

**Everything
you always
wanted to
know about
George
McGovern...***

***The real platform and record
of the Senator from South Dakota**

20,000

WHAT IF MCGOVERN WERE PRESIDENT?

When Senator George S. McGovern announced on January 18, 1971, his intention to seek the Democratic Party Presidential nomination, he became the first in a series of liberal Democrats to try to ride to power on the momentum established by the anti-war movement, the student movement and the other movements for social change.

In addition to his desire to become President, McGovern's candidacy is motivated by another no less important consideration. He shares the alarm of his colleagues in both the Democratic and Republican Parties at the growing disaffection among young people with the two-party system. This alienation of youth from Democratic and Republican politics is evidenced by the fact that forty-two percent of all new voters are registering as independents, according to a recent survey by Newsweek.

The theme of McGovern's drive for the youth vote, just like that of the 1968 Eugene McCarthy youth brigades, is to encourage "work within the system" instead of building movements independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties. As McGovern himself expresses it:

"I hope they (young people) stay alienated, not by dropping out but by remaining indignant ... Some of them feel that our society is too corrupt, too far gone to save, but I really have to combat anger on my part when I confront that kind of attitude, because I know it's not true..." (Playboy, August, 1971)

McGovern sees his campaign as directly counterposed to the independent mass movements. His aim is to convince Blacks, Chicanos, women, students and others to stop demonstrating in the streets, to stop building their own organizations and to work inside the Democratic Party instead. A young campaign worker in his New York headquarters put it this way:

"Demonstrations are okay when there isn't a peace candidate to work for, but now students should work for McGovern. Demonstrations against the war and independent organizing on campus don't mean

anything at this point. If students really want to have an impact, they should register in the Democratic Party so that they can vote for McGovern in the primaries."

In campaigning for the Presidency of the United States, George McGovern is opposed to any fundamental social change. His answer to the overwhelming problems that this society faces, from the war, to the continuing exploitation of working people, women, Blacks, Chicanos and youth, to the destruction of the environment, is always the same: Vote for me, campaign for me, trust me to solve these problems if I am elected. He is asking young people to abandon their independent struggles, which have mobilized millions of people over the last several years and made a tremendous political impact on the world, for this alternative.

In order to see clearly what is wrong with the alternative McGovern is offering to youth, let's assume for a moment that McGovern wins the Democratic Party nomination, defeats his Republican opponent, and is elected President of the United States. What would happen then? Is there any reason to believe that he would, or could, solve the problems this society faces?

What McGovern says now during his election campaign is not a basis for judging what he would do if elected. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson campaigned against Barry Goldwater on a platform of not sending American men to Vietnam. But after the election he sent over half a million troops there. In 1968, Richard Nixon promised that he would end the war, but he not only continued the war, he escalated it into Laos and Cambodia, and greatly increased the bombing.

The enormous credibility gap between the campaign promises and the follow-up of capitalist politicians is a central factor in the radicalization of many young people today. In order to project what McGovern's performance in office might be, we should look closely at his 20 year record as a capitalist politician.

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Can the Democratic Party be reformed?

A key device which the McGovern campaign uses to convince young people not to "drop out" of the two-party system is the reform movement inside the Democratic Party. At the 1968 Democratic convention, hundreds of young antiwar activists, hoping to have some effect on the party's decisions, were brutally beaten and arrested by Democratic Party boss Richard J. Daley's Chicago police. This outrageous denial of basic democratic rights was paralleled by the machine politicians' refusal to yield to the massive antiwar sentiment represented by the McCarthy challenge at the convention.

The public furor that ensued over this debacle was very embarrassing to party politicians, especially those seeking reelection. It was clear to too many people that the Democratic Party is totally controlled from the top, and represents the interests of the millionaires and the corporations—not the interests of the masses of Americans. In the face of this, the party bosses thought it prudent to try to change their image. George McGovern stepped to the fore as the leader of reform efforts and became Chairman of the Party Commission on Reform and Leadership Selection.

Now that many of the McGovern Commission's reform measures have been adopted by the party leadership, McGovern appeals to youth to join his campaign on the basis that they will be able to participate in all aspects of Democratic Party decision-making. But these "reforms" are phony; political power in the Democratic Party remains where it has always been—at the top.

Even McGovern himself doesn't harbor any illusions that the reforms will alter in any basic way the balance of power inside the Democratic Party. He knows that workers, youth, women,

Blacks, Chicanos and other unrepresented constituencies won't have any more control over the decisions made at the next Democratic Party convention than they have ever had. His campaign "game plan" makes this crystal clear:

"I find that it's very bad operating procedure to go into a state without advance telephone calls and personal letters to key party leaders, labor leaders, farm leaders—those who regard themselves as the real movers and shapers in their state," McGovern told Playboy. "All this takes an enormous amount of time but it's essential when you consider that when it comes right down to it, the candidates will be selected by about 1,500 of these people at the next national convention."

McGovern went on to say, "You can anticipate that 50 or 60 percent of those who were delegates in '68 are going to be back in '72. Though the delegations haven't been selected yet, I know at least a dozen people who will be delegates from South Dakota, because they're going to do whatever is necessary, no matter what the system of delegate selection is, to see that their names are put forward." (Playboy, August, 1971)

The Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, has always been a party of boss-rule by a handful of wealthy power-brokers and corrupt politicians. Does George McGovern disassociate himself and his reforms from such notorious figures as Richard J. Daley of Chicago? On the contrary, he appears to see no contradiction between the party bosses and the reform movement and, in fact, is attempting to woo their support for his campaign. In the same Playboy interview, he explained what he felt to be the role of the party bosses in the reform efforts:

"Mayor Daley likes to win elections, and he saw the disastrous impact that boss-type images had on the Democratic Party in 1968. It wasn't an accident that Mayor Daley motioned at the Illinois State Convention to adopt the McGovern Commission guidelines unanimously.... He's a very able and astute political figure who realizes it's not smart to be against political reform these days."

And, in an October 4, 1971, interview in the Chicago Tribune, McGovern described himself as "...on pretty good terms with Mayor Daley," adding, "I respect Mayor Daley's administration of that city. In spite of any differences we had at the 1968 Democratic convention, I admire the man as an extremely capable mayor..."

George McGovern is no maverick in the Democratic Party. His first commitment has been to the Democratic Party ever since he was party secretary in South Dakota in 1953; from there he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1956 and 1958, and to the Senate in 1962 and 1968. His entire political career has been spent in pursuit of public office as a loyal Democrat, and in helping to build and maintain public confidence in the Democratic Party. As Paul R. Wieck put it, in an article favorable to McGovern in the Oct. 30, 1971, New Republic:

"Party regularity flows in McGovern's veins. He was one of the first to mount the podium in Chicago and stand shoulder-to-shoulder before the cheering delegates with Hubert Humphrey. Before the 1970 elections, he traveled to Laramie, Wyoming, to speak for Senator Dale McGee (D), one of the few remaining Cold War liberals..."

"He dismisses the idea of a fourth party: 'I guess I've just invested too much of my own sweat and blood in the Democratic Party,' he says."

MCGOVERN AS 'PEACE' CANDIDATE

To begin with, there is no indication that McGovern's foreign policy would differ greatly from that of his predecessors—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. The foundation of his foreign policy would be the maintenance of American imperialism. He would not dismantle U.S. bases in Thailand, the Philippines, Okinawa, South Korea, Europe and dozens of other countries around the world. He would not call home the naval fleets cruising in the Mediterranean and the Far East. He would not say to the world: "The United States will no longer intervene in the affairs of other nations."

This policy would be consistent with McGovern's record on the most important issue confronting the United States today—the war in Southeast Asia. McGovern was an early backer of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Almost without exception, McGovern supported and voted for military appropriations as a member of Congress and as a Senator throughout the nineteen sixties. Among these were the massive annual military appropriations budgets which came to over \$58 billion for 1967, \$70 billion for 1968, and \$72 billion for 1969. He has also voted many times for supplemental defense appropriations aimed specifically at supporting U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Primarily in response to the growing opposition to the war among most sectors of the population, and the organized dissent of the antiwar movement, McGovern has gradually come out as an opponent of the war in the Senate, while continuing to vote for military appropriations. His opposition to the war does not stem from support to the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination, nor from the belief that the U.S. has no right to be in Vietnam in the first place. Rather, McGovern's opposition to U.S. involvement is based on very pragmatic considerations—he simply understands that continuation of the war is causing the U.S. ruling class harmful repercussions here at home, and he does not feel that the gains to be made from pursuing the war are worth the risk of massive social upheaval in the United States. As he told an interviewer from *The New York Times Magazine*, in reference to the Thieu regime, "If you are in a business that is bankrupt, you liquidate the firm instead of prolonging the agony." (March 21, 1971)

McGovern lays the blame for his early support to the war on lack of information about what was really going on in Southeast Asia. He claims to have been "deceived" into voting for the 1964 Tonkin Resolution, which provided the legislative basis for Johnson's escalation of the war in February, 1965. (*The New York Times Magazine*, March 21, 1971) Yet in 1967 he voted against repeal of the Tonkin Resolution!

And while he publicly decries government secrecy, he refused to make public the Pentagon Papers, to which he had access, when Daniel Ellsberg requested that he do so in January, 1971, the month that the McGovern "peace" candidacy was formally declared. From this we can assume that McGovern, if elected, would continue the policy of secret diplomacy behind the backs of the American people.

McGovern's position on the war is not the same as the antiwar movement's call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia. In fact, McGovern opposes immediate withdrawal. The "Amendment to End the War" which he co-sponsored with Senator Mark O. Hatfield in 1970 proposed to begin withdrawing all U.S. troops from Indochina in December, 1971, and to make total withdrawal contingent upon concessions from the Vietnamese, including the release of all U.S. prisoners of war.

McGovern explains what he would do to end the war if elected, "I would simply announce on Inauguration Day that we were leaving on such and such a date—lock, stock and barrel. Perhaps I'd take a couple of days to notify the interested governments, but no longer. I would think that negotiations for the release of our prisoners and the safe exit of our forces could begin within 30 days after I became President. And once those negotiations were completed I see no reason why a full withdrawal couldn't be executed in six or eight months' time ..." (*Playboy*, August, 1971) At the very least, McGovern is promising the American people almost two more years of war. Essentially, he is no more specific about getting the United States out of Southeast Asia than is Nixon.

If George McGovern agreed with the antiwar movement, he would support the demand for immediate and total withdrawal with no conditions. This is the only approach toward ending the war which is consistent with the right of the Vietnamese people to control their own country without interference from the U.S. It is the only position consistent with the wishes of the vast majority of U.S. citizens, hundreds of thousands of whom have voted in referenda and marched in demonstrations across the country for an immediate end to the war.

If McGovern were really intent on ending the war right away, he would help to build the antiwar movement, instead of encouraging its activists to abandon their movement for his campaign. But McGovern will not give his support to the demands and actions of the antiwar movement because he does not agree that the Vietnamese have the unconditional right to self-determination.

McGovern on:

Israel and the Arab revolution

McGovern's position on the Middle East further clarifies his view of U. S. imperialism's role in the world. As he explains, "To be opposed to our senseless support of a corrupt and unrepresentative regime in Saigon does not mean that I see no essential American interests abroad." (The New York Times Magazine, March 21, 1971)

He generally supports Nixon Administration policy in the Middle East. "The Middle East is more important than Vietnam in terms of both our security and our traditions.... The principal concerns for Israel are to make sure that its borders are defensible and that its right to exist is recognized by the Arab states... Israel is the one free state we have in the Middle East... I would be prepared to take whatever steps were necessary to ensure its survival." (Playboy, August, 1971)

McGovern supports giving military aid to Israel's war against the Palestinian revolution. "... we must leave no doubt that we are committing ourselves to Israel's survival." (Playboy, August 1971)

This position flagrantly cuts across the rights of the Palestinian people, two million of whom were driven from their homeland and made into refugees. Israel is impe-



rialism's beachhead in the Middle East and, as such, is similar in function to the imperialist backed regime in Saigon. As the people of Vietnam are fighting to drive the imperialists out of their country, and regain control from the Saigon regime, so too are the Palestinians waging a struggle to regain their homeland from Israel's illegitimate control. The demand of the Palestinian freedom fighters is for a democratic, secular Palestine, free from imperialist domination.

McGovern's position negates the right of the Palestinians

to control their own homeland, which the Zionists seized from them with the aid of U. S. and British imperialism. McGovern clearly sanctions continued imperialist domination of the Middle East.

In defending Israel, McGovern is coming into conflict with the burgeoning sentiment among American youth in support of Palestinian self-determination. And in acknowledging this conflict, he betrays his contempt for the thousands of young people who have learned from the Vietnam war the importance of supporting revolutionary struggles around the world against U. S. aggression.

In a speech before the American-Israel Public Affairs Society and the Jewish Community Council in Washington D. C., April 29, 1971, McGovern stated:

"One of the most pathetic symptoms of national frustration over the continuation of the unauthorized and unpopular war in Indochina has been the disillusionment suffered by young Americans, especially those in college.

"Unfortunately, the effect of the rage these young people feel can, in extreme instances, result either in a total rejection of international responsibility, or in severe impairment of judgment and a doctrinaire grasping of every political position which bears the revolutionary label.

"Perhaps the saddest, and in many ways the most ironic, symptom of this thoughtless approach to political thought is the emergence of a minority of young people, including young Jews, who have turned their backs on support for Israel because they find that posture inconsistent with some philosophies of the new left.

"I understand that here in Washington, for example, on the campuses of George Washington and American Universities, and on other American campuses, leftist students, including Jewish students, distribute the anti-Israel propaganda of the Palestine Liberation Front, El Fatah, and other Arab militants who supposedly carry the banner of third world revolutionaries...

"We must see the issue clearly, and in doing so, help those who are younger to understanding and political maturity."

In attempting to justify U. S. military backing of Israel, McGovern is using the same kind of rhetoric that has been used by other capitalist politicians throughout the years to explain U. S. military involvement in Southeast Asia, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Korea, Greece, Spain and the rest of the world.

McGovern's Economic Plan

On domestic issues also, McGovern's record gives us no assurance that he would do any better than his predecessors in meeting the needs of the majority of people in this country. In fact, a close examination of McGovern's positions on the central domestic issues indicates that here, too, he is in fundamental agreement with the way this country has been run.

The major problems confronting American workers today are rising unemployment, sky-rocketing prices, and the wage controls recently imposed upon them by Phase Two of Nixon's Economic Plan. George McGovern presents a solution to these problems that rests entirely within the framework of the capitalist government and is therefore completely inadequate, since it was the capitalist government which instituted and is responsible for these problems in the first place.

McGovern begins by attempting to blame the current economic crisis on the Republicans. As he points out, "We need a Phase III in economic policy—and that's to phase Mr. Nixon out of office and back to private life." (Congressional Record, November 10, 1971) The fact remains, however, that the Democrats are just as responsible for the present state of the economy and the problems of labor as are the Republicans. It was a Democratic majority in Congress and in the Senate which handed Nixon the machinery with which to conduct the wage freeze and carry out his economic policies by voting for the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. And every major Democratic Party politician, McGovern included, has expressed support for some form of wage controls.

McGovern has submitted an alternative economic policy (Congressional Record, November 10, 1971) which is designed not to end the wage freeze, but simply to make it somewhat more palatable to liberal tastes. The basic fallacy contained in his program is his unquestioning acceptance of the "wage-price spiral" as the cause of inflation. Despite what government economists claim, rising wages do not produce higher prices. On the contrary, workers' demands for higher wages are always an attempt to catch up with galloping prices, a result of deficit spending primarily caused by the war.

Flowing from his acceptance of the

myth of the "wage-price spiral," McGovern advocates wage controls. "Bringing inflation under control is a laudable objective, and vigorous government action was clearly required," he said in assessing Nixon's Economic Policy. "... Some form of wage and price restraints, as part of an intelligent overall policy, would also have been acceptable." (Congressional Record, November 10, 1971)

Some of the planks in McGovern's alternative program are quite laudable, although few of these could be realistically carried out within the framework of a capitalist economy. For the most part, however, McGovern's program would do no more for labor than Nixon's program.

For example, McGovern calls for the exemption of low-wage workers only from wage controls. This reinforces the false concept that unionized, or higher paid workers, are responsible for inflation and, therefore, should take a cut in their standard of living in order to pay for it. No worker should be forced to take a cut in pay in order to pay for war-caused inflation. The way to solve the effects of inflationary price increases is not to selectively enforce wage controls, as McGovern suggests, but for employers to grant all workers immediate wage increases to catch up with the present cost-of-living, and pay wage increases with each additional rise in consumer prices. These cost-of-living increases, or "escalator clauses" are the only way working people can keep up with rising prices.

McGovern also calls for a selective freeze on prices: "Selective controls, affecting perhaps the 1,000 largest corporations, could be effectively administered by the Federal Government." (Congressional Record, November 10, 1971) In essence, he's calling for the government to police the prices of corporations which control the government—a totally unworkable contradiction as demonstrated by the failure of the government to control prices during WWII and the Korean war. The government cannot be counted on to control prices. The only way that prices can be effectively kept down is by the independent organization of housewives and workers in price committees. These committees would organize demonstrations, boycotts, and regular price watching in a campaign to prevent stores from raising

their prices. In this way, those controlling prices would be responsible to labor, and not to the corporations.

Under capitalism, excessive profits benefit only the controllers of industry—the wealthy and the powerful. Profits never effectively filter down to workers, especially not when their wages are frozen. Why then does McGovern insist that "... a freeze on profits is totally inappropriate?" (Congressional Record, November 10, 1971) He calls instead for an excess profits tax, which would be virtually impossible to collect, since real corporate profits are hidden from the public in myriad dishonest ways. A quote from a recent Washington Post account of a panel discussion on Phase Two, involving John Kenneth Galbraith, Prof. Walter Adams of Michigan State, and several other economists makes this clear:

"Adams, for example, said there is no public access to such data about United States Steel as to its plant capacity and production volume on a product-by-product basis, or the exact cost savings U.S. Steel could achieve with new production processes or increases in utilization of plant capacity." (November 3, 1971) The same holds true for all major corporations. In light of this, what prevents McGovern from demanding that all corporations open their books to the public, so that the workers can decide for themselves whether profits should be frozen?

McGovern's voting record offers further proof of his willingness to compromise the rights of workers. In 1965, he voted against cloture of a conservative filibuster aimed at preventing repeal of Section 14 B of the Taft-Hartley Act—the "right to work" law allowing states to outlaw the union shop. In 1967, he voted twice to extend a 60-day period during which a strike by the rail unions would be illegal. That same year, he voted against increasing Social Security benefits an average of 20 percent, and to retain the cut-off date after which persons reaching 65, not covered by Social Security or Railroad Retirement provisions, would be ineligible for medicare hospitalization insurance.

And in 1970, McGovern was a leading proponent in the Senate of the Economic Stabilization Act, which gave Nixon the power to control wages.

George McGovern

versus

Black liberation

McGovern does not offer a program that can end the oppression of 25 million African-Americans. He shares the belief of all other white capitalist politicians that Black people do not have the right to self-determination. Refusing to recognize the right of Black people to control their own communities, he constantly re-emphasizes that Black people must "work within the system for change." As he told the National Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, August 12, 1970:

"Now I know that in this era of racism, separatism, hate and despair, talk of non-violent social change sounds old-fashioned. I know that you must sometimes despair as you confront the seemingly insurmountable obstacles ahead. But my final word to you, SCLC, is simply this: Don't be discouraged, stay on the case."

What McGovern means by "non-violent social change" is work within the Democratic Party. In advising Blacks that their needs can best be met by work within the two-party system, McGovern employs a device which politicians have traditionally used to prevent Black people from organizing themselves independently. He states that the alternative to working within the two-party system, and supporting white Presidential candidates, is violence, implying that Black people are responsible for the violence which is inflicted upon them in this society. A speech he made in the Senate in support of the Civil Rights Act on June 4, 1964, makes this abundantly clear:

"I think it is quite possible that, if the Senate were to reject this long-awaited charter of rights, the people of the United States will be plunged into racial strife that will tear apart the fabric of our society. We would then see infuriated minority leaders and inflamed mobs and sulking killers on an unprecedented scale.

"The Negro moderates who have counseled patience and legal redress would be swept aside by the radicals who preach hate and violence. We would then see the Bible of Martin Luther King and the long-suffering patience of Roy Wilkins replaced by the dangerous direct action of Malcolm X and his kind. Race riots, night bombings, assassinations would rage until blood flowed in the streets...

"If I were living in the South or in a great northern city with a sizeable Negro population, I would be on my knees praying for the safety of my family if the Senate spurned the reasonable, patient Negro and white leadership that most earnestly supports this bill."

Black people have been victims of the brutal violence of a racist society for over three hundred years. The responsibility for the violence that exists lies with the capitalist government which benefits from and perpetuates the oppression of Black people, not with those who react in

self-defense against that oppression.

One of the key tools which the government uses to inflict violence upon the Black community is the police. George McGovern has consistently voted for increased appropriations for law enforcement, most of which goes toward building up police occupation of the ghettos and barrios. He voted for the 1968 Omnibus Crime Bill, passed in the wake of the 1967 and 1968 ghetto rebellions, which allocated \$100 million in 1969 and \$300 million in 1970 for the police, and permitted wire-tapping by police in a wide variety of cases.

A recent McGovern campaign statement on "Constitution and Justice" states: "Recognizing the urgent need to upgrade our nation's police forces, Senator McGovern has proposed a 'Policemen's Bill of Rights.' Patterned after the GI Bill, the Policemen's Bill provides law enforcement officials with an opportunity for federally subsidized higher education. It also includes incentives for young Americans to enter the field of law enforcement."

The demand raised by the Black community has not been for more or "better educated" police; it has been for Black control of the police and all other institutions in the Black community.

McGovern even voted for an amendment to the Omnibus Crime Bill disqualifying from federal employment for five years persons convicted of a felony related to a riot. This amendment was aimed specifically at Blacks accused of participating in ghetto uprisings.

He also voted for the controversial 1968 amendment which made it a federal offense to travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot; several Black leaders, including H. Rap Brown, were subsequently framed up and charged under this law.

Another indication of McGovern's real views was his initial response to the proposed nomination of racist Senator Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia) to the Supreme Court. Calling Byrd "a man of enormous industry and personal pride" who would "bend every effort to become a great justice" if placed on the Supreme Court, McGovern warmly received the news that Byrd, a former "Kleagle" of the Ku Klux Klan, was being considered for the nomination. (New York Times, October 12, 1971) Confronted by considerable liberal chagrin at his support for Byrd, McGovern judiciously retracted his statement the following day, but concern for the rights of Black people had obviously not played the decisive role in his reversal.

If George McGovern is sincere about defending the rights of Black people, why doesn't he support the demand for freedom for Angela Davis? And why didn't he call for an investigation of the murder of George Jackson?

George McGovern on:

Chicanos

Similarly, McGovern's overtures to the Chicano community boil down to empty rhetoric. An issue of vital concern to Chicanos is the right of farmworkers to organize a union despite the resistance of the wealthy farm growers in the West, especially in California. McGovern gave verbal support to the two major national boycotts which arose out of this struggle—the grape boycott and the lettuce boycott. At the same time, however, McGovern was voting consistently in the Senate against decreasing the huge farm subsidies for landowners and growers. For example, in 1967 he voted against House Resolution 10509 which would limit to \$10,000 the amount that any individual farmer could collect in direct cash subsidies. Besides supplying wealthy farm growers with huge sums of money for not farming their land, these subsidies help them to reap profits during periods of strike or boycott against them, and thus are a direct obstacle to the farmworkers' organizing efforts.

Also, in repeatedly voting for Vietnam war appropriations during the grape boycott, McGovern was supporting the strikebreaking maneuvers of the U.S. government which sent tons of boycotted grapes to the troops in Southeast Asia.



Some of the most significant actions which the Chicano movement has carried out have been the massive Chicano moratoriums which have mobilized thousands of Chicanos in demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia. George McGovern did not even issue a statement of support for these independent antiwar actions by the Chicano community.

McGovern opposes the independent La Raza Unida Parties in the Southwest because he wants Chicanos to remain inside the Democratic Party, even though it has trampled on the rights of the Chicano people for years. In a speech to the California Democratic Council in the Spring of 1970, McGovern makes his position clear:

"If the Democratic Party does not take positive steps to include America's minorities... the day will surely come when those minorities will leave the Democratic Party out in the cold."

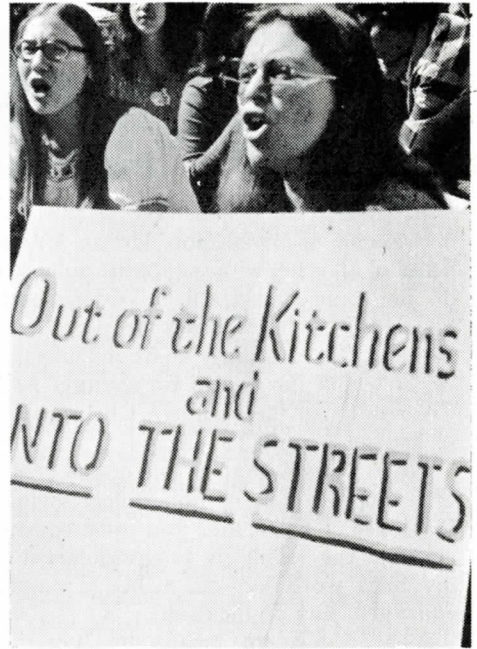
Only now that Chicanos are leaving the Democratic Party is McGovern expressing concern over their plight.

Native Americans

McGovern says that if he is elected, he will be able to do a lot more to aid the Native American people. Yet his term as Chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Sub-Committee produced no major legislation for the benefit of Native Americans. McGovern even admits this, "I feel guilty about not having done more for the Indians, and I don't mind being quoted on that." (The New York Times Magazine, May 2, 1971)

If he showed no inclination toward using his position to aid the struggles of the Native American people then, what basis is there for expecting him to do anything if he becomes president? What is he offering beside promises? If he were elected, would he again say that he feels guilty about not having done anything at the end of his term?

Women



Another domestic issue to which McGovern devotes attention is the rights of women. His position on this question is that women have been denied their full equality but that, if he were President, he would appoint women to his cabinet, the Supreme Court and other high government positions.

Obviously, women deserve more representation in the government and in all aspects of this society. But to offer more women more government positions, and leave it at that, is hardly an adequate solution to the oppression of women in this society. It is more of a token gesture, aimed at soliciting votes from women without really offering them anything in return.

The oppression of women is programmed into every facet and institution of this society—from the government to schools, churches and the media. To completely eliminate sexism from this society, a fundamental restructuring of the society is required. To begin with, the demands which the feminist movement is raising must be recognized as just and supported. McGovern is unwilling to make this commitment.

Gays

While he supports the Equal Rights Amendment, McGovern has refused to take positions on the other key issues and demands being raised by the feminist movement. He has, for example, refused to take a clear position in favor of repeal of all anti-abortion laws. At an October 31, 1971, meeting at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, in fact, he stated that he favored "liberalization" of anti-abortion laws, but opposed their total repeal. He holds the inadequate New York State abortion law, which places restrictions, such as a 24-week time limit, on a woman's right to abortion, as a model for other states to adopt.

The women's liberation movement raises the demand for total repeal of all anti-abortion laws because that is the only way that women will be assured of complete control of their own bodies. Mere liberalization of abortion laws still leaves the final decision on abortion up to the state and, in most cases, the woman's husband, parents or physician. Until all women have the elementary right to control their own bodies, there will be no real equality for women.

McGovern refused to endorse the November 20, 1971 demonstrations in Washington D. C. and San Francisco for the repeal of all abortion laws because he said that he "could not lend my support to every movement that comes along." (University of Massachusetts, October 31, 1971) Such a flippant characterization of a central aspect of the women's liberation struggle belies McGovern's stated support to the women's movement.

McGovern has also refused to support another key demand of women—free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care for all. Again, this demand is central to the full equality of women in this society, and is a right which it is incumbent upon society to provide. Yet McGovern has not committed himself to supporting these and other specific rights of women.



McGovern has not yet made a definitive public statement on the issue of homosexual rights. His campaign office in New York explains that McGovern "privately supports" gay liberation, but that to publicly endorse such a "delicate issue" would hurt McGovern's chances of getting the nomination. McGovern is asking gay people to vote for him merely on the basis of a private promise.

If McGovern were elected, would the situation for gays improve? McGovern has been elected as a Congressman and Senator many times but he has never introduced gay rights legislation into the Congress or Senate. In fact, when questioned about legislation currently being considered in New York City (Intro 475), McGovern's New York office says that McGovern "would not put his force behind such a bill."

The Draft

McGovern has taken a controversial position on the draft by advocating a general amnesty for all draft resisters who have fled to Canada or been sentenced to prison terms for opposing the war. This position has found favorable response on the campuses especially. But he qualifies his position by excluding from the amnesty all GIs who have deserted military service because of opposition to the war, racism in the armed forces, or other reasons, and all those who have refused military service on "political rather than moral" grounds.

In his term in the Senate, McGovern has voted at various times against amendments which would prohibit assigning draftees to duty in Southeast Asia unless they volunteered to serve there, and reduce the length of service for draftees from two years to eighteen months. He has also voted against an amendment which would permit registrants to be represented by legal counsel before their draft boards. He voted to send to the House of Representatives for approval the Selective Service Act of 1967, which extended the military draft for four years in order to supply troops for Southeast Asia.

McGovern did all of this at a time when he was a declared "opponent" of the war. He repeatedly voted against the lives of young draft eligible males, even though he demagogically claims to be "... tired of old men dreaming up wars for young men to die in." He has yet to speak out against the racist treatment which Black GIs receive in the Army. Yet he worries about the current demoralization of U. S. troops in Vietnam because, as he told the Washington Press Club, September 23, 1971, "My friends, this is a dangerous world and we need strong armed services with strong morale."



"Lesser-Evil" Politics

McGovern's record on the issues points up what is wrong with relying on Democratic and Republican politicians to bring about needed social change. McGovern's career is staked on one of the two capitalist parties and the system which it represents. Although he voices criticisms of some government policies, and claims that he would do things differently if he were President, he still expresses basic agreement with the capitalist system, and advocates no fundamental changes.

Not one capitalist politician who has been elected President of the United States—not Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, Roosevelt, nor anyone before them—has brought an end to imperialist war, acted to lift the oppression of oppressed nationalities, or fought to restore the rights of women and gay people.

Many people are motivated to support McGovern, not because they can comfortably agree with what he says and does, or because his record is so much superior to his rivals', but because they think that he is a "lesser evil" than other capitalist politicians. They support him on the off chance that he might be able to do some good if elected.

The problems of the United States are not the result of misrule by insensitive or egotistical personalities, nor are they the product of this or that faulty policy. The basic problem is the capitalist system. Merely electing "good" Democratic or Republican politicians has never made a basic change in the way this country is run, and it never will. In order to accomplish what we really want—to end the war, poverty, pollution, oppression of all kinds—the entire system must be reorganized, not just a switch made in the occupant of the White House.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the 72 elections—Linda Jenness for President and Andrew

Pulley for Vice-President—advocate precisely that: a fundamental change in the system from capitalism to socialism. They say that only by taking control of society out of the hands of a minority of millionaires who profit from exploitation, and reorganizing production to meet the needs of the majority of the people, will the problems of this society be solved. To those who claim that such a perspective is not "realistic," Jenness and Pulley respond that the "realistic" approach of the Democrats and Republicans is responsible for the oppression of millions under capitalism.

The SWP candidates advocate the formation of an independent labor party, based on the trade unions and involving all non-unionized and unemployed workers. This kind of party would not owe its allegiance to the wealthy industry owners and bankers who control the Democratic and Republican Parties, but would be supported by and responsible to labor, and would thus be impelled to fight for the interests of labor.

Similarly, an independent Black political party would defend the interests of Black people, just as La Raza Unida Parties in the Southwest are breaking with the Democratic Party and are fighting for the needs of the Chicano people.

The withdrawal of these three powerful forces from the two capitalist parties would seriously weaken the power of the Democrats and Republicans, who claim that they represent the majority of Americans when in fact they do not. This concept of independent political action outside of and opposed to the two capitalist parties is one which the Socialist Workers Party upholds as the way in which the process of fundamentally changing this society will begin to take place.

The socialist alternative

In contrast to McGovern, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are campaigning to support and build all of the mass movements for social change. They don't tell antiwar activists that the time for demonstrations is over. They tell them to continue to build the independent antiwar movement for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. Their campaign is explaining the role of U.S. imperialism in crushing popular liberation struggles throughout the world.

Jenness and Pulley don't tell women to abandon their struggle in order to campaign for a man who wants to be elected President, and work within a party that has always been a bastion of sexism. They tell women to keep on building an independent movement for control of their own bodies and lives, and not to rely on anybody else to end their oppression.

The Socialist Campaign doesn't ask militants in the Black and Chicano movements to give up struggling for control over their own communities and for self-determination; it encourages them to build their own independent political parties and to carry on the independent fight against their oppression.

And Jenness and Pulley don't tell working people to accept a freeze on their wages, while their employers' profits continue to soar, or to continue to vote for political parties and candidates who

have sold them out in their fight for better living conditions. They explain that only by organizing their own independent labor party will workers be able to safeguard their standard of living.

Jenness and Pulley call for immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, while McGovern only promises to "set a date" for withdrawal at an indefinite time in the future. Jenness and Pulley support all of the demands being raised by the feminist movement, and are active builders of the movement to repeal all anti-abortion laws, while McGovern equivocates on these questions, only promising to appoint a few more women to government offices.

Jenness and Pulley support the demand of Black control of the Black community, while McGovern advocates more money for the police. They support La Raza Unida Parties, while McGovern beckons all Chicanos into the Democratic Party with no assurance that their demands will be met. The socialist candidates support the demand of gay people for full rights. They call for a Congress of Labor to decide on a program to fight the wage controls, a shorter work week with no reduction in pay in order to end unemployment, and guaranteed jobs for all. McGovern votes for anti-union legislation and gives support to Nixon's Pay Board and other wage control schemes.

Jenness and Pulley support full voting and all other rights for youth, while McGovern criticizes "undisciplined radicalism" on the campuses, and votes for legislation to quell student demonstrators by cutting off their government scholarships. (See voting record)

The main message of the Jenness-Pulley campaign is that the oppressed and unrepresented must build their own power, their own independent movements, to get what they want and need. Jenness and Pulley offer the only positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties who have sold us out time and again.

For all of these reasons, young people all over the country are supporting the Socialist Workers campaign in '72. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in the high schools, on the campuses and in the communities are helping to build the socialist campaign and challenging representatives of the capitalist campaigns to debate and address themselves to all of the issues of concern to youth today. By November, 1972, these young activists will have brought news of the socialist campaign to millions of people in every part of the country, and helped to recruit many more activists to all of the mass movements. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are making a major impact on American politics.

Make your first vote count. Join the socialist campaign.

The Socialist Candidates



Linda Jenness

Linda Jenness was born January 11, 1941, in El Reno, Oklahoma. She has been a legal resident of Georgia for most of her life. She attended Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, where she majored in history; while in school, she studied in Mexico and France. After leaving school, she taught English in Spain for a year, then worked as a secretary in Washington D.C. She speaks Spanish fluently.

Influenced by the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1966. She served as an officer of the Washington D.C. Mobilization Committee at the time of the October 21, 1967, antiwar march on the Pentagon.

In September, 1968, Jenness represented the YSA in Lares, Puerto Rico, at the hundredth anniversary celebration of the Puerto Rican independence movement. In

January, 1969, she spent five weeks in Cuba as part of a YSA delegation invited by the Cuban government to participate in activities marking the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Linda Jenness was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970. While a candidate in Georgia, she was a leader of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee and was active in Emory University Women's Liberation.

She is the co-author of several pamphlets, including: "Women's Liberation and the Cuban Revolution," "Abortion: A Woman's Right," "Kate Millet's Sexual Politics: A Marxist Appreciation" and "The Wage-Price Freeze Swindle." She toured the country in the spring of 1971 speaking on the women's liberation movement.

Jenness is also a frequent contributor to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*.



Andrew Pulley

Andrew Pulley was born in Greenwood, Mississippi, and moved to Cleveland, Ohio, when he was twelve years old. He was arrested and kicked out of high school in 1968 for his participation in what school officials called a "riot" — part of the nationwide protest by Blacks in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Told that he could choose between jail and the Army, Pulley chose the Army.

As a GI at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, he was active in one of the first GI antiwar organizations—GIs United Against the War. When the Army tried to crack down on the growing organization, Pulley became one of the defendants in the case of the Fort Jackson Eight. He served 60 days in the stockade before a massive public defense campaign won his release and discharge from the Army.

As 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from Berkeley, California, Pulley became well-known as a socialist speaker. During his campaign he toured India, Ceylon, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, speaking on the growing radicalization in the United States. He also flew to South Vietnam to speak to GIs there, but was barred when the U. S. Embassy gave orders not to let him off the plane.

Since then, Pulley has remained active in the antiwar movement, serving as coordinator of the Black and Brown Task Force to End the War in Vietnam. As a representative of the Socialist Workers Party, he was one of the featured speakers at the giant April 24, 1971, antiwar rally in Washington D. C.

The McGovern:

VOTING RECORD

(The year and number identifies the particular bill; facts taken from the Congressional Quarterly)

Foreign Policy

1967/665 Voted to allocate defense appropriations for Vietnam.

1967/HR 7123 Voted to allocate \$70,132,320,000 to the Department of Defense, including appropriations for Vietnam.

1967/HR 10345 Voted for amendment to State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriations Bill that the Senate, having supported United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia, should initiate and support similar UN sanctions against North Vietnam.

1968/S 3293 Voted to authorize \$21,341,738,000 in defense appropriations, including money for the war.

1968/HR 16703 Voted for military construction authorization of \$1,807,025,000 for 1969.

1968/HR 17734 Voted for bill providing \$6,373,735,498 in 1968 and releasing \$2,687,902,800 in previous appropriations for military.

1968/HR 18785 Voted for \$1,744,936,000 for 1969 defense construction.

1968/HR 18707 Voted to approve \$71,886,893,000 defense budget for 1969.

1966/S 2791 Voted for \$4,807,750,000 appropriation for defense in Southeast Asia.

1966/HR 15941 Voted for \$58,189,872,000 1967 defense budget, including money for Southeast Asia.

1969/HR 11400 Voted for "Supplemental Appropriations" passage of bill appropriating \$4,459,669,644 in 1969 and imposing a limit of \$187.9 billion on federal spending in fiscal 1970. Included \$1,272,000,000 for defense operations in Southeast Asia.

The Draft

1967/S 1432 Voted to send to House of Representatives for approval Selective Service Act which extended military draft for four years. (May 11, 1967)

1967/S 1432 Voted against amendment to prohibit assigning draftees to duty in Southeast Asia unless they volunteered for service there.

1967/S 1432 Voted against amendment to reduce length of service for draftees from two years to

eighteen months.

1967/S 1432 Voted against amendment to permit registrant to be represented by a lawyer before a draft board.

Civil Liberties

1967/S 150 Voted to approve Senate study "to investigate the immediate and longstanding causes of riots and means of preventing them and preserving law and order."

1968/HR 2516 Voted for amendment making it a federal offense to travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot.

1968/S 917 Voted for amendment to disqualify from federal employment for five years persons convicted of a felony related to a riot.

1968/S 917 Voted for Omnibus Crime Bill which authorized \$100 million in 1969 and \$300 million in 1970 for police; also, permitted wire-tapping by police in a wide variety of cases.

1968/S 379 Voted to cite Jeff Fort, leader of the Blackstone Rangers, for contempt of Congress.

1968/HR 18037 Voted for amendment to allow institutions of higher learning to cut off federal aid to students convicted of crime against institution if student's actions contributed to "substantial disruption" of institution.

Labor

1966/HR 77 Voted against cloture of a conservative filibuster aimed at preventing repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act—the "right to work" law enabling states to outlaw the union shop.

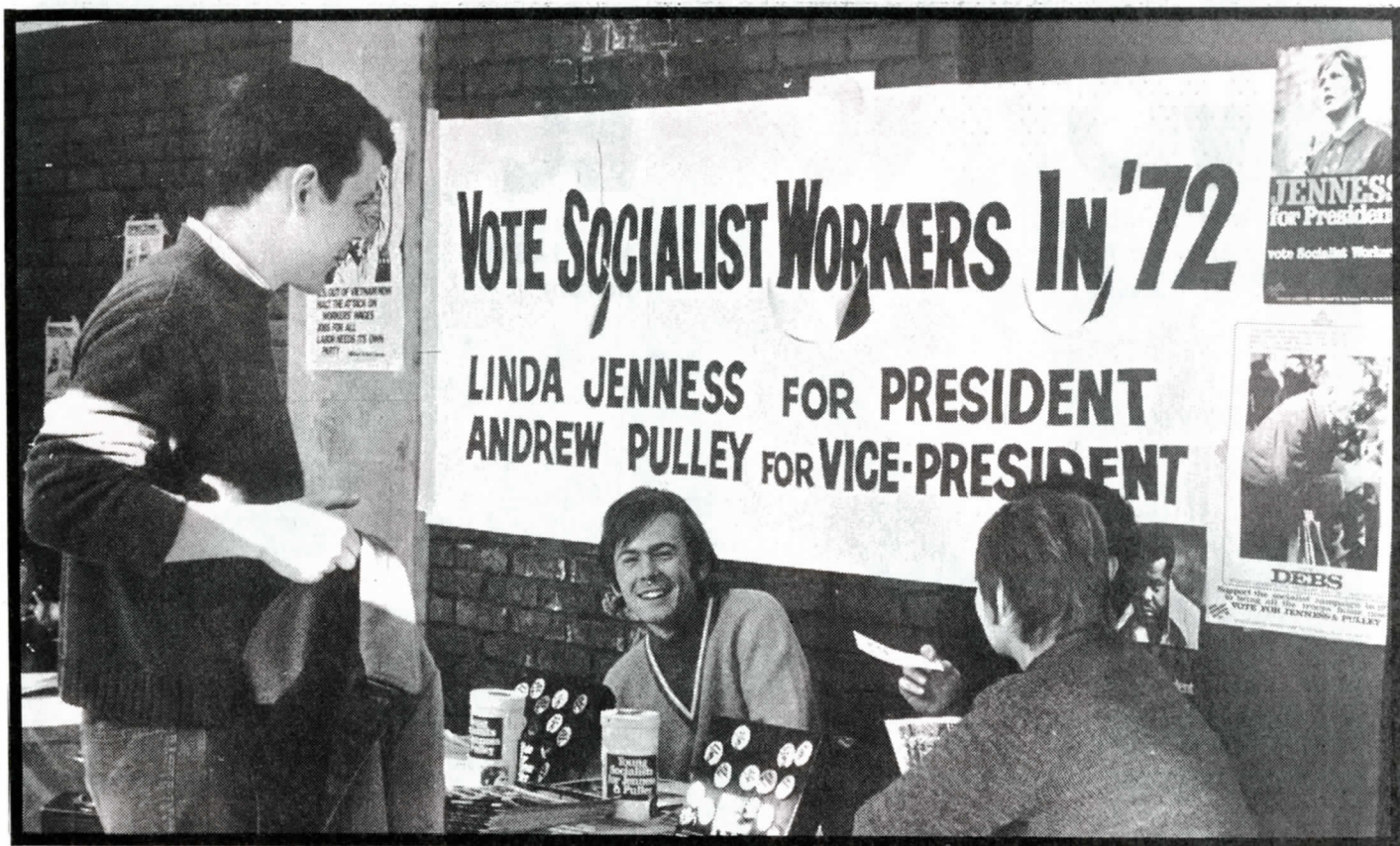
1967/SJ res 65 Voted to extend for 20 days the 60-day period under the Railway Labor Act during which there could not be a strike by rail unions.

1967/HJ Res 543 Voted to extend above deadline another 47 days.

1967/HR 10509 Voted against amendment to limit to \$10,000 the amount that any individual farmer could collect in direct cash subsidies.

1967/HR 6950 Voted against amendment to increase Social Security benefits an average of 20%.

1967/HR 6950 Voted against amendment to eliminate cut-off date after which persons reaching 65, not covered by Social Security or Railroad Retirement provisions, would be ineligible for Medicare hospitalization insurance.



JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS 1972 CAMPAIGN

I endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as the only positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all of the planks in the SWP program.

Enclosed is a donation of \$ ____ . I would like to make a regular monthly pledge of \$ ____ .

I want to organize a meeting for a candidate or campaign speaker in my area.

I want to organize Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in my area. Send me a YSJP organizer's kit.

I want to sell *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the socialist campaign. Send me a weekly bundle of ____ *Militants* and ____ subscription blanks.

Enclosed is \$1.00. Send me a 10 week introductory subscription to *The Militant*.

I want to help petition to get Jenness and Pulley on the ballot in my state. Send me more information.

I want to help collect endorsers for the socialist campaign. Send me a packet of endorser cards.

Fill out and return to: Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, 8th fl., New York, New York 10003. Phone: (212) 260-4150

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Phone _____

School/ Organization _____
(for identification only)

