

THE MILITANT

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**Give me your tired, your poor,
your huddled masses
yearning to breathe free...**

— from inscription on Statue of Liberty



A summer afternoon in New York ("Fun City"). See page 3

**Women's liberation: The abortion issue/Equal Rights
Amendment and protective work laws**

— see pages 7, 8, 9

PL-SDS makes 'turn' to antiwar struggle

Issues call for sectarian actions

Detroit, Mich.

About 50 people attended a regional antiwar conference at Wayne State University July 18. The stated purpose of the conference was to organize antiwar actions, but the actions projected by SDS will not aid the antiwar struggle. The Progressive Labor Party leadership of SDS is still intent on trying to substitute itself for the mass antiwar movement.

The conference opened with a speech by a representative of the SDS national office, setting the political tone for the meeting. After admitting that SDS had made a mistake in ignoring the antiwar struggle, and urging a turn to the antiwar movement, he presented the national office's remedy for SDS's abstentionism: a call for small, factionally motivated demonstrations in August that, in his words, "are counterposed to the SMC-YSA October demonstrations, which are designed to place liberal politicians at the head of the struggle."

The conference was permeated with ultraleftism. Bruce Allen, a Detroit member of SDS and Progressive Labor, complained that "to the eternal shame of SDS, 42 ROTC buildings were burned down during the May student strike, and we didn't have chapters on any of those campuses. Those are the kind of people we want in SDS, and those are the kind of concrete, militant actions we want to carry out."

The whole trend of SDS and PL is away from mass action and toward small, isolated ultraleft acts, which are justified on the basis of being "motivated by the correct politics."

SDS and PL are smarting from their defeat at the Cleveland antiwar conference. They are beginning to realize that they have painted themselves into a corner and are isolated. They oppose mass, independent, non-exclusionary antiwar demonstrations around the slogan of "Bring all the troops home now," a demand which by some feat of political gymnastics they characterize as "racist."

Gordon Fox

An appeal from Sicily

Sicily

Two years ago an earthquake tore apart our homes and lands. Since then every normal political avenue for help has been attempted and failed.

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.



Makeshift shacks in Sicily built after widespread destruction of homes by earthquakes.

We see now that our enemies are an unholy alliance of the landlords, mafia, priests, and politicians. They want us to be an unemployed army to be shipped off to debase wages in the North and in foreign countries. They don't care if our lives and homes are ever repaired.

We refuse this situation. We refuse to pay for their water, their electricity, or any of their taxes. Four hundred of us have refused military service until our homes are rebuilt and jobs brought to us.

We have had to fight with the military police and we expect more repression. Forty of us already face severe prison terms.

We are writing this letter to make our struggle known. We will answer all communications. We hope our Italian brothers in particular will not forget those of us left to languish on the fiefs of the padrone [landlords].

Centro Iniziative
Valle del Belice
Partanna (Trapani)
Sicily, Italy

The CP's election campaign

New York, N. Y.

The July 8 announcement by the New York State Communist Party of its candidates for statewide and congressional offices came as no surprise. More than three months ago a Communist Party spokesman informed me that the CP planned to run a slate of candidates under its own name.

But it is interesting to note that the CP announcement came only after the June 23 capitalist party primaries in New York. If some "progressive" Democrats, like Paul O'Dwyer, contender for the senatorial nomination, had won, it's safe to presume the CP would not have nominated a full slate.

Mark Weber

U.S. extending chemical warfare to Cambodia

Evansville, Ind.

Although Nixon last November submitted for Senate ratification the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which prohibited the use of chemical and biological weapons in warfare, he did not include chemical defoliants and crop-destroying agents among the weapons we supposedly renounce.

Yet that Protocol clearly is aimed at prohibiting all chemical and biological weapons. The late French statesman and League of Nations official, Henri Bonnet, once stated, prophetically: The Protocol "prohibits every kind of chemical or bacterial weapon that anyone could possibly devise. And it has to. Perhaps someday a criminal lunatic might invent some devilish thing that would destroy animals and crops."

Mr. Bonnet probably never dreamed that in the "land of the free and home of the brave," a whole slew of criminal lunatics would arise. After an entire decade of destruction of trees and rice-crops in Vietnam, the Pentagon is planning to do the same thing in Cambodia.

As a military source in Saigon said (*New York Times*, June 23), after U.S. troops pull out of Cambodia, herbicidal missions are being planned for the "sanctuaries." "We're just now getting into some harvesting times," he was quoted as saying, obviously rubbing his hands gleefully at the prospect of wiping out this year's harvest in Cambodia.

These herbicides are allegedly non-

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Closing news date—July 29

toxic to humans, but a U.S. psychological warfare directive instructs its personnel to "encourage the people to become refugees and leave the area that is to become permanently defoliated."

The Nixon Administration has tried to disarm its critics by making a great to-do about the fact that its "successful" foray into Cambodia deprived the "enemy" of supplies (including rice) which could theoretically equip so many divisions for so many months. But as Thomas Whiteside pointed out in a letter to the *New Yorker*, the policy of trying to destroy the enemy by herbicidal genocide has completely boomeranged.

The bitterness which the defoliation and crop-destruction operations have engendered among Vietnamese peasants "has undoubtedly contributed to the successful recruitment of civilians to the Vietcong cause." Since the Defense Department "contemplates further crop-destruction sorties after the pullout of American forces from Cambodia," it is a rather safe assumption that the Cambodian masses will continue joining the Khmer Rouge by the thousands.

Tom Fiddick

Voice of sanity

Selinsgrove, Pa.

I find your paper—although not always objective—a refreshing and needed voice of sanity in a rather insane world. Keep up the good work.

S. R. S.

Oppressors will end up with the shells

Philadelphia, Pa.

The recent report about the Black power struggle in Trinidad by Tony Thomas was excellent. Having spent some time in the U. S. Virgin Islands, and having seen the neocolonial situation there, I was really pleased to see an in-depth analysis of the entire West Indian political and economic condition.

The struggle for self-determination against British, French, Dutch and American imperialism is a triumph for the entire Third World. The centuries-old vise of European power will not be easy to overthrow. But in all liberation struggles, as a revolutionary socialist once told me, "some days you get the peanuts, and some days you get the shells." This time around the Third World peoples will reap the harvest that has been so long denied, while the former oppressors will be left with the empty shells of a dead era of world oppression and colonialism.

Laura Kaye Moorehead

YSA

If you support and want to help build the mass movement against the war in Vietnam, the struggle of Black and Brown people for self-determination, the growing movement for women's liberation, and the fight for socialism in the United States—then you belong in this country's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization.

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GENOCIDE AGAINST THE INDIANS
BY GEORGE NOVACK

50¢

The mounting pollution menace

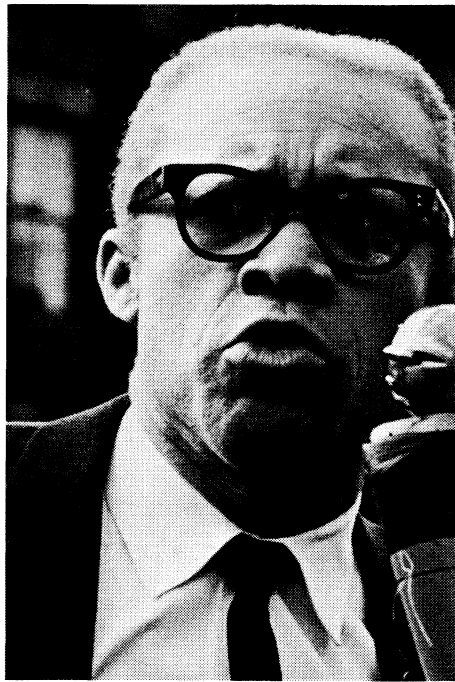
By CLIFTON DEBERRY
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for governor of New York
and KIPP DAWSON
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for U.S. senator from New York

On July 25, like many times in the past, the air-pollution level in New York City reached the official "unhealthy" level. Stinging eyes and labored breathing vividly reminded New Yorkers of a fact of life in most of the world's big cities—their inhabitants breath a brew of toxic oxides, sulphuric acid and carbon monoxide.

The poisoning of the atmosphere—and the systematic destruction of the other elements of humanity's natural environment—is not the result of "overpopulation," increasing production, advancing technology or any uncontrollable natural phenomena. It is simply and purely the result of the fact that in this society, production is determined not by the needs of human beings—including the need for pure air, pure water and open space—but by the profit drive of the private owners of industry.

The environmental crisis is not a local or even national matter. Winds and ocean currents have no respect for political boundaries. On the high seas, pure air no longer exists, and sticky globs of oil dot the whole expanse of the Atlantic, even far from shipping lanes.

The profit-hungry owners of the giant utility companies like Consolidated Edison in New York, who refuse to install existing anti-pollution technology, are responsible for the destruction of the atmosphere. So are the real estate interests and industrialists that refuse to use smoke-cleaning devices and proper fuels. Especially guilty are the giant automobile corporations; General Motors, for exam-



ple, over a three-year period spent the equivalent of just 16 days' gross income for research to develop a non-polluting engine, and then decided the project was "untenable."

The politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties preach pious sermons on the need to "save the environment." But they make the laws and sit on the courts and appoint and staff the investigative and enforcement agencies that permit the capitalist owners to make the earth a poisonous refuse heap. For they are nothing but the political representatives of those very capitalist interests they are supposed to control.

The crisis can be resolved, but it can only be resolved by removing from power these servitors of big business. It can only begin to be resolved when the government is prepared by threat of stiff fines, prison sentences, and confiscatory taxes to compel the polluters to develop and install anti-pollution technology regardless of the cost to them. It can only begin to be resolved when the government is prepared to plan and build on a regional and national scale an adequate, pollution-free public transportation system.

The crisis can only be finally resolved by replacing, everywhere in the world, the capitalist system with a democratically planned socialist one based on production to serve the needs of human beings.

Chicano moratorium held in Oakland

By FROBEN LOZADA
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for governor of California

OAKLAND, Calif.—The increasing antiwar sentiment of Chicanos and Latinos was again visibly expressed in the Bay Area July 26 as at least 700 persons, 99 percent Third World, marched from the Mary Help of Christian Church to San Antonio Park.

The demonstration was another of a series of protests called by La Raza to focus on the National Chicano Moratorium to be held in Los Angeles Aug. 29.

Speakers from all areas of Aztlan (the Southwest) zeroed in on the high proportion of soldiers with Spanish surnames killed in Southeast Asia.

There were also bitter condemnations of the treatment of La Raza in the United States.

The principal speaker at the rally was Corky Gonzales, chairman of the Denver Crusade for Justice and state chairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party. He praised all Chicano draft resisters and antiwar organizers and urged Chicanos to accelerate their participation in antiwar actions.

He also discussed important developments in the speedy growth and ready acceptance of La Raza Unida Party in Colorado.

Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, was the other out-of-state speaker.

She said, "It is entirely appropriate for Chicanos to have a demonstration on the 26th of July, the 17th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks in Cuba, because the Cuban struggle began just like our own struggle, a struggle for self-determination, a struggle against discrimination, for better housing, better jobs, and a decent education."

She also praised the gains made by La Raza Unida Party in Texas.

Two unfortunate incidents occurred at the rally. Several monitors prevented people from selling the Progressive Labor Party paper *Challenge*, which sharply opposes La Raza Unida Party. Then, a while later, some ultralefts including members of a group called Chicano Revolutionary Party, demanded that the SWP literature table shut down, threatening a physical attack. The right of the SWP to maintain its table in the given situation could have been maintained only at the expense of turning the rally into a fracas and so it was decided to yield on the point in this particular instance.

Since the demonstration was open to Chicanos and Latinos of all political persuasions who opposed the war, the right to freely sell political literature should have been respected. Attempting to resolve political differences within the movement by physical force can only do serious damage to the work of building a broad and united Raza antiwar movement.

Roberto Elias, a leader of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee in Los Angeles, said that "police brutality, poor education, hunger and political gerrymandering" in this country

"amount to genocide" against the Mexican-American people.

Other speakers included Sal Candelaria, well-known leader of the San Jose Black Berets; Martin Montemayor, representing Los Siete de la Raza; Ricardo Romo, candidate for governor on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; and a representative of the Oakland Brown Berets plus an excellent performance by El Teatro Triste of Oakland.

A meeting held the next day, July 27, projected building the largest possible support committee to help organize a large contingent to the National Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles August 29.

Hidalgo County Raza candidate wins ballot fight

MCALLEN, Texas—The Chicano newspaper *Ya Mero* here reports that outgoing Hidalgo County judge Milton D. Richardson is "flailing around like a drowning man."

Richardson was forced to declare that La Raza Unida Party had fulfilled all the requirements for ballot status, as one of his last official duties as a judge.

The judge this year lost his office to challenger Ed Gomez. Richardson complied with the decision made by Secretary of State Martin Dies, who stated that Raza Unida Party had followed all regulations in obtaining signatures and filing for ballot position.

This had been questioned by local officials who did not want to see the party on the ballot.

The party will be on the ballot and running in the county elections. Raza Unida candidate for county commissioner will be Alexandro Moreno, 23-year-old University of Texas graduate in economics, who has been active in the Chicano movement. He will be running against Democrat Charles E. Curtis.

Ya Mero sees the election of Moreno as a great victory since it would put three *Mexicanos*—for a majority—into the courthouse.

SWP July 26 celebration held in L.A.

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES—It was the 17th anniversary of the opening shots in the Cuban Revolution and here at the YSA-SWP headquarters in downtown Los Angeles, there was plenty to celebrate about.

Only seven weeks before, armed Cuban counterrevolutionaries virtually destroyed the hall nearly murdering several YSAers in a daylight arson attack, but now the building had been rebuilt and Los Angeles Trotskyists were marking the occasion with a July 26th banquet.

Some 150 persons crowded into the

Our summer schedule

With this issue, *The Militant* is taking a three-week vacation. After skipping three issues, we will resume publication with the issue dated Sept. 4

A happy vacation to all from the staff.

headquarters to commemorate Fidel's July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada barracks.

Outside the hall, members of Liberation Union and the Haymarket center joined the defense squad stationed around the headquarters during the celebration.

Inside the headquarters, party and YSA members, sympathizers and representatives from other organizations joined in the festivities.

An appeal for funds to cover the costs of restoring the headquarters brought a thumping \$1,056.33. The effect of the June 2 bombing, said banquet chairman Peter Seidman, was to mobilize the energy of dozens of people including friends of the party who came forward to express in material aid their revulsion with the gusano [counterrevolutionaries; literally, worms] attacks.

The gusano terrorism—which has included an attack on the Haymarket coffeehouse—has helped forge a bond among Los Angeles movement groups.

Main speaker for the celebration was Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. senator in Texas, and a member of a recent Venceremos Brigade. The task for Americans sympathetic to the Cuban Revolution, she told assembled guests, is to make the revolution at home.

Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor, also spoke. Other SWP candidates, Terry Hardy for comptroller, Dianne Feeley for U.S. Senate and Dave Frankel for lieutenant governor, were introduced.

By DELLA ROSSA and JOHN GRAY

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles district attorney's office asked at court hearings July 22 that the \$18,500 bail on four Cuban counterrevolutionary terrorists be revoked, and that they be held following the continued threats on the lives of two of the victims of the May 27 attack on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign headquarters.

The petition was denied and trial date was set for Sept. 11. The four face several felony charges, including arson, conspiracy to commit arson, burglary, and assault with caustic chemicals.

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about

Malcolm X



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Pulley barred from South Vietnam

HONG KONG—U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Ellsworth Bunker, intervened to block California Socialist Workers Party candidate Andrew Pulley from entering Saigon July 26.



Andrew Pulley

Pulley was turned back at the Saigon airport by immigration officials under Bunker's instructions.

A Black antiwar activist running for Congress in California's seventh district, Pulley had scheduled a stop in Vietnam as part of his current world tour. "I'm a candidate for Congress and some of my constituents are fighting in Vietnam," he told the Australian press a few days earlier. "I want to speak to them—they may want to vote for me." Pulley has been speaking on Vietnam and the U.S. antiwar movement throughout the tour.

In statements to the press in Hong Kong, Pulley said immigration authorities in Saigon told him that Ambassador Bunker had given strict orders that he not be allowed to enter the country. He was ordered by officials to immediately board a plane for Bangkok, which was not on his tour schedule. He then flew on to Hong Kong, where he described the Saigon incident to newsmen.

A former GI, Pulley was one of the Fort Jackson Eight, the group of soldiers imprisoned last year by the Army for their antiwar activities. He was discharged from the Army in 1969 but has continued his antiwar

activities in the East Bay area, where he is now running for Congress.

In San Francisco, the California SWP State Campaign Committee immediately denounced the U. S. government's role in upsetting Pulley's tour. A California SWP spokesman said that California senator George Murphy was allowed into Saigon without any hitches just after the U. S. invasion of Cambodia in May. Murphy's full support for the war, in contrast to Pulley's record of complete opposition to it, said the spokesman, was apparently the criterion used to refuse Pulley entry.

Besides Vietnam and Hong Kong, Pulley's far eastern tour has so far taken him to India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. Upon arriving in Sydney, Australia, on July 10, he was met with the barrage of newspaper reporters that has marked most of the tour. In Australia he addressed audiences averaging 300 in Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne and Canberra. The meetings were sponsored by Resistance, a revolutionary-socialist youth organization.

The final stop on his tour will be Japan, where he will be joined by Patricia Iiyama, California SWP candidate for secretary of state.

Funds for tour needed

The California Socialist Workers campaign has been conducting two ambitious tours. Two candidates have just concluded a tour of Aztlan gathering information on the Chicano struggle in the southwestern U. S. and helping to build the National Chicano Moratorium against the Indochina war to be held in Los Angeles Aug. 29.

Andrew Pulley is currently touring the Far East in an effort to strengthen ties between the international antiwar movement and to speak with American GIs.

The California campaign needs the support of Militant readers and antiwar activists to help finance these tours. Send your contribution to:

SWP California Campaign
Committee
2338 Market St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94114

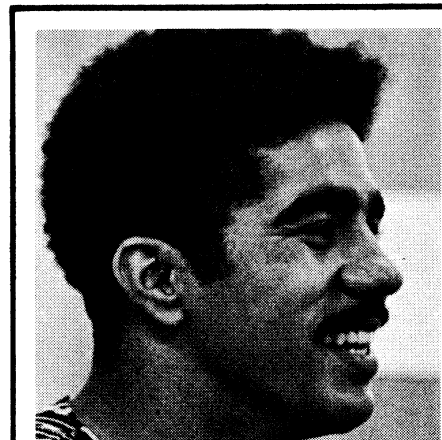
Socialists win Pa. ballot case

By FRED FELDMAN

PHILADELPHIA—A major victory for the rights of minority parties in Pennsylvania was scored July 15 when Dawson County Court of Common Pleas judge William Caldwell ordered the secretary of the commonwealth to place both the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party on the November ballot. State officials had insisted that only one party with the word "socialist" in its name could be permitted on the ballot.

Still pending is the SWP's challenge to the state's "loyalty" oath which requires candidates to swear that they are not "subversive persons." The American Civil Liberties Union is providing counsel for both cases.

The Pennsylvania Committee For A Fair Ballot has won wide support for both cases. Endorsers of the committee's efforts include Stewart Meacham, American Friends Service Committee; Rev. David Gracie, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Peace In Vietnam; Rev. Jesse Anderson, and other notables.



BOSTON — The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party announced at a state house news conference July 28 that it is adding Joe Miles to its slate of candidates in the November elections. Miles, who was recently discharged from the Army, was an organizer of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Jackson, S. C., and Fort Bragg, N. C. Because of his antiwar activity, he was transferred to a remote base in Alaska, where he remained until his discharge. He will be the SWP's candidate for U. S. Congress in the 9th district.

The SWP also announced its intention to file suit challenging discriminatory sections of the Massachusetts election law. The suit is being handled by the ACLU.

—DAVID THORSTAD

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, sent a letter to Governor Lester Maddox July 21 in which she responded to charges that she is an "extremist." Maddox had walked out of a speech by ultrareactionary gubernatorial candidate J. B. Stoner, stating that he would never again appear on the same platform with "extremists." He included Jenness in this category.

While agreeing that Stoner's views are "viciously racist and appeal to the most base of emotions," Jenness challenges Maddox to explain just what is "extremist" in the SWP platform. She suggested that the best way for him to attempt to do this would be to debate her, adding that she is not afraid to share the platform with Maddox or anyone else.

Maddox can not say as much. His refusal to appear together with her has less to do with "extremism," she charged, than with "your lack of confidence in your ability to defend your segregationist, pro-war views."

Georgia's 5th district congressional candidates were invited to speak and answer questions at a July 16 meeting of the Atlanta Federation of Teachers. Among them was SWP candidate Frank Grinnon, a member of Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local 101. Grinnon focused his remarks to the predominantly Afro-American audience on the importance of breaking with the Democratic Party and the need for an independent Black party and a labor party.

The other candidates who spoke were Democratic primary contenders Lonnie King, former president of the Atlanta NAACP, and Andrew Young, former executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The meeting, held in Atlanta's main meeting hall, also attracted observers from other unions.

The Woonsocket Call and Evening Reporter in Rhode Island ran an

editorial July 15 on the recently announced statewide campaign of the SWP. Entitled "A Political Platform for Rhode Island," the editorial lists the main planks in the SWP platform: immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, Black control of the Black community, an end to the oppression of women, make big business pay for pollution, full employment, 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay, etc. "That's quite a platform for any candidate to stand on," it concludes.

The Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York confronted state attorney general Louis Lefkowitz July 21 at his annual public hearing on the state election law. Lefkowitz is one of the defendants in a suit brought by the SWP challenging sections of the New York law that discriminate against minority parties.

At the hearing, coalition representative Mike Arnall read a letter protesting the attorney general's efforts to prevent implementation of a favorable federal court decision declaring the challenged

Black Control of the Black Community. Puerto Rican Control of the Puerto Rican Community.



Paul Boutelle for Congress-18th C.D.

"We won't organize any black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out."
MALCOLM X

vote Socialist Workers
N. Y. campaign poster

4-fold increase in 4 years

How systematic traveling has built the YSA

By RANDY FURST

The nation's largest radical youth organization is undergoing a profound transformation.

In four short years the Young Socialist Alliance has quadrupled in size, emerging with the only consolidated national apparatus after SDS destroyed itself during 1969.

YSAers function in most of the nation's 50 states. Campus-based locals operate out of most of the nation's major cities. They played pivotal roles in the student strike that swept the U. S. in May.

Behind the YSA's recent major expansion—signaled during the spring by the addition of more than two YSA locals per week—was a conscious decision made nearly two years ago to put YSA organizer-activists on the road.

The formula was simple: Get YSAers out to spread socialist ideas, recruit members, and build a nationwide network of socialist youth locals.

There's nothing like fresh blood—and the YSA has plenty of it. Nelson Blackstock, the YSA's national organizational secretary, estimates that the majority of the YSA membership has been in the organization less than two years.

Elizabeth Barnes, once the national secretary of the YSA—now a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee—recalls that in the mid-sixties, the addition of a new local in

a six-month period was still considered a major historical event for the U. S. Trotskyist movement.

Times have changed, though. In the YSA's national office, a well-organized but crowded four-room suite on the fifth floor of a New York office building, a staff of seven devotes a good part of its time to sorting out the dozens of membership applications that come through the mail each week. On the wall in the middle office a large U. S. map hangs, sprinkled with some 60 red flags attached to small pins. Each red flag represents a YSA local. A plethora of blue flags denotes at-large YSA members.

(The basis for membership in the YSA is general agreement with the organization's program, as determined by its national convention. Five or more members are required in a given area to establish a YSA local. Where there are fewer than five, individuals function as at-large members.)

The number of red flags and blue flags tend to increase, national office staffers note, at about the same rate as regional traveling by the national, state and local YSA offices.

Regional YSA centers functioning in 15 cities throughout the U. S. serve as headquarters for regional networks to plan and coordinate regional traveling, besides offering a boost to new locals and providing a central clearing house for YSAers in the region.

During the last year, YSAers working out of the regional centers ran up

hundreds of thousands of miles, fanning out to campuses in the most intensive regional student work in the YSA's 10-year history.

Traveling organizers set up literature tables, gave talks, helped set up regional conferences. Out of the YSA N. O., national staffers traveled to all parts of the country as part of the nationwide recruiting drive.

The regional work is bearing fruit.

In Ohio, where only a few years ago there were two YSAs, four more YSA locals have sprung up.

Ohio used to be SDS territory with a large if chaotic regional SDS structure.

Today, there is no SDS, and Ohio's old new-lefters have drifted away, opening wide the door to the burgeoning campus antiwar committees—and to the YSA.

Moving in to fill the radical vacuum, the Ohio YSA regional center, based in Cleveland, turned loose a couple of its best organizers for full-time regional work.

Since February, Bob Schwarz and Sandy Peck have traveled 9,000 miles in near-continual regional work in Ohio and parts of Kentucky.

At some stops, YSAers were already functioning as at-largers and helped Schwarz and Peck set up speaking engagements. Schwarz's talks usually dealt with the nature of U. S. imperialism and the coming American revolution. Peck would speak on socialism and women's liberation.

On numerous campuses, there was a contact that the two had gotten one way or another, perhaps a friend of the YSA or a local antiwar activist. These people often helped arrange a talk by Schwarz and Peck or aided in setting up a literature table.

Stocked in the trunk of the automobile were a series of basic pamphlets and books on socialism as well as copies of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* magazine. The literature was piled onto a table, usually set up in the student union.

The Vietnam war continues as the primary issue on virtually every Ohio campus. "One of the characteristics of the people who are joining," observes Schwarz, "is that they have not had a long history in the radical movement. They are usually students who got radicalized around October 15 or November 15. It was probably the first demonstration they had participated in. Then they see something about the YSA. They read some of our literature or come to a speech. The people who are joining are very, very new to radical politics and are developing rapidly."

Oberlin College is a small liberal arts college 35 miles from Cleveland—coeducational, somewhat radical, and an antiwar haven since the mid-sixties. "But we were never able to set up a local there until this year," says Schwarz. During the winter, a group

of students who had been reading *The Militant* decided to join. Syd Stapleton, SWP congressional candidate based in Cleveland, drove out to Oberlin, gave a speech, and the next week more people showed up, and a YSA local was started.

New YSA locals occasionally crop up with little outside intervention. In the last 12 months, groups of student radicals in several areas have decided to call themselves YSAs and written to the National Executive Committee for a charter.

But more often—at this juncture—recruitment and new locals result from extensive discussions between young, independent radicals and long-experienced activists in the Trotskyist movement. YSA activists encourage independent radicals to discuss out the YSA's program and Marxist theory before signing up.

In Riverside, Calif., for example, several visits and discussion with leading Third World comrades from the Bay Area helped pave the way for a predominantly Third World local that emerged this spring.

"An essential feature of regional work is the follow-up work," says Rich Finkel, field secretary for the YSA N. O. His tour of the South this spring laid the groundwork for three new YSA locals.

The regional YSA centers help map out area-wide plans, help some of the smaller YSA units, plan statewide regional conferences and petitioning, and coordinate statewide campaigns in the colleges and high schools and on the student government level.

The centers, Finkel points out, may also sponsor regional gatherings on particularly burning issues. The southern region based in Atlanta is, for example, planning a Southwide regional conference in the fall on women's liberation. "Comrades from all over the South can build for it," says Finkel.

YSAers on the road encounter an endless series of questions, Schwarz says, the typical thoughtful political questions of American youth moving to the left. Questions on the war, the Middle East, the USSR, "very good questions," notes Schwarz.

"Most radicalizing students on a campus right now recognize there's a need for some kind of basic social change," he points out.

"What's necessary is to explain to them that it's possible, that such a feeling is widespread."

"You see," he continues, "it's not that we have to explain that we need a revolution. People understand that. It's explaining that a revolution is possible. And it's not so much explaining that we have to win over the working class, because people also understand that. It's more of explaining that winning them over is a real possibility, and given that possibility, the most reasonable, rational, thing to do is to join a revolutionary organization."



YSA participation in mass activity, combined with systematic organization work, has brought significant growth.



Special Issue

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YSA at U of Texas under regent attack

By MARTA PRINCE

AUSTIN, Texas — The Austin Young Socialist Alliance was subjected to a kangaroo court at the University of Texas July 15 for allegedly having violated a rule prohibiting more than three non-students and non-employees from attending meetings of student organizations. The YSA and its socialist summer school have been the target of the rule, adopted by the board of regents on May 29.

Despite very broad support for the campus-wide defense organization, the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Regents' Rule, the regents refused to rescind the controversial rule. On June 13, however, regents chairman Erwin called an emergency meeting of the board to consider amending it, and token amendment was made to apply the restriction of university facilities to buildings alone and not to the grounds. (This was apparently done to avoid a potential conflict with the Athletic Council—a non-student organization—over a pep rally.) A dozen representatives of campus groups expressed concern at the meeting over the constitutionality of the rule and its discriminatory intent.

YSA representative Candida McCollam protested the university's public attack on the YSA summer school. She explained what the summer school was and said the YSA planned to continue its classes. "Our summer school," she added, "rejects the concept that higher education is something reserved for a select and highly educated few, and not accessible or comprehensible to society as a whole. . . ."

The following day, June 14, Dan Styron of the Socialist Workers Party began a lecture on "Stalinism—the Decline of the Communist International." At the outset of the session, the chairman explained the YSA's position on the regents' rule, stressing that although the YSA disagrees fundamentally with it, it did not intend to needlessly provide the administration with a pretext for depriving it of its existence as an organization. Non-students and non-employees were then asked to meet at the back of the room and elect three representatives to remain for the class.

While this was going on, Candida McCollam was being told by dean of students Steve McClellan that he was there to verify that more than three non-exempt persons were present in order to provide a "test case"

for the rule. This was merely a ploy to attempt to set up the YSA for expulsion from the campus.

The dean, who was permitted to address the class, urged the alleged non-students present to violate the rule by certifying that they were either a non-student or a non-employee. "Obviously, if you are either one you will love to fight it," he explained. "For those of you who are interested in testing this I urge you to do so." In this role of provocateur, he was advising a student organization to violate a rule so that university officials could then deny that group its right to free assembly and free speech by canceling its registration.

McClellan finally extracted some names, but only after disrupting the class a second time, this time with cops at the ready and accompanied by an attorney who threatened arrest.

The next step in the university's attack was to summon the YSA to a hearing for the purpose of "legally" de-registering it. According to new procedures set by the rule for hearing alleged violations, the accused organization no longer has the right to be heard and judged by its peers in a student-faculty committee. Instead, it must appear directly before the university president. No avenue for appeal is provided.

The July 15 hearing thus took place in a back office, shielded from the public eye. The president refused to adjourn to an auditorium where all students could attend.

The YSA defense was handled by attorneys W. Ed Morgan of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and Cam Cunningham of Austin. Morgan's cross-examination exposed the university's intention to set the YSA up for expulsion. The prosecution claimed that the YSA "intended to break the rule" and acted in "bad faith" the day of the alleged violation, but it was unable to prove it. Morgan exposed both allegations. If anyone is to be accused of "bad faith," he asserted, it certainly cannot be the organization attempting to comply.

The rule has since been further amended to reduce to zero the number of non-students allowed to attend meetings.

Legal briefs from both parties will be presented to the university president next month, following which he will make his decision on YSA's on-campus status.

Portland U bans YSA classes

By LARRY BIRKNER

PORTLAND, Ore.—A free speech struggle has developed at Portland State University, where school officials have banned the socialist summer school sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Local activists have initiated the Citizens' Committee for Free Speech. Committee spokesmen said the decision to bar the YSA school will be challenged in the courts and through a mass public defense effort.

More than 50 individuals throughout the state have thus far agreed to sponsor the defense committee.

Word of the decision to ban the summer classes came July 16 from acting Dean of Students William D. Williams.

Williams, in a letter, said he had based his decision on a June 9 ruling of the Oregon Board of Higher Education.

The board decreed that colleges and universities must not become instruments of political action. The board's

rulings reflected the impact of the nationwide May upsurge over Kent and Cambodia and Jackson, which hit Oregon's campuses as well. Questions of tighter discipline and fast dismissal of faculty and student dissidents were discussed at the board meeting.

Professor Daniel Scheans, the Citizens' Committee chairman, charged that the ban could affect all student groups who engage in political action.

"Administrators are picking and choosing whom they will ban from campus," said Scheans, an associate professor of anthropology at PSU.

The socialist summer school schedule included classes on overpopulation, analysis of Soviet society, women's liberation, and the Trotskyist analysis of world revolution.

The committee's secretary, Nicholee Brorsen, said that the new formation will strive to remove all undemocratic restrictions on the rights of students' free speech and assembly.

A legal defense apparatus is in the



Photo by Alan Pogue

Edward Morgan (right), National Emergency Civil Liberties attorney for the Austin YSA, at July 15 hearing on YSA status at U of Texas. Charles Cairns, YSA faculty advisor, is on left.

Legal gain by antiwar GIs fighting punitive transfers

By ERNIE DOUGLAS

STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. — The brass is stepping up harassment aimed at silencing antiwar activists at Ft. Wadsworth, a small Army base that houses the 26th Army band.

One leading GI activist, SP/4 David Cortwright, has been transferred to Ft. Bliss in Texas and two more GIs who signed a letter protesting Cortwright's reassignment were given orders July 24 for shipment to Vietnam.

Following a federal court hearing July 23, Judge Orrin G. Judd ruled that the federal court has the right to intervene if necessary to restrain the Army from transferring Cortwright if a First Amendment issue was involved.

Judge Judd indicated in his ruling that Cortwright's case may involve First Amendment rights. The judge also ruled that despite Cortwright's transfer, the Army must still rule on the Article 138 grievance. The judge said that the Army must pay the cost of Cortwright's transportation between Ft. Bliss and New York for additional hearings here. The Army, said the judge, must provide him with a telephone so he can consult with his attorney.

The judge added verbally that all the Wadsworth GIs would be kept within the court's jurisdiction and brought back for litigation if they were trans-

ferred. Judd's comments are seen as a breakthrough for the antiwar soldiers who are fighting the punitive transfers.

Cortwright is a member of the steering committee of the National Peace Action Council (NPAC), the national antiwar organization that called for the nationwide Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations.

The two GIs facing Vietnam duty are Pvts. Paul Dix and Thomas Bankston. They were ordered to report to the Oakland Army Terminal in California on Sept. 24.

The two men were among the first five Ft. Wadsworth GIs to sign an Article 138 letter addressed to Wadsworth's commanding officer demanding that Cortwright not be transferred to Ft. Bliss. Thirty-four other GIs—including Cortwright—signed the letter. They are all members of the band, which numbers 55 men.

Still another GI activist, Pvt. David Reed, has been put on orders for Germany.

Meanwhile, Bliss officers indicated they intended no let-up in their harassment of Sp/4 Cortwright, who was prevented from signing in at Ft. Bliss upon arriving at the Fort July 24. Procedures require such signing in.

"They may be trying to make him technically AWOL," speculated Bob Wilkinson, editor of GI Press Service, an antiwar news service based in New York. "Since he didn't sign in, they could have an excuse to court-martial him. Another possibility is that they plan to transfer him again in the immediate future."

Wilkinson, a former GI himself, is aiding Cortwright's case.

Fred Cohn is serving as Cortwright's civilian attorney.

The GIs and their families have been consistently harassed by officers since 36 of them signed an advertisement sponsored by the GI Press Service and Student Mobilization Committee which appeared in the *New York Times* Nov. 9, 1969.

Letters of support and contributions should be sent to Fort Hamilton Defense Fund, c/o The Staten Island Peace Coalition, 702 Bay St., Staten Island, N. Y.

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**GIs
SPEAK OUT
AGAINST
THE
WAR
by
Fred Halstead**

process of forming. Tables set up on campus and leaflets on the case are helping to get the word out.

It appeared that university officials were walking on shaky grounds in their efforts to pursue their unconstitutional goals.

At a hastily called news conference immediately following that of the Citizens' Committee, the PSU vice-president Robert Low explained the reasons behind the decision to ban the socialist classes. "We are not going to allow the use of public facilities for something that sounds like an indoctrination session," said Low.

Under questioning, Low admitted that he never attended a YSA summer school session, nor did he know what went on at them, nor had he ever inquired as to how they were run.

Statements of support and much needed financial aid can be sent to the Citizens' Committee for Free Speech, Federal Station, P. O. Box 1745, Portland, Ore. 97207.

Abortion: Key issue for women's liberation

By ELIZABETH BARNES

One of the most important struggles waged by the women's liberation movement during the past year has been the fight for free abortion on demand. Not only in this country but in Canada and other countries where the women's liberation movement is growing, this struggle has already united significant numbers of women *in action*, and there is every indication that the potential exists for involving greater numbers.

In a sense the struggle for abortion is at a crossroads. A certain amount of momentum has been built up. Court cases have been initiated against abortion laws in numerous states across the country. In several states, new laws have been passed making almost all abortions in early pregnancy legal. In the past several months, very significant court decisions have been handed down, one of the most important of these being the ruling of a three-judge federal court in Dallas, Texas, declaring that it is a Constitutional right for a woman to be able to decide whether or not she wants to bear a child.

What the movement is faced with now is a choice of whether we will be content with these very limited, initial gains, or whether in the coming period we will take advantage of the momentum that has built up, using it to escalate the struggle and to win new layers of women to the women's liberation movement.

The view of the Socialist Workers Party is that if we continue to make the issue of abortion a key focus of women's liberation activity in the coming year, important gains can be won for the movement.

The issue of abortion is one that affects almost every woman in this society, and for that reason millions of women can be involved in the fight for free abortions on demand. Also, victory in this struggle will help to undermine one of the chief rationalizations for the oppression of women—our vulnerability to unplanned pregnancy. It will help throw into sharper relief the real causes of our oppression, which are economic and social, not biological.

Victory in the abortion struggle will help women realize how powerful they are when they unite in common action. It can provide an enormous impetus to the women's liberation struggle, encouraging women to continue to fight around other issues as well.

But just when we are on the threshold of making big gains in the struggle for free abortions on demand, we have seen the development of a small wing of the women's liberation movement that is opposed to continuing the fight. They take the position that abortion repeal is a demand the government can concede without jeopardizing the capitalist system; therefore free abortions are simply a "liberal" reform of no interest to revolutionaries who want to change the whole system.

They seem to be trying to apply Mao's famous but simpleminded rule that you should support only those things the enemy opposes, and oppose only what the enemy supports.

Dunbar's position

A good example of the wrong conclusions that can result from such an approach is the position taken by Roxanne Dunbar, a well-known national figure in the women's liberation movement.

Dunbar is one of the most outspoken opponents of the struggle for abortion repeal. In a letter printed in the June 29 *Great Speckled Bird*, for example, she attacked the abortion repeal movement and condemned the Socialist Workers Party for its role in building it. It is worth quoting from the letter because it raises questions of importance not only to the women's liberation movement but also to the Third World movement and the overall revolutionary struggle in this country.

She writes: "I have observed the SWP working in a very opportunistic way within the women's liberation movement in all parts of the country. The SWP is most responsible for pushing women's groups to polarize and rally around the abortion repeal issue. Abortion repeal is a complex issue and racist when initiated by white, middle-class women during a population-control campaign by the government clearly directed at Third World people. . . .

"Such practice is consistent with the SWP political work, picking up on popular spontaneous issues.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Frances Beal of the Black Women's Alliance was a participant in panel of Third World women at the New York Militant Labor Forum July 17. Discussing the New York abortion law, she stressed the need for organizing to gain community control of the hospitals so that hospital services can be provided to meet all the needs of the community.

SWP-YSA organizes to reinforce the spontaneous aspect rather than educating participants to a materialist, revolutionary perspective."

Roxanne Dunbar is dead wrong when she implies, as she does in this letter, that the legalization of abortion will somehow make it easier for racist doctors, administrators, etc. to impose forced sterilization and other "population-control" measures on Third World women.

The struggle for free abortion on demand will help, not hinder, the struggle against forced sterilization. The problem of forced sterilization stems from the very same source as does the problem of forced motherhood—that is, from the fact that in our society a woman does not yet have the elementary right of control over her own body.

Women are still considered criminals in most states of the union if they attempt to exercise this control by having an abortion. And it is this same chauvinistic backwardness that is responsible for the concept that women should be forced, against their will, to undergo sterilization.

As a matter of fact, it is a common procedure for women undergoing hospital abortions to be required to submit to forced sterilization at the same time on the grounds that in asking for an abortion they have already admitted they are "mentally ill" or morally "unfit" for motherhood.

The problems of forced sterilization and forced motherhood go together, and they are not new to the Third World community in this country. Third World people have been pushed around in the hospitals and birth control clinics for years, and they have suffered more than any other women not only from forced sterilization but from the horrors of botched backroom abortions.

What is significant and new is that for the first time in history women are organizing and demanding an end to this. We are demanding the right to determine what goes on in these hospitals, and we are saying that it is women who must have the full right to decide on the question of abortion and ster-

ilization—not any doctor, or panel of doctors, or husband, or parent, or psychiatrist, or anyone else.

Back to utopianism

Speaking at the Socialist Scholars Conference held in New York this June, Roxanne Dunbar explicitly rejected the idea that we should make such demands on the institutions of society, and counterposed to this the idea that the women's liberation movement should set up its own health-care facilities where women could be given illegal abortions if necessary.

"That's the way to control," she said. "To set them up yourself. To set up food cooperatives, too, and to begin building the necessities for a social revolution so we can serve our own needs and not depend on the hospitals, family planning clinics or whatever now exists." The same thing applies to child-care facilities, she added, "we shouldn't be demanding it, we should be doing it."

In a limited way, the approach which Roxanne Dunbar is suggesting has already been tried. Women have set up abortion counseling services and individual child-care centers in many areas of the country without demanding anything of the government.

Such activities are a natural outgrowth of the movement, and they have been of service to a limited number of people. But, they have not affected in the least the oppression faced by the masses of women in this society, and if they were to become the focus of our activity the movement would turn into nothing but a group of glorified social workers or a series of isolated, ineffectual "utopian" collectives.

This type of utopianism and social-workerism has been tried over and over by "socialist" groups for more than a century. It is the opposite of the revolutionary approach. It takes the heat off just those forces we most want to expose, that is, those who own and control the basic resources and institutions of society. And it fails to get to the root of the problem, which is simply that the basic wealth and institutions of this society will have to be taken over and controlled by the masses of people if we are to provide adequate health care, child care, etc.

"Popular" issues

Roxanne Dunbar is critical of the Socialist Workers Party for supporting struggles around "popular spontaneous" issues, and counterposes to this the need for educating people to a "revolutionary materialist perspective."

But it is precisely by taking action around "popular" issues—that is, issues which relate directly to the oppression people experience—that people begin to gain an education as to the true nature of capitalism.

In New York City, for example, a lot of women have gotten a better insight into the rottenness and inhumanity of the medical system as a result of the struggle for abortion repeal. The new law has made abortion legal in New York, but the medical establishment and the politicians are using every trick they can to be sure that working people and poor people who cannot pay the high fees do not get the benefit of this law. Their most important ploy thus far has been to try to require that all abortions must be done in hospitals, where the usual fees now range from \$300 to \$800.

The movement is fighting this by exposing the treachery involved and by counterposing the demand for free abortion clinics controlled by the community. The goal of the New York movement is to force the city to use its facilities to make abortion free and available to all women, on demand. To the extent that we are successful in this, we will be able to lay the groundwork for future struggles around the demand that the entire medical facilities of New York be overhauled and made available to all, free of charge.

Clearly, the basic needs of society—and particularly the basic needs of women—cannot be met by capitalism. But through struggle, partial gains can be won. And it is in the course of such struggle (and with the confidence gained in winning partial gains) that people develop an understanding of the need to take the struggle beyond the bounds of the system.

The heart of the process of revolution is mass struggle—struggle for control of the vast resources and wealth of society so that these can be used for the greatest welfare of human beings. The women's liberation movement, with its basic demands that the resources of the richest country in the world be used to provide child care, free abortions, equal education and opportunity, etc. is already a significant potential revolutionary force.

**PROBLEMS OF
WOMEN'S LIBERATION**
by Evelyn Reed

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Women's rights fight

Why protective laws do not conflict with rights amendment

By CAROLINE LUND

The following is the last of three articles dealing with the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and the protective laws for women workers. The first two articles appeared in our issues of July 24 and 31.

Attempts are being made by employers and capitalist politicians to obstruct the passage of equal rights legislation for women, or to say that if women win equal rights they must give up the state protective laws for women workers.

The Socialist Workers Party takes the position that there is no contradiction between equal rights for women and maintenance and extension of the protective laws. The women's liberation movement should fight for both.

There are two other major approaches on these questions. One is the position taken by the Communist Party, which opposes equal rights legislation and supports the protective laws. The other approach is that of the United Auto Workers union, which supports equal rights laws but opposes the protective laws.

(Protective laws vary from state to state and specify such things as minimum wages, maximum hours, adequate meal breaks and other conditions for working women.)

The attitudes taken by both the CP and the UAW play into the hands of the employers and the ruling class because they mean a refusal to carry out the full struggle. The CP gives up the struggle for equal rights for women, and the UAW gives up the struggle for protective legislation to improve working conditions for the most oppressed women workers.

CP's position

The July 7 issue of the *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, carried a statement from the CP's National Women's Commission entitled "CP Opposes Proposed Fraudulent 'Women's Equal Rights' Amendment." The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which is under consideration in Congress, reads: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The reason the CP gives for opposing the amendment is, according to the *Daily World* article, "the fact that the amendment would repeal existing protective labor legislation and subject women to military service. . . ."

The CP makes far too big an assumption when they say that passage of the ERA will automatically invalidate all the protective laws. It

is outrageous that an equal rights amendment could be interpreted as doing away with rights and benefits that women have won. To passively accept the notion that equal rights must mean giving up the protective laws is simply doing the ruling class a big favor.

It is true that the protective laws have been attacked by employers and by state governments on the basis of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination on the basis of sex, as well as race, in all areas of employment. Does the CP consider Title VII of the Civil Rights Act "fraudulent" also? Should Title VII be repealed?

Title VII was obviously an important step forward for the women's rights movement even though the ruling class attempts to use it whenever possible to its advantage. Women have won significant gains under Title VII. For instance, women members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union and the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union have won wage increases under Title VII amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

First of all, some factual errors in the CP's position should be noted. The *Daily World* article alleges: "If [the ERA is] adopted, all laws applicable to men would be equally applicable to women, and any law applicable only to women would be unconstitutional." This interpretation of the amendment does not conform to official reports from the Senate Judiciary Committee describing the intent of the amendment. (Such reports on the intent of a law carry great legal weight in interpreting and applying it.) According to those reports, as summarized in a memorandum by the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, state laws will be affected by the ERA in the following way:

Some state laws—those which deny rights or restrict freedoms of one sex—would be violative of the equal rights amendment and rendered unconstitutional. Laws which confer rights, benefits and privileges on one sex would have to apply to both sexes equally, but would not be rendered unconstitutional by the amendment."

According to this memorandum, four types of protective laws would be interpreted under the amendment as denying rights or restricting freedoms: weight-lifting restrictions, maximum hours laws, laws against night work, and laws barring women from certain occupations such as bartending, mining and wrestling. All other state laws which clearly confer benefits, such as minimum wages for women, meal breaks, seating facilities and restrooms, will not be declared unconstitutional but will have to be extended to men if the ERA is passed.

The women's liberation movement must point out that weight-lifting and hours limitations are benefits to women workers and must be extended to men. But it is important to note that even this government-affiliated council does not claim that all laws covering only women will be invalidated by the amendment.

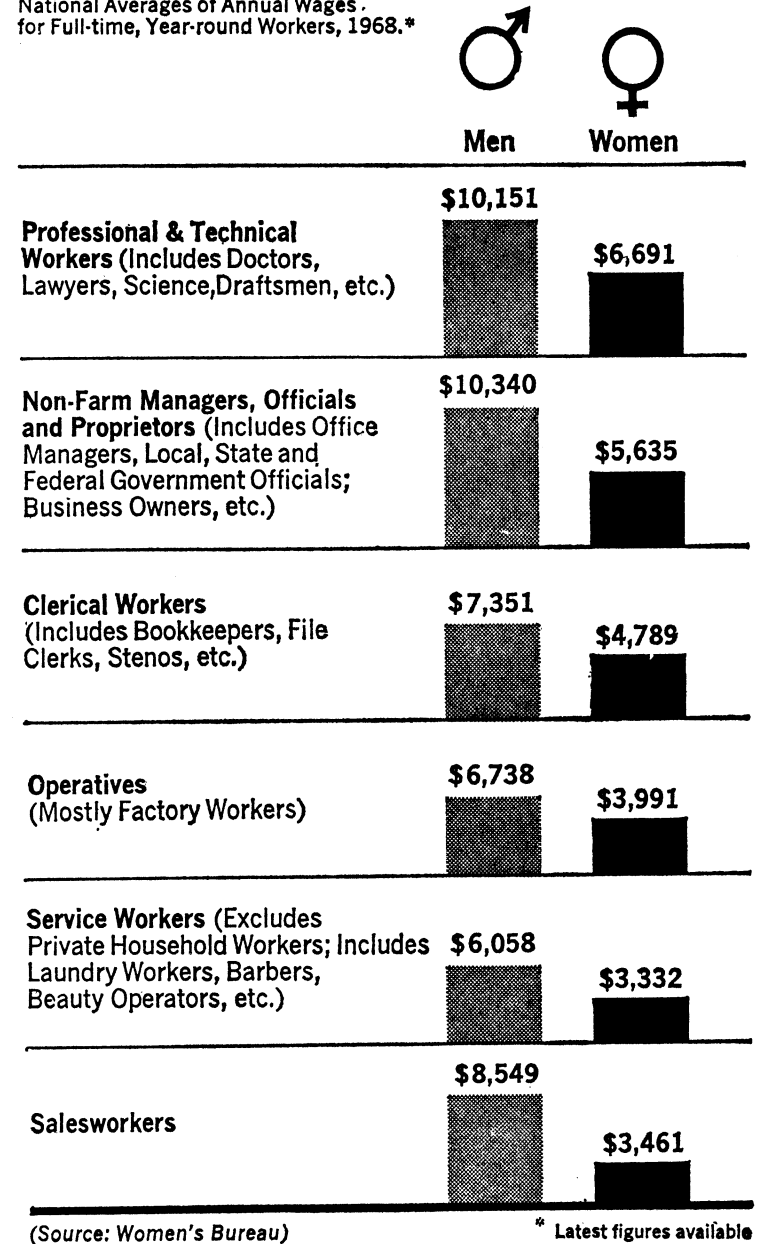
Further on, the *Daily World* article asserts that "the amendment would bar any maternity benefits other than the present puny ones, nor does it affect criminal laws which give stiffer penalties to women than to men for the same crime."

Again, the above-quoted memorandum says the opposite: "Laws which,

Why Women Complain

Double Standard: Men's Wages Much Higher Than Women's

National Averages of Annual Wages for Full-time, Year-round Workers, 1968.*



as a practical matter, can apply to only one sex no matter how they are phrased, such as laws providing maternity benefits and laws prohibiting rape, would not be affected by the amendment."

The same memorandum notes—the *Daily World* notwithstanding—the effects of the ERA will be to invalidate state laws which presently give women stiffer sentences than men for the same crime.

Rights must be won in struggle

But no matter what interpretations are made of the amendment by government committees and politicians, the CP is wrong in giving up the fight for women's equal rights on the grounds that the employers will try to use this legislation against working women through attacking the state protective laws.

Of course the employers are going to try to use all means available to exploit women as much as they can. But that will not be helped by giving up the fight for equal rights. In fact, the CP's perspective will hinder and disorient women who are struggling to defend the protective laws because it implicitly accepts the chauvinist concept that women need protective laws not because they are superexploited but because they are inferior. According to the CP, equality of rights under the law is incompatible with legally maintaining and improving working conditions for women.

In reality, the legal acceptance of women's equality is a crucial weapon in the fight to assure real equality and freedom from superexploitation.

The number of gains that women will win from passage of the ERA will be determined in the course of struggling for the demands of the movement, including struggles in defense of the protective laws.

The ERA benefits all women

The CP's position is also dangerous because it helps foster the false notion that working-class women don't care about "women's rights." It implies that "feminism" and women's liberation are "middle class" and have nothing to do with working women,

and that passage of the ERA would not be in the interests of working-class women.

This is completely false. Working-class women are oppressed more as women than women from other classes are. They are shunted through the school system into the worst jobs, with lower pay than men. And they have the double burden of caring for children and doing housework in addition to their jobs. The revolt of women workers as women terrifies the ruling class because it means that the most exploited people are becoming conscious of their oppression, are organizing, and are rising up from the bottom of society.

The ERA must be supported because it is in the interests of all women—working women, Black and Third World women, young and old. If such an amendment is passed it can be a basis for challenging all kinds of oppression women face.

For instance, it will strengthen the enforcement of existing equal pay laws and it would aid in wiping out discrimination in the education system. Such an amendment would help destroy the whole concept underlying the oppression of women: that they are inferior, non-citizens, or non-persons, and can be treated like children.

Military draft

The second major reason the CP gives for opposing the ERA is that the amendment would subject women to military service.

The memorandum cited above, by the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, notes that courts have in the past justified conscription of men but not women on the grounds that: "If a nation is to survive, men must provide the first line of defense while women keep the home fires burning."

This is just a variation of the old theory that "the woman's place is in the home" and all politics should be left to the men. This theory has been exposed by the women's liberation movement, and it is just as false in



—Shanks in "Buffalo Evening News"

relation to the Army. Women are just as capable as men of participating in all forms of politics, including war. Women have played important roles in revolutionary struggles, such as those in Algeria, China and Cuba. In Cuba now, for instance, women participate in the militia alongside the men.

Of course revolutionaries are opposed to all conscription by a capitalist state like the United States which maintains an army to defend capitalism and imperialist exploitation. We would oppose and build mass opposition to capitalist conscription of women just as we oppose capitalist conscription of men.

In considering the effect this amendment would have on the drafting of women, it is essential to keep in mind the present political context. In a period of mounting mass opposition to the draft, which is forcing the ruling class to consider abolishing it altogether, extension of conscription to cover women is hardly a serious threat.

This is a period of deepening radicalization. A move by the government to draft women would be met with such massive opposition from the anti-war and women's liberation movements that the end result would be a heightened radical consciousness for millions of men and women.

The CP's scorn for the struggle for women's equal rights is an indication of their complete underestimation of the potential in the women's liberation movement. Since they don't comprehend the mood of women in this country and the readiness to fight back against all forms of oppression, the CP takes a position of accepting the status quo and not challenging the interpretation that equal rights for women means dumping rights and benefits women have already won.

The UAW

The United Auto Workers bureaucrats have taken a different but equally wrong position. At their convention in April they came out in favor of the ERA but for elimination of all protective laws. The National Organization for Women takes a similar position.

UAW women find they are often discriminated against by the protective laws, especially by laws limiting the hours that women can work. The fact that women cannot work overtime can be used by the employers to keep them out of certain jobs and deny them promotions. In addition, many women need the extra money they could get by working longer hours at the high overtime rate.

Involved here are two questions that the labor movement must come to grips with: One is the problem of un-

employment and the fight for the shorter work week at no reduction in pay. The other is the fight to end discrimination against national minorities, women and youth on the job.

In the past, union officials have generally tried to avoid these problems and have taken the easiest way out by winning more privileges for a relatively small number of workers. But this is no answer.

This stance by the UAW is favored by the employers because they find it more profitable to hire fewer workers and pressure them into longer and longer overtime, even at premium pay, than to hire additional workers.

UAW women, who are prevented from working overtime by state protective laws, suffer real discrimination when they are restricted to the lower basic wage and get no overtime pay.

But the answer to this problem is not to do away with the protective laws. That would be a step backward. Rather, women must spearhead the struggle to make the UAW take up once again the decades-old struggle of the working class for a shorter work week at higher pay for all workers.

Women will be able to win many male workers to this fight because they too would prefer a shorter week at a good wage rather than the long hours they are forced to work at the present time. Ultimately the only solution is to fight for a shorter work week

and better working conditions for male and female workers alike.

This is a harder fight, of course, because it will cost the bosses more. The unwillingness of the union "leaders" to carry through this fight is what makes possible the superexploitation of women, national minorities and youth. It helps perpetuate the high unemployment rates.

It is in the interests of all workers to stop discrimination against any sector of the class, and women must launch a struggle to force the unions to fight for their interests. The first step is indicated by the fact that 85 percent of women workers remain to be organized. The unions must be forced to fight for equal pay and equal job opportunities for women and against all forms of discrimination.

Black workers have set an example in this struggle by their demonstrations to force employment of Blacks in the construction trades, and by their formation of Black caucuses within unions to more effectively press for their demands.

The conservative stance of the trade union bureaucracies must be changed. Black workers, Chicano workers, Puerto Rican workers, women workers all must organize to challenge the labor bureaucrats and win control of the great resources and power of the unions to help further their struggle.

Women should demand that the

UAW fight to extend the protective laws to men, including prohibitions on lifting excessive weights and limits on hours—at the same time the fight is waged to win wage levels that make overtime unnecessary.

Only by such a concerted struggle on the part of the entire class can the problems of unemployment, discrimination and exploitation be eliminated.

Women have a crucial role to play in this struggle. The independent struggles of Black and other Third World workers for demands of particular importance to them have begun and will continue to play a decisive role in breaking the iron grip which the conservative labor bureaucracy holds on the unions and labor movement today.

Likewise, the struggles waged by women to force the unions to fight for their interests will be vitally important in the coming battles to transform the unions into revolutionary institutions fighting for basic social changes throughout our society.

The women, the youth and the national minorities will be in the vanguard of those struggles. For that reason it is crucial that the women's liberation movement take a correct stand on fighting both for legal equality and better working conditions for women and men. Only by doing so will the full potential of the struggles of the oppressed be mobilized and their demands realized.



Women's liberation notes

Reports coming into *The Militant* on plans for the August 26 women's liberation actions indicate that there will be demonstrations in many areas of the country that day. August 26 is the 50th anniversary of winning the right to vote for women.

Philadelphia reports that the day's activities will include an assemblage of women's liberation displays, literature tables, and folksinging in Rittenhouse Square on the morning of the 26th, followed by a rally.

In Washington, D.C., a rally will take place during lunch time in a park where large numbers of government workers gather.

Other areas making plans for demonstrations include Atlanta, San Francisco and New York.

In all these cities, attempts are being made to unite as many groups

and individuals as possible in support of the actions. The main demands being put forward include: free abortion on demand, 24-hour community-controlled child-care centers, and equal education and job opportunities.

These actions, even if they are relatively small due to the summer vacation period, will be important in keeping up the momentum and visibility of the women's liberation movement over the summer.

* * *

Women have long been excluded from many areas of scientific exploration and research, especially the more spectacular fields such as space exploration. But even this is changing.

On July 20, an all-woman team of five aquanauts finished a two-week stay in an underwater chamber 50 feet below the surface of the ocean, where they have been studying fish and plant life.

This was the first time that women had attempted such a mission; previously the underwater research program had been dominated by male scientists, engineers and researchers.

Team leader Dr. Sylvia Early Mead told a *New York Times* reporter, "Sometimes people find it hard to take us seriously." But, she said, "most of the problems are in the minds of the men."

* * *

The winner of the Montana Miss America beauty contest, 18-year-old Kathy Huppe, was forced by contest officials to give up her "throne" because she would not keep quiet about her opposition to the war in Vietnam. Apparently such views are not in harmony with the officials' definition of "beauty."

* * *

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), an agency charged with investigating complaints of job discrimination against women and minority groups, reports a sharp rise this year in the number of charges of discrimination brought before them by women workers.

In a case referred by the EEOC, the Justice Department is initiating its first lawsuit against a company and a union for discrimination against women, on the basis of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Libbey-Owens-Ford Company in Ohio is charged in the suit with refusing to hire women for certain jobs, placing women in the least desirable and lowest paying jobs, and laying off women at a higher rate than men.

The union, Local 9 of the United Glass and Ceramic Workers Union, is charged with entering into "collective bargaining agreements which establish seniority systems and procedures for promotion, demotion, layoff, recall and transfer" discriminatory against women.

* * *

The C & P Telephone Company in Washington, D.C., has developed a really refined method of discriminating against women right from the time they apply for a job. Women who apply for work with the company are given pregnancy tests without their knowledge, in order to weed out applicants who may be pregnant.

According to Dr. Lawrence A. Pyle Jr., the company's medical director, quoted in the July 18 *Washington Post*, this policy saves the company at least \$700 in training costs for each woman who would quit to have her baby.

The manufacturer of the pregnancy test used by C & P Telephone says that several other U.S. industries conduct the same test on female job applicants.

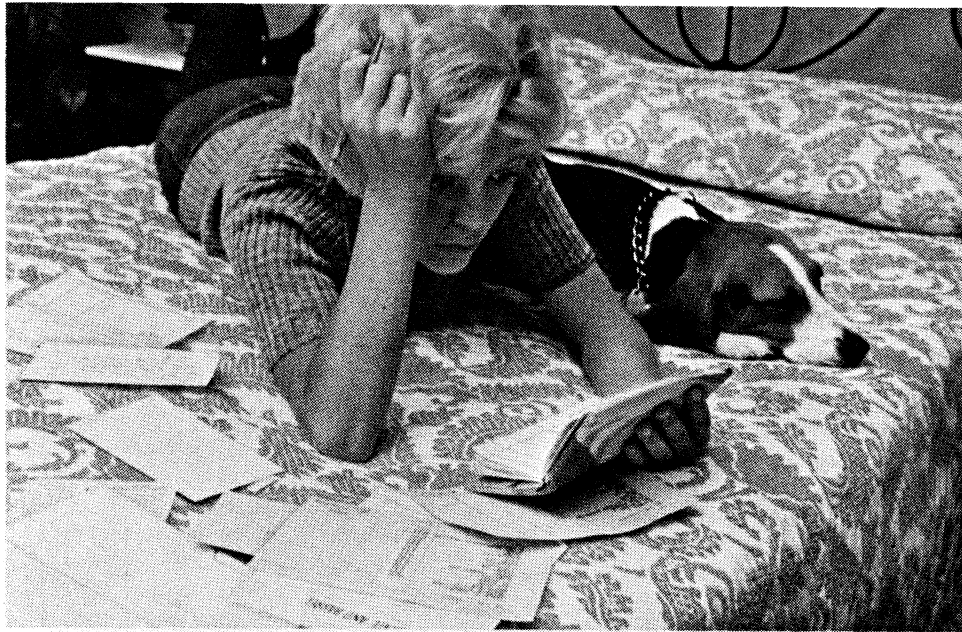
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The first issue of a new magazine has appeared: *Feelings from Women's Liberation No. 1*. The magazine, containing poetry, art work, stories and essays, can be purchased from: Feelings, 243 Baltic St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201.

* * *

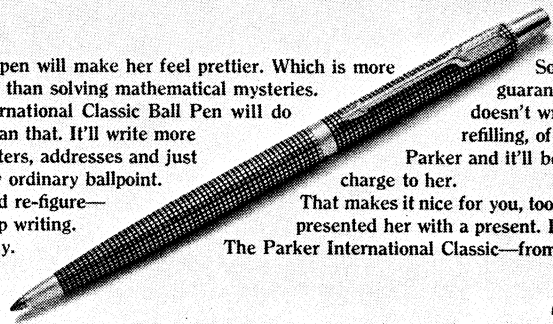
Chauvinist quote of the week: "There just are physical and psychological inhibitors that limit a female's potential. . . . So I reiterate, all things being equal, I would still rather have had a male JFK make the Cuban missile crisis decisions than a female of similar age who could possibly be subject to the curious mental aberrations of that age group." — Edgar F. Berman, member of the Democratic Party's Committee on National Priorities, explaining to a session of the committee why women's rights should not be given high priority.

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Excruciating problem for U.S. capital

Soaring Japan imports slice into markets

By DICK ROBERTS

On July 14, the powerful Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives approved a trade bill which would impose mandatory quotas on imports into this country of textiles and shoes manufactured abroad.

It is too early to determine whether this bill will pass both houses of Congress and be signed into law by President Nixon. Nevertheless, it is difficult to overstate the historic significance of the Ways and Means Committee action.

The imposition of quotas on goods imported into this country would reverse policies that U.S. capitalism has been following since the world economic crisis of the early thirties.

A statement on the Ways and Means Committee decision by 10 former, present and future presidents of the American Economic Association called it a "serious threat to U.S. trade policy."

"If we start on this tack," declared David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, "it will hurt more people than it will help. It is very dangerous and against our overall interests to adopt protectionist policies that could unleash repercussions that would damage us over many years."

In order to understand the implications of an import-quota bill, it is necessary to briefly review the main tendencies of U.S. and world capitalist trade since the Second World War. These tendencies can then be illustrated concretely by examining the trade relations between the U.S. and Japan which lie behind the Ways and Means Committee decision.

Economic cornerstone

Expanded world trade, the elimination of economic barriers between nations to promote world trade, and a stable international monetary system to support world trade—these have been the cornerstones of U.S. economic policy since the close of the world war.

This U.S. policy flowed from the fundamental necessities of U.S. monopoly. The giant trusts that command the U.S. economy require resources—raw materials and labor power—that extend far beyond this nation's boundaries, and they require markets for their products throughout the capitalist "Free World."

A corporation like the Rockefeller family's Standard Oil of New Jersey

sells products in over 100 nations. Over half of "Jersey's" sales are outside the U.S. Similar multinational trusts dominate most key industrial sectors of the U.S. economy.

For a period of time following World War II, the expansion of capital—above all of U.S. capital—served to stabilize the world economy. And it was with the possibility of such an expansion in view that the present world trade and monetary system was constructed during and after the war.

So long as the economies of Europe and Japan were generally expanding, goods and capital which could not be sold or invested in the U.S. could find outlets abroad. This muted the domestic and international repercussions of the cyclical business downturns which occurred five times between the end of the war and 1961.

In fact, the interpenetration of sales and investments between the advanced capitalist nations since World War II has been the primary stabilizing factor in the world capitalist economic arena. It is protected and reinforced by a host of international financial agreements and institutions, including the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the more recent "Kennedy Round" world trade negotiations.

It is not at all an exaggeration to state that U.S. postwar "prosperity" rested precisely on the expansion of U.S. monopoly capital that world trade and investment facilitated.

Achilles heel

But the very process of capitalist expansion contains within itself the seeds of its own undoing.

What happens when not one, but nearly all national markets are saturated with goods and investment? This condition has been developing in the world capitalist market since the mid-sixties. It is the inevitable effect of the simultaneous expansion of capital in and between capitalist nations.

The advent of world overproduction has sharply intensified the competition between nations for foreign markets. Those nations which can produce higher quality goods more cheaply can continue to expand their foreign sales—but now this expansion can only take place to the disadvantage of a competitor nation.

As the economies of Europe and Japan have grown and flourished in the last quarter century, U.S. indus-

try has also lost the virtually supreme position in world trade it once enjoyed—and around which it created the dollar-backed world monetary system.

Ironically, the two countries which were bombed most heavily in the world war—Germany and Japan—were to gain a future advantage in world competition because the plants that were built there following the war took advantage of the technological breakthroughs that the war itself had produced.

Thus in key industries the comparatively lower wage scales of foreign workers and in some cases the more advanced technology resulting from the war have given these industries an edge over their U.S. competitors.

The Vietnam-war-primed inflation has all the more aggravated this situation for U.S. industry. On the one hand, the high prices of U.S. goods make it more difficult to sell them in foreign markets. On the other hand, they open up the lucrative U.S. market for an influx of foreign goods.

Conflicting interests

The blowup of the 14-month-long textile trade talks between the U.S. and Japan, which occurred June 25 and precipitated the Ways and Means Committee's import-quota bill, illustrates the conflicting and interacting forces of the world economy.

If David Rockefeller represents capitalist interests in this country which continue to oppose restrictions on world trade, one of the most vociferous spokesmen for protectionism in U.S. trade is the powerful South Carolina architect of President Nixon's "Southern Strategy"—Senator Strom Thurmond.

Declaring against Japan's refusal to acquiesce to the demands of U.S. textile barons last May, Senator Thurmond cried out: "This simply means that in five years Japan will become the most important economy in the world. The irony in this story is that the economically strongest country in the world today, the United States, will have literally given away its position of fiscal strength."

Japan's meteoric rise from the ashes and destruction of World War II to its present position of being the second biggest capitalist economy vividly illustrates the potential of national capital to expand, given the proper economic conditions. It also illustrates the contradiction between the expansion of national capital and national boundaries.

Thurmond gave figures on U.S.-Japan trade relations in his Senate speech and emphasized the industries where Japanese expansion threatens U.S. monopolies.

In 1958, the U.S. sold \$167 million more worth of goods to Japan than Japan sold to the U.S. Eleven years later this favorable balance of trade was completely reversed. In 1969, Japan sold \$1.8 billion more worth of goods to this country than U.S. industries sold to Japan.

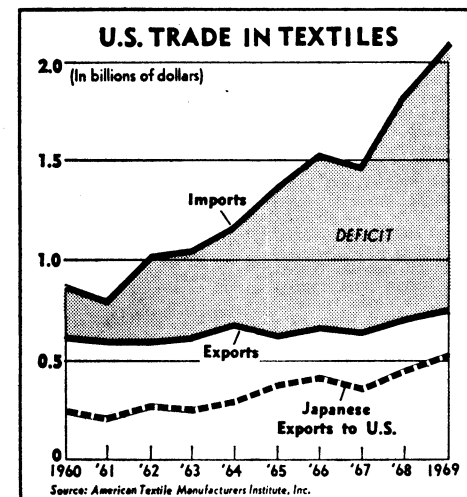
The growth of Japanese exports in two key industries is well-known—autos and electronics. In 1969, Japanese-made autos accounted for 13 percent of U.S. consumption; Japanese-made TVs accounted for 31 percent of U.S. consumption; and Japanese-made radios, for 73 percent of U.S. consumption.

Challenge to VW

The Economist, Britain's influential financial magazine, noted the spectacular growth of Toyota sales in the U.S. last April: "Even Volkswagen's continuing dominance of the American import market, with sales of well over 500,000 cars a year, is being

challenged by Toyota, the only other non-American car maker that can notch up more than 100,000 sales in the U.S. a year—127,000 sold in 1969. . . .

"If Japan's production sustains the same rate of growth as it did in the 1960s, when it went from 165,000 cars a year to 2,611,000, then by 1980 the country could be turning



out 50 million cars a year [more than double the present world rate—D. R.]."

Business Week magazine reported March 7: "This year, in the huge modern factories strung along the Pacific coast of the main island of Honshu, Japanese car makers will turn out 5.6 million cars, trucks and buses, second only to Detroit's projected 11 million vehicles. . . . Toyota Motor Co., Nissan Motor Co., and smaller Japanese car makers confidently claim that they will sell 470,000 vehicles in the U.S. this year, more than twice as many as in 1969."

Less well-known to most Americans, but comparatively greater threats to U.S. industry, are Japanese steel and textiles.

On May 16, 1970, the front page of the New York Times carried the gloomy headline: "Nippon Steel Corp. of Japan Called Biggest Producer Now." Dreary words to describe a remarkable fact: The mighty United States Steel trust of the Carnegie-Morgan interests is no longer number one!

Said the New York Times article: "Charles B. Baker, secretary general of the International Iron and Steel Institute. . . predicted that the five largest steel producers by 1975 would include three Japanese concerns and only one American company."

Growth rate

According to the same article, the average annual growth rate of the Japanese steel industry for the last 20 years has been 15.9 percent compared to a growth rate in the U.S. and Canada of 2.2 percent.

A temporary lid on the fast growth of Japanese steel sales in the U.S. was achieved last year with the reaching of an agreement on voluntary export quotas of Japanese steel to this country. For over a year, the Nixon administration had been attempting to reach a similar agreement with Japanese textile producers. Those talks collapsed June 25.

The U.S. textile industry has been particularly hard hit by foreign competition. In 1969, \$1.4 billion more worth of textiles were sold by foreign producers in this country than U.S. producers sold abroad. Japanese textile sales here were valued at \$569 million.

"From the base period of 1961-62," Senator Thurmond declared, "total im-

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By Myrna Lamb

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ports of textile articles increased 124 percent while consumption increased only by 48 percent."

Profit figures are one of the main considerations of these spokesmen for U.S. industry. Thurmond noted that textile production and profits have been slipping since March of 1969. The recent profit declines of the Big Three auto firms also in part reflect the severe challenge of foreign imports.

But there is much more at stake than short-term corporate profits in the context of intensified world competition. Tens and hundreds of thousands of jobs from one nation to the next, industrial and national wage levels, and the stability of the world capitalist economy itself are jeopardized by this new conjuncture of international capitalist competition.

Job impact

"By March of this year," said Thurmond, "the impact of increased imports and the textile recession was so far advanced that more than half of the 247 areas of substantial unemployment in the South and Southwest were communities in which establishments for the production of textile articles are located. . . . The textile industry accounted for 17 percent of the total loss of jobs in manufacturing in the U.S. between March 1969 and March 1970."

The Japanese Ministry of International Trade stated that the quota restrictions proposed by the House committee would "throw 100,000 textile workers out of jobs. . . . In Okayama, Fukui, and northern Shikoku, for instance, production may go down by 20, 40, or even 50 percent."

Jobs are threatened indirectly as trusts internationalize investments in order to reach pools of lower-paid labor.

U.S. electronics firms have sought to purchase direct interest in the firms of their Japanese competitors. They have also begun to relocate production facilities in South Korea and Taiwan. Joseph S. Wright, chairman of Zenith, recently explained the layoff of 4,000 electrical workers here and the opening of Zenith plants in Taiwan by the "life and death struggle" between the U.S. and Japanese electronics industries. Ford, General Motors and

Chrysler are in various planning stages of similar Asian ventures.

The June 18 *New York Post* quoted a manager of the Seoul division of Motorola as saying that the "average salary amounts to \$45 a month for a six-day, 48-hour week, including a free meal and transportation to and from work."

But this kind of internationalization of investment can only be a partial solution at this point for certain sectors of U.S. industry. As has been indicated, many of the most powerful corporate trusts that dominate the U.S. economy are already "multinational." They continue to favor unrestricted world trade in order to guarantee their existing foreign markets and they are pressing for even further reduction of foreign import barriers.

But the Ways and Means Committee bill shows that for some U.S. industries protectionism is now considered to be virtually essential.

Massachusetts congressman Edward Boland asked in the House, "How can a U.S. shoe firm paying its workers \$5 an hour compete with an Asian firm paying what is equivalent to 20 cents an hour?"

Major threat

The wage differential between U.S. workers and workers in most industries of the other capitalist powers is a major threat to U.S. monopoly today. But powerful, and perhaps decisive, sectors of U.S. monopoly oppose trade protectionism as a solution to this problem.

They know that protectionism will not stop at the borders of this country. Retaliations are inevitable—and if the U.S. textile industry is to be protected, they ask, which of "our" industries is going to lose its foreign markets?

Furthermore this can ignite a chain reaction of trade restriction, massive layoffs and recession, spreading from one country to the next, and possibly leading to a world economic collapse—precisely as happened in the thirties.

These sectors of the ruling class may succeed in pressuring Nixon to severely limit, if not actually veto, a trade-quota bill.

But this only reinforces the necessity of U.S. monopoly to resolve the wage



Datsun cars and trucks manufactured by Japan's Nissan Motor Co. awaiting shipment to U.S.

differential in different ways. Latent in the intensification of world competition is the intensification of labor exploitation in each competing nation.

The ingredients—speedup, wage freeze, rationalization of investment, "national austerity"—aspects of which have already been undertaken in Britain and France, cannot be excluded from the United States. Short of world war itself, there can be no alternative

to this "solution" in the *productiv. war* of competing national capitalisms.

U.S. monopoly has turned the corner of its mighty post-World War II advance. Ultimately, to safeguard its continued existence, it must turn even more fiercely on the wages and jobs of American workers, as it already has turned on the wages, jobs—and lives—of the oppressed throughout the world.

Colorado farm workers wage determined strike

By JAMES LAUDERDALE
SWP candidate
for governor of Colorado

CENTER, Colo., Aztlan—Anglos hold most of the administrative, teaching and professional positions in this town in the San Luis Valley. They own 96 percent of the businesses and hold 67 percent of the skilled jobs. For the majority of the Chicanos, who comprise 60 percent of the community, life means unskilled, seasonal work in the potato fields in winter and the lettuce fields in summer—with rotten wages and subhuman conditions. About 83 percent of the Chicano population falls below the federal poverty guidelines of \$3,200 for a family of four. Fifty-six percent earn less than \$2,000 annually.

Center is the scene of a strike by Chicano workers that began June 2. The more than 100 strikers and their families are demanding a pay raise from \$1.40 to \$2.00 an hour and from \$1.50 to \$2.50 an hour for Chicano supervisors. They are also demanding the right to collective bargaining and recognition of their union, *Dicho y Hecho* (Said and Done), by the growers, and an end to the use of child labor. (Children as young as eight years of age are put to work in the fields at half the wage of an adult.)

Those Chicanos lucky enough to qualify for assistance must travel 15 to 50 miles away to reach federal and local poverty agencies and the

office of the Civil Rights Commission. The people of Center know, however, that the trip might be pointless since at one point the government even flatly refused to give the strikers food stamps.

The growers are not simply one more business in the area—they represent the economy of the entire area. With this, of course, comes considerable power. Judges, for instance, give prisoners over to the growers when they are needed in the fields. And growers are able to dictate who may work and when.

Conditions resemble a disaster area. Poor roads, no paved streets, no sidewalks, no sewers, and in some cases, no water. "The houses are not even fit for dogs, much less people, around here," striker Orlanda de Varga told me.

The powers-that-be have resorted to all kinds of harassment of the strikers. They have been prevented from holding meetings in a number of different places, said strike leader Len Avila in an interview. (Avila is also La Raza Unida Party's candidate for secretary of state in Colorado.) Once they had to saw chains off the doors of a church when racist members put them on in an attempt to keep the strikers from attending a service at which California strike leader Cesar Chavez had been scheduled to appear.

"Since then we've been harassed by the police a lot," said Avila, "and espe-

cially by the sheriff who has two relatives who are running scab crews. Two of our people were almost thrown in jail for just saying 'Viva la huelga!' [Long live the strike!] They didn't have to post bond when they threatened to call a meeting and march down to the police station.

"At the same time, a man shot at the husband of one of our strikers and the police never arrested the man—because he was on the other side and that's the way it works." People have been evicted from their homes and have lost appliances and automobiles because, being out of work, they cannot keep up the payments.

The growing awareness of their own strength since the strike began has tended to push the strikers to demand more and more of what rightfully belongs to them. While the demands already mentioned remain the central ones, strikers have now begun to press for child-care centers, gas co-ops and a community-controlled clinic. They are discussing with Cesar Chavez and the National Farm Workers Organizing Committee the prospect of organizing all agricultural workers in Colorado and becoming part of his union.

"The longer the grower holds out the harder it's going to be for him to negotiate because we're getting smarter every day, and once we link up with Cesar there's no stopping us," predicts Avila.

"I think we are going to have a victory because our eyes are opening,

our minds are opening," explained Orlanda de Varga. The strike is teaching people the extent to which the community is controlled by their enemies, she says. "If the mayor says no, it's no, and that's it. Just because he's mayor he thinks he owns the town. To him we're nothing but lazy bums, yet I've worked all my life. I work year round. From September to May, I work in the potato cellars. From May to August, I work in lettuce. For the remaining three or four weeks in August I work hauling bales and it's hard work, it really is. But you have to in order to keep going."

Drives to collect food and money are being carried out since they are needed most. Plans are to launch a boycott of the Purex Corporation, whose subsidiary, Fresh Pict, is one of the major lettuce producers. A march from nearby Monte Vista to the state house in Denver is also planned. Food or clothing should be sent to Dicho y Hecho, P. O. Box 93, Center, Colo. Tel: (303) 754-2412.

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The battle for Black construction jobs

NAACP focuses on building trades

By FRANK LOVELL

The struggle for Black jobs in the construction industry was given significant new impetus at the recently held 61st annual convention of the NAACP.

The 2,344-delegate meeting, held in Cincinnati June 29-July 3, decided to step up the NAACP fight for Black employment in the building trades. This could have far-reaching implications for the fundamentally racist attitudes and hypocritical practices that are fostered by most employers, many unions, and government agencies at all levels.

This predominantly Black organization with its self-proclaimed middle-class values and representing the more well-to-do of the Black community has nearly a half million members and exercises considerably more economic and political power than any other Black organization.

It shares a common "integrationist" social aim with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), founded by the late Dr. Martin Luther King. It enjoys a close working relationship with some important segments of the trade union bureaucracy.

But despite all efforts of its ultra-moderate general staff and especially its executive director, Roy Wilkins, many of the attitudes and the prevailing mood of Black nationalism have permeated the NAACP ranks and are reflected in its decisions.

The official theme of this year's convention was "One Society." But the delegates made clear that their understanding of "one society" is one in which the full rights of Black people are respected and their own separate organizations are recognized. Delegates from the Boston NAACP branch distributed large "Black Is Positive" buttons. The clenched-fist salute was common.

Blasted Nixon

When the NAACP convention opened, the 72-year-old chairman of the board, Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, branded the Nixon crew in Washington "anti-Negro," citing official backtracking on school integration in the South, cutbacks in low-cost housing, limitation of anti-poverty funds, nominations to the Supreme Court of bigots Haynsworth and Carswell.

Before the convention adjourned, Clarence Mitchell, director of the

NAACP Washington bureau, declared, "We say, Mr. Nixon, if you want us to appreciate you, the first thing you'll have to do is take the Confederate flag out of the White House."

The NAACP's heightened militancy in the battle for construction jobs for Black workers is itself largely the product of the racist intransigence of the Nixon administration as well as the AFL-CIO top leadership.

One year ago, at the 60th NAACP national convention, meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, it appeared to the delegates that a whole new field was opening up for Blacks in the construction industry. The following is part of a policy statement adopted there:

"Executive Order 11246, (is) a federal directive requiring affirmative action programs by all contractors using federal funds, it is requested that all NAACP branches diligently pursue the full and positive implementation of this executive order on all construction contracts involving federal funds in their individual locales."

This meant that the NAACP leadership, armed with Executive Order 11246, thought that a few law suits would force contractors to hire more Black workers; and in addition, some Black contractors would be able to break into big-job, government-financed construction. It appeared as if the Nixon administration was clearly on the side of equal opportunity.

"Philadelphia Plan"

On June 27, 1969, at about the time of the 60th national convention of the NAACP, Arthur Fletcher, assistant secretary of labor for wages and manpower, released details of his "Philadelphia Plan." Under this plan, bidders on federal construction contracts in the Philadelphia area were to submit "affirmative action plans" setting specific goals for minority hiring.

A storm of protest hit the Congress. The late Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois announced that he would fight the plan and seek riders to appropriation bills that would bar money for contracts on which the minority quota system applied.

By the end of the summer, Black workers in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Buffalo, Seattle, and several other cities had picketed job sites and demonstrated in downtown areas against construction job discrimination. They suc-

ceeded in closing some projects, but the demonstrations—especially in Pittsburgh—were brutally attacked by the police who injured many and made mass arrests.

In most cities, these demonstrations were organized and led by coalitions of Black organizations. The street actions in Pittsburgh were under the direction of the NAACP. In Chicago, the SCLC leaders Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and Rev. C. T. Vivian were prominent spokesmen.

These actions all around the country served to draw attention to the viciously discriminatory practices of the building trades unions where Blacks make up only 3.2 percent of the general labor force in construction, and in most skilled trades only about 1.4 percent.

The Nixon administration reintroduced "The Philadelphia Plan." This plan now required contractors working on federally assisted projects—and this takes in most heavy construction work today—to start hiring Black workers and to hire no less than 26 percent of their work force from minority groups by 1972.

"Goals" vs. "quotas"

The Justice Department ruled that the "goal" of the plan to hire at least 26 percent of the total construction work force from minority groups by 1972 was not and could not properly be termed a "quota" and would therefore not be in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Similar plans were soon devised locally, in order to prevent the Philadelphia Plan from being universally applied—"the Detroit plan," "the Chicago plan," "the Seattle plan." In Buffalo, New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller ordered construction on state university buildings to continue regardless of federal "plans" to regulate employment.

All serious efforts to hire and train Black workers in the construction industry have been stubbornly opposed by the AFL-CIO unions under the leadership of George Meany and by the General Contractors Association. The result is that now, nine months later, nothing has been done and the whole matter is in the courts where it appears likely that the U.S. Supreme Court will at some distant future date overrule the fine distinction of the Justice Department between

"goals" and "quotas" and find that the Philadelphia Plan, never attempted in practice, is a violation of the Civil Rights Act.

When Meany appeared before the NAACP convention this year to say that "the alliance between the civil rights movement and the labor movement must be made stronger and more effective than ever," he did so only to emphasize the bad times and deplore the economic policies of the Nixon administration, which he claimed have caused production to drop below 80 percent of capacity.

"What this means is that one out of every 20 Americans who need and want jobs can't get them," Meany said. "And the burden will inevitably fall, as always, far more heavily on Blacks, than on whites."

This was the "explanation" by Meany for the failure of the AFL-CIO's Operation Outreach which was set up as the voluntary union plan to recruit and prepare young Black workers for apprenticeships and upgrade the skills of older minority-group workers in the building trades.

Bureaucrats unimpressed

The craft union bureaucrats and their buddies in the construction business are no more impressed with AFL-CIO plans for "equal employment" than they are with similar plans of government agencies. They would like to find a way to drop the whole question of discriminatory hiring practices and have everyone forget about it.

There is now an abundance of evidence that the Nixon administration has reached an understanding with Meany that such an eventual outcome of the whole matter would be desirable. This is one of the real reasons for the "hardhat" demonstrations in New York, St. Louis, and a few other places in support of Nixon and "the establishment." The building trades union bureaucrats want Nixon to understand that in some instances they need each other, and that Nixon's timely help against the "Black invasion" will turn up immediate rewards.

Governor Rockefeller in New York has already become a beneficiary. The building trades unions endorsed his bid for reelection.

None of this escaped the attention of the delegates to the NAACP convention. Other sections of the trade union bureaucracy, particularly the Teamsters and many still in the AFL-CIO, understand perfectly the game that is being played. They see nothing good coming out of the Nixon administration and resent labor's all-too-feeble political weight being thrown in that direction and further diluted and dissipated.

Last Fall, NAACP national labor director Herbert Hill, in an interview with the *Wall Street Journal*, declared (Sept. 26), "The issue is no longer whether a few Blacks ought to be given jobs. The time has come to take a completely new approach and bypass the entire obsolete structure of union control over hiring and training in the construction industry."

It has been necessary to reevaluate this opinion. Hill recently stated, "with this industry, union membership is a condition of employment. If you are Black and you don't have a union card, you don't work. It is as simple as that."

Tightening vise

Growing unemployment now places the building trades unions in a tighter vise. Even though construction remains one of the largest industries, it is not expanding as was expected. In some areas the tight money policy of the Nixon administration combined with cutbacks in government spending have caused layoffs.

On the other side, Black workers suffering greater unemployment see



Blacks guard a construction site they had shut down in Pittsburgh fight for building-trades jobs, August 1969.



White construction workers staged racist demonstrations against civil-rights groups in Pittsburgh construction-job fight last August.

many high-paying jobs in the construction industry filled by whites who have no greater skills than they have.

If the NAACP, under present political and economic circumstances, calls for mass demonstrations of Black people against discriminatory hiring practices in the construction industry, it will enlist the greatest response yet to such a call for mass action. It can also win the support of many important sections of the union movement, repelled by the recent pro-war, pro-Nixon, "for the establishment," "hardhat" demonstrations.

Some indications of this attitude in broader union circles is reflected in a recent statement by Harold J. Gibbons, president of Teamsters Joint Council 13 in St. Louis, Missouri. Gibbons wanted nothing to do with the "hardhat" demonstration there last June 7: "The labor movement can continue to exist only in a free and open society. Policies of the Nixon administration—repressive legislation, preventive detention, use of National Guard and police against protesters, limitations on the right to speak and organize—are the very things the labor movement has always fought against. We should be the strongest guardians of the right to dissent—without it we could never have been born or survived, and without it we can be destroyed."

These are encouraging words to the Black workers of this country who suffer the gravest injustices and have the most urgent need to protest.

There are serious doubts within the Black community about whether the NAACP will carry through the announced plan of mass protest against discriminatory hiring in the construction industry. Past experience is that this organization and its present leadership are more given to talk than to action, to court appeals than to demonstrations in the streets.

The social pressures at work—fed by mounting unemployment and the new awakening of Black workers and aggravated by the duplicity of government policy and the stubborn determination of union bureaucrats in the building trades to hang on to their job-trust relation with the building contractors—can turn the construction industry into a battle ground for equal opportunity in employment and training. The battle itself can be of short duration and bloodless, depending upon the determination of the NAACP organizers and the tens of

thousands they are capable of mobilizing.

There is little to fear from the "hardhats" in such a battle. It is one thing for a bunch of goons in collaboration with a few right-wing demagogues to pull several thousand construction workers off the job and parade them down the street to city hall.

But it is quite another thing when thousands of Black workers come to picket job sites and demand equal employment rights. And if these pickets get support from other unions, especially the Teamsters whom the building trades traditionally depend upon for support, the demand of the NAACP to open the membership books to Black workers will be settled quickly.

But, of course, there are many "ifs" in these events that surely are in the making. It is certain that many changes will occur in the course of developments. It may be that the NAACP, under severe pressure from the Black community and blocked by the Nixon administration from its traditional course of compromise and retreat, will be forced to follow through on the bold decisions of its recently concluded convention.

The national picket line

Steelworkers' vote reflects dissatisfaction in ranks

Every three years, there are local elections in the United Steelworkers. This year a high ratio of the incumbents went down to defeat. The presidents of both major Jones-Laughlin locals in Pittsburgh lost, as did the heads of U.S. Steel locals in Gary, Ind., and Homestead, Pa.

According to the July 21 *Wall Street Journal*, one local president who won said, "The rank and file in steel feel their own contracts should be better and one way to indicate it is to vote the incumbents out." An international official of the Steelworkers blames the pattern on "unhappiness with the economic pattern."

The *WSJ* correspondent sees in this trend a message to I.W. Abel, international union president and chief negotiator: "Steelworkers, pinched by inflation, expect a fat settlement in national contract talks next year."

Could be he's right, you know!

For the third time in a month, hit-and-run strikes against mines in south-

New Mobe meeting ponders its future

PHILADELPHIA — A New Mobilization Committee coordinating committee meeting held here recently and a "Strategy Action Conference" held in Chicago the previous week make it clear that the New Mobe's attempt to create a "broad-based" multi-issue coalition—the perspective launched at the June 27-28 Milwaukee Strategy Action Conference—is hopelessly bogged down.

The coordinating committee meeting here July 24 was attended by only 16 people. The SAC meeting in Chicago July 20 attracted about 25.

Most of those attending the coordinating meeting have been with the New Mobe for some time. Most are primarily concerned with building one or another variant of a multi-issue formation and see mass demonstrations focused on the war issue as an impediment to such efforts.

Symptomatically, the meeting began with a debate on whether or not it was relevant to hear reports and discussion about the August 6-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki antiwar demonstrations scheduled around the country. Some argued it was pointless since the Mobe is not organizing any actions. The point was removed from first place on the agenda and no reports on it were ever made.

There was much discussion about the relation between the New Mobe and the Milwaukee Strategy Action Conference. The consensus was that the New Mobe was going to have to take virtually all responsibility for attempting to follow up on that conference—just as it had for building it.

Other organizations which had taken part in the Milwaukee conference are not joining in following up the proposals of that conference to launch a series of regional SAC meetings. Such organizations include the Black Panthers, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

The New Mobe appears to be virtually the only national group attempting to organize follow-up regional meetings. While it was reported that over 15 such conferences are slated in the next few weeks, only five or six have been concretized so far. Most of the people at the Philadelphia meeting were skeptical about the number of regional conferences that would actually take place.

In any event, a decision was made

for the New Mobe to put William Douthard to work in the Fifth Ave. Peace Parade Committee office in New York to build regional conferences.

The future of the New Mobe itself was also discussed. It was reported that the New Mobe office in Washington, D. C., has not been functioning for weeks. There was some disagreement over whether the New Mobe had outlived its usefulness, should be left dormant, or should be revitalized.

A compromise was reached whereby Rennie Davis, Frank Greer and Jim Weeks, who are members of a group called the Washington Organizing Committee, will conduct WOC activities out of the New Mobe office in Washington, at the same time keeping that office open and functioning at a minimal level.

In discussion, New Mobe leader Sid Peck argued that in addition to building regional conferences the New Mobe should outline its own program for the fall. Peck argued for shutting down the Pentagon by "mass" civil disobedience, along lines suggested in a proposal being circulated by Brad Lytle.

Peck's suggestion that this be adopted by the New Mobe steering committee, however, was not discussed or decided upon. Several people indicated their hope that the New Mobe only work on regional conferences.

The organization's current debt was also discussed, but no one could offer any fund-raising suggestions. The session ended without setting another meeting date.



Sidney Peck

have asked the judge to renew his injunction. Last week Judge Christie offered to act as an intermediary between the Disabled Miners and Widows Association and the international UMW. But so far no such meeting has been set.

Just a reminder: W.A. Boyle and three other top officials of the UMW are beneficiaries of a million-dollar union trust fund set up to provide them with full annual wages and all other benefits when they retire. The average coal miner, when he can qualify for a pension, gets \$115. One of Boyle's campaign promises, in his fight to retain the presidency of the UMW against Joseph Yablonski, was to raise pensions to \$150 a month and to loosen qualification requirements for pensions.

Like all politicians' promises, this was just what such promises are made for—to be forgotten until the next election.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

In In B In Br In Bri In Brie In Brief

By RANDY FURST

SUIT HITS WAR: The State of Massachusetts filed a brief with the Supreme Court July 22 charging that the executive branch is acting illegally in committing U.S. troops to fight an undeclared war in Southeast Asia. The action was authorized by the Bay State legislature in April. . . . **WAR REFERENDUM OKAYED:** The Mass. Senate also passed a bill July 16 to put the question of the war on the state ballot Nov. 3. Voters would be asked if they favored a military victory, withdrawal "in accordance with a planned schedule," or immediate withdrawal. The bill now goes to the House where passage is believed to be assured.

INCOME GAP GROWS: The median income of Black families in New York City in 1968 was \$5,857, whereas the median income of white families stood at \$9,138, **Public Interest** magazine's summer issue reports. The new study indicates that the income gap is widening. White family income in N. Y. C. rose 15.6 percent between 1960 and 1968. But Black family income climbed only 7.6 percent during the same period. . . . **SHREDDED WHEAT DEBUNKED:** That study by Robert B. Choate Jr., a former Nixon administration adviser on hunger, found Nabisco Shredded Wheat the least nutritious dry cereal on the market, ranking 60 among 60 cereals. Quaker Oats Shredded Wheat was 59th, and Kellogg's Sugar Frosted Flakes was 58th. Most of the dry cereals were reported devoid of significant nutritional content. Healthiest cereals were Product 19, Kaboom and Total.

POISONED BIRDS: All mallard or black duck wings and all starlings tested in recent years contained DDT or its metabolates, DDE or DDD, the Interior Department says. . . . **WOLVES IN DANGER:** The wolf has been placed on the endangered species list by the Secretary of the Interior. Eight hundred wolves or less remain in the contiguous U.S., while there are 5,000 wolves in Alaska. However, the State of Alaska pays \$50 bounty on wolves and in the past four years has paid out 5,693 bounties. . . . **POLLUTION LEADER:** The U.S. makes up 5.7 percent of the world's population but causes more than 50 percent of the world's industrial pollution.

PEACE CORPS CHOKES ON PEACE SIGN: Peace Corps officials destroyed the March-April issue of its magazine, **Volunteer**, reported columnist Jack Anderson July 22. Seems the magazine cover showed several outstretched hands, one flashing the V-for-peace sign, and another hand giving the clenched fist. . . . **DISASTER FORECASTED:** Young scientists are radicalizing and refusing to do defense-related research, Edward Teller, the nuclear physicist, worriedly told the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. Teller ("father of the H-bomb") is quoted in the **New**

York Times July 24. If the number of defense scientists continues to decline, warns Teller, "in 20 years the United States will be disarmed." . . . **NIGHTMARE FORECASTED:** "Red Nightmare" is the not-so-subtle Army propaganda film currently making the rounds on military bases. **Left Face**, Ft. Houston underground newspaper, says the film depicts a red takeover in the U.S. as witnessed by a suburban father who is turned into the secret police by his wife and children for opposing the totalitarian regime. **Left Face's** GI movie critic dismisses the film, noting the totalitarian nature of the army. Cracks the movie critic: "My nightmare is green."

NEW ATROCITY: The Bureau of Dangerous Drugs and the Agricultural Department are urging farmers in the Midwest to spray wild marijuana crops with 2, 4D, the poisonous toxin, Floyd Norris of **College Press Service** reports July 10. The chemical compound causes birth defects in mice, hamsters and chickens and may be equally dangerous when ingested by human beings, according to studies by a government commission on pesticides. This does not seem to bother the government which continues to refuse to ban 2, 4D. (The chemical is also used by the U.S. as a defoliant in Vietnam.) CPS reports that the pesticide may not be detectable by sight or taste, even when sprayed on marijuana plants. . . . **ESCALATING MARIJUANA WAR:** The U.S. is giving the Mexican government five helicopters and three airplanes for use to spot—and presumably mark for destruction—ripening fields of marijuana.

OUT OF FUNDS: Liberation News Service, the movement press service, announced July 11 that it "has run out of money" with \$4,000 in unpaid bills. Contributions can be sent to LNS, 160 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 10027. . . . **NEWS ON LEE OTIS:** Former SNCC organizer Lee Otis Johnson was transferred from a Ramsey Prison cell to the prison hospital in early July after doctors found him suffering from high blood pressure and psychological pressure. Lee Otis has received steady harassment from prison guards, says **Space City**, Houston's underground newspaper. Johnson was sentenced to 30 years in federal prison in August 1968 by an all-white jury for allegedly selling a marijuana cigaret to an undercover agent. Lawyers continue to contest the verdict. Letters of support and funds can be sent to the Lee Otis Johnson Defense Committee, Box 6524, Houston, Texas 77005. . . . **MISTRIAL:** The trial of three Jersey City Panthers was declared a mistrial July 13 after one of the jurors had a heart attack. Panthers were framed on a variety of charges. Another trial is not expected.

COFFEEHOUSE CLOSES UP: Organizers in Muldraugh, Ky., announced July 23 that they will close their GI coffeehouse following nearly a year of harassment and arrests by police. Instead, they report, they will step up organizing at nearby Ft. Knox. Authorities have agreed to drop a series of arrest charges lodged against the organizers. . . . **ASUer HONORABLY DISCHARGED:** Bob Lemay, executive director of the American Servicemen's Union, was given an honorable discharge from the Army Reserve on July 26. The Army was seeking to boot Lemay out on a general discharge for his leftist affiliations, but Lemay's lawyers contested. . . . **PICNIC:** Some 75 GIs from Ft. Hood, Bergstrom Air Force Base, and Ft. Sam Houston gathered in Austin, Texas, July 19 for a GI-Civilian antiwar picnic. The GIs from Ft. Hood then went off to the Oleo Strut coffeehouse in Killeen where Dr. Howard Levy spoke.

READY TO CAMPAIGN: Thirty-nine percent of all college students interviewed in a Louis Harris survey released July 20 say they intend to participate in campaigns this fall to elect "peace" candidates to Congress and other offices. That's two million college students. Protests took place on 80 percent of the campuses surveyed, and 75 percent of the students said they favored the protests. Some 27 percent said they intended to work for an organized protest group next fall. Asked if the "democratic process can work," 63 percent of students said it could, 33 percent said "it won't work" with four percent "not sure." Students were asked how effective they thought it was to work to elect better public officials; 65 percent called such work "very effective" and 30 percent said it was "somewhat effective." Another 22 percent said that it was "very effective" to demonstrate or protest peacefully "to influence policies of elected officials." Another 63 percent believed such protests were "somewhat effective."

85 PERCENT WOULD PROTEST: In another survey, released July 23, Harris said that 85 percent of students said they would participate in a demonstration; 60 percent say they already have. . . . **STRIKE STATISTICS:** Kent State killings were the chief detonator of the May upsurge says

Convictions returned in Free Press case

The publisher of the Los Angeles Free Press, Art Kunkin, his corporation, and a former LA Free Press reporter were convicted July 15 of one count of receiving stolen property—a printed list of undercover state narcotics agents.

The list—including names, addresses and telephone numbers—was published in the Free Press last August.

An all-white Los Angeles jury returned the verdict, which carries a penalty of one to 10 years in prison. Sentencing was set for Aug. 28.

Kunkin and former Free Press reporter Jerry Applebaum charge that it was the jury which committed the crime.

According to Kunkin, "from the beginning (and to this day) it was my belief that these were public documents about governmental activity which a newspaper is entitled to extract information from under the First Amendment provisions of the U. S. Constitution."

A second count against Applebaum, accusing him of involvement in an alleged theft of a confidential memorandum on campus police at UCLA, was dismissed after the jury failed to reach a unanimous verdict. That document was also published in the Free Press.

As a result of the conviction, the newspaper corporation may be placed under probation conditions "which might limit its effectiveness or even ability to exist," wrote Kunkin in the July 17 Free Press. Kunkin stated that the jury convicted the Free Press for "our anti-establishment editorial position as there were no other grounds in the evidence itself."

Defense Attorney Mel Albaum told the jury that the documents published were of non-commercial value, were not confidential or classified materials and were public documents, not private property.

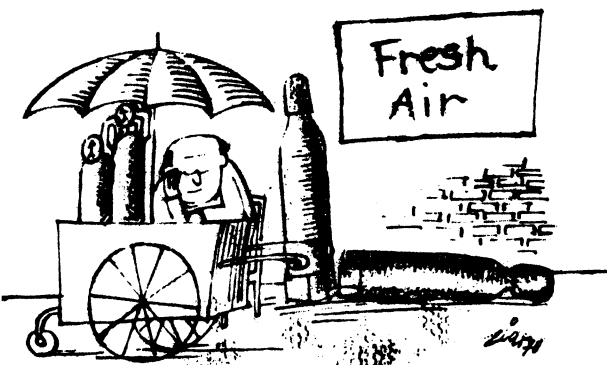
Kunkin reported that he planned to speak to university and community groups around the country to publicize the case and to raise money to pay defense costs.

the Urban Research Corporation, a private firm based in Chicago. "In spite of Cambodia, without the Kent State deaths, there would have been no national strike," the report states. URC studied 760 campuses and found three common demands of student strikers—immediate, unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia; release of all political prisoners; and an end to war-related research on the campus.

MAYOR TOLD TO QUIT: The 81-year-old mayor of San Antonio, Texas, has been asked to resign by local Chicanos after he told an NBC newscast July 6 that "there is a special temperament, a difference between the anglos and our Americans of Mexican descent." Speaking on TV July 6, Mayor W. W. McAllister said, "Our citizens of Mexican descent are very fine people. . . . They are home-loving, they love beauty, they love flowers, they love music, they love dancing. Perhaps they're not quite as, let's say, as ambitiously motivated as the anglos are to get ahead financially, but they manage to get a lot out of life." McAllister, who is president of a bank, got a quick rebuff from San Antonio Chicanos. "It's obviously a racist statement," County Commissioner Albert Pena, a Chicano, told **The Militant**. He said local Chicanos are contemplating a boycott against McAllister's bank. "We are going to continue to insist he resign," Pena said.

IRANIANS INDICTED: A grand jury in San Francisco returned indictments against 41 Iranian students July 16 on charges of conspiracy, burglary, false imprisonment, assault on peace officers and malicious mischief. Outside the San Francisco Hall of Justice, 100 protesting Iranian students denounced the indictments, the **San Francisco Chronicle** reported July 17. . . . **GREEKS GET LIFE:** Three members of the Moscow-backed Koligiannis faction of the Greek Communist Party were sentenced to life imprisonment July 8 for "conspiracy to overthrow the regime and replace it with a Communist administration." Two other defendants were given 20 years and six others received sentences of two to 16 years, according to the July 9 **Le Monde**. The defense attorney received a year in prison for contempt of court.

THAT'S BECAUSE WE TRY HARDER: "For the first time since the Korean War, college and university summer school enrollment has failed to grow and in some places has dropped sharply," reports the **Great Speckled Bird** July 20. "Northwestern is down 20 percent," notes the Bird, "Harvard 15 percent, Indiana 9 percent, Kent State 6.3 percent. . . . Maybe all those students went over to the YSA Summer Schools. Their enrollment is at an all-time high."



From SZPILKI, Warsaw

Is single-issue antiwar movement 'racist'?

By BARRY SHEPPARD

Mike Zagarell, a leading member of the Communist Party, spoke in New York May 22 on "The Inside Job—Trotskyism in the Movement." This is the fourth in a series of articles dealing with the questions raised by Zagarell's attack on revolutionary socialism. Previous installments appeared in our issues of June 19, July 10 and July 24.

Mike Zagarell charges the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance with being "racist." He pegs this slander on the position taken by the Trotskyists concerning the best way to build the antiwar movement in this country.

"The SWP and YSA are obstacles in the peace movement," Zagarell asserted, "because they don't want the peace movement to take up the struggle against racism." Such a stand "is a capitulation to racism," he claimed.

The issue here is the SWP and YSA's insistence that the central strategy for the movement against the war in Vietnam must be mass mobilizations in the streets in opposition to the war, with the demand of immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia being the central one.

Zagarell's charge boils down to this: mass mobilizations against the war are racist—or at least "capitulations to racism"—if they do not "take up the issue" of racism. This charge is completely false.

In the first place, mass actions against the war mobilize people in direct opposition to the capitalist government on one of the most important questions any government ever faces: war. Since this is the same government which maintains the oppression of Black people and other oppressed national minorities, the antiwar movement in and of itself—far from being "racist"—is an objective ally of the struggles of the oppressed minorities for their liberation.

Faulty logic

The reverse is also true—every advance made by the Black struggle, for example, can only aid the antiwar movement. It would be just as stupid to say that a demonstration by Blacks for more jobs in the construction industry is "pro-war" unless the demonstrators carry antiwar signs as it is to make the reverse statement, as Zagarell does. The same goes for other struggles: a strike by a labor union, a demonstration by women, are not "pro-war" simply because they limit themselves to the specific issues of the strike or demonstration, and the antiwar movement is not "anti-labor" or "male chauvinist" because it limits itself to being an antiwar movement.

Further, the mass mobilizations against the war, by bringing people into opposition to the capitalist government on such a key issue, tend to educate those involved and wider masses, too, on the nature of capitalist politics and the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties—the same parties through which racism is perpetuated.

Second, mass actions on the single issue of the war are an ally of the struggles of the oppressed national minorities in another way. The war in Vietnam itself is a racist war, and organizing opposition to it is a blow against racism. Fighting in support of self-determination for the Vietnamese—and that's what the demand to bring all the troops home immediately directly implies—can only aid in the struggle for self-determination



Photo by Derrick Morrison

Third World people are opposed to war just as everybody else is. SMC rally in Harlem last April 18.

everywhere, including within the United States.

Third, the war in Vietnam hits Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native-Americans and other national minorities even harder than white people.

Non-whites are drafted and sent to do the worst fighting in disproportionately higher numbers and they die and are maimed at a disproportionately high rate. Funds and programs that could be used to aid the oppressed national minorities are diverted into the war. Black, brown, red and yellow people in this country have a direct stake in the development of an ever more massive movement on the "single issue" of bringing the troops home now.

Smear job

Zagarell's point is really so weak he felt constrained to bolster it with a little slander and falsification. "The YSA and SWP," he said, "are opposed to linking the antiwar movement" with the struggles of Blacks and workers. This is just not true. Members of the YSA and SWP, many of whom are leaders in the antiwar movement, have worked from the beginning to convince the antiwar movement of the need to establish links with Blacks, Chicanos, unionists, women, GIs, students and other sectors of the population, as well as the need to emphasize in its propaganda just how the war affects them and why they should join in activity opposing the war.

The actual issue which divides the Communist Party from the SWP and YSA is one we have referred to in previous articles in this series: the popular-front concept championed by the Stalinists vs. the united-front policy advocated by the Trotskyists.

The tactic of the united front was first developed by the Communist International in its early healthy days before the Stalinist degeneration. It was meant to apply to a situation where the revolutionary party did not yet have the overwhelming support of a majority of the working class, with sections of the class still supporting reformist or centrist working class parties.

The specific situation which was envisioned was one, however, where mass workers parties existed. Since such parties do not exist in the United States at present, the tactic is not directly applicable in the form it was conceived. Nevertheless, the basic united-front approach is if anything even more necessary in the present situation in the United States, with regard to something like the antiwar movement.

The concrete reality we face is one

of a small organized radical movement, with an even smaller revolutionary socialist section, the SWP and YSA. At the same time, there were thousands at first, then hundreds of thousands, and now millions who can be mobilized into action against the war in Vietnam. How should revolutionists approach such a situation?

Broad front needed

Clearly, no one tendency, including the Trotskyists, could simply call meaningful mass antiwar actions in its own name. The mass of people becoming opposed to the war would not join such actions, because that would imply support to a particular party or tendency, and such people have not yet decided to do that. Not even supporters of rival tendencies within the radical movement would support such actions.

Only a united-front type approach could both unite those opposed to the war and mobilize them independently of the capitalist parties and against the capitalist government. The key to this approach was to project demonstrations of a mass character in the streets around the single issue of opposition to the war, concretized in the demand for immediate withdrawal. This allows all who are against the war to participate on a non-exclusionary basis, whatever their general political views (or lack of them), drawing as many people as possible into a mass action which is objectively in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and against the U. S. ruling class and its government.

It has been this united-front type approach which has been so successful in building up massive opposition to the war in this country. The successive mass mobilizations have been the most important factor in laying the basis for reaching out to unions, Black organizations, GIs and others to come into the united front against the war.

It is one thing to "link up" the antiwar movement and Black movements by exposing the racist character of the war and emphasizing why Black people should oppose it, and by encouraging the participation of Blacks in the antiwar united front. The Communist Party, however, has something quite else in mind. They propose that the antiwar movement itself "take up" the struggle against racism per se, in other words, project a program for combating racism. The question necessarily arises—what program?

Revolutionary approach

The revolutionary socialist program for the Black struggle contains as two

of its planks, for example, unconditional support of the right of Black people to national self-determination and advocacy of a mass, independent Black political party. Yet, if a demonstration were to be called on these two demands plus opposition to the war in Vietnam, it would obviously severely restrict participation. Among the radical groups, the Communist Party itself would be among those unable to participate because it is *opposed* to Black nationalism and to the idea of an independent Black political party. It favors Black people supporting the Democratic Party.

Actually, what the CP hopes to achieve is to transform the antiwar movement into a "multi-issue" movement that would turn away from mass mobilizations against the war, and lay the basis for participation in "politics," by which the CP means participation in its brand of people's front politics: support to the Democrats.

Given the concrete situation in the United States today, with the mass of people and even most radicals still holding deep illusions in capitalism and in the capitalist parties, to transform the antiwar movement into a "multi-issue" movement would only succeed in creating a vague *liberal* political movement with a *reformist* "multi-issue" program, not a revolutionary one. Such a movement would be easy prey to the CP's line of class-collaboration politics.

The mass street actions for the immediate withdrawal of all troops are very embarrassing to the capitalist "peace" politicians, because of their independent nature and their thrust against the government. Consequently they are also very embarrassing to the CP, especially at election time when the CP is out hustling votes for just such capitalist "peace" politicians.

Easy pickings

If the antiwar movement could be gotten off the streets, however, and be transformed into a general movement with a reformist, vague program "for peace," "against racism," etc., there would be all kinds of capitalist huckster politicians around claiming to be "for peace" and "against racism," too. So why don't we all just go out and support these good fellows in their bids for office, the CP would explain.

In the meantime, for the sake of gaining a few more campaign workers for Democratic Party hacks, the CP would destroy the basis of the antiwar movement, agreement on the single issue of organizing mass action against the war.

(To be continued)

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

Militant action brings victory to Cleveland municipal workers

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND—July 17 marked the end of a victorious strike by bus drivers, trainmen and other employees of the Cleveland Transit System (CTS). Coupled with the simultaneous sick-in of the city's waste collectors, it was a further example of the increased militancy of public employees all over the country.

The 1,900 members of Division 268 of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union began a walkout on June 30 after being given just four hours to discuss and approve a new contract. Over the protests of union president Bruce Foster, the members present greeted the contract with boos and refused to ratify it. The walkout followed, and by the following morning

most of the greater Cleveland area was without public transportation.

The key issues in the strike were:

- **Wages:** Transit drivers demanded a \$1.25 an hour increase over one year, above their present \$3.75 an hour wage. They were offered a 60-cent raise over two years, plus cost-of-living increases;

- **The "pull-in, pull-out" clause:** Previously bus drivers had been allowed 10 minutes to start their motors and drive to their first stops and the same amount of time to drive back to their stations after their routes. This was reduced to five minutes in the new contract.

The effectiveness of the strike was apparent from the start. All CTS transportation service ceased. For the 17-day duration of the strike, downtown businesses lost between \$500,000 and \$750,000 daily. The CTS lost \$13,500,500 in all.

The contract was formally rejected on July 3 by a margin of more than 2 to 1, thus refuting the claim that a small minority of drivers was forcibly preventing other employees from working.

The settlement consisted of a 70-cent increase spread over two years, including an immediate 40 cents an hour, an additional 15 cents Aug. 1, 1971, and 20 cents Feb. 1, 1972. Top hourly rate will be \$4.50. Cost-of-living increases are also included. The hospitalization contribution by the company was raised from \$19.35 to \$34 a month, with an additional increase of \$3 next year. The CTS was forced to yield on the "pull-in, pull-out" clause.

The waste collectors' action was similar in many respects. The city began negotiating with representatives of the 14 unions representing city employees when their contracts expired on July 1. The original demand of the waste collectors was for a \$2.36 an hour raise; this was later lowered to \$1.03. By

Antiwar action being organized in St. Louis

By BILL ONASCH

ST. LOUIS—The St. Louis peace movement, plagued by factional divisions since last November's actions, has taken a big step toward unity with the formation of the August 8 Action Committee, which has called for a mass march and rally here that day.

The march will assemble at 1 p.m. at Busch Memorial Union, St. Louis University and proceed to a rally at 12th and Market.

Participating organizations include: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, St. Louis University Community for Peace, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, United Black Alliance, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Veterans for Peace, Humanist Association, Social Workers for Peace, Friends of the Farm Workers, New Democratic Coalition, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The St. Louis Peace Council is cooperating with the August 8 Committee in building the action.

The August 8 Committee was formed at a meeting initiated by the St. Louis delegation that attended the June 19-21 Cleveland emergency antiwar conference which called for nationally coordinated Hiroshima Day demonstrations.

Financial contributions and volunteers for leafleting, clerical work, and parade marshals are urgently needed. Contact: August 8 Action Committee c/o Peace Center, 6244 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Phone: 862-5735.

July 7 there was still no offer from the city.

That night, one week after the transit workers voted to walk out, a sick call was announced by the stewards of Local 1099 of the Municipal Foremen and Laborers Union at the city's dumpyards. Although the official union leadership opposed the action, it was 100 percent effective by the following day. Drivers (under jurisdiction of Local 244 of the Teamsters) refused to go out without collectors, although they reported for work every day.

A thinly veiled attempt to break the strike by having the drivers stop in the street and "toot for trash" was called off when the drivers refused to go out, under orders from their union. The collectors returned to work on July 15 pending a new offer from the city.

The settlement gave the waste collectors a pay hike of more than 60 cents an hour over the next two years, fully paid hospitalization by July 1970, and fringe benefits.

These strikes resembled each other in two ways:

- Both strikes were completely successful. Picket lines often proved unnecessary since there was no attempt to recruit scabs. Aside from the "toot for trash" fiasco (a brainstorm of Mayor Carl Stokes), no serious effort was made to break the strikes.

- In both cases the strikes were led by militant rank-and-filers and stewards and initially opposed by the official leaderships.

Throughout both strikes threats were made to institute legal proceedings against the strikers. However, no court orders or injunctions were issued or even sought. No strikers were fired. The reactionary Ferguson Act, which makes pay raises for striking public employees in Ohio void, was recently used against Cincinnati municipal workers and upheld on appeal. Yet no suit was filed by the city of Cleveland or the CTS. A suit by Richard Kay, attorney and American Independent Party candidate for U. S. Senate, to force the invocation of the act, was



Like every Democratic Party politician, Cleveland's Mayor Stokes sees to it that "law and order" gets priority over public services. His 1970 budget provided for a big 1 percent pay increase for waste collectors. Meanwhile it added 12 percent to the police salary budget so that another 368 cops could be added to the force. Cleveland police earn 10-20 percent more than other city workers.

ruled out of order in court July 17.

The capitalist politicians and "mediators" did not initiate such action because it was clear that the majority of working people in Cleveland supported the strikes, if only passively.

These pay increases will undoubtedly be used by the Stokes administration as the pretext for socking the people with new tax hikes. Needed added municipal income could, of course, come from the city's well-heeled business, financial and real-estate interests. But that kind of a tax program would require an administration of and by the city working people and oppressed minorities. Certainly no Democratic or Republican politician would institute such a tax program.

S. Carolina Black students hit with heavy sentences

By RANDY FURST

Seven Black Voorhees College students, arrested last year in the takeover of the administration building on the predominantly Black South Carolina campus, were sentenced to harsh prison terms of 18 to 24 months July 17.

The students had seized the administration building April 28 and 29, 1969, and carried rifles with them into the building.

However, there were no injuries reported during the occupation nor were shots fired in the course of the building takeover.

But a 12-member jury in Bamberg, S. C., ruled, nonetheless, that the students were guilty of riot, a common-law offense.

Two defense attorneys, Mathew J. Perry of Columbia and Fred Henderson Moore of Charleston, said they would appeal the verdict to the state supreme court.

Six of the students were identified by police on the basis of a photograph which appeared in a Columbia, S. C., newspaper showing them holding guns and peering out of the windows in the building.

A seventh student was identified by a Voorhees College coed.

The students had presented the administration with a list of demands including the demand for a Black studies department.

With national guardsmen and members of the State Law Enforcement Division on the campus, the building occupants had been led to believe that they would not be arrested if they evacuated the building peaceably. However, they were arrested as they left a private conference with the college president.

Those sentenced to 18 months at the Bamberg County Prison Farm or the Central Corrections Institution in Columbia were Oliver Francis, James Bryant, Michael Moore, Samuel Mintz and James Epps. Sentenced to 24 months in prison were Cecil Raysor and Alvin Evans.

The students have all been released on bond.

The defense attorneys challenged the riot statute under which the seven Blacks were charged.

"We contended in court that it was rather vaguely described," said Atty. Mathew Perry in a telephone interview, "that it did not actually set forth in plain and specific terms what conduct was prohibited and therefore it was unconstitutionally vague under the Fourteenth Amendment."

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A MILITANT INTERVIEW

Palestinian revolutionary outlines DPF positions

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Abu Marwan, a member of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was in New York July 22. He had been in Jordan since immediately after the fighting of early June between the Jordanian regime and the Palestinian resistance and its supporters. I asked Abu Marwan what happened in Jordan and how the DPF evaluated it.

"For some time," he answered, "the Jordanian regime has been trying to confront and crush the Palestinian movement, especially since the beginning of the growth of the more radical forces within it. This attempt has been intensified lately and is directed especially against what the Jordanian establishment calls the 'extremists,' the 'dishonest' or 'unclean' guerrillas. To these, it tries to counterpose the 'real' or 'honest' guerrillas, those the government can cooperate with more easily and who put emphasis on fighting Israel and Zionism alone, without placing the Palestinian armed struggle in the perspective of the need for political, economic and social change in the whole area surrounding Israel.

"The DPF," Abu Marwan stated, "has been leading a political campaign against the Jordanian regime and all anti-revolutionary forces in the area, trying to politicize the masses and get them involved in action. We have raised a number of transitional slogans that constitute a real threat to the Jordanian establishment. The first was, 'No authority above the authority of the resistance movement.' This has now been achieved in fact. For the past several months, we have been raising two more slogans, perhaps even more threatening in their implications: 'Popular councils everywhere,' and 'Popular militia everywhere,' and we have been organizing masses of people around them.

"Shortly before the outbreak of the fighting in June," Abu Marwan continued, "there had been a number of assassinations and arrests of members of the resistance, especially DPFers. The situation had become very tense. The spark that set off the explosion was a Special Forces attack on a DPF jeep near the town of Zarka.

Cease-fire

"The resistance movement," Abu Marwan reported, "through its unified command, the Central Committee, decided that it was in the interest of the resistance to curb the confrontation, which the regime wanted, as quickly as possible. Although some elements in the resistance disagreed

and tried to intensify the confrontation, the Central Committee was able to arrange a cease-fire—because of the regime's weakness.

"All the games the regime tried to play failed. First it tried to divide the resistance into 'moderate' and 'extremist.' There are many reasons why this failed, but one of the most important is that the left of the resistance in general and the DPF in particular are working side by side with the whole body of the resistance and has become strong. Secondly, the regime tried to play the Jordanians off against the Palestinians. This failed too. Even the Bedouins, who used to be the main support of the regime, are no longer solidly behind it. Many of them sent telegrams and delegations expressing their solidarity with the resistance movement.

"The confrontations have continued from the Jordanian side," he continued, "and we know they will continue in the future. For example, just a couple of weeks ago—July 6, I think it was—the Special Forces made an attempt on the life of Saleh Ra'fat, a member of the DPF's political bureau.

"Right now," he said, "we know there is a plan to enforce a 'peaceful' or 'political' settlement of the Palestine question. Such a 'solution' would require the crushing of the Palestinian resistance. An attempt is now being made to get certain segments of the resistance movement involved in this 'solution.' We believe the great bulk of the resistance will fight against it.

We are now raising the slogan, 'No compromise, no political solution,' and we will take the initiative in resisting any such settlement. We believe this will lead to a new distribution of forces within the resistance movement."

DPF program

I asked Abu Marwan to outline the basic political program of the DPF, and particularly its position on the status of Israeli Jews in a liberated Palestine. "We believe," he said, "that to liberate Palestine we must have a complete political, economic and social change in the area surrounding Palestine. We expect that the Arab masses of the countries surrounding Israel will be mobilized by the Palestinian revolution not merely as supporters from abroad but as major forces of the Middle East revolution. Since the beginning, the DPF has said that armed struggle is just the extension of political struggle, so we do not put emphasis on military actions alone.

"As for the future," Abu Marwan said, "we believe that the Israeli Jews are a national community in Palestine who have national rights, the right to develop their own culture and heritage with complete freedom. In a liberated Palestine, these national rights will be fully respected, and all the citizens, of whatever ethnic group, will be absolutely equal in all duties and rights.

"Here," Abu Marwan emphasized, "I want to correct a misunderstanding of the DPF position. We have never accepted the idea of a 'bi-national' state of Palestine. We make a distinction between a national community and a nation. If we were to assert that the Israeli Jews constitute a nation, we believe this would lead to the Zionist movement's logic—that there is a Hebrew nation encompassing every Jew in the world. So our position at present—and we are still developing it—is rather that the Israeli Jews are a national community and that they must have full national



SISCO NO! Mass demonstration in Amman, Jordan, last April protesting slated visit by U. S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco. Sisco cancelled visit.

rights within the framework of a unitary Palestinian state.

"There are three important conditions on this future Palestinian state," Abu Marwan stated. "One is that it be anti-imperialist. We are not fighting just to establish something like the Zionist state or any Arab state that has relations with the imperialist camp. The second is that the Palestinian state be socialist, because only in a society moving towards socialism can you resolve all ethnic and national contradictions without any kind of oppression. Finally, a liberated Palestinian state can only exist within the framework of a socialist Arab federation."

Israeli anti-Zionists

I asked Abu Marwan about the DPF's attitude towards the anti-Zionist, socialist forces in Israel. "Because Israel is really a kind of ghetto," he said, "it cannot be liberated from the outside alone. Even if all the Arab forces were progressive, leftist, Marxist-Leninist, the only way they alone could go about liberating Palestine would be to crush the ghetto from the outside, which would mean the full destruction of the society. To avoid that, to destroy the Zionist establishment without annihilating the society, we have to do more than merely repeat the words about there being a distinction between the Jews and the Zionists. We also have to cooperate fully with the progressive forces inside Israel.

"This is what we believe the Israeli Socialist Organization represents. It is an important dimension of the struggle, not because it is big today, which it isn't, but because it represents the possibility of cracking the ghetto from within."

I asked Abu Marwan to tell a little more about the popular councils and militia in Jordan. "The councils," he explained, "include Jordanians and Palestinians, peasants, workers, villagers, students, inhabitants of the refugee camps. They consist of representatives elected by the inhabitants of a camp, village or quarter or a town. They are, in fact, soviets, and through them, for the first time, Palestinians and Jordanians are practicing a kind of democracy. They are already exercising many government-

tal functions. We believe in the gradual failure of the establishment; the councils are an alternative to the whole establishment.

"In the militia," Abu Marwan continued, "Jordanians and Palestinians who are not full-time fighters are organized in defense of the revolution. The militia are now united in a unified militia leadership—where the DPF has great influence—and they are also centers of political education.

Militia decisive

"The militia played a major role in the cities during the confrontation last month. Most of the field fighters are in camps or on the border, so in the cities the militia became the front-line defense that prevented the resistance from being crushed."

We discussed the organization of the DPF. Abu Marwan explained that "we are trying to build a Marxist-Leninist party, because we believe that such a party is essential to lead the revolution to full success. We are not yet a Marxist-Leninist party; we know you can't build such a party in a year and a half—the real life span of the DPF so far. We are constantly struggling internally to create the cadres who constitute the Marxist-Leninist party.

"Most DPF members," he said, "come from the poor classes, refugees, peasants, workers, revolutionary intellectuals. Any Palestinian or Arab patriot who does not have an interest in opposing the revolution and who adheres to our political program is accepted into the DPF. You do not find in the DPF any persons of feudal or comprador bourgeois background."

Abu Marwan stressed particularly the role of women in the DPF. "In Arab society generally, women are doubly oppressed," he said. "They are oppressed by the ruling classes and colonialism, and they are oppressed by men, too. That's why it's more difficult, but also more important, to reach women—especially, for women to work with women.

"At the El Wahadet camp, for example, you will find a DPF-organized school where our women cadres teach illiterate women reading and writing and a vocation. At the same time, though, they are given political books and there are daily lectures and discussions. So at Wahadet, you cannot find a distinction between learning a craft and learning how to lead or participate in the revolution.

"There is a DPF training camp for women fighters in the Shatila camp in Beirut," Abu Marwan continued. "The women receive the same kind of training as men fighters. You see them

(Continued on page 18)



Nayef Hawatmeh, principal leader of the Democratic Popular Front.

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Strikers got a raw deal in Jackson

By MARVEL SCHOLL

The strike of Black sanitation and maintenance workers in Jackson, Miss., which ended July 21, was a lesson in desperation. There was the lack of support so necessary for a long haul, compounded by what amounted to a betrayal of the local union by the international office of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Some 750 workers stood alone as a minority of one-third of all Jackson's city employees. Their wages of \$1.70 per hour provided an average weekly take-home pay of less than \$50. They had no money with which to conduct the strike. And they had absolutely no support—financial or moral—from any other segment of the organized labor movement.

Eight months ago Local 1888 wrote the home office of AFSCME asking for help. It says it never even received a reply.

Instead, when the strike was more than three weeks old and dying on its feet because it was not affecting municipal services, the strikers got Thomas Adams, a field representative of AFSCME, who sneered at them. He told a hurriedly called meeting of less than 200 that "You ain't got no strike. You got a bunch of people who aren't going to work. . . . People are laughing at you."

Many of the strikers stormed out of the meeting, charging a sellout. When the audience was small enough a vote was put to go back to work. The disoriented workers agreed.

Then on July 21, after the city offered to sit down and talk about money, the strike was officially ended.

If AFSCME's so-called international leadership had helped this local when it asked for such assistance this strike could have been successful.

JACKSON, Miss., July 27—Workers here are bitter about the role of their international union in forcing them to end their strike, and about the city, which accused them of using the issue of racism as an excuse to continue the strike.

"Why did we go on strike?" said one sanitation worker. "Because we have to live and we can't do it on \$50 a week."

"Discrimination on the job is bad," he said. "Most of the white workers make a dollar more than we do."

"Because we're Black, the city can get away with paying us \$1.70 an hour," explained another Jackson garbage worker.

A third worker charged that "Mr. Adams [international union representative] just wants to end the strike. He doesn't care about winning our demands. That really pisses me off. The national union wants us to go back to work for the same money."

Third World liberation notes

L.A. Chicanos protest killer-cops

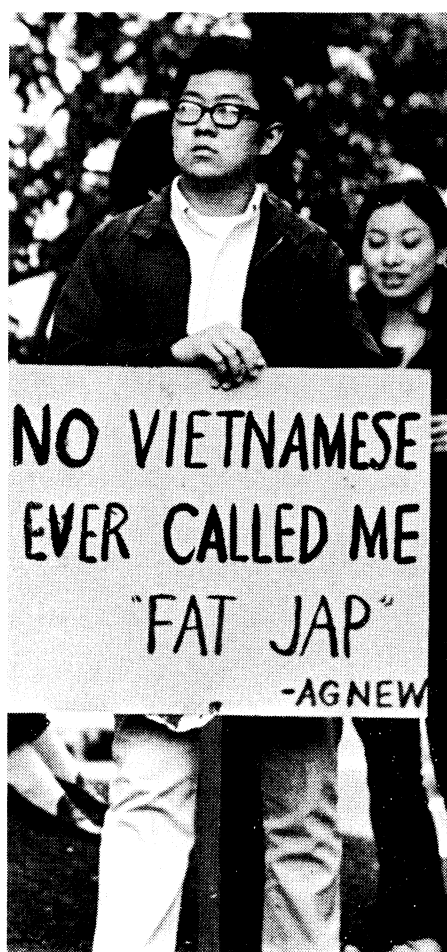
Five days of angry, organized protest by the Chicano community forced the Los Angeles Police Department to bring charges of manslaughter and assault against seven cops over the killing of two unarmed Mexican nationals. On July 16, police busted into the apartment of five Mexican nationals who spoke only Spanish. The police demanded entry in English.

They were supposedly looking for a murder suspect, who was unknown to the occupants of the apartment. The suspect turned himself in later when he heard about the senseless killings.

But immediately after the killing, demonstrations, vigils, and press conferences, held and led by the Chicano Moratorium Committee, an anti-war group, forced the LAPD to move against their own men.

A Congress of African People will meet Sept. 3-7 in Atlanta. It was announced by Haywood Henry and Ameer Baraka (LeRoi Jones). Henry is a member of Harvard University's Department of Afro-American Studies. Baraka laid special stress on the creation of Black structures and institutions as one of the goals of the conference. Blacks are expected from the Caribbean, South America, and Africa, as well as from North America. The conference will replace the one that was planned for Barbados back in July, which was canceled due government pressure.

In the paranoid minds of white homesteaders in New Town, North Dakota, chickens have finally come home to roost. New Town sits on land that was given by treaty to the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation back in 1851. The Indians were allowed to claim several hundred thousand acres then. But huge tracts of this land were ripped off over the years by the military, Northern Pacific Railroad, and white homesteaders. Well, last March the Interior Department upheld the right of the Indians to the 363,520 acre tract of land taken by the homesteaders.



Antiwar demonstrator, Los Angeles, April 15.

With this decision, tremors of shock and dismay rippled through the 4,000 white homesteaders. The mayor of New Town declared that Indian control would be like "living in a foreign country." The settlers feared for their land.

But according to Nathan Little Soldier, vice-president of the tribal council, "We don't want their property. All we want is equality and an end to police harassment. We want our own police and our own tribal court."

A recent convention of the Japanese-American Citizen League got a taste of the growing youth radicalization. Held in Chicago in the middle of July,

the convention heard demands by young Japanese-Americans that the JACL should speak up more in defense of other oppressed groups, and that Japanese-Americans should start to think of themselves as Asians.

The youth cited the concentration camp experience during WWII as one of the reasons for relating to other oppressed groups. During the war, the U. S. government put more than 110,000 Japanese-Americans in "detention centers."

At the convention, the name of S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, came up repeatedly. One 40-year-old delegate explained, "We look on Hayakawa as a yellow Uncle Tom. It bothers us greatly that one of our own served as a symbol of repression and was used as a puppet of Ronald Reagan. We picketed Hayakawa; it was the first time we had demonstrated against one of our own." Of the 300,000 Japanese-Americans in the United States, JACL claims a membership of 25,000.

In Louisville, Ky., James R. Cortez, one of the "Black Six," was released from jail July 21 after his attorneys filed an appeal in U. S. Supreme Court. Cortez was doing a five-year sentence on the charge of violating the federal law against having a sawed-off shotgun.

Cortez was freed under \$5,000 bond, cut from \$10,000 after wide protest. These protests had already resulted on July 7 in dismissal of conspiracy charges against him and five other Black persons.

They became known as the "Black Six" after being charged with plotting to blow up oil refineries during an uprising in the Louisville ghetto in May of 1968. The brother had been locked up since June 1, 1968, when police claimed they found the shotgun in his motel. However, Cortez said he had never seen the shotgun before police brought it to headquarters.

—DERRICK MORRISON

... Democratic Popular Front interview

(Continued from page 17) there wearing fatigues and sleeping out in the open. This has a lot of significance in the Arab world, where the whole society is very conservative in these matters."

I asked Abu Marwan about the DPF's relations with the other resistance groups. "Since its establishment," he explained, "the DPF has believed that the leftist forces should not be alienated from or attack the nationalist forces. So from our side there is no antagonism towards any of the Palestinian organizations. We do have a special, positive relation to Fateh and Saiqa; we work more closely with them than with the others."

"At the same time," he continued, "we insist on issuing our own political statements. The DPF will continue its

political campaign against any kind of compromise or any reactionary moves by Palestinian or Arab leaders, parties or establishments, because unity is not more important than the revolution. If there is a wrong trend within the resistance movement, we believe it should be exposed and corrected."

Abu Marwan also explained that the DPF has no special relation to any Arab state. "The DPF is repressed in all the Arab states except Syria and Southern Yemen," he said. "It is free to operate in Lebanon and Jordan, but this is due to its strength and the strength of the resistance in general, not to any permission from these reactionary establishments. Recently, several leading members of the DPF were arrested in Algeria; the Algerian establishment is perhaps especially unhappy with us because we always point out that we do not intend for the Palestinian revolution to end like the Algerian one, with a national or even comprador bourgeoisie in power."

"In Southern Yemen and Syria," he explained, "we can establish offices because these states are helping the entire resistance, of which the DPF is a part."

We discussed how revolutionaries outside the Middle East could support the Palestinian and Arab revolution. "The most important thing, he said, "is to intensify the struggle wherever these revolutionaries are. We do not see the Palestinian struggle as separate from the struggle of oppressed people everywhere in the world."

"Of course," he continued, "there are

many other things that can be done. In the United States, where the Zionists have played more than merely a dangerous propaganda role, it is important to fight the distorted image of the Arab people, the equating of the Arab people with some establishment, the confusion of the Arab people's struggle with the mistakes of this or that establishment or leader.

"The DPF is calling on all leftist, progressive and even liberal forces who believe in the right of national self-determination to form a worldwide front in support of the Palestinian armed struggle and the Palestinian-Arab revolution. It is, of course, not our business to give advice about the form such a front should take in each country; that is up to the revolutionaries there. But it is important that such a broad front be formed, one way or another."

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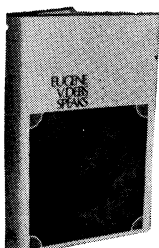
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NEW YORK

WE'VE FINALLY GOT THE NEWS. Film by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit. Fri., Aug. 7, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1 (hs'ers 50c) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

The great society

As American as cherry dye—George Montgomery, an aspirant for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Michigan, charged that restaurant operators were dyeing grapes red and foisting them off as cherries in fruit cocktails. Montgomery said Michigan could not condone this since it's the cherry capital of the world.

Police qualifications—The Justice Department reports, apparently with concern, that a study disclosed that the IQ scores of New York police recruits have been dropping steadily over the years.

Flash—Vice-president Agnew, who recently confided that what he would really like is to be a newscaster, came up with a sample scoop this week. He disclosed that Nixon is not planning "a shift to the left."

How democratic can you get?—The government of Northern Ireland said it will permit Bernadette Devlin to carry on a limited amount of parliamentary work from prison.

The experts—Recent New York revelation about the Lindsay administration's practice of paying out millions of dollars to private "consultants" on city problems included the story that the Richmond borough president awarded a \$70,000 consultant's contract to a former schoolmate for a study of the Staten Island ferry. The principal finding of the study was that peak traffic was at 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

And rightly so—Chet Huntley issued a diplomatic amplification of his statement that Nixon as president frightens him. What he meant, he explained, is that he worries about all U.S. presidents.

Cause for concern—Responding to complaints that closing a portion of Fifth Avenue to vehicular traffic on Saturdays meant a business loss, New York's Mayor Lindsay dropped in at Bonwit Teller's for some ties last Saturday. Three mod ties, \$50.35. At those prices we can appreciate that the loss of even a few customers makes a difference.

Can beat any rap—Ocean Spray, the nation's top cranberry producer, named Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, a defendant in a court action to clearly establish the company's title to a piece of New Jersey land once owned by Joseph. Commenting on the action, an Ocean Spray executive said, "I'm not afraid of ghosts. As long as I have a good lawyer, why should I worry?"

Among friends—After some debate, the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks voted to continue to exclude Blacks. A spokesman said the debate was conducted "in a spirit of brotherly love."

Balanced approach—R. J. Reynolds, the coffin-nail folk, say that their new brand, Vantage, is lower in tars and nicotine than others. But, they hastily add, this is not to be construed as an anti-tar or anti-nicotine statement.

—HARRY RING

Does your local library have a subscription to *The Militant*? If not, a simple suggestion might do the trick.

U.S. agents snooping for reds in stacks

(Columnist Art Buchwald recently had the following to say about the book snoopers.)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The most important thing to remember this year is not to look back: Big Brother is catching up to you.

The latest Orwellian news to hit the American public is that Treasury Department agents representing the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) are visiting public libraries to check on what books readers are taking out.

The investigators are interested in anyone who has borrowed books on explosives, but their interest also includes anyone who might be checking out "militant and subversive" publications as well.

The checks have been confirmed by the IRS, and a spokesman, when asked about it, said, "As far as I know it's just routine. The only thing special is some librarian complained about it."

It's good to know the IRS is concerned with the rights of its citizens. But at the same time it's going to make those of us who use the public libraries think twice before we take out a book.

I can imagine a scene at the Maplewood County Public Library.

"Miss Philpott, my name is Spangle and I'm a treasury agent with the Internal Revenue Service. Have you noticed anything suspicious around here today?"

"Suspicious?"

"Anyone taking out any funny books?"

"Let me see. Someone borrowed a Robert Benchley collection yesterday."

"I don't mean that kind of funny. I mean books about explosions, stuff like that."

"Come to think of it, Harold Flemingheimer took out 'Chitty Chitty Bang Bang' and hasn't returned it yet."

"'Chitty Chitty Bang Bang,' huh? What does this Harold look like? Does he have long hair?"

"Oh yes."

"Sloppy dresser?"

"I should say so. He comes in here without shoes on."

"You don't have a duplicate of his library card do you, Miss Philpott?"

"Yes, I do. He lost his and we had to issue him a new one. We found the old one. Here it is."

"Hmnn, very interesting. He took out 'The Little Red Fire Engine' on May 6, 'Three Little Pigs' on May 20, and 'Joan of Arc' on June 12. Has he ever talked politics with you?"

"Not really. He's only 9 years old."

"Well, keep an eye on him. Do you

mind if I go through your files? Who is this Philip Crestwood who took out 'The Guns of Navarone' on April 12?"

"He goes to Columbia University."

"He does, does he? I notice on July 1 he took out 'Gone With the Wind.'"

"Don't you recall the burning of Atlanta?"

"Of course. I never did like Philip Crestwood. He forgot to return 'Thunder Out of China' last winter and he was fined 14 cents."

"Well, Mr. Crestwood is going to go into our little computer. These people always make tiny mistakes that trip them up. Being a member of the public library might result in Mr. Crestwood's downfall."

"Are you going to go through all the cards?"

"If you don't mind, Miss Philpott. Unbelievable as it may sound to you, Trotsky learned everything he knew from the Odessa Public Library Branch No. 2."



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EDITORIAL OPINION

Why the U.S. A-bombed Hiroshima

Looking back from 25 years after the U. S. dropped the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the meaning of this barbaric act has become much clearer.

The destruction of two cities and murder of a half million people was not done to "save lives," to end the war more quickly, or to stop Japanese fascism. Historians have proved that the U. S. rulers ordered the bombs dropped even though they knew that the Japanese were ready to surrender.

This hideous act of destruction was designed to assert U. S. dominance over Asia. The big question for U. S. rulers at the end of World War II was who was to control China. It never entered their minds that China should be left to the Chinese.

By July 1945, Japan had already been brought to its knees and was suing for peace. The final blow—if any was needed—was already scheduled by agreement at the Yalta conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin to be the entrance of the USSR into the war against Japan on Aug. 8. By dropping the bomb on Aug. 6 and 9, the U. S. took full credit for ending the war, kept the USSR out of the peace treaty and showed the world it not only had this super weapon but had the ruthlessness to use it on live targets. It placed the U. S. in the dominant position to control China. But, of course, it didn't stop the Chinese revolution.

The systematic destruction of Vietnam is a continuation of the policy of imperialism which was also the basis for the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But now a strong new wave of resistance to U. S. imperialism is arising on a world scale. In Japan a mass movement is opposing that government's alliance with the U. S. rulers and its support to the U. S. war in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people have been fighting for years against the vastly superior military technology of the U. S. aggressors.

In the heartland of imperialism itself, and inside the imperialist army, a movement has arisen which is challenging the right of the U. S. to carry out its imperialist aims in Vietnam.

The Japanese antiwar movement, the struggle of the Vietnamese people, and the deepening antiwar movement among the American people all contribute to preventing the possibility of future Hiroshimas and Nagasakis.

By building the antiwar movement, we are striking a blow against imperialism. The movement against the Vietnam war will prove a major part of the process of the awakening of the American people to the need for a socialist revolution in this country, to establish a system that does not live off exploitation and wars. No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis!

Suppressed poll on S. Viet antiwar mood

By DICK ROBERTS

Congressional revelation of a suppressed survey combined with news coming in from Saigon point to deep, bitter opposition by the South Vietnamese people to the U.S. aggression being waged in their country.

"A survey made by the U. S. military command in South Vietnam completed recently and then suppressed on order from Ambassador Bunker and top U. S. Army officials in Saigon shows 65 percent of the people in all South Vietnam want all Americans out of the country," Senator Stephen Young of Ohio stated in the U. S. Senate, July 24 (*Congressional Record*, p. S 12049.).

Young continued, "The American Broadcasting Co. reported that 30 percent had no opinion but 5 percent, mostly in Saigon, wanted Americans to stay."

New York Times reporter James Sterba wrote from Saigon July 26 that "Desertions from the South Vietnamese Army increased drastically in the last few months, averaging nearly 50 percent higher than the rate last year, according to informed South Vietnamese sources. . . ."

"From an average monthly desertion figure of about 8,000 in 1969, the number of deserters rose to more than 11,000 in May and nearly 12,000 in June," Sterba continued.

"According to informed South Viet-

namese sources," the *New York Times* reporter also stated, "two paratrooper battalions in Cambodia last month were operating with only 65 percent of their manpower—the rest having deserted."

And an Associated Press dispatch from Saigon July 26 noted that: "The U. S. Embassy has warned its staff against traveling alone in Saigon because of what it called recent acts of violence against Americans by students or other anti-Government demonstrators."

"The embassy urged its employees to use the 'buddy system' of traveling in pairs and suggested that they always inform someone of their whereabouts."

Houston cops assassinated Black leader

By MARYBETH PREJEAN

HOUSTON, Texas—A local Black leader was assassinated and seven others were wounded in a police-incited confrontation July 27.

Dead is Carl A. Hampton, 21, chairman of People's Party II, a militant Black group.

Hampton's death was a culmination of a tense week in the area.

It began when two cops harassed a Black youth selling the Black Panther newspaper near People's Party II headquarters July 17.

The youth ran to the office followed by two cops who were met by several armed men in front of the building. The cops drew their guns and called

reinforcements, but a 30-minute stand-off ensued while a crowd of 500 Black people built up.

The cops then withdrew, but the ruling circles of Houston decided that the area would have to be "pacified."

A premeditated attempt to destroy People's Party II began the evening of July 26. At about 10 p.m. radio stations started warning people to stay out of the area. A neighborhood business that usually stays open all night closed at 10. Evening services were canceled at a nearby church, which was utilized by cops as a lookout point and sniping station. Police forces continued to build up in the area. According to eyewitnesses, shots were

heard, and a group led by Hampton left the People's Party II headquarters to investigate.

As they walked by the church, Hampton was hit in the stomach by rifle fire.

A newsman stationed near the police sniper who fired the shot told a *Militant* reporter he heard the sniper say, "I got one of them!"

Police later cleared the area by armed force and over 80 were arrested.

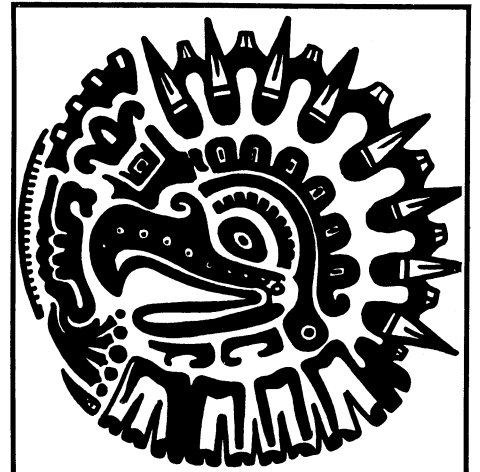
No police were reported hurt and 100 armed cops invaded the organization headquarters after the shooting stopped.

Though People's Party headquarters remained open, members cited to *Militant* reporters instances of continued police harassment.

Much of the organization's equipment and supplies show signs of the police attack on the People's Party offices. Typewriters were damaged and slogans, such as "Pig power" and "Yeah, Pig Knuckles on You" were painted on chairs and posters.

Cops left another calling card, too, a "Wallace in '72" sticker on the wall.

Contributions to help replace and repair damaged office equipment may be sent to People's Party II, 2828 Dowling St., Houston, Texas 77003.



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