of the fundamental irrationality of capitalism.

The problem for the monopolists is that there are *too many products* competing for markets. Nixon's wage-freeze attack on American workers and aggressive economic policy in world trade is designed to carve out greater markets for U.S. goods, which can only be done at the expense of shrinking the existing markets of foreign manufacturers.

World monopoly competition consequently pits the workers of one nation against those of the next, as the ruling classes attempt to extract maximum profits from ever-restricted markets.

This is a compelling argument for ending the system of capitalist rule, which bends all decisions toward increasing the private profits of the monopolists, and replacing capitalism by a socialist system of a world, planned economy, producing for the benefit of all.

Why wages are not the cause of inflation

By ED SMITH

President Nixon, the top leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties, and all the major newspapers agree: "higher wages cause inflation." A freeze on wages—they claim—will end the inflation.

This is totally false. The major cause of the inflation, which has sent prices skyrocketing in this country in the last six years, is the war in Southeast Asia. And this severe inflation will continue as long as the war continues.

The effect of the war on prices can be easily seen by looking at the consumer price index. Before the escalation of the war, between 1958 and 1964, the consumer price index rose an average of 1.3 percent per year. But in 1964-65, as Johnson escalated the war, the price index rose 1.7 percent. It rose 2.9 percent in 1965-66; 2.8 percent in 1966-67; 4.2 percent in 1967-68; 5.4 percent in 1968-69; and 5.9 percent in 1969-70. This year prices are rising at a rate of about 5.5 percent.

Between 1965 and 1970, prices rose a total of 23 percent.

Corporate profits fared even better, primed by war spending and the superprofit rates of the military industry. Just six days after Nixon's announcement of a freeze on all wages and a ban on strikes, the *New York Times* announced on the front page of its financial section that the pretax corporate profits were \$82-billion in the second quarter of 1971, up \$3-billion from the first quarter.

The average quarterly pretax corporate profits were "only" \$19.4-billion in 1965, at the beginning of the escalated war. *During the Vietnam war, corporate profits have risen by over 300 percent!*

How have the wages of American workers fared—which are supposed to be the cause of inflation? The government Bureau of Labor Statistics computes a figure representing the real weekly wage of manufacturing workers with three dependents. This is their actual spending power after taxes and price increases have been taken into account.

Here are the average weekly earnings of these manufacturing workers as shown in the July 1971 *Monthly Labor Review*: 1965: \$102.41; 1966: \$102.31; 1967: \$101.26; 1968: \$102.45; 1969: \$101.49; 1970: \$99.66; (May) 1971: \$101.81.

Thus the real wages of American workers have already been frozen during the entire history of the war. It is true that workers have fought for higher wages to keep up with the inflation, but, as these statistics show, they have not even been able to keep up.

It is a complete fraud to say that an increase in wages causes inflation. One of the most frequent targets of the cap-

italists in their claims that wages are inflationary is the wages of construction workers. How much money do construction workers get?

A 1970 report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed the figures for the year 1967—the most recent available. In that year, 70 percent of all journeymen earned less than \$8,000, before tax deductions. Their take-home pay was closer to \$6,000. More than a third (38.6 percent) earned less than \$5,000. And 16.3 percent earned less than \$2,500.

Unskilled workers in the construction industry in 1967 were worse off. Seventy-five percent of them earned less than \$5,000 that year, and more than a third (38.3 percent) got less than \$2,000. Over a quarter (26.7 percent) earned less than \$1,000.

Most workers in this country are not in unions—only 22 percent of American workers belong to unions. The six years of war have hit the unorganized workers, women workers, and workers from oppressed nationalities, even harder. On top of this, the recession has added millions of workers to the ranks of the unemployed and thrown 13.4 million individuals on relief.

Here is the actual state of the American economy as Nixon launches his wage-freeze attack on American workers. The official government figures reported in the August 1971 issue of *The American Federationist*, the publication of the AFL-CIO, are:

- 5.5 million workers are unemployed.

- 580,000 have been unemployed for 27 weeks or more, thus, in most cases, exhausting their unemployment compensation.

- The cost of living is going up at an annual rate of about 5.5 percent.

- The number of people who live in poverty has grown to over 25 million.

- The unemployment rate among discharged GIs is over 13 percent.

- The officially admitted unemployment rate among Blacks is 10 percent; among all teen-agers it is 17 percent, and among Black teen-agers it is considerably higher.

In New York City alone, over one million people are on relief—14 percent of the city population. The average "benefit" to a New York family of four currently on relief is \$231 a month—less than \$3,000 a year, far below the government's own admitted level of a subsistence income.

The truth of the matter is that Americans today face an unprecedented combination of unemployment and inflation. It is not the workers who caused this. It is caused by the capitalist system and the murderous attack of the imperialists on Southeast Asia.

Why the 'price freeze' is a complete fraud

President Nixon claims that he is freezing prices along with wages. The fact that paychecks won't increase for 90 days will supposedly be compensated for by the fact that prices won't go up either.

But this is a lie. It is impossible to freeze prices under the economic system of capitalism and Nixon has no intentions of doing so. You have to ask, where and how will prices be frozen?

There are literally hundreds of thousands of places where goods are bought and sold in this country. Every product that eventually reaches the consumer has undergone a whole series of purchases and sales.

Raw materials are sold from the wells, mills and mines. Goods are transported by air, sea, rail and truck. Finished products go through wholesalers, middlemen and other dealers before they reach the customer. The only ones that know about the prices at all these points of sale are the employers themselves, who set the prices, keep the records of all transactions and determine the conditions under which they are made. The corporate books are kept secret from the public—and the government as well.

Is it in the interest of the employers to freeze prices and thus lower their profits?—especially when there is nothing compelling them to do so, and there is nothing compelling their competitors to do so either? In fact, as long as the government pours billions of dollars into the economy for the purchase of war goods, there will be a compelling economic incentive for

bills and other property from the price freeze.

"By far the outstanding majority of insurance policies" will be exempted according to an insurance executive quoted in the Aug. 24 *New York Times*.

Since the main purpose of Nixon's wage-freeze attack on American workers and his turn in international financial policy is to improve the competitiveness of U.S.-manufactured goods with foreign-made goods, the prices of foreign-made goods in the American market are automatically exempted from the price freeze. In addition, they are subjected to the 10-percent import-tax surcharge, meaning they will automatically cost more as importers raise prices to cover this tax.

Many millions of Americans who have turned to purchasing foreign-made products—from shoes and clothing to electrical appliances and cars—because of their lower costs, will be immediately affected by new higher costs of imported goods.

No government dominated by the employing class and managed in the interest of that class can or will enforce price controls. It is just the opposite with wage controls!

When Nixon issued his edict, wages were frozen automatically. No special machinery of government was required to enforce it. The machinery of the wage freeze is the ruling class itself. Each and every employer automatically became an enforcement agent of the government. Backed by

Nixon freezes inequality

Nixon's wage freeze automatically freezes the inequalities of this society caused by racial and sexual oppression. The second-class status of the underprivileged is frozen with wages. Here are the latest government figures:

Annual Incomes	
White male	\$5,980
Black male	\$3,829
White female	\$2,019
Black female	\$1,688

(See U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1970, p. 326)

corporations to continue raising prices.

The history of all previous attempts to freeze prices under wartime emergency conditions, even when elaborate enforcement machinery has been established, is a history of fraud and failure. In all instances prices have continued to rise steadily. The government's consumer price index rose 22 percent between 1941 and 1945, during World War II, even though there was a big government-appointed price-control board which was supposed to police prices.

Nixon's dishonesty on this score is underlined by the fact that even in his speech announcing the wage freeze, Nixon specifically said the "price freeze" would "not be accompanied by the establishment of a huge price-control bureaucracy." This is another way of saying there won't be any control of prices at all.

Exceptions to the price freeze began to be announced the day following Nixon's speech, as all unprocessed foods were exempted from the "freeze." On Aug. 23, the "Cost of Living Council," which is the body Nixon appointed to "regulate" prices, exempted the majority of casualty and liability insurance policies on homes, automo-

the White House decree, the employers simply refuse without further urging to pay the higher wage rates that had previously been agreed upon.

The fact that the capitalist government is unwilling and unable to hold down prices doesn't mean that consumers must automatically accept unbridled inflation. In November 1966, for example, there was a massive wave of picketing of supermarkets and the beginning of the establishment of an organization called "National Housewives for Lower Prices."

If such a movement had made links with the organized labor movement, it could have instituted consumer-price committees to monitor the prices of goods where they directly affect the purchaser.

Such committees, if organized on a massive scale, would have the power to enforce real price control. They could seize and distribute free all commodities that are offered for sale at prices above established rates.

This requires mass action which is independent of and in opposition to the employers and the employers' government. It could be a powerful factor in combatting Nixon's wage-freeze attack.

—ED SMITH



New York painters strike in 1968 shows workers fight for wage increases to keep up with inflation.

In Our Opinion

A labor party

Following the announcement of President Nixon's savage attack on the living standards and rights of America's workers, United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock declared that "If this administration thinks . . . they can tear up contracts, they are saying to us they want war." Woodcock's sharp remarks, however, were not reserved only for Nixon and his henchmen. "Mr. Nixon's hand wielded the dagger," Woodcock stated, "but the dagger was put there by the leading Democrats in Congress, who advocated a law to put in the restraints."

Woodcock correctly charges that the Democratic politicians, who have been hollering for wage controls for a long time, helped grease the skids for Nixon's attack.

The Communist Party's *Daily World* in an Aug. 20 editorial takes favorable note of Woodcock's criticisms of congressional Democrats and adds that, "Every single Democratic presidential candidate has applauded Nixon's vicious attack on labor, their only criticism being that he did not freeze sooner. And these pose as friends of labor. With such friends, who needs enemies!"

With Woodcock's claim that he's willing to wage class war and the *Daily World's* statement of indignation at Democratic liberals, a person not familiar with their demagoguery might get the idea that leading union bureaucrats and the CP are on the brink of breaking with their time-worn policy of supporting capitalist politicians, particularly liberal Democrats. That would be quite a day, but it's clearly not the case.

Woodcock, a few days after his angry declaration, stated he "would have given very serious consideration to total support" to the wage freeze if the president's program had also included token restraints on interest rates and profits. Woodcock should know that even if the president had called for this, he wouldn't have enforced it any more than he's going to enforce the "price freeze." The only thing that Nixon wants to freeze is wages, and Woodcock's statement that he would support the wage freeze under certain conditions is a retreat from waging war against Nixon's present policies.

The *Daily World*, putting up a bolder front, exclaimed, "The message is clear. It is time for labor to tear loose from the two-party trap and to launch its own independent political action, heading up a people's coalition of struggle." Does this mean a break from the capitalist parties and politics? No! The *World* editors deliberately refer to a "people's coalition"—a term that appears to stand above all classes—because what they really mean is a multi-class formation involving both labor and forces from the capitalist political camp, but with labor subordinate to capitalist politics.

Their real program for labor, however, is to build a "people's coalition" inside the Democratic Party. This is stated in an article on the page facing the *World* editorial. *World* writer Erik Bert cites CP General Secretary Gus Hall's statement that "a mass breakaway—out of the two-party system . . . can best be facilitated by the organization of independent forms while still working through the old party structures." What kind of double-talk is this? Hall, Bert, the CP and the *World* are obviously just dishing up a foul bill of goods when they talk about "mass breakaways" and "independent political action."

What labor needs is a labor party based on the unions. When Nixon brought the full political weight of the capitalist government against the working class and the Democrats complained that it was "too little, too late," it clearly demonstrated the necessity and timeliness of labor breaking with its enemies and organizing, on a national scale, all of the political force that it can to fight them. A labor party would be the best instrument for doing this.

If such a party had existed when Nixon imposed his wage freeze, it could have immediately confronted the government with the united political strength of the working class. It could immediately have launched a counterattack, both with actions and with a program for defending the workers against inflation and unemployment. This is the independent road labor must take.

Letters

India-Pakistan war?

As the struggle and fate of Bangla Desh have disappeared into the back page maze of America's press, those with concern for the heroic struggle of the Bengali people are increasingly dependent on and grateful for the accurate, perceptive reportage of *The Militant*. I have been disappointed and baffled, however, by *The Militant's* seeming oblivion to what may be the most crucial facet of this war of liberation—impending war between India and Pakistan.

The *London Times* of July 13 carried a full page report of a study prepared by the Indian government's Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis and delivered to the Indian intelligence community. The study suggests that New Delhi has no viable option but to declare war on Islamabad, as continued adherence to its present ambiguous policy would inexorably lead to war at a time and place not of its choosing.

The Institute assumes a counter-revolutionary position in arguing that without massive Indian aid and intervention in support of Bangla Desh, the liberation struggle will develop into protracted guerrilla warfare, losing its bourgeois nationalist character and assuming a revolutionary stance; such developments along the border of India's radicalized state of West Bengal would pose immense problems for New Delhi.

With some seven million refugees already in India, estimates of 30 million Bengalis wandering hungry and homeless through Bangla Desh, and mounting tensions along both Indo-Pakistani borders, the rumors of war are terribly believable.

I ask that *The Militant* address itself to this possibility.

Sandy Sloop
Atlanta, Ga.

Black freedom week

This was Afro-American freedom week [this letter was written July 26]. Downtown Detroit was lined with the green, black and red flags of Black nationalism.

And the cannon in front of Malcolm X High School (formerly known as Northwestern) was painted with those three same colors by the students some months ago. The principal doesn't dare to repaint it.

In Cuba, former fortresses were made into schools after the revolution. In Detroit, during the rebellion following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X High School was made into a fortress, with the Army camped on the lawn, tents, trucks, and machine guns all set up in the front.

The cannon doesn't work now. But it's painted the right color and that's a start. Some day Blacks, who are going to be the majority of Detroit soon, are going to run their own city. Then the flag won't flutter outside of movie marquees, but on the flag pole in front of City Hall.

M. S.
Detroit, Mich.

Underground paper

I need some information on how to start an underground newspaper for my high school. Some of my friends and I are fed up with the two straight papers circulating in our high school. We would greatly appreciate any help you could be to us.

Robert Latta
33 North Arnold Ave.
Prestonsburg, Ky. 41653

Chicano studies

I want to commend *The Militant* for its article on the Third Annual Chicano Youth Conference in Denver. The conference resulted, apparently, in one of the most successful assemblies Chicanos have ever held.

As can be seen by the resolutions adopted, there was a keen awareness of the problems facing La Raza. The bureaucratization that has taken place in Chicano studies departments throughout the country, which is blocking continued radicalization among Chicano students, presents one of these problems. A clear example of this dilemma can be seen in the firing of Richard Garcia from Chicano Studies at San Diego State College for his strong support of student control.

As your recent article [*The Militant*, June 18] on Professor Garcia pointed out, the Chicano bureaucrats, despite their rhetoric of student power, belligerently disregarded MECHA's (the Chicano student organization) position that Garcia be retained, and, by a threat of mass resignation plus physical intimidation, forced the students to rescind their initial decision and to vote Garcia out of Chicano Studies.

The bureaucrats at San Diego State, because of their ties to Washington (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and the Ford Foundation, have received a considerable amount of funds for their programs, and, consequently, have a large stake in preserving the status quo. The result has been to isolate or, in Garcia's case, remove anyone who threatens their entrenched interests.

The resolution from the student workshop in Denver which calls for student control of Chicano Studies programs is a welcome support for Chicano students—especially at San Diego State—who are determined to possess self-determination on our campus.

A. V.
San Diego, Calif.

Urban renewal

We are interested in learning about any organizing that has been done to stop urban renewal projects, or to get them put under substantial control of the poor community. In Willimantic, which borders Storrs, a referendum proposing urban renewal was recently passed. This means the project will begin soon and the Puerto Rican community will be totally torn down to make room for plush business offices and high-rent apartment buildings. Those people who are evicted are usually left with nowhere within their means to go.

There are several groups here interested in working on stopping this

The Great Society

urban renewal farce in Willimantic. It would be a great help to us to have information about similar organizing if it has already been done in your area. If so, please let us know what was done and what the results were. Please send any information to:

Len Krimerman
Inner College U-167
University of Conn.
Storrs, Conn. 06268

Education and welfare

The New Hampshire state legislature, on July 1, pulled another attempt to keep us divided. It voted to give the Department of Health and Welfare \$28.5-million in 1972 and \$30.1-million in 1973. The trick was that aid to education will be cut \$8.1-million, or 43 percent of its budget. This was all a result of heavy pressure put on the legislature by the people to do something about the welfare discrimination.

What the state legislature plans is to take the money out of education and give it to the welfare victims. Then the overtaxed working class will blame the welfare victims for the loss of educational funds and for higher taxes, when in actuality it is because New Hampshire pays millions yearly for the war in Southeast Asia and other wasteful items. This is just another trick performed by the ruling class representatives to oppress welfare people and divide the people.

C. V.
Portsmouth, N. H.

Flags and pins

At the steel plant where I work here in Los Angeles, the local union leadership is taking up a collection for the longshoremen's strike. This is being done by the unusual means of an in-plant, worker-by-worker solicitation rather than the usual plant gate collection. The union leaders expect a good response from the steelworkers; they also want to talk about the dangers of the wage freeze with all solid union supporters.

The president of our local is aware of changes in attitude on the part of a section of the union leadership. He says these changes show in small but obvious ways. The steelworkers' pin, which has been traditionally worn in the lapel button hole at union gatherings, is now replaced by pins showing the American flag.

At the recently concluded steel negotiations, he noticed that about half the staff representatives and some local presidents, primarily from the East and from Utah and Wyoming, were wearing the flag pin. He saw no flag pins worn by Blacks, Chicanos, or by any of the local presidents from the South.

Jack Burton
Los Angeles, Calif.

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.

Racist preconceptions?—Who, them?—In a taped interview for the Kennedy library, attorney John Nolan recalled his impression of Fidel Castro during negotiations for the release of jailed survivors of the U. S.-organized 1962 invasion of Cuba. Describing Fidel, he said, "Many of the impressions that we had . . . would not square with the commonly accepted image of Castro in the United States. During the time that we were with him, Castro was never irrational, never drunk, never dirty."

It pays to grow old in L. A.—In a moving display of concern for the elderly, the Los Angeles City Council approved a proposal by the equally concerned Yellow Cab Co. to provide properly identified senior citizens with a 5-percent discount on fares. And we have verified that there is no substance to the snide rumor that recipients of the discount would have to be accompanied by grandparents.

The expeditors—Apparently to ensure that trivial administrative matters would not distract from its concentration on the public weal, the House of Representatives authorized its Administrative Committee to increase—without prior notice or floor vote—the various fringe benefits of House members. These include such goodies as

the number of paid trips home, the number of clerks on the payroll, and the amounts of postage, stationery and home-office allowance rental.

Antipollution peril—To help calm things down, we delayed reporting the advice offered July 15 by Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans. He urged that antipollution programs be weighed carefully and slowly to ensure they will not be too costly or ineffective. He warned that public impatience in this area constituted a "perilous plight" for business. "The time has come," Mr. Stans suggested, "to bring things into better focus and stop overheating the view that we are killing ourselves."

They'll rue the day—The presidential aspirations of Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty suffered a setback with the defection of Rudy Vallee. The crooner, who won fame and fortune in the 1920s dispensing syrup through a megaphone, quit the L. A. City Traffic Commission in protest against rejection of his proposal that the street he lives on be renamed Rue de Vallee. The proposal was vetoed after objection by neighbors. The neighbors, Vallee explained, were "a bunch of disgruntled pukers."

The split deepens—The Los Angeles

City Council, without debate, assented to the nixing of Rue de Vallee. Departing in an eight-cylinder huff, the ex-crooner advised newspeople that the council's action was "entirely stupid, vicious, frivolous and totally uncalled for."

Postmortem—We're late in reporting it too, but in mid-July the Food and Drug Administration reported that 204,000 candy bars and 7,100 boxes of candy which had already been sold, and presumably eaten, were contaminated with rodents and insects. Federal agents said that after they found "minor" contamination in Necco and King Candy factories, the companies recalled the candy. But, sadly, the bulk of it—rodents and all—had already been sold.

Thought for the week—"I have a strange fantasy thought. If everybody were fortunate enough to have a portrait painted by a kindly painter showing them at their optimum—kindly and courageous or wise and witty—I think they might try to live up to that. Board chairmen always have those marvelous portraits hanging in their offices. They look so important and their portraits must be an inspiring image."—Actress Greer Garson.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

One of the main reasons for abortion and contraception on demand is that every child should be a wanted child. Forcing women to bear children is just as inhuman to the child as it is to the woman. One consequence of forced parenthood is child abuse. The Aug. 16 New York Times noted that reported incidents of child abuse in New York City had gone up 549 percent between 1966 and 1970. On a national scale, one or two children are killed by their own parents every day. Children are beaten, burned, strangled, suffocated and drowned.

Dr. David Gil of Brandeis University has finished a study which concludes that some 2.5 million children are physically abused each year. He told the Times that he felt corporal punishment must be outlawed, and that the elimination of poverty was necessary to eliminate child abuse. "And I believe that birth control and free abortion could also help a great deal," he said.

Developments in the abortion struggle: A class-action suit has been filed with the U. S. Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of a North Carolina abortion law. The law requires that a minor must obtain written permission from her parent or husband in order to have an abortion. Abortions are legal in North Carolina only in cases of rape, incest or to save the physical or mental health of the woman.

The Supreme Court will be hearing two abortion cases this fall—challenges to the constitutionality of the Texas and Georgia abortion laws. The Texas law permits abortion only to save the woman's life, and is similar to the laws existing in 30 other states. The Georgia law permits abortions if the woman's health is in danger.

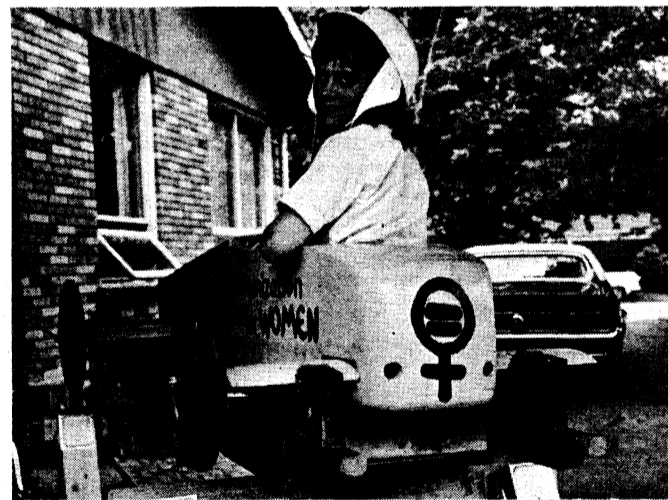
The North Carolina case will raise new issues not involved in the Texas and Georgia cases—specifically the constitutional rights of minors.

Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.) has introduced a bill into Congress authorizing abortions and sterilizations in military hospitals. The bill would reverse the April 3 directive by President Nixon which ordered military hospitals to abide by state laws restricting or prohibiting abortions.

The Virginia abortion laws make it a misdemeanor to simply relay information—verbally or in print—about abortions. On May 15, six persons were charged with violating this section of the law. Three were allegedly on the staff of an underground newspaper, the Virginia Weekly, and three were former student managers of the Cavalier Daily. The basis for the charges against the Virginia Weekly people was an advertisement for a New York abor-

tion-referral service run in the newspaper.

The Virginia Weekly, in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia, is challenging the constitutionality of this law, which infringes upon freedom of speech as well as freedom of the press. For further information, write: Virginia Weekly, Box 336-X, Newcomb Hall Station, Charlottesville, Va. 22901.



Eleven-year-old Susan Farbin challenged the rules and was allowed to enter the Soap Box Derby, traditionally open only to boys. Her sponsor was the National Organization for Women. She took three trophies—best racer construction, first in her age class and second in the overall finish.

A recent poll by McCall's magazine of 20,000 American women found that 57 percent of those under 25 felt that most men treat women as sexual objects.

Despite recent advances won by women in the churches, the July 15 convention of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church voted overwhelmingly to ban the ordination of women as pastors. The resolution quoted passages of the Bible attributed to the apostle Paul to support this position. One passage (I Cor. 14:34) says, "The women should keep silent in the churches," and another (I Tim. 2:12) says: "I permit no woman to teach or have authority over men; she is to keep silent."

The resolution stated: "Those statements of Scripture which direct women to keep silent in the church and which prohibit them to teach and to exercise authority over men, we understand to mean that women ought not hold the pastoral office or serve in any other capacity involving the distinctive functions of this office." This affront to women will certainly not go unchallenged for long.

—CAROLINE LUND

Aug. 6-9 actions begin antiwar offensive

By HUGH MORGAN

Thousands of activists participated in antiwar actions across the country Aug. 6-9 in commemoration of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. The actions marked the beginning phase of the massive fall antiwar offensive building toward the Oct. 13 moratorium and culminating in the Nov. 6 mass antiwar marches in more than a dozen cities.

Cities where Aug. 6-9 actions were held included New York, Boston, Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area and many others.

In New York, a rally of several hundred in Times Square on Aug. 6 protested the war in Southeast Asia and the scheduled test by the U.S. government of the "ultimate bomb"—a five-megaton nuclear device—in an underground explosion in Alaska in October.

The New York action was jointly sponsored by the New York Peace Action Coalition and the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. Among the speakers were Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition, Joanne Tortoricci of the Student Mobilization Committee, Jeanette Washington of the

People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and Mary Kochiyama of the Asian Coalition.

Pete Seeger sang at the rally and at a lantern floating ceremony in Central Park that followed the rally.

Several hundred marched in Boston Aug. 5, led by a contingent of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The march began at Cambridge Common and proceeded to Lexington.

About 150 persons participated in a march and rally in Atlanta Aug. 7 sponsored by the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition.

One of the largest actions occurred in Denver where 700 spirited marchers took part in a candlelight procession through the downtown district Aug. 6. The marchers were organized behind banners of Trade Unionists for Peace, the United Women's Contingent and the Gay Liberation Contingent.

The Denver march was sponsored by the Denver Peace Action Coalition and received broad endorsement, including that of two state representatives, the mayor of Greeley, Colo., and many trade unionists.

The march concluded with a rally on the state capitol steps. In addition

to the Denver PAC speaker, who outlined the plans for Denver's fall antiwar offensive, speakers included representatives of the United Farm Workers, an international organizer from AFSCME and speakers from the contingents.

A march in Chicago on Aug. 6 sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council, Chicago Peace Action Coalition and Welfare Rights Organization drew about 300 people.

More than 100 persons attended a commemorative rally and lantern floating ceremony in Minneapolis' Loring Park Aug. 6.

Commemorative activities in Los Angeles were organized by Asian-American groups, the Angela Davis Defense Committee and the L. A. Peace Action Council.

A Hiroshima memorial meeting was held in Berkeley Aug. 5, sponsored by the Northern California Peace Action Coalition. Films of the destruction in Hiroshima were shown at the meeting.

The Chicano antiwar Marcha de la Reconquista, sponsored by the Chicano Moratorium, began at Calexico, Calif., earlier in the summer and con-

cluded with a mass rally in Sacramento Aug. 7.

Since the Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions, many of which were jointly organized by supporters of the PCPJ and NPAC, the two antiwar organizations have increased their cooperation. An Aug. 20 joint statement, co-signed by William Douthard for PCPJ and Jerry Gordon for NPAC, calls on local affiliates of both groups to hold "joint NPAC-PCPJ conferences (also sponsored by other broad forces in the community) to plan the specific form of the actions in the various localities" for Oct. 13 and Nov. 6.

The Douthard-Gordon letter also urges cooperative action in the circulation of "A Call to Action to End the War in Indochina Now!"—a joint statement to be printed with a broad list of signers as an ad in the *New York Times*.

The initial NPAC literature developed to build the fall antiwar offensive has been mailed to local affiliates in small quantities for local duplication. More literature is currently being prepared. It can be ordered from NPAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York, N. Y. 10011.

West coast longshore strikers defy Nixon

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 23—A survey of San Francisco-Bay Area picket lines of striking longshoremen and ship clerks on the day following Nixon's speech found not one person supporting the wage freeze. There was no back-to-work sentiment, only anger and a clear understanding that the government was entering the picture as strike-breaker number one.

To the question "Are you going back to work?" the usual answer was, "Are you crazy?"

One old-timer said, "F. D. R. tried to break us in 1934, Truman in 1948—when they called Bridges a Communist and wouldn't negotiate with us and the Army scabbed on us—and now we've got Nixon! Well, presidents come and go, but this union will still be here."

On Monday morning, Aug. 16, strike committee meetings up and

The *San Francisco Chronicle* called the Bridges telegram "among the most biting yet loosed at the Nixon administration by dissatisfied labor leadership."

But along with the militant defiance, the Bridges leadership was preparing a retreat. Paragraph C of the Coast Strike Strategy Subcommittee's report, passed out to the press conference, proposed "to reconsider the question of allowing all cargo to be cleared from the docks"—not from the strike-bound ships swinging at anchor up and down the coast, but only from the strike-bound docks, in front of which pickets have been marching since July 1.

On Aug. 18, in response to a telegram from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Bridges retreated further. He rejected very politely the direct federal request to end the strike, but added that an order had gone

trickery, combined with a filibuster by Bridges. The meeting finally broke up after midnight in angry confusion, with both sides claiming victory.

It appeared that in the smaller ports of the Northwest this policy is already in effect. The press reported on Aug. 21 that, "in Portland, Ore., and in Vancouver and Longview, Wash., ILWU members moved cargo out of a number of warehouses yesterday. Dock officials say that they would continue to move goods away from the docks whenever customers requested it."

This is the old "divide and rule" strategy—in this case, playing the smaller and weaker ILWU locals against the dissident San Francisco Local 10, the largest on the West Coast, with 4,600 members. This local has defied the international leadership on important strike issues such as the steadyman question. (The ship owners now have men working directly for them, bypassing the union job-rotating hiring hall. Local 10 demands that this section of the contract, 9.43, be removed.)

In the Bay Area, thus far, few have bought the arguments for "clearing the docks." These arguments go like this: 1) Clearing the docks will gain "good will" from the merchants uptown, the "little guys that are hurting because of the strike." 2) It will "swing public opinion to our side." And 3) it will furnish work for union members.

At the Local 10 meeting, Bridges was answered. "I'm a little man too," spoke one longshoreman, "and I'm hurting. And I expect to hurt till we win the strike. Let the uptown merchants hurt too. If they yell loud enough, perhaps the ship owners will hear them. Keep the docks shut."

Regarding "public opinion," Bridges' own words are thrown back at him: Public opinion never won a strike. Insofar as work for union members is concerned, at the present time there is one to two days work per man. The ILWU is now working all passenger ships and all military cargos, even when carried in bottoms belonging to companies the union is striking.

"It doesn't hurt the strike to keep on working," says Bridges. This is completely contrary to policy in all previous strikes, where a "tight strike—stop all cargo" policy prevailed.

Now, Matson Navigation Company, archenemy of the ILWU, has offered to "ship cargo between struck West

Coast ports and Hawaii on a non-profit basis until the strike is settled."

On Aug. 23, the Strike Strategy Subcommittee, headed by Bridges, will consider Matson's "generous" offer, and also the question of clearing the docks. The ranks are worried.

In the meantime, no coast-wide negotiations are taking place, pending completion of local negotiations. And in local negotiations, the ship owners, since the federal government on Aug. 15 announced loud and clear where it stood, have taken an uncompromising stand. It stands on its last offer, which is less than half of what the union demands. On every other demand, the answer is "No."

The ship owners' Pacific Maritime Association has "frozen" the jointly administered union welfare fund, which contains over \$2-million paid in before the strike started. The union has sued, but in the meantime has been forced to guarantee its members' medical expenses.

Given the uncompromising attitude of the ship owners, further concessions, which could only loosen the hold of the strike, appear to the majority of the strikers as unwarranted, and the Bridges leadership is in for trouble. After all, a cargo ship is only a floating warehouse. If the cargo is moved from the docks, with the help of Teamsters, the merchant seamen on the beach because of the strike will have a just complaint. "OK, so you made work for yourselves and the Teamsters, now how about us? Discharge the ships and let us sail. We've got families too."

The entire labor movement now supports the strike. Money in large sums is coming into the strike fund. Donations of food, especially from the AFL-CIO Farm Workers union, are arriving daily. But this could change if it appears that the ILWU is compromising the strike. But to the union militants, Bridges' policy comes as no surprise.

At a recent ILWU meeting in San Francisco, a rank-and-filer explained: "Back in 1961, at the time the so-called 'modernization and mechanization' contract was signed, the top union leadership and the ship owners had close ties. And since then, they've accumulated a lot of community property, especially the multimillion dollar pension fund, and in stocks and bonds and blocks of apartment houses. It's

Continued on page 22



Pickets at San Francisco Pier 22

Photo by A. Harer

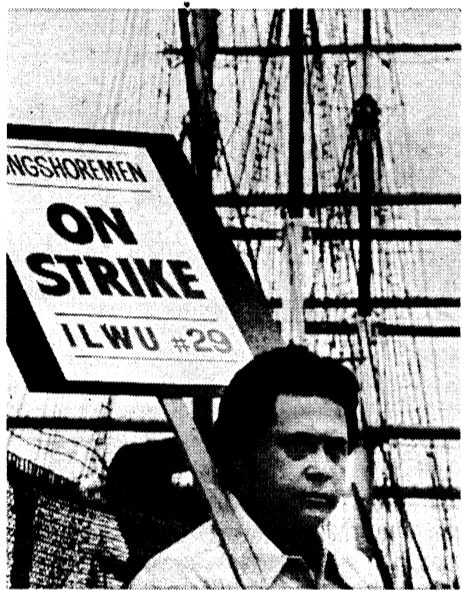
down the coast defied the government. The top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union reflected this militancy of the ranks.

On Aug. 17, ILWU International President Harry Bridges called a press conference at which he announced that he had sent a telegram to Nixon saying the ILWU would continue its strike and denouncing the freeze as "placing the burden of fighting inflation on the backs of the working people." And further, that "the executive order favors the rich, creates a tax bonanza for U.S. corporations, allows interest rates to go scot-free, and so forth."

forth to reopen the strikebound grain elevators in the Pacific Northwest (mainly Portland, Ore.) and further, that, "we are recommending that all cargo now on docks and terminals be released." (In 24 hours the question had been "reconsidered.")

Striking longshoremen and ship clerks got this bit of news first from the press. Reaction was immediate. Ship Clerks Local 34 strike committee and membership meeting rejected the recommendation. The membership meeting of Longshore Local 10 expressed itself strongly against clearing the docks, but was prevented from taking a "no" vote by parliamentary

Labor responds to Nixon's wage freeze



West Coast longshoremen are among striking workers who have refused to go back to work.

By FRANK LOVELL

Nixon's sudden announcement on Aug. 15 imposing a 90-day wage freeze on American workers has sent a shock wave through the entire working class, in all trades and industries. This attack, the most serious against the labor movement in over 25 years, is generating outrage and resistance among rank-and-file workers from coast to coast.

The severity of this attack is immediately clear to millions in many different ways.

- About 290,000 railroad workers were denied a long overdue wage increase granted on August 2 after a two-week strike on some lines. Because the increase had been linked to a revision of work rules, it had not yet been ratified.

The first national convention of the United Transportation Union, meeting at the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach, Fla., and attended by 1,900 delegates, was shaken by the news that the new wage rates would not be paid due to the wage-freeze edict.

Some convention delegates, members of the Right To Vote Committee of the UTU, urged a strong endorsement of the AFL-CIO position in support of the right to strike, to organize a fight to win back their lost wages.

- Out in Los Angeles, far removed from the posh Hotel Fontainebleau and in the railroad yards to which most of the UTU convention delegates will be returning soon, switchmen were talking about their union contract and the government wage freeze.

The new contract provided for a 42-percent wage increase spread over 42 months. This was an exchange for new work rules that will further speed the already dangerous conditions of work and will mean layoffs for many of the switchmen.

As one switchman put it, "Now with the wage freeze, we don't get anything except laid off."

Jim Little, a member of the Los Angeles UTU Local 1422, says, "Local union officers favor the agreed-on contract but are against Nixon's wage freeze as discriminatory against the workers. Members, for the most part, see the contract and the wage freeze as a package and want to reject it all. There is discontent with the leadership."

- The same bitter medicine of lost wages was meted out to 750,000 postal workers, who will not receive the second of five \$250 annual pay raises the government-financed U.S. Postal Service had agreed to pay them in recently negotiated union contracts.

- Contracts for 900,000 workers in coal mines, railroad shops, and airlines and in the aerospace, longshore and other industries are due to expire before the end of October. All are frozen to the old wage scale by government edict.

- New York City sanitation workers and firemen were negotiating for retroactive pay from the beginning of this year, when their contracts expired. Negotiations were abruptly terminated by the Lindsay administration when the wage freeze was announced.

- In New York State, 38,500 tele-

phone workers who had refused to ratify a below-standard company offer accepted in July by top officials of the Communications Workers union were told to go back to work at the old wage rates. They have so far refused.

- From Cleveland, *Militant* correspondent Jean Tussey reported the sharpest class divisions in years. Representatives of business and industry, Republican and Democratic party politicians, and the capitalist newspapers responded to the government wage freeze with unanimous approval. On the other side, labor leaders, pressed by the union ranks, are busy, not with "whether," but with "how" to fight back against this attempt to protect profits at the expense of the workers.

Frank W. King, president of the Ohio AFL-CIO, said he believes the Nixon administration faces "near open rebellion" as union workers become "more and more disturbed" over the wage freeze.

Ohio Teamsters officials, like their national leaders, were the only union spokesmen whose initial reaction to the freeze was approval. But Teamsters Local 400 was the first in the Cleveland area to walk out after Nixon requested no-strike cooperation. They struck Pick-N-Pay supermarkets, a 200-store grocery chain.

Another Cleveland union that responded to the wage-freeze decree was Meat Cutters District Union 427. The Meat Cutters called a special emergency meeting of all union stewards and district council delegates representing 6,000 members in northeastern Ohio.

- In Detroit, auto workers, whose second-year pay raises are due Nov. 22 under the 1970 UAW national agreement, and who will be entitled to a cost-of-living adjustment on Dec. 6, prepared to challenge the government edict which overrules the terms of their collective bargaining agreements. About 750,000 of the 1.3-million member union will be affected if the wage freeze extends beyond the 90-day limit which ends Nov. 12.

- More severely and immediately affected were an estimated 100,000 federal employees who are scheduled to be laid off under the announced 5-percent cutback plan to save government funds.

President Kenneth T. Lyons of the National Association of Government Employees in Washington, D.C., asked, "What sense does it make to lay off over 100,000 federal employees only to dump them on to relief rolls?"

- From Denver, *Militant* correspondent Bill Perdue reports how the issue of the wage freeze has exposed the Democratic Party. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Denver, Ray Davidson, national public relations director of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), headquartered in Denver, submitted a motion to condemn Nixon for "freezing the wages of working people while proposing no restraints on other forms of income, such as executive bonuses, stock options, deferred payments, expense allowances,

and profits for the sale of land, stocks and other properties, carrying charges, and such hidden sources of profits as mortgage discounts and forced credit insurance."

The motion provoked heated debate and was overwhelmingly defeated.

- On the West Coast, 15,000 longshoremen were among the strikers across the country who were told to go back to work. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, through its president, Harry Bridges, notified Nixon that the strike would "continue in full force and effect until such time as a collective bargaining agreement is ratified by the membership."

Militant correspondent Jack Burton in Los Angeles reported moods and attitudes of steel and auto workers there. These workers' contracts are not immediately affected by the wage freeze. He writes that there are three main attitudes among the steelworkers. The first (about 20 percent) feel that wage controls are unfair and will hurt their interests in the long run. The second (about 65 percent) think controls are a necessary evil and hope that future inequalities can be resolved. The third (about 15 percent) welcome controls and think they are for the "national good."

Burton says auto workers were divided in opinion along the same lines as the steelworkers but with a larger proportion opposing wage controls.

Meany's criticisms of Nixon's program are supported by a great majority of steelworkers. Burton explains: "If this seems to be in contradiction to the opinions on the wage freeze, it is a reflection of the fact that most steelworkers do not yet understand that the controls are designed to lower their standard of living."

Union members are influenced by the positions of their officials, and the fact that Steelworkers President I. W. Abel has said nothing on the wage-price controls is reflected in their confusion. The vast majority of auto workers support the stand of UAW President Leonard Woodcock against the controls and against the politicians supporting the wage freeze.

- Hundreds of thousands of teachers in all parts of the country will not receive pay raises due them when the schools open in September. The American Federation of Teachers convention in San Francisco denounced the wage freeze and called for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam in order to stem the inflation and provide more funds for education. The much larger National Education Association had earlier called for the withdrawal of troops and likewise condemned the government wage freeze.

Overcrowded schools and cutbacks in teaching staffs have left many teachers unemployed and others seeking relief.

Hardest hit of all are the impoverished millions already on relief, because the Nixon administration is asking Congress to defer action on relief appropriations, a request certain to be granted.

NPAC attacks wage freeze

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—The National Peace Action Coalition sharply attacked Nixon's wage freeze in a statement issued by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon Aug. 19 as "part of the price tag American workers are being forced to pay for the continuation of the Vietnam war."

Gordon said that nationwide antiwar demonstrations scheduled for Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 "will provide the opportunity to answer Nixon's attempt to place the burden of the war on those least able to pay and to demand that all the troops be brought home now!"

In a special letter to NPAC's local affiliates mailed shortly afterward, Gordon called on local coalitions

across the country "to make the tie-up between the wage freeze and the war the central focus for building the fall demonstrations in the period ahead."

Gordon's letter urged consideration of the following actions: 1) an "all-out campaign" to obtain endorsements from trade unions and trade unionists, 2) "broadside leafletting of plants, especially those where workers are being denied wage increases otherwise due," 3) the calling of news conferences involving trade union leaders and key labor figures, 4) wide mailings to trade unionists, 5) inviting trade unionists to antiwar meetings, 6) the preparation of literature directed primarily to workers.

A special brochure and other mater-

ial geared to workers is being prepared by the NPAC national office.

Local Peace Action Coalitions were simultaneously responding to Nixon's attack on wages. An Aug. 18 release from the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, for example, contained a statement by Bill Peterson, MPAC labor task force coordinator and a member of the United Transportation Union.

Peterson called the freeze "a cynical attempt to make American working people pay for a failing war that they didn't start in the first place." He called on labor to demonstrate opposition to Nixon's economic moves by supporting the fall antiwar offensive culminating in demonstrations in more than a dozen cities on Nov. 6.

Antiwar GIs organize in Arizona

A group of antiwar GIs at Ft. Huachuca, Ariz., obtained more than 500 signatures on an antiwar petition July 31 after obtaining permission from the Army brass to solicit signatures in front of the Post Exchange for nine hours on that date.

The group, which initially got started last March around organizing GI participation in an April 24 antiwar action in Tucson, has since published one issue of an antiwar paper, *Where Are We?*, and has applied for permission to distribute a forthcoming second issue on post.

On April 11, Joe Miles, former antiwar GI organizer who played a leading role in the formation of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at both Ft. Jackson, S.C., and Ft. Bragg, N.C., met with Pvt. Joel Houtman and about 20 other GIs from Ft. Huachuca in Sierra Vista, the base town. The GIs, including Black and Chicano GIs, were interested in Miles' experiences because they wanted to organize against the war at Ft. Huachuca. Houtman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance on leave of absence while in the armed forces, arranged the meeting with Miles.

After talking with Miles, the GIs leafleted in Sierra Vista for the April 24 Tucson demonstration. About 50 GIs traveled the 70 miles to Tucson for the action at which Pvt. Houtman was one of the speakers.

The following month, Houtman and the other GIs brought out the first issue of *Where Are We?* Impressed by the enthusiastic response to the paper, Houtman, Pvt. Kim Hoffman, Sp/5 Tim Donnelly and Sp/5 Paul Surovell

applied to the brass for permission to distribute a second issue on post and for permission to circulate a petition calling for immediate withdrawal.

In late July, the Army agreed to let the GIs petition for nine hours on July 31. The four, dressed in civilian clothes, sat outside the PX and gathered 540 signatures—about half of those who passed the table, according to Houtman. Among those signing were 150 Vietnam veterans, a colonel and a major.

The GIs see the Army's decision to allow on-post petitioning as an important precedent for antiwar GIs around the country, and as a step in building a strong antiwar organization at Ft. Huachuca.

Brazil regime murders Trotskyist

Luiz Eduardo Merlino, a Trotskyist student leader in Brazil, was recently tortured to death by the Brazilian police. He was 23 years old. Police officials told his family that he had been tortured "because he refused to talk."

Luiz Eduardo Merlino was a student at the University of São Paulo, and played a leading role in the student struggles of 1967-1968. He was a leading member of the Communist Workers Party (POC), and led a Trotskyist tendency within that organization.

Eight months ago, he and some other members of this tendency journeyed to France where they joined the Fourth International and participated in the activities of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. Luiz Eduardo Merlino was a fraternal guest at the

second national convention of the Communist League last May.

A few weeks later, he returned to Brazil in order to participate in the discussions leading up to the convention of the POC. Around this time, a few members of the POC were arrested. One of them, under torture, talked. A week later, on July 15, Luiz Eduardo Merlino was also arrested in São Paulo and subsequently tortured to death. His remains were presented to his family on July 21.

Rightists harass Senator in Fla.

An incident reported by the Associated Press in July indicates that membership in an ultraright group originally based in Chicago may have spread to other parts of the country.

An AP story datelined Orlando, Fla., reported that Democratic presidential hopeful Senator Birch Bayh was heckled and spit at July 22 as he deplaned at Orlando's McCoy Airport. The hecklers, according to the story, were "about 15 protesters who described themselves as members of the 'Legion of Justice.'"

The Militant first became aware of the existence of such an organization in November 1969 when a group of thugs attacked the Socialist Workers Party hall in Chicago. That attack, and a subsequent assault on members of the Young Socialist Alliance in DeKalb, Ill., were boasted about by a fascist-minded attorney who claimed to represent a group of "Vietnam veterans and draft age men" whose purpose was "to deal with traitors." The attorney, S. Thomas Sutton, had previously been in the news for his role in racist groups that agitated in the white suburbs and attempted to pro-

voke violence during the open housing marches led by the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

Around the time of the attacks on the SWP, YSA and other groups in 1969, Sutton had begun to appear on campuses in northern Illinois, making a recruiting pitch for the right-wing gang that became known as the Legion of Justice.

After the attack on the YSA members in DeKalb, a broad defense organization, the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, was formed to wage a campaign aimed at exposing Sutton and the complicity of the cops who winked at the escalating terrorism of Sutton's handful of hooligans.

The defense committee's efforts succeeded in spotlighting and discrediting the Legion for a broad section of the public, and in bringing some Legion members to trial—although no convictions have yet been obtained.

As Sutton, and his storm troopers became isolated by the campaign of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, it seemed clear that, contrary to Sutton's wild boasts, no more than between one and two dozen persons were associated with his reactionary efforts to "punish treason," and many of these were members of other ultraright organizations, such as the Minutemen. The appearance of what seems to be an allied group of Sutton's Legion in Florida deserves serious attention.

The AP account of the Florida incident reports, "As Bayh headed down the concourse for an airport press conference, the shouting group followed and soon blocked his progress. A man who identified himself as Ed Shuman engaged in a shouting match with Bayh and spit directly into his face, witnesses said."

Further on, the story says that "Shuman told newsmen he was a Vietnam veteran who came to Orlando about a year ago from Chicago. . . . He said he couldn't find a job but wanted to go into real estate investment in the Orlando area. . . . He said his group was part of a national right-wing organization composed of college and high school students."

¡La Raza en Acción!

As the 1972 presidential election draws nearer we can be sure that Democratic and Republican aspirants to the post will escalate their "concern" for the masses of Chicanos in this country. And they have a good reason to do so.

A recent study by the Mexican American Defense and Educational Fund on the political power of La Raza made this clear. Reporting on this study, the July 9 issue of *El Chicano* says, ". . . a small shift in the Mexican-American vote in just four states—California, Texas, New Mexico, and Illinois—could affect 101 electoral votes, and possibly decide the election."

Jumping on the bandwagon, Senator H.L. Richardson of Los Angeles, chairman of the Senate Republican Caucus stated recently that "Chicanos have literally put all their eggs in one basket. For years they have joined one party (Democratic Party), and for years have been systematically taken advantage of. . . . As long as he (the Chicano) puts his eggs in one basket, he shouldn't be surprised if they get crushed." (*La Raza*, vol. 1, no. 6). But the growing strength of La Raza Unida Party is proving Senator Richardson wrong. Chicanos more and more will put their eggs in one basket, only not the basket that the Democrats and Republicans own. Can we blame them for being concerned?

A survey done last summer in the barrio of Santa Barbara, Calif., which is 78 percent Raza, revealed the extent of the unpopularity of Nixon's policies in Vietnam among Chicanos.

The survey, conducted by Professor Charles Ornelas under the auspices of the Center for Chicano Studies of the University of California at Santa Barbara, is reported in *Salsipuedes* (vol. 1, no. 5), published in that city.

"According to Prof. Ornelas," reports the article, "those Chicanos interviewed expressed strong feelings against the United States' involvement in Vietnam, against the Cambodia invasion, against the draft and against Nixon's policies in general."

Of the 300 people interviewed, which included heads of households, housewives and young people between the ages of 15 and 20, almost half considered the Vietnam war as "the single most important problem facing the nation."

By far the largest number of those interviewed agreed that the U.S. should "withdraw from Vietnam as fast as we can pull out troops" and two-thirds of the adults favored either a quick withdrawal or a deadline of June 1971. Only 9 percent favored stepped-up fighting.

The last section of the survey said "Many people today are demonstrating against the war. Do you approve of these demonstrations?" With the exception of the "youth female" category, who were evenly divided for and against on this issue, about 60 percent answered "yes."

Farm workers in Florida, who have been without work for more than six months, launched a protest to demand jobs for the hundreds of unemployed migrant workers.

Organized by the United Farm Workers, about 75 picketed the Florida State Employment Office in Ft. Lauderdale on July 31. According to organizer Raquel Veve, poor crops in the north have forced migrants to return to Florida. She said that about 700 migrants in the Pompano Beach area, along with thousands more in Palm Beach, Collier and Dade counties, are out of work and no longer eligible for unemployment benefits.

While the actions so far are aimed at meeting the immediate needs of the starving farm workers, plans are being made to strike when the season begins in the winter.

Regeneracion, published in Los Angeles, has put out a special issue (Vol. 1, No. 10) on Chicanas that is unquestionably one of the best publications on the subject to date, both for its pro-feminist content and for its serious, objective and professional form.

The editorial, which reflects the entire issue, states in part: "The issue of equality, freedom and self-determination of the Chicana—like the right of self-determination, equality and liberation of the Mexican community—is not negotiable. Anyone opposing the right of women to organize into their own form of organization has no place in the leadership of the movement. FREEDOM IS FOR EVERYONE. . . . Women have organized workshops in the west, southwest, and midwestern parts of the U.S. The latest gathering was held in Houston, Texas.

"We expect that this great force of women power will give the movement one great empuje (push) to raise it one giant step higher in the drive for liberation."

Among the best articles is one, also by the editor Francisca Flores, on the conference of *Mujeres por La Raza* in Houston, Texas, at the end of May. Other articles include a proposal for child care, articles on Chicanas in prison, reprints from *Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (a Chicana newspaper published in Long Beach, Calif.), a story on Dolores Huerta, leader of the farm workers movement, and several poems.

Subscriptions can be obtained for \$5 from *Regeneracion*, P.O. Box 54624, Los Angeles, Calif., 90054.

—MIRTA VIDAL

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY LAUNCHES BIGGEST ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ITS HISTORY



By LAURA MILLER

CLEVELAND—The Socialist Workers Party launched the biggest, most far-reaching presidential campaign in its history with the nomination of Linda Jenness, 30, a feminist and antiwar leader from Atlanta, and Andrew Pulley, 20, a Black liberation activist from Chicago, as its candidates for president and vice-president in the 1972 elections. Over 1,200 supporters attended the kick-off rally held Aug. 12 at the Sheraton-Hilton Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio.

As the largest socialist electoral campaign since the time of Eugene V. Debs, the SWP campaign plans to reach millions of Americans with the ideas of revolutionary socialism and presents the only meaningful alternative to the bankrupt politics of the Democratic and Republican parties in the upcoming elections.

"We are speaking for the majority of people in this country," Jenness stated at an Aug. 12 press conference called to announce her candidacy. "Our campaign is the campaign that will change American politics."

Both Jenness and Pulley have had experience in running socialist campaigns before. As an active socialist in Atlanta, Jenness twice ran for public office. In 1969, she was the first woman ever to run for mayor of Atlanta, and in 1970 she ran for governor of Georgia.

Ex-GI Pulley, who gained national prominence in 1969 as one of the eight Ft. Jackson GIs threatened with court-martial for their activities against the Vietnam war and racism in the Army, ran for Congress against liberal Democrat Ron Dellums in Berkeley in 1970.

Enthusiastic rally

The enthusiasm of the participants at the rally was evidenced by the collection of nearly \$7,000 to cover initial campaign costs and by the continual bursts of applause for the speakers.

Farrell Dobbs, four-time SWP presidential nominee and currently the party's national secretary, set the tone for the rally by quoting Eugene V. Debs: "Debs said 'It is better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want and get it'; starting from that premise, we have undertaken to add another dimension to the electoral approach from a revolutionary-socialist point of view."

Several other SWP candidates, past and present—including Paul Boutelle, the party's 1968 vice-presidential candidate; Clifton DeBerry, who ran for president in 1964; and John Hawkins and Eric Poulos, SWP candidates for mayor of Cleveland and the Worcester, Mass., City Council, respectively—shared the platform with leaders of the antiwar, women's liberation, Chicano and high school movements. Fred Halstead, SWP presidential nominee in 1968, introduced Andrew Pulley.

Jerry Gordon, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, spoke about the massive, multi-city antiwar actions scheduled for November 6. On the question of red-baiting of the antiwar movement, Gordon told the crowd, "In NPAC, again and again, we've been asked, 'Isn't the SWP a part of our coalition, doesn't it dominate the coalition?' And our response has always been to explain patiently that the principle of non-exclusion is one of the cornerstones of the National Peace Action Coalition, that, yes, the SWP is a part of our coalition, a welcome part, that we welcome political parties, together with all other groups. . . . It seems

"The capitalists in this country have to lie, because if the Americans knew the truth they wouldn't stand for it. They keep themselves in power by lying. We are going to get them out of power by telling the truth!"

to me that it is high time to say openly and publicly that the SWP and the YSA take second place to none in being the most dynamic and energetic builders of the antiwar movement."

Marge Sloan, Chicago leader of the abortion law repeal movement and member of the Woman's National Abortion Action Coalition, emphasized the significance of the Nov. 20 actions planned for Washington, D. C., and San Francisco. "I think it is a crime," she said, "that women today must ask for what men have always assumed—the right to control our own bodies. . . . We are going to be in Washington and San Francisco on Nov. 20 . . . demanding the repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and an end to all contraceptive laws!"

Speaking for the high school movement, Deborah Gutierrez, a 15-year-old Chicana feminist from Kansas City, Mo., scored attempts by the government to limit the rights of high school students. "Spiro Agnew claims that I know nothing about the system and how it works, so I wouldn't be qualified to vote. Well, I say, who knows more about the oppression of high school students, me or Agnew? . . . Anyone who has an interest in politics and wants to vote should be able to vote. The SWP campaign supports this demand."

Other speakers at the rally were Olga Rodriguez, YSA member and Chicana activist in Los Angeles; Cindy Jaquith, national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; and Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist and feminist author, who introduced Linda Jenness. Reed gave the audience a capsule biography of Jenness. She concluded by saying, "Linda Jenness is the first feminist to run for president in this century. . . . During her campaign for governor of Georgia, the *Atlanta Journal* wrote, 'History is on the side of Mrs. Jenness.' And just last week a Gallup Poll revealed that 66 percent of all voters would vote for a woman candidate who was qualified. So, I'm proud to present the qualified candidate, Linda Jenness."

Jenness' speech concluded the rally with an inspiring challenge to join the struggle to build a new world. The crowd, which listened closely to every word, rose in a standing ovation when she finished.

Campaign plans

Announced at the rally were some of the immediate plans for the campaign, including tours of all 50 states and international fact-finding trips by the two candidates. This fall, Pulley plans to investigate charges of discrimination and harassment of Black GIs at U.S. Army bases in West Germany, and to visit Northern Ireland and Paris. Jenness is scheduled to address the National Student Association convention at Fort Collins, Colo., later this month, and Pulley will address the National Association of Black Students conference in Chicago at the same time.

National press coverage of the campaign rally was extensive; it ranged from TV coverage on the nationally syndicated Walter Cronkite show to articles in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *National Observer*, and major dailies from Detroit to San Diego, as well as reports on radio stations throughout the country.

Since the SWP campaign will be the only campaign to seriously address itself to the problems of youth in this society, a dynamic component of the campaign will be the Young Socialists

for Jenness and Pulley supporter groups. In her speech to the Cleveland campaign rally, Cindy Jaquith outlined the campaign's perspectives for involving youth.

Plans include organizing chapters of the YSJP on campuses and in high schools throughout the country to arrange meetings and debates for the candidates, lead struggles for the rights of high school students to bring socialist candidates into their schools, and publish truth kits on all of the major capitalist candidates to expose their lies and win young people to the socialist campaign.

A special focus of YSJP activity, Jaquith pointed out, will be political confrontations with any of the capitalist candidates who attempt to solicit support on the campuses. Young SWP campaign supporters will be on the campuses to meet them, and force them to publicly declare their positions on major issues of the day.

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be utilizing the facilities of the universities and high schools to build the socialist campaign, and challenging all restrictions on political activity in these schools. In addition, young campaign supporters will be involved in the subscription drive to obtain 30,000 new readers to *The Militant*, the newspaper which will be campaigning for the socialist ticket week after week.

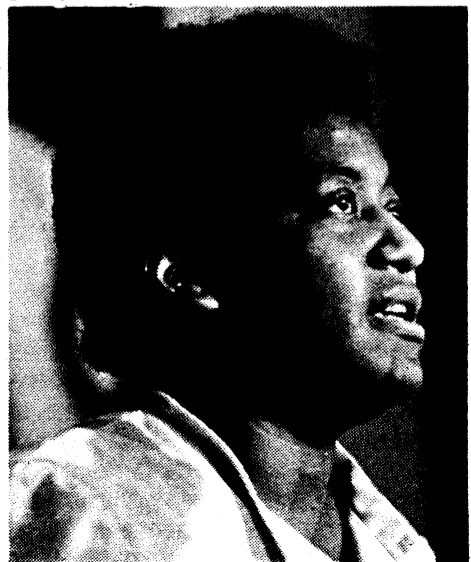
An ambitious struggle to get the presidential ticket and local candidates on the ballot in as many states as possible is a central part of the SWP's 1972 campaign perspective. The candidates are confident of gaining ballot status in more states than ever before. Campaign organizers plan to file for ballot status in over half of the 50 states. (The SWP was on the ballot in 19 states in 1968, 11 in 1964 and 12 in 1960.)

Candidates Jenness and Pulley support the efforts of the newly formed Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) in pressing legal challenges against the undemocratic and unconstitutional election laws which currently exist in a large number of states.

The irrepressible spirit of the Socialist Workers Party campaign was succinctly articulated by vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, in his speech to the August 12 Cleveland rally.

"Our party is the only party that stands without fail on the side of all oppressed social groups that are beginning to fight for their rights. We say to women, to Blacks, to Chicanos, to students, to workers: 'Don't rely on the Democrats and the Republicans, don't rely on anyone else. Build your own movement, build your own power to get what you want.'"

"Wherever there is oppression, and whenever people are fighting it, our party is on their side."



Marge Sloan

Photo by Howard Petrick

LINDA JENNESS FOR PRESIDENT

The following is the speech given by Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president, at the campaign kick-off rally in the Sheraton-Hilton Hotel in Cleveland on Aug. 12.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Linda Jenness

There is a rumor going around that I was nominated as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party as part of our "Southern strategy" for 1972. It's true that we have a "Southern strategy." Our strategy is to get the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. And our strategy is to bring legal suits against Arkansas, Georgia, Washington, D.C., North Carolina and Oklahoma because of their undemocratic and unconstitutional election laws, and then get on the ballot in those states too. Our "Southern strategy" is to help build massive antiwar demonstrations in Atlanta, Houston and Tampa on Nov. 6. In fact, unlike Nixon, and unlike the Democratic Party, our strategy for the Southern states is the same as our strategy from coast to coast.

When I was campaigning in Georgia, I was often asked, "Are you really running a serious campaign?"

My answer was always an emphatic "Yes." I seriously believe that I could do a better job in the White House than Nixon, Agnew, McGovern, Muskie or any other capitalist politician—and frankly, I think very few people would argue that point! Not only have they made a total mess out of this society, but they have lied and deceived the American people in an attempt to cover up their mess. But it's hard to cover up war, inflation, unemployment, deteriorating cities, and poverty.

Stop the lies!

One of the first things I would do as president of the United States is stop the lies! In fact, I would write a memorandum to all the employees, clerks, secretaries, and custodial help at the Pentagon and the State Department and ask them to rummage around and find all the secret docu-

ments and secret deals that these capitalists have made. They would be published for everyone to read. We would organize a truth squad that would make even the disclosures of Nader's Raiders pale by comparison.

There are a lot of things I would do the first day in office, but just so there's no mistake about it, let me guarantee you that the very first hour I was in office I would send every plane and every ship we have to Vietnam to bring the troops home. And it wouldn't take six months, or even one month! On April 24 the antiwar movement got 500,000 people in and out of Washington in one day, just in trains, buses and cars. So I'm sure that with all the resources of America, I could get half that many troops out of Vietnam in the same amount of time!

The capitalists in this country *have* to lie, because if the American people knew the truth they wouldn't stand for it. What if the capitalists told the truth about their program? What if they campaigned on their real platform of murdering people in Vietnam, exploiting the labor of Black people and Chicanos, beating women into submission, letting old people die in poverty and misery, and robbing working people to make a few men rich? Nobody would vote for them. They keep themselves in power by lying. We are going to get them out of power by telling the truth!

My campaign will be very serious. We are speaking for the majority of people in this country, who are against the war; we are speaking for the majority of women, who want the abortion laws repealed; we are speaking for the majority of high school and college students, who want to control their own education; for the majority of Black and Brown Americans, who want to control their own communities; for the majority of working people, whose standard of living is being eaten away by inflation and unemployment; for the gay people, who are refusing to bow to reactionary laws.

The Socialist Workers campaign is going to every state in the union this year, including Hawaii and Alaska. We are going to go to the prisons, to the military bases, to the factories, to union meetings, to the high schools and the campuses, to the communities, because these are the people who are going to change this society. And our campaign is the campaign that will change American politics.

We are deadly serious about this campaign. Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, we are not playing with people, manipulating them, running a Madison Avenue campaign. We are running on the only program that can seriously begin to solve the life and death problems facing the American people.

Is socialism realistic?

I ran into people in my campaigns in Georgia who asked: "Well, it sounds nice, but do you think socialism is a realistic alternative for the United States?"

There is nothing more irrational or unrealistic than capitalism. This country has enough money, resources, and scientific ability to more than meet the needs of every single citizen—and yet millions of Americans are forced into substandard housing, substandard schools, and have no medical care. This government pays farmers not to farm, while hundreds of thousands of Americans and millions of people around the world go hungry. Do you know that last year the government gave John Wayne over \$800,000 and Senator Eastland from

the American people knew the truth they wouldn't stand for it. going to going to get them out of power by telling the truth!"
--Linda Jenness

Mississippi about \$160,000 not to farm their land? This government subsidizes Lockheed Aircraft Company, as well as some tobacco companies, and yet can't find enough money to provide for people on welfare. There is welfare for the rich, but not for the poor. Millions of people are unemployed and idle while we need new housing, hospitals, child-care centers, parks, and schools.

All the priorities are reversed. Our scientific achievements include sending men to the moon, but we haven't developed a safe birth-control method. Scientists can transplant lungs, but the air we breathe destroys all our lungs. The government builds elaborate new highways, yet there is no place for old people to live comfortably. Mitchell and Hoover scream about law and order, but the government lets the real criminals go free and throws the victims in jail.

Is it unrealistic to demand an end to the war right now? The majority of Americans find it very realistic—only Nixon finds it unrealistic. Is it utopian to demand that women have the right to choose if and when to have children? The majority of women don't think it utopian—only the men who run this country find it utopian. Is it absurd to demand that Black and Brown Americans control their own lives and their own communities? The majority of Black and Brown people find it quite reasonable—only the politicians find it unreasonable. Is it unreasonable to demand that the lives and needs of all Americans take priority over death and destruction? Only the capitalists seem to think so.

There is nothing rational about this system, and it is totally unrealistic to think it can or will continue. The Democrats and Republicans offer no solution to these problems—and they are dreaming if they think people will sit idly by and not seek solutions themselves. It is the Democrats and Republicans who are unrealistic to think people in this country are going to continue to put up with them.

Socialism is a very unreasonable alternative for big businessmen, bankers, millionaires, and capitalist politicians—and I would frankly advise those people not to vote for me; it would not be in their interest to do so. But for everyone else, it is not only realistic, but absolutely necessary.

There's one final question that I would like to answer tonight, and that's the question, "Is it worth it? Is it worth joining in the battle?"

I think it is. Just look at our alternative. The alternative to fighting for change is accepting the status quo. And accepting the status quo doesn't just mean accepting the miserable qualities of life today, the hypocritical moral standards, the warped values of Hollywood and Madison Avenue; but it means accepting the fact that things are getting worse! The capitalists have created a situation where nuclear holocaust and environmental destruction are very real threats to all of humanity. And accepting that is the only alternative to fighting for a better society! And there's another thing about accepting the status quo—by accepting it you become part of it. The only way to survive as an individual with integrity and pride is by struggling.

We are not fighting for another post, for a \$200,000-a-year job, to wheel and deal, or to try to patch up this society. We are fighting for a better world—and that's the difference between a socialist politician and a capitalist politician.

It's worth the fight because we have

a vision of the future that we know is possible. As we fight as women for our liberation, we get a glimpse of what women will be like when we're not beaten down from the time we're born. As Black people organize and fight, we get a glimpse of what it will mean to walk Black and proud one day. As Chicanos fight, we get a glimpse of what a person's own culture and history can mean. Through all the struggles, we get a glimpse of human solidarity. We get a glimpse of human dignity. It's by struggling that we get that glimpse, and that alone would make the struggle worth it. That's the reason why I know that all of you will accept the challenge that this presidential campaign represents for the socialist movement, and it's for that same reason that I accept the nomination.

ANDREW PULLEY FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

The following are major excerpts from the speech given by Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice president, at the campaign kick-off rally in the Sheraton-Hilton Hotel in Cleveland on Aug. 12.

In the last year or so our party has won broad new support, wide respect and many new members. Our party is the only party that stands without fail on the side of all oppressed social groups that are beginning to fight for their rights. Wherever there is oppression, and wherever people are fighting it, our party is on their side. Our party has won tremendous respect because we fight for the independence of all the movements underway. We say to women, to Blacks, to Chicanos, to students, to workers: "Don't rely on the Democrats and Republicans, don't rely on anyone else. Build your own movement, build your own power to get what you want."

The Socialist Workers Party has won support and admiration because we aren't afraid to get into action and get our hands dirty working. Our members are activists, speakers, organizers, parade marshals, writers, envelope stuffers, travelers, and everything else needed to build the mass movements. We know how to organize and do it right. We have shown *in action* how socialists should participate in and lead the mass movements.

It is a great pleasure to accept the nomination to run for vice-president, not because of any prestige that has, but because of the meaning of the Socialist Workers Party's 1972 campaign. This will be a campaign of action that will confront the capitalist politicians on every issue.

Campaign of action

Since the 1968 presidential campaign, we have seen the development of the women's liberation movement. This movement has the potential to mobilize 53 percent of the population in mass action to gain control of their own lives.

Women have focused their demand on repealing all the antiabortion laws. Women, and women alone, have the sole right to decide whether or not to bear children. That right doesn't belong to Nixon, McGovern, or to any other man.

More than 1,000 women recently met in New York and launched a national campaign for the repeal of the sexist abortion laws. They called for mass demonstrations of women in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco on Nov. 20. These demonstrations will be an important step toward achieving total liberation. . . . The Socialist Workers Party has been and will continue to be among the best builders of this movement.

In the antiwar movement, since its inception, the Socialist Workers Party has demanded total, unconditional, and immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, and now from Southeast Asia. By mobilizing masses of people in the streets, independent

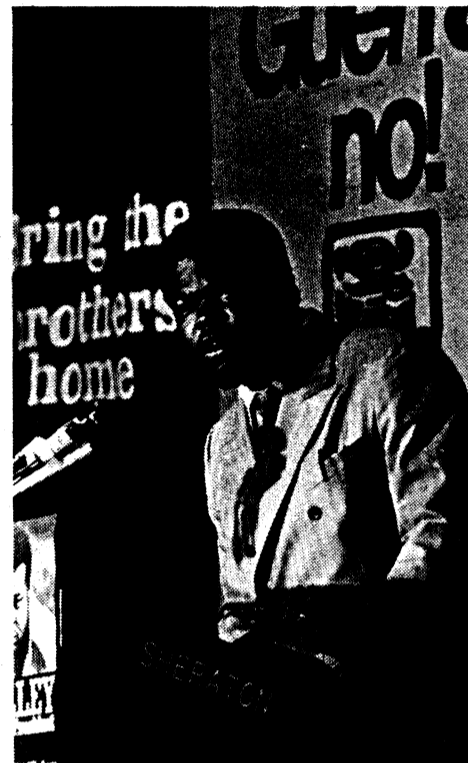


Photo by Brian Shannon

Andrew Pulley

of the Democratic and Republican parties, the antiwar movement has won the support of the overwhelming majority of Americans. We will not give an ounce of credence to the imperialists, who claim that they have a right to be in Southeast Asia, by asking Nixon or any other capitalist president to "set a date"—a future date for withdrawal.

The massive demonstrations on April 24 articulated the demand of the American people. Out now! Not in six months or a year, but *now!* The actions planned for Nov. 6 have the potential of repeating the success of April 24 in cities across the country.

The Pentagon documents revealed to the people of this country that lies and deceit have gone hand in hand with the implementation of Washington's master plan for Southeast Asia. Vietnam is not an aberration, not a "mistake." It is naked imperialism, the same imperialism that is working to deny the Palestinian Arabs their self-determination, that is fomenting counterrevolution in Latin America, in Africa, and in Europe too. The Pentagon documents also confirm what we socialists have been saying for years, that there is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. The Vietnam war was planned and escalated by both the Democrats and Republicans, and the American people were lied to and deceived by both of these parties.

Large numbers of Black Americans are being mobilized in the antiwar movement and the Socialist Workers Party has been instrumental in this development. The absence of an independent mass Black political party has allowed the Democratic and Republican parties to keep a hold on the Black communities. They have used Black capitalist politicians to get votes, while the conditions in educa-

tion, housing and employment continue to deteriorate.

A duck egg

I would like to quote Malcolm X on capitalism and the Democratic and Republican parties. Malcolm said: "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or Republican because both of them have sold us out." "A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. It can't do it. It can only produce according to what it was constructed to produce. The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American."

But politicians like Carl Stokes and Ron Dellums are still pleading with that chicken trying to get a duck egg! Black liberation cannot be achieved through the Democratic and Republican parties. . . . I also want to add that the rise of Black feminism today is a powerful shot in the arm for the whole Black movement. Black women will play a leading role both in the feminist movement and in the struggle for Black liberation.

The Chicano movement is growing at a rapid pace. The Chicano Moratorium, which mobilized 30,000 Chicanos in an antiwar action, demonstrates how oppressed nationalities can move against the war. Just recently, the national Chicano conference, which met in Denver, projected mass antiwar Chicano actions on Sept. 16.

The Raza Unida parties are playing an important role in the struggle for Chicano liberation. They have broken with the Democratic and Republican parties and are pointing the way for all the oppressed nationalities. The SWP supports and helps build this movement, and we call for Chicano control of the Chicano community.

The SWP supports and defends the rights of all of the oppressed—GIs, gay people, and all others who are fighting the reactionary laws against them. The defense of Angela Davis, and all others under attack by the government for their role in the mass movement, is a basic part of our political program. . . .

One very important victory has just been won for both the antiwar and GI movement. The Army has just dropped charges against Ed Jurenas. Ed Jurenas is a socialist antiwar GI who was attacked by the brass for organizing against the war at Ft. Greeley, Alaska, and helping to publish the newspaper, the *Arctic Arsenal*.

Wage-price controls

Now we see cracks in the labor movement. In spite of the bankrupt reformist and in some cases outright reactionary leadership, large numbers of trade unionists are joining and playing a significant role in the antiwar movement. Many strikes have occurred over the last year, as inflation continues to eat up the real earnings of workers. I think the workers will continue to refuse to pay for the war, which some of them are beginning to refer to as "a rich man's war."

Now the politicians like McGovern are trying to whip up support for so-called "wage-price" controls. They blame the workers, who are fighting to stop the erosion of their real wages, for inflation. A party of labor based on the trade unions will be a great step in the direction of really defending the interests of the working class.

The students continue to be an important part of this radicalization. They have mounted the most aggressive campaign and actions against the war yet. The massive student strikes of May 1970 were just a glimpse of what is yet to come. Students all over the United States are grasping the les-

sons of mass independent action. The capitalist politicians will try to keep them out of the streets, but they will stay in the streets. And we'll be right there with them and will win large numbers to our ranks. . . . The record speaks for itself—we are the best builders of that movement.

In the prisons, revolts are an almost daily occurrence. Prisoners are demanding a taste of the freedom that is so frequently talked about by the Democratic and Republican politicians. Some examples of the prison conditions: A Jan. 2 *New York Times* article said that according to the Federal Census Bureau, "53 percent of the prisoners haven't been convicted of any crime." Four jails still in use today were built before the inauguration of George Washington. Still in operation today are 500 jails built in the nineteenth century, and six built in the eighteenth century—the oldest of which was built in Albemarle County, Va., in 1703.

I think the capitalist politicians should voluntarily switch places with the prisoners for the countless numbers of crimes they have committed—Vietnam, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki just to name a few.

I, like many politicians nowadays, have been before the courts and have been to jail. However, unlike the crooks of the Democratic and Republican parties who were caught stealing funds and bribing people, my crime was building the GI antiwar movement.

Eugene Debs once said: "Socialism and prisons are antagonistic terms." The coming socialist revolution will be the key that will unlock the prison doors!

No Black American would dare cast a vote for the KKK, in fact no sane human being would do such a thing. Well, the KKK used to be an auxiliary body of the Democratic Party. The KKK was never big enough to pull off any Vietnam or Hiroshima or Nagasaki—but the Democratic and Republican parties have. And they will do it again if we don't stop them!

The oppression of the national minorities, women, and working people in general can't be ended so long as private ownership of the means of production prevails. Through the mass actions of all the oppressed people, we'll be able to democratize society, by snatching the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and into the hands of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

Not a single vote for the criminals of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, regardless of their rhetoric about peace! Vote Socialist Workers in 1972! Build the mass movements!

YOUNG SOCIALISTS FOR JENNESS & PULLEY

The following are major excerpts from the speech given by Cindy Jaquith, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and National Coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, at the campaign kickoff rally in Cleveland on Aug. 12. There is a lot of talk today about which way the 25 million new young voters are going to go in the 1972 elections. In Amherst, Mass., where the student population outnumbered the local registered voters by more than three to one, a longtime town official

had the following to say:

"If they're going to vote here we ought to bring back the poll tax . . . I've gotten elected for 27 years without campaigning. If I had competition, I'd have to get out and campaign."

For once, a government official is right—this won't be an election where political issues are swept under the rug. This election is going to be one where young voters, whose entire lives have been influenced by the Korean war, the civil rights movement, the Cuban missile crisis, the war in Southeast Asia, the Black and Chicano nationalist movements, and the women's liberation movement, are going to have something to say.

This election campaign is going to be a battle—between us and the Democrats and Republicans—for the allegiance of young people in this country. We're going to compete with the capitalist candidates to win as many young people as possible to a total break with capitalist politics.

The program we offer is the program that young people are fighting for on the campuses, in the communities, in the high schools, and in the Army. We're fighting together for an end to the war, for the right of women to legal abortions, equal pay and child-care centers, for Black and Brown control of the Black and Brown communities, and for constitutional rights for high school students and GIs.

And what are the Democrats and Republicans offering young voters? Nothing but the same policies we have been marching *against*.

Some of the capitalist candidates will pose as "peace candidates," as Eugene McCarthy did in 1968. Laced with rhetoric about reforming the Democratic Party and dumping Nixon, their theme will be "work within the system and stay out of the streets."

We have a totally different conception of what is needed. We think this whole system, and the parties who run it, are rotten to the core. We think that in order to fight this system we have to remain independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

Because young people are leading the mass movements for social change in this country, the rulers of this country are searching for maneuvers to blunt their power. That's why they

44% in poll support young candidates

The following item appeared in the "Sound Off" column of the Aug. 16 *Detroit Free Press*, four days after the Socialist Workers Party announced its 1972 presidential campaign:

THE QUESTION

The Socialist Workers Party wants to lower the minimum age of 35 for a presidential candidate. Are you in favor of such a proposal?

HOW YOU VOTED

No, 55.8 percent. Comments: "Very few people under 35 are mature enough to run this country" . . . "Experience is gained with age" . . . "The Socialists are as bad as the Communists" . . . "Presidents do bad enough with maturity" . . . "This country is too big to be run by somebody without maturity and experience."

Yes, 44.2 percent. Comments: "Fine, as long as we get all candidates out by 55" . . . "Age is not necessarily a sign of maturity" . . . "A younger candidate would probably have a lot more energy than an older one" . . . "Young people are better educated today than they were when the Constitution was written."

passed the 26th Amendment—not because they agree that young people have a right to make decisions about their lives, but because they hope to corral large numbers of young people back into the two-party system. But winning the 18-year-old vote is a big victory—it extends a basic democratic right to a vital sector of the population and it demonstrates the impact young people have on American politics. . . .

That's why the Democrats and Republicans are now talking about taking away the right of young people to vote in the cities where they attend school.

We're going to be in the forefront of the fight for full voting rights for eligible students in the upcoming elections. Now that the 18-year-old vote has been won, we want to serve notice: We're not going to stop there! What about all the people under 18 who have to fight for high school rights, who are unemployed, who can't get legal abortions? They should be able to vote too! The excuse that young people lack the necessary maturity and experience to make political judgments just doesn't hold water.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party do not meet the constitution's age limit for serving as president and vice-president. They are under 35. This ludicrous and undemocratic requirement should be removed. We think that the fact that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are young is an argument in their favor. It's an asset, not a liability, to be under 35. And if you just examine American history, there are many examples of leading figures who played crucial roles in history before they were 35. Thomas Jefferson was 33 when he signed the Declaration of Independence. Nathan Hale was only 21 when he gave up his life for the American Revolution. Harriet Tubman was in her twenties when she became a conductor for the Underground Railroad.

The same is true today. Young people are leading the popular struggle for an end to the war. Young Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities are fighting to win the demands of their communities. Young women are spearheading the battle for legal abortion. In the Army, young draftees are challenging this government's policies in Southeast Asia. And young workers are the ones rebelling in the trade unions and fighting for the rights of all working people.

The fact is that the issues raised by young people *are* the real center of American politics today. And because of this, the capitalist candidates will be compelled to set foot on the campuses during this election. We will be waiting for them there, and we will force them to take a stand on the real questions facing the American people. . . .

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be arranging meetings and debates for the SWP candidates all over the country—from Tallahassee,

government thinks we're old enough. . . .

We're going to get out millions of pieces of campaign literature to young people all across this country. We're going to sell millions of copies of *The Militant*, the newspaper of the socialist campaign.

In other words, we're going to be a lot busier than the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans. And we won't be closing up shop in November 1972. Our campaign is an ongoing fight. . . .

In 1968, there was a lot of talk about the Dump Johnson campaign. Now there is discussion of a youth movement to Dump Nixon. Well, we were for dumping LBJ, and we are certainly for dumping Nixon—but that's only part of it. We want to dump the whole Republican and Democratic parties—and the decadent society they preserve.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

I would like more information on the Socialist Workers Campaign.

I would like to help organize a meeting for a candidate.

Enclosed is a donation of \$

I endorse the Jenness and Pulley ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

Send me 10 weeks of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the socialist campaign. Enclosed is \$1.

FOUR-PAGE MILITANT CAMPAIGN SUPPLEMENT: 100 for \$1.50; 500 for \$6.

POSTERS: Linda Jenness for president, 35 cents; Andrew Pulley for vice-president, 35 cents; Eugene V. Debs, \$1.

BROCHURES: Bring All the Troops Home Now, Women's Liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Socialist Workers Platform. (\$2 for 200.)

BUTTONS: Picture button—Linda Jenness, 35 cents; picture button—Andrew Pulley, 35 cents (Special prices on bulk orders).

T-SHIRTS: Vote Socialist Workers '72 (wide assortment of colors) \$4 each, \$3.75 each for more than 10. In small, medium and large.

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By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS—All nine members of one of this city's most prominent radical organizations have joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

The nine activists are members of the People's Press, a group with roots in the women's liberation movement and the Minneapolis New Left. With their own offices in south Minneapolis, the People's Press does offset printing for most movement organizations in the Twin Cities.

The People's Press activists decided to join the YSA after surveying the various radical organizations on the American left and after extensive discussions with local YSA activists.

"We considered ourselves revolutionary communists," John Lemon, a member of People's Press, says, "and the logic of that was to be in a revolutionary communist organization."

Becky Finch, a well-known figure in Minneapolis radical circles and an early activist here in the women's liberation movement, says that the People's Press examined the various political options open to them. "When it came right down to it," she says, "the only people who were doing anything to build the mass movements were the YSA and SWP."

Joining the YSA were:

Marty Anderson—A former member of the Minnesota Student Union, a city-wide high school organization.

Betsy Farley—Also a former member of the Minnesota Student Union. She was an activist in the Red Brick Women's Collective.

Becky Finch—An antipoverty organizer, Finch later was Minneapolis organizer for the SCLC Poor People's Campaign. A member of the Red Brick Women's Collective, she helped launch *North Country Press*, a city-wide underground newspaper, in the fall of 1970.

Louise Halverson—One of the founders of a women's liberation group at Macalester College in St. Paul, Halverson was a member of the Red Brick Women's Collective.

John Lemon—A high school student organizer and later a student at Cornell University, Lemon was a member of the now-defunct Bobby Seale Brigade in Minneapolis. He worked with the *North Country Press* before joining People's Press.

Marvin Johnson—Johnson was a member of SDS before the 1969 split. He helped set up a free university at Minnesota's Mankato State and lived in a commune prior to joining People's Press.

Chris Rayson—A former student at Grinnell College in Iowa, Rayson was radicalized there.

Dennis Richter—A dropout from North Dakota State, Richter with several others set up a community house in Minneapolis that ran a free breakfast program. He once refused induction into the Army.

Jane Van Deusen—Van Deusen once taught school in a Black housing project in Chicago, then joined VISTA and got involved in the antiwar movement. Later, while working as a nurse, she became active in women's liberation.

In the summer of 1970, four of the nine visited Cuba as part of the Venceremos Brigade.

It was a telephone call in April by Socialist Workers Party member Joe Vass that started the People's Press members thinking about the YSA and SWP. Vass was organizing the SWP's local mayoral race. "Joe wanted the People's Press to endorse the campaign," Marvin Johnson recalls. "We sat down with him and talked to him about it."

Really serious

The collective voted not to endorse the campaign, but began reading YSA literature more carefully—particularly the YSA program on women's libera-

tion adopted at the last YSA national convention. The nine had begun to pick up YSA literature, Finch says, along with writings by other radicals, in order to write their own women's liberation materials for distribution in Minneapolis.

"Our plan," says Finch, "was to incorporate the best from the different groups."

"Meanwhile," Finch continues, "a discussion was going on inside our own group over the need for a revolutionary party—a revolutionary-socialist

has totally rejected Marxism, Leninism, and Trotskyism. They dismiss it by saying, 'Who knows what form the American revolution will take.' They're always looking for new forms of organization and never going through any logical analysis for making a political program."

Jane Van Deusen approved of the YSA's program for women's liberation. "People in the YSA had a lot they could teach me about women's liberation and the antiwar movement," she says. "And it has a structure that

and discussions, Anderson scrapped some of his notions about mass actions.

"The idea I always had before," he says, "was that as more and more people participate in the same types of actions, the antiwar movement sort of becomes the 'in' thing to do and is no longer radical and therefore loses its effectiveness."

YSA members, he says, argued persuasively that mass protests are an essential vehicle in mobilizing against the war. "Those protests, I now see, are actually manifestations of a mass radicalization," Anderson says, "and not a co-optation at all."

Louise Halverson also was struck by the organization's seriousness. "People don't join the YSA to fulfill their personal needs," she says. "They join for common goals. And your comrades are comrades because of political agreement."

For Chris Rayson, it was the YSA's optimism about the coming American revolution that made an indelible impression. "They have faith in the masses to bring about the revolution," Rayson explains. "Most of the mistakes that the ultralefts like PL and the Workers League make is that they lack this faith. And that's the reason for their emotionalism and their lack of analysis and their schematism and inability to work with anyone they don't consider purely revolutionary."

Betsy Farley marched in her first antiwar demonstration five years ago—at age 13. The tide of events, her own political associations and activities, and a trip to Cuba had moved her further and further to the left. Like the others, she was searching for a revolutionary organization when she ran across the YSA and SWP. "Here was this party," says Farley, "that we agreed with right down the line except for a few differences and misconceptions."

In the course of the discussions, the differences and misconceptions were cleared up.

"We were also attracted by the leadership of the organization," says Finch. "That played a big role in our decision to join. People aren't in leadership positions in the YSA because of an ego thing—they're leaders because they're good and they're capable of being leaders—and we're trying to train a whole organization of leaders, a collective leadership."

Not surprisingly, the members of People's Press have little hesitation about encouraging others to make the same decision they've made and join the YSA. "I'd urge all people who consider themselves serious revolutionaries to think about joining the YSA," says Lemon.

"It is the best group to be in," Van Deusen acknowledges.

Most important for the new YSA members is a belief that the American socialist revolution is going to take place.

"It's going to happen for sure," says Betsy Farley.

Jane Van Deusen agrees. "When the objective conditions are ripe, we'll be there," she says, "and we'll be ready."

A Militant Interview

Minneapolis collective joins the YSA



People's Press collective

organization. Before starting our own party, we wanted to look around and see what already existed. And the only thing that was around to look at was the YSA and SWP."

Finch elaborated. "There's a Communist Party in this town," she observes. "And Progressive Labor is also here. But PL spent more time going around attacking the movement than the capitalists and the CP wasn't doing anything, so we had to look at the YSA."

John Lemon, a Cornell dropout whose experience has given him a chance to view most of the radical tendencies in the U. S., examined the YSA and liked what he saw.

"It was the seriousness of the YSA—that's what impressed me the most," says Lemon. "They were really serious about building revolution in this country. They weren't just armchair revolutionaries, and they're really the only group that I've come across that's that way."

Lemon liked the program, approved of the democratic centralist nature of the organization and the division of labor "so that each person's capabilities are utilized to the utmost," as he puts it.

"It also had a history," Lemon says, "and it wasn't afraid to learn from history and the experience of past revolutionaries. A lot of the New Left

helps you to be the best possible revolutionary."

Marty Anderson discussed his decision to join.

"The thing that really convinced me was a book called *Socialism on Trial*," he says. The book is by James P. Cannon, a founder of the Socialist Workers Party. "That book convinced me that the YSA was really working at what had to be done," Anderson continues, "that it really had revolutionary potential."

Mass action

In the course of his own reading

You belong in the YSA

If you support the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and the struggles for Black and Brown self-determination--if you support the Cuban and Arab revolutions--if you support the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China--if you want a socialist America--then you belong in the **YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE**.

() I want to join the YSA. () I would like more information.

() Enclosed is .75 for "Introduction to the YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE."

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y., 10003

1,100 attend Socialist Workers Party national convention



Photo by Walter Lippmann

By CAROLINE LUND

Over eleven hundred delegates and visitors attended the twenty-fourth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland Aug. 8-12. This convention marked a new stage in the growth of the SWP both in size and influence, as well as a new stage in the SWP's understanding of the significance and dynamics of the current radicalization in this country.

The SWP was able to achieve such a full and rich analysis of the new radicalization at this convention on the basis of active participation in the new movements for social change that have arisen since 1960. From this analysis, the convention projected a number of campaigns to continue building both the mass movements and the socialist movement.

The major decisions of the convention included full support and participation in the two mass-action campaigns planned for the fall—the massive antiwar offensive culminating in demonstrations on Nov. 6, and the campaign for repeal of antiabortion laws to culminate in demonstrations Nov. 20. The convention voted to launch the biggest socialist election campaign ever waged by the SWP, for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president in 1972. And, in addition, delegates decided to support *The Militant's* goal of obtaining 30,000 new subscribers before Dec. 1—the largest subscription drive in the history of the paper.

One theme that ran through the convention deliberations was that of the sharpening crisis of capitalism not only in this country but internationally. The increasing frequency of wars and revolutionary upsurges around the world, plus the deterioration of living conditions in the advanced capitalist countries, has highlighted the urgent need for socialism. The spirit of the convention reflected enthusiasm for building the movements of mass struggle, as well as for building the revolutionary-socialist movement and getting out the perspective of a socialist future. The discussions by the delegates reflected a confidence that the SWP is going to experience even more spectacular growth in the future, with the further deepening of the radicalization and the SWP's participation in it.

The rapid growth of the Socialist Workers Party was reflected in the fact that this year's convention was almost double the size of the previous convention in 1969, which was attended by 660 delegates and guests. Another sign of growth were the delegations from the five new SWP branches formed since the last convention in Washington, D.C., Houston, Denver, and the Brooklyn and Upper West Side Manhattan branches in New York City.

The convention was the culmination of a three-month period of intense political discussion. All members of the SWP had the opportunity to contribute articles and resolutions on any topic to the SWP internal discussion bulletin, and weekly discussions and debates were organized in each SWP branch during this period. The depth and uniqueness of the current radicalization were underscored by the record number of internal discussion articles and hours of preconvention discussion.

Several minorities presented views opposing the political perspectives embodied in the resolutions proposed by the outgoing national committee and political committee. These minorities raised alternative analyses regarding the Middle East, the SWP's general orientation toward the current radicalization, tactics toward the trade unions, and questions regarding the women's liberation movement. The largest of these minorities was represented by six delegates out of a total of 113.

Each branch voted on the various resolutions and selected delegates on the basis of the number who voted for the different political perspectives. The delegates from all around the country then held a discussion among themselves at the convention, attempting to convince each other of their views. When the vote was held on the resolutions, over 100 delegates—the overwhelming majority—voted for the perspectives projected in the resolutions and reports by the outgoing national committee and political committee.

The convention opened with a discussion of the international political situation based on a report by Joseph Hansen for the SWP political committee. Hansen is editor of *Intercontinental Press*, a Marxist press service on international events.

The report by Hansen, which was adopted by the con-

vention, underlined the importance of the Vietnam war in creating a new political situation in the United States and a new relationship of forces on a world scale between imperialism and the world revolution. After six years, the Vietnam war has resulted in a sharpening crisis of world capitalism. The imperialist rulers, most notably in the United States, are being forced to turn their attention inward to try to extract more profits from the working class and to deal with domestic class struggles.

The struggle to defend the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination has inspired what Hansen called the "new internationalism," especially among the youth. The antiwar movement, the student movement, the growing women's liberation movement and struggles of oppressed nationalities have all spread around the world, learning from experiences in other countries and building international solidarity in struggle.

The other main topic dealt with in Hansen's report was the meaning of Nixon's approaches to China. He noted the two sides of this development. On the one hand, U.S. recognition of China is an admission of the U.S. failure to crush the Vietnamese revolution and also an admission of the development of China into a world power due to the strengths of its planned economy.

On the other hand, he pointed out that China, which adheres to the narrow, nationalist concept of building "socialism in one country"—a policy that subordinates the world revolution to the interests of the Chinese bureaucracy—may be willing to throw its weight behind a Korean-type settlement of the war in Indochina. Why else is Mao carrying on *secret* diplomacy with Nixon? China's role in aiding the crushing of revolutionary upsurges in Ceylon and Bangla Desh has demonstrated to the American imperialists how far Mao is willing to go in selling out the world revolution.

Hansen noted the underlying explosiveness of the international situation, the shortening intervals between sudden social upheavals such as in Bangla Desh, and the acute need to close the gap between these mass-struggle forces and the small revolutionary-socialist leadership forces on a world scale.

Following the discussion and vote on Hansen's report, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Militant*, reported on the growth and current status of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The Socialist Workers Party is prevented from affiliating to the Fourth International by reactionary legislation in this country, but the SWP is in fraternal solidarity with it. During the convention, messages of solidarity were received from sections and supporters of the Fourth International around the world, including the International Communist Group in Mexico, the International Communist Groups in Italy, the Socialist Action League in New Zealand, the International Marxist Group in England, the League for Socialist Action—Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Canada, the Communist League in France, Pierre Frank from France, Hugo Blanco from Peru and Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-Lan, founding members of the Chinese Trotskyist movement.

Middle East

Gus Horowitz reported on the political committee draft resolution on the Middle East. The resolution and report explained the revolutionary dynamic of the struggle for Palestinian national liberation and the relationship of this struggle of an oppressed people to the struggle for socialism in the Middle East. Also stressed was the importance of people in the United States defending the Arab revolution through literature and public meetings, as well as by helping to build actions for "No U.S. Troops to the Middle East" in the case of any threat of U.S. intervention against the Palestinian liberation movement.

The general political situation in the United States was analyzed in the political resolution submitted by the outgoing national committee and reported on to the convention by Jack Barnes, national organizational secretary of the SWP. The resolution, approved by the convention, calls this radicalization "the biggest, deepest and broadest" radicalization ever in the United States. It notes the features of this radicalization that are unique in American politics: the depth of nationalist sentiment, which has spread from the Black communities to Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and Puerto Ricans; the new power of the

"The art of politics consists in knowing what to do next; that is, how to apply the program of Marxism to the specific situation of the day."

James P. Cannon

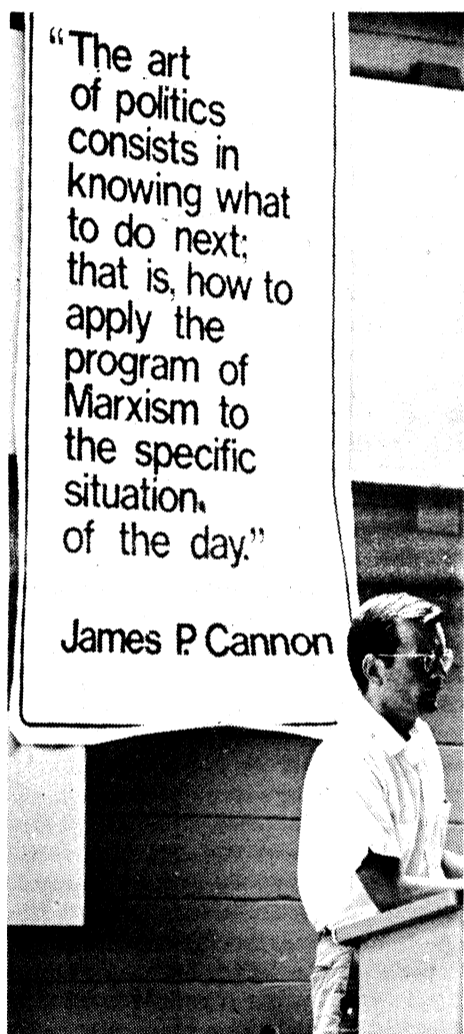


Photo by Walter Lippmann

Barry Sheppard presenting organization report.



Photo by Brian Shannon

student movement; the existence of a mass antiwar movement for the first time during an imperialist war; and the development of the women's liberation movement, which is unique in world history.

The resolution cites still other aspects of the radicalization that testify to its depth and widespread impact: the gay liberation movement, the growing rebellion in the prisons, radicalization in the churches, struggles by welfare mothers and the spread of the radicalization to high school, junior high and elementary school students.

However, there is an important objective contradiction between the depth of the radicalization today among young people, women, national minorities and other sectors on the one hand, and the lower level of combativity within the trade-union movement on the other. This gap will be bridged, the political resolution says, by a combination of two processes: first, the increasing penetration within the trade unions of the radical movements of today; and second, by the impact of the attacks on the trade unions and the living standards of the workers that the ruling class will of necessity be forced to make because of the sharpening international contradictions of the world capitalist system.

In his report, Barnes noted that the SWP has been the target of attacks by all other left groups in this country for supposedly turning its back on the working class and orienting toward what they all tend to call "middle-class movements," meaning the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, the student movement, and the Black nationalist and Chicano movements.

This distortion of Marxism was well answered by Barnes and other delegates, who pointed out that these movements are not "middle-class movements" but aspects of the working-class struggle. The task of a revolutionary party is to link up with and promote the class struggle on whatever level it is arising at a particular time.

Women's liberation

The resolution on women's liberation passed by the convention is the first resolution of the SWP on this movement. The central theme of the document is the need to build the feminist movement into a mass movement. It contains a set of democratic and transitional demands—most of which have arisen out of the women's movement itself—which the SWP feels will best be able to mobilize masses of women against their oppression and in the direction of a socialist revolution.

The women's liberation report to the convention by SWP political committee member Betsey Stone stressed the potential of the new national abortion repeal campaign to build the women's movement to an entirely new stage by involving masses of women. "We need to bridge the gap," she said, "between the large numbers of women who are refusing to accept the traditional female role, who are refusing to accept discrimination—and the smallness of the organized women's movement."

The resolution passed by the convention on the Chicano liberation struggle was also a first resolution on this movement by the SWP. Like the women's liberation resolution, it makes a contribution toward the elaboration of a program that can mobilize masses of La Raza in struggle. It also analyzes how U.S. imperialism—through its racist treatment of this people of Mexican and Indian descent—has forged a distinct, oppressed nationality—Chicanos—inside the borders of the United States.

The report to the convention on the Chicano movement was made by Antonio Camejo, a writer and activist in the Chicano movement. Camejo's report and the discussion stressed the importance of the development of La Raza Unida parties, the Chicano antiwar movement, and the growing Chicana women's movement.

Black liberation

The convention did not pass a new resolution on the Black liberation struggle, but reaffirmed the political perspective outlined in two previous SWP resolutions—the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation* and *The Case for a Black Political Party*. The convention discussed and approved a report by Derrick Morrison, *Militant* staff writer, on conjunctural developments in the Black nationalist movement in the past two years.

While Black nationalist consciousness has continued to spread and deepen, said Morrison—as evidenced in strug-



Photo by Dave Warren

gles on the part of Black GIs, Black prisoners, Black women, Black high school students, the Cairo, Ill. Black community, the fight to free Angela Davis and the re-emergence of Pan-Africanism—there is a continued crisis of leadership of the Black liberation struggle.

Morrison analyzed the decline of the Black Panther Party, the lack of leadership in the Black student movement, and the impact of funding by the government and big business in buying off many Black organizations. None of the groups or parties in the Black community have so far been able to develop a strategy for building a mass Black nationalist movement.

The convention decided to concentrate on building the Black women's movement through the national abortion law repeal campaign, building the Black antiwar movement and Black contingents in the fall antiwar demonstrations, and winning over the most conscious Black nationalist fighters to the socialist movement through the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

A panel discussion was held in the course of the convention on the work of the SWP to help build the antiwar movement and the fall antiwar mobilizations. Participants noted the increasing potential for involving people from all sectors of society through the various task forces of the National Peace Action Coalition.

A panel discussion on the trade-union work of the SWP had to be continued into a second session because of the large attendance and active participation. Reports were submitted by trade-union activists representing more than 20 unions, including the Steelworkers, Teachers, Auto Workers, Transportation, Communications Workers, Municipal Employees and some building trades.

The main problem stressed in all reports was the continuing growth of unemployment and inflation, a symptom of the economic crisis that besets the capitalist system.

The purpose of the panel discussion was to exchange information and develop and clarify the strategy of the SWP in the union movement. The SWP seeks to mobilize the organized workers around major political issues, not only economic issues, and eventually sees the union movement merging with the broad anticapitalist protest movements of today in a challenge to the ruling class power that is responsible for maintaining this social system and its evils.

The panel urged all branches of the SWP to initiate regular sales of *The Militant* and SWP campaign literature at plant gates and union meetings in the period ahead.

Cindy Jaquith, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, gave a report to the convention on the progress of the YSA, an independent socialist youth organization which is in political solidarity with the SWP. Jaquith said the YSA had set a goal of at least doubling its size in the course of the SWP 1972 presidential election campaign, through building support for the SWP candidates on campuses and high schools.

The organizational report, given by Barry Sheppard from the SWP political committee, outlined the new problems facing the SWP because of its growth—educating the membership in Marxism and Leninism, geographical expansion of the SWP to new cities, and the new financial needs for sustaining this growth.

This twenty-fourth national convention embodied one of the most fruitful and thorough discussions in the history of the SWP. It reflected the dramatic growth of the revolutionary-socialist movement in this country, the development of socialists who are in the leadership of the emerging mass movements of today and who are dedicating their lives to the struggle against this capitalist system. This solidification and growth of the SWP is in turn a reflection of the deepening crisis of capitalism.

As Jack Barnes said in a report to the SWP national committee plenum in March of this year: "The Cubans said in the *Second Declaration of Havana*, 'For this great mass of humanity has said "Enough!" and has begun to march.' That captures part of the spirit of this radicalization. There is no layer too oppressed, too prejudiced against, too repressed, too denigrated as an outcast by capitalist society to stand up, to assert their humanity and to demand that they be treated as fully human, that the quality of life they live be improved. This American capitalism cannot grant."

Socialist educational conference held at Oberlin

Following the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, a socialist educational conference was held at Oberlin College in Ohio, under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance. Some 1,000 socialist activists from all over the United States took part.

The lectures and discussions covered three general areas: international revolutionary developments, aspects of the current radicalization in the U.S., and history and theory of the Marxist movement.

International developments analyzed at the conference included the background of the crisis in Ireland and perspectives for the Irish revolution, dynamics of the revolution in the Mideast, the Quebec independence struggle, prospects for the French revolution, and the history of the British revolutionary-socialist movement.

The current radicalization was discussed in lectures on the history of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party and their response to the various movements that have arisen since the 1950s, as well as a history of the SWP's role in building the antiwar movement. Marxist author Evelyn Reed discussed some of the current debates within the women's liberation movement.

Theoretical subjects included Marxism and nationalism, the concept of the transitional program, popular frontism versus revolutionary socialism, basic Marxist economic theory, and the structure and organizational principles of the revolutionary party.

Historical subjects discussed at the conference included socialist electoral policy from the Eugene V. Debs campaigns to the 1970s and labor history and trends in the U.S.

Still another topic of discussion was the sexual revolution and the contributions of Wilhelm Reich to social theory.

The Socialist Educational Conference was the culmination of a full summer of socialist summer schools held by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance across the country.

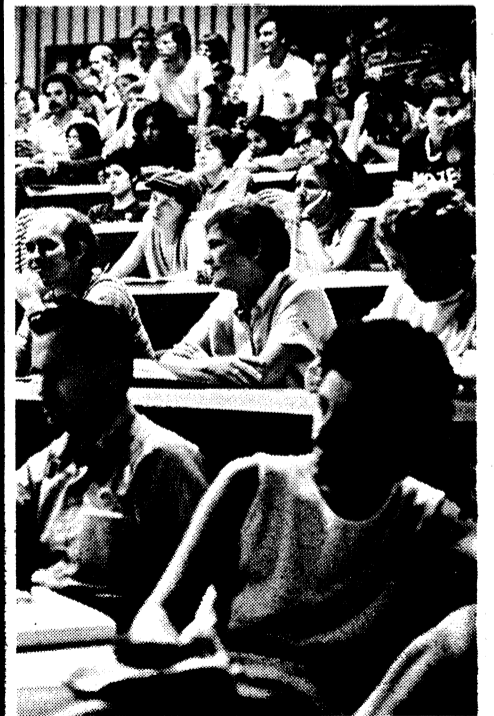


Photo by Howard Petrick

This is the second of four articles on current political and economic developments in Cuba. The first appeared in the Aug. 6 *Militant*, the last issue before we suspended publication for three weeks as part of our summer schedule.

By HARRY RING

On July 26, 1970, Fidel Castro made a noteworthy speech in which he publicly discussed some of the grave problems of the Cuban economy. In the year that has gone by since that speech there has been no claim of significant improvement in the situation, so it can be reasonably assumed that Fidel's general description applies today as well.

To convey something of the import of the facts offered by Fidel, I will provide some extracts from his speech.

- "Fresh milk output from January through May is 71.3 million quarts, a 25-percent decrease compared to the same period in 1969. . . . This decrease is the result of the limited number of installations and nonreplacement of dairies which were taken out of production, such as the old plain-thatched dairies. . . ."

- "Cement: The amount of available cement as of July is slightly over that for 1969, and 23 percent less than the figure for the same period in 1968 due to difficulties in the transportation of sand and the movement of the finished product.

- "Steel bars: Deliveries as of June were 38 percent under the figure for 1969 due to lack of transportation. On June 30 there were approximately 25,000 tons in the yards of the Antillana de Acero steel works. Nearly 60 percent of the first semester's production is still lying there in the steel plant's yard.

- "Fertilizers: This refers to the fertilizer that is mixed here. The production plan shows a 32 percent delay. . . . originated mainly by limitations in transportation of the finished product. . . ."

- "Electric power: Electric power output as of May was approximately 11 percent above that for the same period last year; at the same time there was a high increase of roughly 17 percent in maximum demand. . . . The resulting deficit in relation to maximum demand results in power interruptions—which will tend to become more frequent. . . ."

- "Tires and batteries: The tire production plan will fall short by . . . 50 percent. In addition, irregularities in the arrival of imported raw materials have obliged us to make changes in the formulas to the detriment of the finished product. . . . The production of batteries is also 33 percent . . . below the aggregate plans. . . ."

- "Fabrics and garments: As of June, there was a production lag of 16.3 million square meters. . . . The delays in garment manufacture are mainly in children's school clothes, men's underwear, sheets, pillow cases and dresswear. . . ."

- "Toothpaste: Eleven percent of the production plan has not been met, mainly due to a lack of aluminum tubes, because of the mobilization of workers in agricultural work. . . ."

- "Soaps and detergents: There is a 32-percent lag in the production plan, due to transportation problems abroad with raw materials. . . ."

- "Bread and crackers: In Havana, bread production is 6 percent below plan for the first semester of this year. . . . This is due to absenteeism, breakages in the bakeries and power shortages. Cracker production has been affected primarily by mobilizations for agricultural work. . . ."

In citing these somber statistics, Fidel emphasized that in addition to the unavoidable objective circumstances creating these problems, there were also significant subjective failures; that is, mistakes and failures by the leadership of the revolution. Explaining how the leadership was coming to realize its lack of knowledge in a whole

series of planning spheres, he declared: "I believe, that we, the leaders of this revolution, have cost the people too much in this process of learning."

He went on to cite some examples he had encountered in Santiago de Cuba of the high cost of bungling.

"There was," he said, "a 50,000-ton drop of the Titan Cement Factory because its storage areas were full, while in the city of Santiago de Cuba—as in other cities of the country—there was a tremendous demand for cement to repair homes.

who, at times in torn shoes and clothes, nevertheless keep up production?"

Elaborating on the theme of the need for mass participation in the decision-making process in an Aug. 23 speech of that year, Fidel stressed the need for maximum sacrifice by people of all levels. He added:

"And nobody should be surprised if any manifestation of privilege-taking should arouse the most profound indignation among the masses. This is but logical."

Cuba in '71

Retreat from fight for socialist democracy

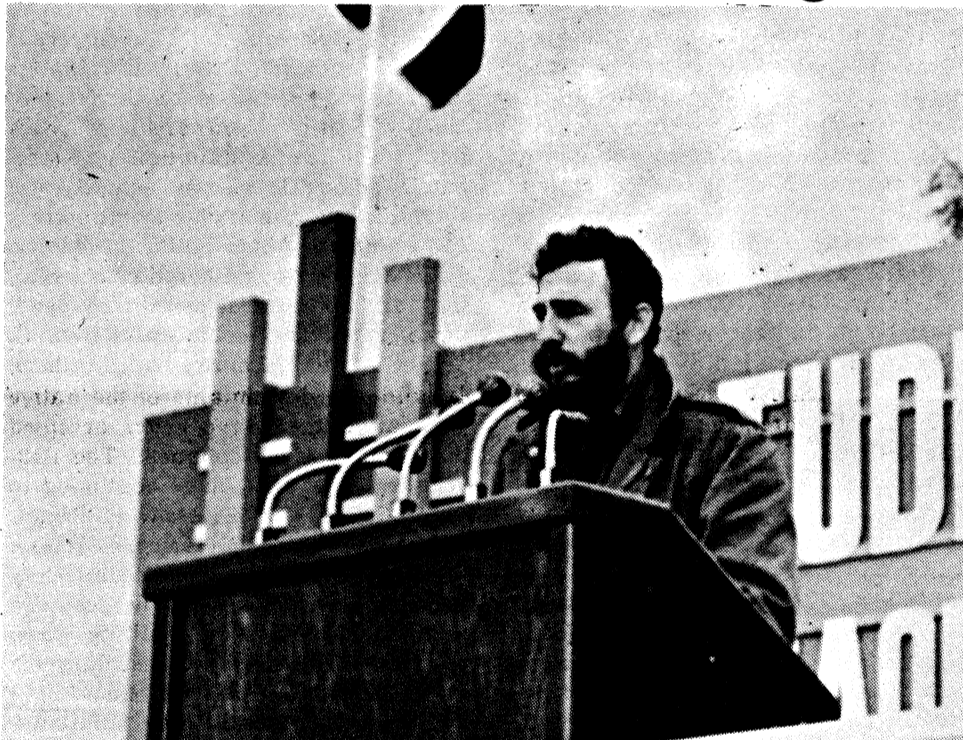


Photo by Will Reissner

Castro blamed failure of 10-million ton campaign on lack of democratic planning and proposed steps toward socialist democracy, but movement since has been in opposite direction.

"There was a 6,000-ton drop in the production of the flour mill—a factory which had been enlarged—because the flour which had been produced wasn't removed and the factory had to shut down, which meant that a town might be left without bread, for lack of flour. And we had the wheat to produce the flour, and the workers and machines. The harvest wasn't to blame; the harvest resulted in some problems, but not all. I am giving you a few examples."

Socialist democracy

In that speech and several that followed, Fidel pointed to the clearly indicated road that must be taken if Cuba is to cope with its multiplicity of problems. In unambiguous language, he spoke of the need for creating a structured socialist democracy and for involving rank-and-file workers in the decision-making process of economic planning.

"Why should a manager be absolutely in charge?" he asked. "Why shouldn't we begin to introduce representatives of the factory's workers into its management? Why not have confidence? Why not put our trust in that tremendous proletarian spirit of men

Not only must the masses have confidence in their political institutions and leaders, he continued, but "the revolutionary process [must] be at the same time—as Lenin wished—a great school of government in which millions of people learn to solve problems and carry out the responsibilities of government."

"This implies," he declared, "the development of a new society and of genuinely democratic principles—really democratic—replacing the administrative work habits of the first years of the revolution. We must begin to substitute democratic methods for the administrative methods that run the risk of becoming bureaucratic methods."

Such an approach is, of course, profoundly correct and vitally relevant to Cuba's problems. Yet, unfortunately, there is no evidence of any significant movement in that direction in the year since Fidel uttered these words.

Heberto Padilla

In fact, the treatment of Heberto Padilla strongly suggests that the Cuban leadership is moving in an opposite direction.

It does not aid the development of the democratic process and free expression of views by revolutionary poet in jail and then release him after he signs a debasing statement in which he pleads guilty, essentially, to nothing more than the expression of critical views. And the violation of socialist norms is further compounded when a Padilla is reduced to the state of going to a meeting of the Writers Union, pointing the finger at other literary figures of a known critical bent, and calling on them to similarly debase themselves.

What "crime" did Padilla commit? Here is a sampling of what he told the Writers Union:

"There are clichés for disenchantment and these clichés were the ones I always mastered. . . . That is to say the driving force of my poetry has been pessimism, scepticism and disenchantment. . . . This scepticism and disenchantment do not arouse enthusiasm, they do not encourage revolution. The poems contain a defeatist spirit, and a defeatist spirit is counterrevolutionary."

To merely see such words in print is sufficient to create revulsion among serious-minded revolutionaries. If Cubans are now to be categorized as counterrevolutionary on the basis of a "defeatist spirit"—real or alleged—then the revolution is headed for deep trouble.

The entire Padilla affair would be a matter of grave concern for revolutionary partisans of Cuba even if it were an isolated episode. But such things rarely are.

In his June 3 *New York Review of Books* article about Padilla, José Yglesias made this cogent point:

"I do not want to forget one lesson of Padilla's poetry—that even the fate of a single person cannot be glossed over. But I cannot help but ask what his incarceration and recantation signify for the Cuban people. That is the barrier to be leaped in this argument. The battle that the Soviet-oriented Cuban leaders—and they now seem to include Fidel—have recurrently fought with the Cuban intellectuals is a false one. It is a substitute for, a distraction from, a more difficult battle—to solve the nation's economic problems. It is false too because the leaders try to believe that the recalcitrant artists are one thing and the people are another. But if you silence one group it is very likely you are not listening to the other."

And there can be no question that given the present difficulties, there are revolutionary Cubans with complaints to voice. Fidel himself attested to that. In his speech of Aug. 23, 1970, he declared: "The revolution and the leaders of the revolution speak openly. . . . saying that our enemies claim there is discontent (and we say this is true) and that we are facing difficulties (and we say this is true, too). But they are so stupid that they fail to realize the extent of the strength and the conscience [consciousness] of the revolution. . . . When we speak of discontent or inconformity, we speak of discontented persons within the revolution, not against the revolution; to improve the revolution, not to destroy it, to make the revolution stronger, not to liquidate the revolution."

Yet, as the Padilla affair so strongly indicates, the Cuban government is not moving in the direction of facilitating the expression of that legitimate, revolutionary discontent. In fact, the declaration issued by the First National Congress on Education and Culture, which responded indirectly to the world protests about Padilla, offers further evidence that the trend is not toward more democracy, but away from it. The document includes a number of stands that are contrary to the emancipating spirit of the revolution and a number of positions that can only be characterized as Stalinist-like.

To be continued

N. Ireland internment move provokes wide resistance



By DAVID THORSTAD

AUG. 24—The decision in Northern Ireland two weeks ago to invoke emergency powers of detention without trial has provoked the most intense fighting and resistance since Ireland was partitioned 50 years ago. The fighting has left at least 28 dead and more than 5,000 refugees from the North who have fled to the Irish Republic.

The widespread resistance was sparked by new British efforts to crush the Irish Republican Army. These efforts began with early morning raids by British troops and police patrols Aug. 9 in which 300 persons were arrested. Later the same day, Northern Ireland's Prime Minister, Brian Faulkner, announced the detention move.

Although the stated purpose of the raids was the apprehension of the top leadership of the IRA, IRA spokesmen claim that very few of its leaders have been caught. Thirty of those arrested were subsequently released.

The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland greeted Faulkner's pleas for support of his measures with hostility. Their reaction demonstrated a mounting opposition to the presence of British troops whom some had openly welcomed as protectors when they were first sent in 1969. "Many Catholics now feel that the British troops are merely an occupying force in behalf of Protestant domination," reported the *New York Times* Aug. 16.

The Catholic minority also saw the allegedly anti-IRA move as an attack on the Catholic community itself. Sympathy for the IRA has grown considerably during the past two years. "The gunmen are no longer a small minority," stated the *Financial Times* of London Aug. 10. "A large section of the working-class population of Belfast and Londonderry is now involved to a greater or lesser extent in violent or semiviolent opposition."

The main response to the latest British assault on the Catholic population of Ulster was a campaign of passive resistance undertaken by the official

IRA. The campaign has consisted of work stoppages, rent strikes, and the withholding of income and real estate taxes. Civil rights leaders in Derry claimed that a work stoppage there Aug. 16 was two-thirds effective.

The growth of sympathy for the IRA, and the scope of the resistance in Northern Ireland have put Premier Jack Lynch of the Catholic Irish Republic on the spot. On Aug. 12, Lynch, described by the *New York Times* as "an altogether moderate man," called for the abolition of the Northern Ireland government. His statement was the strongest attack on Northern Ireland since partition. Then, on Aug. 23 he was forced to lend his support to the growing popular resistance by announcing, together with 16 of the 18 opposition Catholic members in the Northern Ireland parliament, a campaign of civil disobedience "to achieve the unification of Ireland." His threat a few days earlier that he would support such a campaign was denounced by British Prime Minister Heath as an "attempt to interfere in the affairs of the United Kingdom. . . ."

Bernard Weinraub, writing from Dublin in today's *New York Times*, stated that Lynch's announcement "was clearly designed to place the Irish Premier in a key leadership role among the Catholic minority in the six counties of Northern Ireland." His aim is also "to blunt the efforts of extremist members of the Irish Republican Army to take over the passive-resistance effort themselves."

The Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland, Cardinal William Conway, on Aug. 14 condemned internment without trial and called for an inquiry into incidents of "humiliating and brutal treatment" of innocent persons arrested in the Aug. 9 raids. "One charge made against the soldiers," reported Weinraub in the Aug. 22 *New York Times*, "was that detainees were forced to run over broken glass, barbed wire and bricks in their bare feet." In an

effort to calm some of the anger in the Catholic community, the British government announced Aug. 21 that an inquiry into allegations of brutality would be undertaken.

Another indication of the mounting resistance was the resignation Aug. 19 of 32 leading Catholics in Derry from public office in protest against internment and British brutality.

The American press has generally tended to explain the current crisis as the heating up of Irish religious differences that most of the rest of Europe got over hundreds of years ago. Such an explanation is superficial. The real issue is actually not religion but a complex combination of economic and political factors. While the religious differences are real, they are not natural but the by-product of the British conquest of Ireland. The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are descendants of the native population that have never accepted the results of the conquest. The British, for their part, have continued to maintain control by assuring Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland and have thereby helped to intensify the religious divisions. The result is a caste division in the working class, with the Protestants representing the skilled, upper section of the class.

In such a context, even small differences, like the opportunity to get a job, take on a greater importance than they might otherwise have. In a country where the unemployment rate of 8.7 percent is double the average for the whole of the United Kingdom, it is the Catholic minority that is most severely affected. Besides job discrimination, the Catholic minority is also discriminated against in housing and voting rights.

Whether Britain will be able to cool down the situation in Northern Ireland without being forced to step in and impose direct rule from Westminster—a move that might spark even greater resistance—is not yet clear.

SWP statement on N. Ireland

The following resolution was passed Aug. 12, at the 24th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party meeting in Cleveland, Ohio. It was reprinted in the Aug. 19 *Irish Times*, the leading daily in Ireland.

To the Irish Freedom Fighters:
Dear Comrades,

We believe, as Patrick Pearse did, that the revolutionary representatives of the Irish people are the "voice of one of the ancient and indestructible things of the world," "the voice of an idea that is older than empire and will outlast every empire." In every up-

surge of revolutions and struggles for freedom, the Irish people have made their contribution, have raised the banners of an age-old defiance of tyranny. The new wave of revolutionary battles throughout the world could not pass without the voice of rebellion being raised again on Irish soil.

Everywhere on the globe today, the courageous young generations are coming to see the fight of the Irish people as part of their own, as part of the most precious tradition of all who struggle against oppression.

The blows of foreign enemies and native traitors have never broken the will of the working people of Ireland,

who have remained faithful over the centuries. The latest cowardly attacks on the Irish people and their vanguard will also fail. Ireland in the past has fought many lonely battles.

Today the world around her is rising up in struggle against all forms of oppression. Well over 1,000 socialist revolutionists meeting here in the heart of the greatest imperialist fortress that has ever existed pledge their solidarity to their embattled comrades in Ireland; we pledge to build a bulwark of brotherhood and sisterhood around the standardbearers of your ancient and indefatigable struggle.

Chicanos march on Calif. capitol

By ROY GONZALES

SAN FRANCISCO—La Marcha de la Reconquista, the march of the reconquest, organized around five demands of the Chicano movement, ended an 800-mile-long march from Calexico in Southern California to the state capitol in Sacramento Aug. 7.

The five demands on the state government were directed toward some of the basic ways in which La Raza is oppressed. The end of police occupation and brutalization of the barrio, an end to the use of La Raza youth as cannon fodder for the gringos' war in Southeast Asia, and an end to the forced deportation of La Raza were three of the demands of La Marcha.

Two demands were directed toward the state's welfare and Economic Opportunity programs, which have suffered sharp cutbacks recently. La Marcha demanded that Governor Reagan cease his cuts of EOP funding of Chicano studies programs and student organizations, and that the welfare cuts to Chicano and Latino families be stopped.

Car caravans and buses arrived in Sacramento's Southside Park from many parts of the state as well as from the barrios in and around the city to assemble for the short march to the capitol steps. Close to 1,000 marchers wound through the streets, led by the Scycho Redlands, a Chicano motorcycle club, and the Brown Berets, who acted as marshals for the demonstration. Shouting "Chicano Power!" and "La Raza Si, Guerra No!" La Marcha arrived at the capitol steps, where it was met by 100 supporters.

Maria Gaitan, who introduced herself as "the angriest Chicana in Aztlan," referred to one of the sad ironies of the oppression of Chicanos when she said, "The gringos call us wetbacks. But we know that the real wetbacks in Aztlan are the gringos who crossed the big river, the Atlantic." La Marcha de la Reconquista is, she said, a march by Chicanos to reconquer what is rightly theirs, Aztlan.

The rally was marred by two incidents of provocation by the police. During the rally when the United States flag was removed and replaced by the flag of Mexico, the police cut a wide path through the demonstrators to remove the flag of Mexico and to retrieve that of the United States. The second incident occurred when the California flag was taken down, and the police attempted, but failed, to retrieve it.

Both actions could have started a major disruption of the rally and led to the political isolation and persecution of the protestors. But because of the tone set by the speakers and the efforts of the Brown Beret marshals, the attempts by the police to break up the rally did not succeed.

Rosalio Muñoz of the Chicano Moratorium Committee pointed to the need to mobilize La Raza in independent action against the war when he spoke at the rally. La Marcha, the rally, and the activities which were held the following week are an example for Raza activists who are building the Sept. 16 Mexican Independence Day action.

In Review

Books

The Female Eunuch: 'superficial and misleading'



The Female Eunuch by Germaine Greer. McGraw-Hill. New York, 1971. 349 pp. \$6.95.

Despite the fact that Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* discusses how women are taught to hate themselves and to accept the stereotyped role assigned to them by society, the author does not generally stand with her sisters, but against them. In her witty and biting manner, Greer exposes the degradation of women, whose very bodies are seen as commodities upon the market. But she does so the way a narrator might disinterestedly comment on a travelogue.

Greer takes us through the various parts of a woman's body, dispensing a certain amount of information and raising questions about the "nature" of women. She then takes up the component parts of a woman's psychological and emotional makeup, demonstrating how these are dictated by social definitions of femininity. Yet her case is weakened by her own feeling of exceptionalism: Greer considers herself a woman who has escaped bondage; if she is free, then why can't others find their own way to freedom as well? She exhibits little patience for those who do not, or cannot, follow in her path.

At the heart of the book stands Greer's basic antagonism toward other women. "As a female lecturer at a provincial university I have to tolerate the antics of faculty wives, but they are fairly easy to ignore," she observes. While on the one hand she can explain how women have been sold a bill of goods, she cannot understand the depth of their oppression. "Girls are seldom brilliant," she asserts. By way of explanation, she states, "The odds against the average pubescent girl pursuing her education are long, however, because of the loss of enterprise and energy which accompanies female puberty."

Yet she fails to examine puberty as a social and cultural phenomenon. The fact that girls value being attractive, having pretty clothes, and being a popular date is not a sign of their stupidity, but of their having learned the social role they are expected to play. In such a society, the girl who continues her academic work is penalized—it is she who is considered abnormal.

Greer's approach to the oppression of women is reactionary and antifeminist. It blames the victim rather than the criminal. It castigates the individual woman for accepting her role rather than battling the system which inculcates women with submissive values. In speaking about the oppression which working women face, for instance, Greer concludes that the handicap of discrimination is "an incentive" which "must ultimately be an advantage." This idealistic, romantic, utopian view of the most oppressed sectors of society as the most advantaged is just another variation of the Prince Charming myth.

But *The Female Eunuch* attempts to further disorient and disarm women who are coming to understand their secondary status within society. Germaine Greer opposes any collective action against the society that maims and brutalizes women. She finds women who demonstrate "unattractive." She belittles the size of a 1969 demonstration in England for equal pay because only a thousand wom-

en attended! While she clearly makes a case for female liberation, she draws back from any common program or course of action for women.

Greer asserts that "it might be possible to leap the steps of revolution and arrive somehow at liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline." One is warned against "privileged women" who will fight for reforms (presumably for abolishing abortion laws, implementing equal pay, fighting for day care controlled by those who use it, and other "regressive" struggles), as well as against "bitter women" who will call for rebellion. Greer rejects both alternatives in favor of doing one's own thing. Greer, in contrast to women throughout the world who have found it necessary to build a feminist movement in order to free themselves, counsels women to take a step backward.

For Greer, the liberation of women is largely sexual. While no one would dispute the importance of women having full control over their bodies, including the freedom to express their sexuality, Greer counterposes her own individual life style to the building of a political movement that can attack the root causes of the secondary status of women. One is not even sure what Greer means by sexual freedom—and many feminists have pointed out that the sexual revolution of the 1960s was largely defined by what men saw as sexually liberating for women.

Although Greer does attempt to scrutinize the nuclear family since its emergence under capitalism, she develops no coherent theory rooted in a materialist understanding of history. Instead, she is content to merely contrast the nuclear family with the "stem," or extended, family of feudalism. But although the oppression of women has changed its forms under the two forms of the family, neither is a model of freedom. By its very nature, the family is a patriarchal institution that serves to perpetuate the oppression of women. It inculcates each member of the group with the narrow prejudices of the society it mirrors. The male is the head of the household, with both women and children subordinate to him.

Having observed the extended families of southern Italy firsthand, Greer writes: "I saw such a family bravely holding together in spite of the grimmest poverty and the absence of most of the men who were working in Germany, and their children were the happiest, the least coy and irritable of any that I have ever observed." Such idolization of the poor completely covers over the fact that the family system is the most detrimental to the poor, who have nowhere else to turn for their pressing needs. Moreover, romanticizing the most oppressed section of women, and holding them up as a model of freedom is a perversion and a denial of their humanity. Such a vision of the poor plays into the hands of the most reactionary ideology.

The Female Eunuch is a superficial and misleading book. Greer's scholarship is almost non-existent, her personal biases are irritatingly unequal to her task, and what passes for wit is generally a flippancy for the plight of women trapped in a sexist society.

—DIANNE FEELEY

Film

Summer of '42. Directed by Robert Mulligan. Distributed by Warner Brothers.

Summer of '42 is about what Wilhelm Reich termed the "sexual misery of adolescence." Most people are condemned to sexual starvation or frustration by the reactionary puritanical moral codes of contemporary class society. This is especially true in the case of adolescents. Even the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s only improved the situation slightly. What loosening up there has been is still so laced through with sexist viciousness that "sexual revolution" is something of a misnomer. Sexual repression, Reich points out, is the mechanism by which the patriarchal family performs the function of socializing the individual to the norms of capitalism's authoritarian discipline.

Summer of '42 portrays the sexual agony of adolescence in a straightforward manner, but not without humor. At times this is an extremely funny movie, primarily because the sexual norms in America are so ridiculous.

The movie focuses on the sexual problems of three 15-year-old males. It concentrates especially on Hermie (Gary Grimes) who has fallen in love with a woman in her twenties (Jennifer O'Neill) whose husband has gone off to fight in World War II. Peripherally, we are also given sympathetic glimpses of the corresponding problems of teenage women.

The film records the way children are generally forced to hide their sexual curiosity from their parents. To find out what sex is all about, the three young men have to swipe a forbidden medical book.

The attitudes of the three are characterized by sexual anxiety, fear of social consequences and male chauvinism—but also by feelings of warmth and love. It is the conflict between sexual objectification and the human warmth expressed through sexual tenderness that gives this film whatever quality it possesses.

If *Summer of '42* had actually been made in the Hollywood of 1942 and not today, it would have treated its subject matter differently. The young woman who has sexual intercourse with one of the young men, for instance, is portrayed as a healthy, sympathetic individual. In 1942, she would probably have been depicted as an unsavory character—assuming this kind of theme were handled at all. The current radicalization leaves its mark everywhere.

It is interesting to contrast *Summer of '42* with a movie dealing with the same theme in a more contemporary year. *Last Summer*, made in 1969, delves into the sexual yearnings of four teenagers (two men and two women). The adolescents of *Summer of '42* are considerably more innocent and less alienated than those of *Last Summer*. The adolescents of *Last Summer* have more savvy and awareness of the hypocrisy of the moral codes being foisted upon them. Not, of course, that they are equipped to understand and combat the social institutions that are distorting their sexuality and making them cynical. But they do reflect the widespread contemporary rejection of authority, including parental authority. The adolescents of *Summer of '42* would seem ridiculous (rather than innocent) if they were transplanted into the summer of '71. Their generally unquestioning attitude, as well as their pro-war enthusiasm, would appear decidedly out of place in a contemporary setting.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Jenness

continued from page 1

ees, and cutbacks of welfare payments to the poor.

These slashing attacks on the workers and poor are matched by new big tax bonanzas for the corporations, euphemistically referred to as "job incentives." George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, correctly declared this a "blatant tax giveaway to big business."

Nixon has submitted the program of the employers and big bankers: an assault upon the living standards of all the working people and an abrogation of union rights, above all the right to strike. The 90-day wage freeze is viewed by the rich who run this country as a test, as a first run of their program. Depending upon the response, they will project how best to carry out this program after that period.

The demand for a 24-hour general strike has been raised in many unions and addressed to the AFL-CIO leadership. This demand is timely. If a 24-hour general strike were called during the next 90 days by top leaders of the union movement, it would be supported by every labor organization in this country, and by millions of unorganized workers. In this way, working men and women would give a fitting answer to Nixon's wage freeze and his attempts to ban strikes. They would demonstrate the power of organized labor, build self-confidence in their own ability to act, and inspire all who are hardest hit by the wage freeze and the inflation.

In order to give the general strike maximum meaning, it should be connected with a call for a congress of labor.

Against the program of big business, the working class as a whole must develop its own program to defend its interests and lead the nation out of the present crisis.

Already, local unions are scheduling emergency meetings to discuss what to do on a local level. The United Automobile Workers has scheduled an emergency convention for Nov. 20, which could deal with the next steps taken by the capitalist government against the working class after the 90-day period is up. Many workers on strike refused to return to work despite Nixon's plea that they "sacrifice."

But just as the employing class did not initiate this assault upon the unions and the working people on a piecemeal, corporation-by-corporation basis, but utilized the centralized power of the government it controls, labor cannot adequately mobilize to defeat this attack on a piecemeal, union-by-union basis.

Woodcock correctly labeled the Nixon program a "war" upon the working class. What is needed to answer it is a

mobilization of the full power of the entire working class through a broadly representative congress of labor, encompassing not only the organized trade-union movement but the unorganized workers as well. All sections of the working class and movements struggling against the evils of capitalism would have to be represented if their full power is to be mobilized against the Nixon program.

To mobilize the masses of people against Nixon's assault, such a congress of labor and its allies would have to embrace and champion every movement of the oppressed and exploited, and project a program which can lead the entire nation out of the present crisis.

What would such a program look like? The following are some of the central demands which must be raised.

An escalator clause to cover all workers

Against Nixon's fake price "freeze," we propose that the workers' standard of living be protected from skyrocketing prices by automatic cost-of-living increases.

Nixon hasn't even bothered to set up government machinery to control prices. Even if he did, government boards—which would be controlled by the corporations and managed in their interests—cannot and will not enforce price controls. Experience with such boards, for example in World War II, shows that prices continue to rise, both "legally" through "exemptions" granted by the board and through the thousands of unofficial ways the corporations and merchants can circumvent restrictions, and as a result of "black market" operations. During World War II, prices rose 30 percent—under a supposed "price freeze."

Price controls can be effectively imposed only by well-organized committees of consumers with the power to seize goods sold above the established rates. This requires a mass movement independent of and in opposition to any fake price control boards set up by the employers' government.

A reduction in working hours with no reduction in pay in order to end unemployment

Nixon's proposed solution for unemployment is to prime industry with huge tax incentives, under what George Meany called the "infamous trickle-down theory," and to get workers back on the job at substandard wages and long hours. This would increase the profits of the financial magnates who run this country, to better their competitive position against the other major capitalist powers.

Against Nixon's program of stimulating employment at frozen wages, we propose to amend the wages and hours law to implement an immediate 30-hour workweek for all workers with no reduction in pay. In addition, we call for immediately compensating all unemployed at full union pay for

as long as they are unemployed, whether or not they were previously employed.

Defense of the right to strike

The right to strike is a fundamental right. Without the strike weapon, workers are helpless in the face of the power of the big corporations. All legislation which restricts the right to strike—from the Taft-Hartley Act, to the Railway Labor Act, to the laws restricting the right of government employees to strike must be repealed.

Bring all the troops home from Southeast Asia now

The war in Indochina is an unjust and immoral war, waged only for the imperialist ambitions of the rich. The working people and poor are being forced to pay for this dirty war with the blood of their sons, high taxes and prices, and deterioration of basic living conditions. An end to the war would not only counter inflation, it would mean an end to this senseless slaughter of Americans and Vietnamese.

The labor movement must be mobilized behind the actions of the anti-war movement, particularly the Nov. 6 marches in 15 cities across the country.

On Aug. 23 in San Francisco, Painters Local 4, affiliated to the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators (AFL-CIO), voted to go "on record in opposition to the so-called wage-price freeze" and called on the Bay Area labor movement "to convene a mass congress of labor organizations in the area to plan united strategy and action in defense of our living standards."

An article in the August 1971 Progress Report (No. 8) published by the United Transportation Union Right to Vote Committee urges that "the Legislative Departments of AFL-CIO affiliates and independent unions should convene a national meeting of representatives where the entire labor movement can draw up legislation that can put everybody to work at good pay. At such a congress of labor we could present our answer and solutions to inflation and unemployment. . . ."

Dismantle the war machine and utilize the billions now spent on war to meet our pressing social needs at home

Just prior to Nixon's Aug. 15 speech, Defense Secretary Laird announced that he wanted another \$3-billion by 1973, raising to \$80-billion the yearly drain war production will be on our economy. This is not only highly inflationary, it is a criminal diversion of huge resources from hospitals, schools, housing and countless other needs of the great mass of Americans.

For a labor party

The wage freeze program of the Nixon administration was backed 100 percent by every prominent Democrat and Republican politician, even if they criticized other aspects of Nixon's program. Without exception, the leading Democrats lined up behind Nixon's wage freeze edict, even charging that it was "too little too late."

The policy of the union leaders of backing Democrats, pouring millions of dollars into campaign efforts for so-called friends of labor among the capitalist politicians, has been clearly demonstrated to be utterly bankrupt. Not one of these "friends of labor" even spoke out against the wage freeze.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties stand clearly revealed for what they are: parties of, by, and for big business. These parties can never represent the working people or any sector of the oppressed and exploited in this society.

Nixon's attack on the workers also makes it crystal clear that it is not enough to fight the employers on the economic front alone. The employers have the powerful resources of the whole U.S. government in their hands, which they control through the two major parties. They use this political power against the working people, including economic questions, as the edicts from Washington demonstrate. The central economic questions—as well as questions like war, the oppression of women, the oppression of nationalities—are political questions. If working people are to deal with them effectively, they must have a political instrument, a party, of their own.

Leonard Woodcock of the UAW was correct when he pointed out that "Mr. Nixon's hand wielded the dagger, but the dagger was put there by the leading Democrats in Congress, who advocated a law to put in the restraints" on wages. The unions must break with the dead-end policy of supporting "friends of labor" among the two capitalist parties, and organize a party of their own to fight for the interests of the workers and all the oppressed.

The Socialist Workers Party will be fighting in this presidential campaign for these and other demands designed to mobilize all those who suffer oppression, discrimination and exploitation under capitalism in a struggle against the big corporations and banks that misrule this country. Those who want to help further a fighting program for labor and all the movements for social change and betterment should join us in building this campaign to reach as many of the American people as possible.

SWP candidate fights for ballot status

By DAVID SALNER

CLEVELAND, Aug. 24—John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, announced at a news conference today that he would go into the state courts to secure ballot status in Cleveland's mayoralty race. This action follows the decision by Ohio Secretary of State Ted W. Brown, a Republican, to break a two-to-two deadlock in the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections in favor of excluding Hawkins from the ballot.

The excuse used by the Board of Elections is that Hawkins did not file the original copy of his nominating petition. Hawkins pointed out that he was never informed that filing the original copy was required. Nowhere in the state election code is such a requirement clearly specified. Supporters

of his campaign attempted to file the original copy when they discovered that this technicality was being used to keep Hawkins off the ballot. The Director of the Board of Elections prevented them from doing so.

Hawkins had filed his nominating petitions with 16,000 signatures—twice the number legally required—five days before the filing deadline.

Meanwhile, Hawkins has received broad support in his struggle to get on the ballot, including most of the other candidates for mayor. Written statements strongly condemning the Board of Elections' decision to exclude Hawkins have been received from Harold Pinkney, the Black independent supported by Mayor Carl Stokes; George Voinevich, Republican; Patrick Gerity, Democrat; W. Kiely Cronin, Democrat; Tony Russo, Democrat; and Jean Capers, independent.

"By making this decision," Hawkins stated at the press conference, "the Board of Elections has decided that the people of Cleveland will not have the right to weigh the platform of the Socialist Workers Party against that of the Democrats and Republicans and anyone else who wants to run for mayor."

The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to take the case and will file suit in the Ohio Supreme Court.

In a related development, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced its full support to Hawkins' case. At the Aug. 24 news conference, Judy Baumann of the national CoDEL staff pointed out that although the signature requirements for independent nominating petitions are very discriminatory, Hawkins nevertheless complied with every one of the stated requirements.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. You are invited!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

REBELLION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers from the Irish Republican Army and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 3, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (corner of Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

WHY NIXON HAD TO USE THE WAGE FREEZE. Speakers: Bill Carr, president United Auto Workers Local 160; David Horner, associate professor of economics, Wayne State University; Paul Lodico, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 3, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

NIXON'S WAR AND WAGE FREEZE. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Fri., Sept. 3, 8:30 p.m. at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Contribution: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 463-1917.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. Two talks by George Novack. Wed., Sept. 1 and Wed., Sept. 8 at 7 p.m. 2744 Broadway, Second Floor. Ausp. YSA-SWP.

CHICANA LIBERATION. Speaker: Mirta Vidal, Militant columnist and YSA national committee member. Fri., Sept. 3, 8:30 p.m. at 2744 Broadway, Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...war

Continued from page 3

to consult with Nixon, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker frantically tried to convince Gen. Minh not to withdraw from the election, and when that was unsuccessful, Bunker succeeded in "convincing" President Thieu to tell the South Vietnamese Supreme Court to reverse its decision disqualifying Vice-President Ky.

On Aug. 23, however, Ky also announced that although his name will appear on the ballot, he will not campaign for the presidency.

While U.S. officials are anxiously attempting to manipulate the South Vietnamese elections so that they will appear to present Vietnamese voters with a choice, the American public has already concluded that the Saigon government is not representative of its people and is too weak to stand without U.S. backing.

A Harris poll released Aug. 19 asked the question, "Does the government in South Vietnam or the government in North Vietnam command greater loyalty from its citizens?" The poll found that 34 percent of the Americans questioned think the North Vietnamese government has greater loyalty from its people, while only 12 percent answered that the South Vietnamese government does.

To the question will "the South Vietnamese Army be capable of keeping the Communists from taking over South Vietnam," 47 percent said no, and only 24 percent said yes.

Americans agreed by 62 to 20 percent that "even if the government of South Vietnam collapsed, the U.S. should continue its troop withdrawals." And finally, by 55 to 32 percent, those interviewed would reject the proposition that the U.S. should leave 50,000 noncombat troops in Vietnam indefinitely.

The worldwide popular opposition to the Vietnam war was responsible for still another embarrassment to the United States government when on Aug. 18, both Australia and New Zealand announced they will withdraw their token troops from the Vietnam war by the end of the year. This move was certainly due directly or indirectly to the massive popular demonstrations against the war that have been organized in both countries in the past two years.

...strike

Continued from page 8

been a successful marriage, very happy. But now, for reasons beyond their control, the lovebirds are temporarily separated. But they hope to get back together soon, after this unpleasantness blows over. That's why Bridges has a 'Be kind to the shipowners policy'. It's very simple."

The date of 1961 referred to marks the beginning of the ILWU-PMA contract under which the union sold its hard-won conditions, its job control, for a wage increase, increased pensions and bonus payments to older workers. It is this contract that, in effect, is being rejected by the current strike.

...abortion

Continued from page 24

plan abortion activities, and they have met twice since then. San Francisco women reported holding two press

conferences since the national conference—one to report on the decisions of the conference, and one in response to the recent court ruling which invalidated major sections of California's antiabortion law. California women are also working on a class-action suit challenging the entire California abortion law.

In Denver, meetings of about 40 women have taken place every other week since the conference to plan local activities. Denver women are planning to leaflet registration lines at the University of Colorado in Boulder to help initiate a chapter of the abortion action coalition at the university.

About 60 women gathered recently in Boston to found the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition. Eleven colleges were represented at this meeting, and campus women plan to organize meetings at each college to involve student women in this campaign.

One hundred and twenty Philadelphia women held a demonstration on July 31 for repeal of antiabortion and contraception laws. The press conference held following the national abortion conference brought "fantastic press coverage."

In Kansas City, women are planning a meeting to launch a local coalition. And the Chicago Women's Abortion Coalition is organizing an abortion speak-out, with workshops and testimonials on abortion experiences on Aug. 28.

Jane Melton, a *Militant* reader from Los Angeles, wrote in the following report on the response to the abortion campaign there: "The Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Committee held a press conference July 29 to announce the coming November action. Over 10 radio stations either attended the conference or contacted us by phone for recorded comments. The majority of the media were not only impressed by the breadth of support for the abortion campaign, but also by our seriousness. Two TV stations ran short film clips and a woman reporter who is very sympathetic took notes over the phone for a short in the *L.A. Times*. . . . Publicity is going well and the news conference was a great success."

The WONAAC office is now on a campaign to raise badly needed funds and is soliciting endorsements from women of as many organizations and sectors of society as possible.

Send a donation, or your name if you would like to be an endorser of this campaign, to: Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, Box 685, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 675-9150.



"They've made exploitation a patriotic thing!"

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP-(213) 463-1917, YSA-(213) 463-1966.
Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence,

Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

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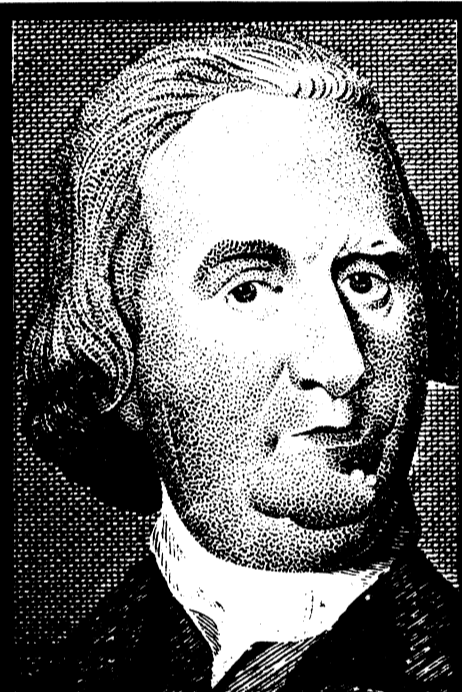
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THE MILITANT

Guards murder George Jackson at San Quentin

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO — At 3:10 p.m. Aug. 22, George Jackson was killed by guards at San Quentin prison. Jackson, who was 29, had spent the last 10 years of his life in jail under California's indeterminate-sentence law for allegedly stealing \$70. He had achieved renown through the publication of his prison letters in *Soledad Brother* and through the Marin County courthouse incident in August 1970.

In this incident, Jackson's 17-year-old brother Jonathan was shot to death in what appeared to be a kidnap attempt aimed at forcing the state to release George Jackson and two other Soledad inmates, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette. All three were charged with killing a prison guard in January 1970. The trial in this case resumed Aug. 24 with the two remaining defendants.

Two other prisoners and three guards also died in the events Aug. 22. The shifting official version of what happened maintains that the deaths resulted from an "escape attempt." Among the early accounts of what took place, the one that penetrated the "escape attempt" story with bitter accuracy came from a person who was not at the scene—Georgia Jackson, the dead man's mother. "I can tell you exactly what happened," she is quoted as saying in the Aug. 23 *New York Times*. "They set him up to kill him and they killed him. They'd been trying for ten-and-a-half years to do it and they did it."

The events took place in the maximum security cell block where prisoners besides Jackson included his two codefendants and Ruchell Magee, who faces murder-kidnap conspiracy charges with Angela Davis arising from the August 1970 Marin County courthouse incident.

Associate warden James W. L. Parks first told the press Jackson had escaped from his cell wielding an automatic pistol, allegedly smuggled into the prison. Later, San Quentin authorities, along with discovering that the weapon was a 9mm gun instead of a .38, decided that Jackson had not escaped from his cell but from an area in which he was to have been searched after meeting with an attorney. (It was later disclosed that the attorney who had visited Jackson was Stephen Bingham. Claiming they believed Bingham had brought the gun concealed inside a cassette tape recorder, authorities began a well-publicized search for Bingham.)

According to the official version, Jackson produced the weapon as guards began to search him and then released the 27 other inmates in the maximum-security cell block.

Six guards were in the cell block when the incident occurred. Three of them were killed and two others wounded. One of them was reportedly shot, but the others were killed or injured by neck wounds, apparently from a makeshift weapon constructed from half a razor blade and a toothbrush handle. It now appears that

these deaths occurred after Jackson had been killed, although in his first statement Parks had misrepresented the time involved to make it appear that they must have been killed first.

According to the version given out by San Quentin authorities, Jackson and one other inmate, Larry Spain, broke into the courtyard adjoining the cell block and Jackson was gunned down from guard towers while Spain escaped injury by diving into some bushes.

An "escape attempt" such as Parks and his henchmen claim Jackson had in mind would have been clearly suicidal. Their story is made no more plausible by the numerous red-baiting attempts to blame the incident on what Parks called "dilettante revolutionary" newspapers that supposedly "stir up unrest" among inmates, nor by their flimsy allegations and innuendoes about "underground prisoners unions" and "escape conspiracies."

Moreover, the resumption of the trial Aug. 24 began to bring to light the inmates' side of what happened. Before he could be silenced, Cluchette burst out in court: "They shot George in the back and then when he wasn't dead, they came up and shot him in the head."

Attorneys for the Soledad Brothers attempted to present a motion enjoining the San Quentin warden from "continuing to beat, torture, threaten and hold plaintiffs incommunicado while holding them up to public ridicule." The motion, which was ruled irrelevant to the case, was based on a document signed by the 26 maximum security inmates, written on a greeting card. When court adjourned, Soledad attorney Floyd Silliman read it to a crowd outside.

According to the prisoners, the events began when "they [the guards] ordered us from our cells. We refused to leave and then the shotguns were heard. . . ." Silliman said that Cluchette told him Jackson ran into the courtyard to draw fire from the other inmates. "George realized he was the one they wanted," Silliman said. "George sacrificed his life by drawing fire."

The inmates further reported that after Jackson had been shot, they were all stripped and made to lie on the ground for six hours—from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m.—while they were threatened and beaten.

Despite the flat rejection by the San Quentin jailers of any need for an outside investigation, Senator Allan Cranston and Representative Ron Dellums have said they will conduct an investigation themselves if necessary.

An investigation has also been called for by state assemblyman John Miller, Carlton Goodlett, Marvin Stender of the National Lawyers Guild, Charles Bell of the San Francisco NAACP, and Rev. Cecil Williams of the Glide Memorial Methodist Church.

Rev. Williams urged that any body set up to investigate Jackson's murder include ex-convicts among its members.

Bolivian masses suffer big defeat

By JOHN SORUM

AUG. 25—The installation of the new right-wing, pro-U.S. military regime in Bolivia Aug. 22 represents a major defeat for the workers and peasants of that country. The rebellion that toppled the left-bourgeois regime of Gen. Juan José Torres in three days was backed by two right-wing parties, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and the Bolivian Socialist Falange, which have joined forces to set up the new government. The central figure in the revolt, Col. Hugo Banzer Suárez, was declared president.

The counterrevolution grew out of the sharpening social polarization that had occurred since the Torres regime came to power in a coup last Oct. 7. Torres, under pressure from the workers, students, and peasants who provided his base of support, had been obliged to grant a number of important concessions. Among these were the ouster of the Peace Corps and the formation of a People's Assembly, which represented an incipient form of dual power in Bolivia.

The right-wing revolt began Aug. 19 in the city of Santa Cruz when 30 persons were arrested for plotting against the Torres government. The arrests were immediately followed by a demonstration of about 1,000 demanding their release. The rebellion is reported to have quickly spread to six of Bolivia's nine provinces.

Official government radio broadcasts accused the CIA of financing the revolt, which had been in preparation since last January, and linked U.S. ambassador Ernest Siracusa to the plot.

A Reuters dispatch in the Aug. 20 *New York Times* said that Torres told a cheering crowd of 50,000 in the capital of La Paz that he would distribute arms to his civilian supporters. An Associated Press dispatch from La Paz, however, reported the Central Labor Confederation as stating that the cabinet subsequently turned down Torres' request to arm the workers. "The union said it would form commando units to get arms and organize its own resistance to the insur-

rection," according to the dispatch. "This is the fight to the finish against the fascist counterrevolution," stated a labor union communique over the radio.

By Aug. 21, the rightist revolt had spread to La Paz, and Torres was forced to flee the presidential palace. He was given asylum in the Peruvian embassy.

A three-man junta proclaimed itself ruler of Bolivia Aug. 22. The following day, in an apparent effort to wipe out any remaining resistance, army and air force units bombarded the central tower of the University of San Andrés in La Paz, killing at least eight students and wounding 25, according to the Aug. 23 *New York Times*.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and the Bolivian Socialist Falange said they would bury past differences in order to run the new government. "But at the cabinet swearing-in," wrote Lewis H. Diuguid in the Aug. 24 *Washington Post*, "supporters of the two parties broke into fistfights and called each other 'thieves.'"

"The antagonism between these two parties is one reason that many here doubt stability will be achieved by this government," Diuguid continued. "Probably most students and organized workers are in opposition, and they are strong political forces in Bolivia."

The new foreign minister, Mario Gutierrez of the Falange, pledged that the government would undo what he called the "criminal acts" of the Torres regime. These crimes, he said, included the formation of the People's Assembly, which in his opinion constituted "the first soviet in South America."

The plotters of this anticommunist rebellion are said to have drawn up death lists of radicals who either participated in or supported the Torres government.

At least 120 persons, most of them workers and students, are reported to have been killed in the right-wing takeover, and 700 wounded.

Abortion campaign gains momentum

By CAROLINE LUND

A national campaign for repeal of all antiabortion laws and anticontraception laws and no forced sterilization is moving into action around the country. Launched at a conference of more than 1,000 women in New York City July 16-18, the campaign is being coordinated nationally by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). The coalition is building mass marches in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco on Nov. 20.

Indicative of the growing support for the abortion campaign is the decision of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women Aug. 19 to submit a resolution to the national convention of NOW calling for endorsement of WONAAC's action program.

WONAAC staff member Nancy Rosenstock told *The Militant* that reports

from around the country indicate an enthusiastic response to the national abortion campaign. News conferences were held in many areas to announce the decisions made by the conference and to urge women to join in building the campaign on a local scale. In most areas, publicity was surprisingly good.

For instance, in Texas, successful news conferences were held in Houston, Austin and San Antonio. A meeting is planned in Houston to launch a new coalition to carry out the abortion campaign.

A new coalition, Women for Abortion Action, has been formed in Washington, D. C., and is planning a mass meeting on Sept. 18 to launch its activities.

Fifty women met in San Francisco following the national conference to

Continued on page 22