## THE MILITANT

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

# All out Nov.6



## Student strike Nov. 3

Courts, Congress unite behind Phase II/4 What's behind 'Evict Nixon' campaign?/10 Militants turn around Raza conference/17

## In Brief

#### THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 16,791 new subs
- 4 Congress, courts unite behind Phase II Why the price index understates inflation
- 5 Building for Nov. 20 Defense actions for Shirley Wheeler
- 8 Final push for Nov. 6 launched
- 9 Nov. 6 rally sites Over 100 Ft. Hood Gls arrested
- 10 'Evict Nixon' campaign
- 11 Pulley takes campaign to Gls, students Jenness' Ohio tour wins many endorsers
- 12 Prisoners' Bill of Rights
- 14 Militants turn around Raza conference
- 15 Terrorist killings in Dominican Republic
- 16 The threat of an int'l recession
- 17 Dissent at III. AFL-CIO convention
- 19 San Quentin frame-up pressedN. Korea aids Pakistan
- 22 Defiant dock workers held in contempt
- 24 French revolutionists arrested for antiwar action
  Raza Unida makes good showing in L.A.
- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 The Great Society
  Women: The Insurgent
  Majority
- 13 By Any Means Necessary
- 15 La Raza en Acción
- 17 The National Picket Line
- 20 In Review

#### THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 40. NOVEMBER 5, 1971 CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 27

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone (213) 463-1917. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including U.S.S.R.), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

KENT 25: On Oct. 22, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit upheld the contradictory lower court decision that suppressed the Kent grand jury report accompanying the indictments of 25 students and faculty in connection with the May 1970 protests in which four students were killed—but let the indictments stand!

PRISON VOTES: In blatant disregard for the Constitutional rights of persons confined in jails or mental institutions, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia ruled Oct. 26 to uphold a lower court decision dismissing a complaint by 2,000 city jail prisoners asking that they be allowed to vote by absentee ballot in elections in the areas where they were registered.

RADICAL JACK: Jack Lieberman, the Florida State University student who fought a lengthy battle last year with the FSU administration and the state legislature over his right to teach a course on "How to make a revolution in the U.S." in the school's Center for Participant Education (CPE), is running into the same kind of harassment again this year. FSU President J. Stanley Marshall ordered classes in the CPE delayed for one week Sept. 19 and then accused Lieberman of deliberately defying his order. Lieberman told a student honor court his classroom meeting with students Sept. 23 was an informal discussion. The honor court found Lieberman innocent, but Marshall himself has ultimate authority to review the case.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION: A wide range of local and statewide media covered an Oct. 21 news conference in Houston, Texas, announcing the Young Socialist Alliance convention there at the end of the year (Dec. 28, 1971-Jan. 1, 1972). More than 2,000 young socialists from across the country are expected to attend the five-day meeting in Houston's Music Hall.

POLICE PROVOCATIONS: Louis E. Tackwood, who for nearly a decade was a paid agent-informer for the Los Angeles cops, has been telling about instances of provocation and entrapment used by the cops against radicals and Black and Chicano nationalists in California. In a series of news conferences and interviews in Southern California during the past couple weeks, Tackwood has claimed he was involved in setting up a 1965 unprovoked shooting assault by cops on a Black Muslim mosque, that he acted as a go-between for the cops with Ron Karenga of US, that he infiltrated the "radical slate" running in last spring's Berkeley City Council elections, and that he has knowledge of a number of other incidents in which he was not directly involved.

MORE GIS REFUSE ORDERS: The Oct. 22 Daily World reported that Delta Company at Fire Base Pace, sent to replace Bravo Company which had been pulled out for refusing to obey orders, has also refused to go out on patrol, deeming the offensive operation an unnecessary risk.

MINERS RALLY: Three hundred angry miners from seven states demonstrated outside the headquarters of the United Mine Workers in Washington, D. C., Oct. 22. Led by Mike Trbovich of the Miners for Democracy faction of the UMW, the action protested the failure of the Tony Boyle leadership to pay strike benefits to the 80,000 coal miners now on strike.

FORGET IT: On Oct. 18, the Labor Department announced that unemployment in low-income neighborhoods rose sharply in the third quarter of 1971. It also announced that it would suspend reports on such statistics during the 1972 election year "in order to switch its calculations from 1960 census data to 1970 data." The "temporary" suspension will last until "sometime in 1973."

N. Y. TAXI UNION: A Rank and File Coalition in the New York Taxi Drivers Union has put up a slate of candidates against the leadership of the union's chiseling, bureaucratic president, Harry Van Arsdale. Van Arsdale's goons went to work on some of the coalition members at an Oct. 13 general membership meeting when they tried to amend the union's constitution to 1) require union officers to work at least one day a week, 2) limit voting on contracts to fleet drivers and inside workers (no pensioners or owner-drivers), and 3) allow workers in a garage to remove and replace garage chairmen and committeemen who can presently be removed between regular elections only by the executive council.

The candidates seeking office in the union's Nov. 11 election are running on a 20-point program.

A MERE PITTANCE: The Royal Court Minister for the Shah of Iran said Oct. 24 that the cost of the Shah's celebration for the 2,500th birthday of Iran had been

"totally exaggerated" by the press. The affair only cost \$16.6-million, Amir Assadollah Alam said, including \$6-million for a monument and museum commemorating the Shah's service to the country.

WSJ EDITORS WORK AROUND-THE-CLOCK 'WORK-TURNS' TO PREVENT ERRORS: Discussing the precautions taken by the Wall Street Journal to reduce the chances of embarrassing typographical errors, Carol J. Loomis writes in the August 1971 Fortune magazine: "The reporters are . . . instructed to avoid words that are particularly easy to befoul, like 'shifting' and 'shutting' and 'buck.' Indeed, the word 'shift' is regarded as so potentially dangerous that the paper invented the word 'work-turn' to replace it in discussions of factory hours."

SOCIALISM ON THE RADIO: Theodore Edwards, socialist educator and Southern California Socialist Workers Party leader, now has a weekly 15-minute political news commentary on KPFK-FM. The broadcasts, which can be heard from Santa Barbara to the Mexican border, are played at 5:45 p.m. every Thursday.

... AND ATHEISM TOO: Madalyn Murray O'Hair recently wrote to 80 percent of the 6,000 radio stations in the U.S., asking them if they would carry her 15-minute weekly program on atheism. Forty-four percent of the stations agreed to carry the program, 30 percent offered her the same rates available to representatives of Christianity and other superstitions, and seven percent offered her free public-service time.

#### **NEWS FLASH**

HOUSTON, Oct. 27—The Houston Socialist Workers Party won a court suit today challenging sections of the city election code and its candidates will be on the ballot in the Nov. 2 city elections. Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor, and Paul McKnight, SWP candidate for City Council, were the plaintiffs in the suit, which was handled by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Sections of the election code knocked down by the suit were: 1) a requirement of real estate ownership for two years, 2) filing fees of \$1,250 for mayoral candidate and \$500 for City Council candidates, 3) a five-year residency requirement.

The SWP also won a federal court injunction against enforcement of the loyalty-oath provision of the election code, permitting the SWP candidates to appear on the ballot without taking the oath. A suit by the SWP challenging the constitutionality of the loyalty-oath provision will be heard in the future. This action is being supported by the Committee on Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

LA RAZA CONTRA LA GUERRA: That is the name of a San Diego group formed to organize a Raza contingent in the Los Angeles Nov. 6 demonstration. The group has members at San Diego State, Mesa Junior College, Southwestern Junior College, San Diego City College, and at Palomar and the University of California, San Diego. The group and Nov. 6 have been endorsed at the last two schools by MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan). La Raza Contra La Guerra has set up several subcommittees, including a Chicana committee that is organizing a separate Chicana contingent within the Raza contingent.

PONTIFICAL POPPYCOCK: Pope Paul VI told missionaries Oct. 24 that they should stick to preaching the gospel. There was a danger of "neocolonialism," His Holiness said, if Catholics used the gospel as an instrument for social development. Presumably this indicated approval of the traditional use of the gospel as an instrument for retarding social development.

THE VIRGIN MOTHER SCHOOL OF FALSIFI-CATION: Pacifist Gordon C. Zahn, writing in the Oct. 22 Commonweal, accused U. S. Catholic bishops of deliberately trying to create the false impression that the church has been a source of consistent, though prudently restrained, opposition to the Vietnam war from the beginning. A resume released in July by the bishops' U. S. Catholic Conference cites antiwar statements by U. S. bishops beginning with Lawrence Cardinal Shehan's pastoral letter of June 1966—neglecting to mention Shehan's subsequent retraction of his early misgivings and also neglecting to mention the antics of the late Francis Cardinal Spellman, who rode around Vietnam in helicopters, wearing a helmet and shaking holy water from his hyssop on troops and armament.

- LEE SMITH

## 16,791 new subs, five weeks left

By FLAX HERMES

OCT. 26-This week the drive for 30,000 new readers to The Militant by Dec. 1 became the second largest subscription drive in the history of the paper, surpassing the total of 16,-044 subs sold in the fall of 1970. So far. 16,791 new subscribers are reading The Militant. In the remaining five weeks of the drive we will be headed toward breaking the previous record of 22,437 set in 1945.

The success of the subscription drive so far reflects several things: One is the growing number of Militant supporters who are out selling the paper. Another is the growing awareness that The Militant's coverage is unique and indispensable. The experiences of the national subscription teams are prime examples.

One of the teams has spent the past month traveling in the Southwest and so far has sold over 1,400 subscriptions, most of them to Chicanos.

All the teams report a tremendous receptivity to The Militant from women, especially Black women. In fact, several indicate that more women are buying subs now than men.

In general, all areas of the country are fertile selling ground. Last week, for example, the Mid-Atlantic team had planned to "pass through" West Virginia on their way to Kentucky. By the end of the week they found that West Virginia might be even more interested in The Militant than New York or Pennsylvania. One team member reports she sold 23 subs in the cafeteria at West Virginia University while eating dinner. She also met the

radical group on campus, the Mountaineer Freedom Party, who want to find out more about the Young Socialist Alliance and its December national convention in Houston.

As of this week, more than half the goal for the fall sub drive has been completed and the drive is still ahead of schedule. This week, however, we did not receive the 2,727 subs we should average each week.

There are several new areas on the scoreboard. Manchester, N. H., Lubbock, Texas, and Burlington, Vt., all took quotas this week.

Providence, R. I., and Oakland-Berkeley, Calif. are added to the list of areas on time, while Travis A. F. B., Calif., Geneseo, N. Y., Paterson, N. J., and Claremont, Calif., have already completed their quotas.

With the continued enthusiasm of Militant readers for the campaign, the expectation is that the momentum so far will be maintained to a successful finish with at least 30,000 new readers.

#### International Socialist Review

The International Socialist Review's drive for 5,000 subscribers continues to need greater attention and emphasis.

The ISR now has 1,431 new subscribers. To be on time this total should be 2,725.

Reports from around the country indicate that the pace of the drive is picking up. Three hundred and fiftysix subs came in this week, which is the highest recorded in any week of the drive so far.

# Subscription scoreboard

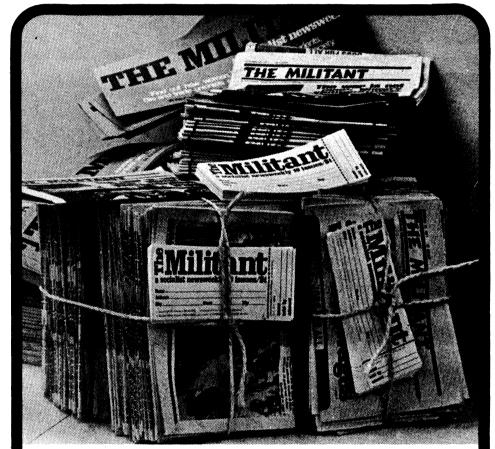
**QUOTA SUBS** 

Travis A.F.B., Calif.	15	29	193.3
Geneseo, N.Y.	20	22	110.0
Paterson, N.J.	25	27	108.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	40	100.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	37	92.5
Pullman, Wash.	10	7	70.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	140	70.0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200		67.3
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	662	66.2
San Diego, Calif.	200	124	
Erie, Pa.	5		60.0
Providence, R.I.	200	113	56.5
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif		897	56.1
Austin, Texas	375	197	52.5
Washington, D.C.	600	312	52.0
Denver, Colo.	700	362	51 <i>.</i> 7
Boston, Mass.	2,000	1,022	51.1
Chapel Hill, N.C.	30	15	50.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	20	10	50.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	20	50.0
Madison, Wis.	300	149	49.7
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	49	49.0
Bloomington, Ind.	150	73	48.7
Boulder, Colo.	100	48	48.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	595	47.6
Connecticut	200	91	45.5
Burlington, Vt.	25	. 1.1	44.0
Logan, Utah	100	44	
Seattle, Wash.	600	263	
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	558	42.9
Durham, N.H.	40	17	42.5
Davenport, Iowa	10	4	40.0
Chicago, III.	2,000	784	
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.		487	
Atlanta, Ga.	750	291	38.8
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	455	
Nashville, Tenn.	45	17	37.8
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	468	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	37	
	200	74	
Long Island, N.Y. Tallahassee, Fla.	200	72	36.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	351	
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	5	33.3
El Paso, Texas	50	16	32.0
Portland, Ore.	400	127	31.8
Houston, Texas	600	181	30.2
North Andover, Mass.	20	6	30.2
Lubbock, Texas	25	7	28.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	27	27.0
	1,550	410	26.5
Los Angeles, Calif.	20	5	25.0
State College, Pa.		21	
Amherst, Mass.	100	<b>Z</b> I	21.0

El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0			
Marietta, Ohio	10	2	20.0			
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	4	20.0			
Wichita, Kan.	20	4	20.0			
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	27	18.0			
Eugene, Ore.	40	7	17.5			
San Jose, Calif.	60	8				
Edinboro, Pa.	25	3				
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	3	12.0			
Kansas City, Mo.	200	23				
Modesto, Calif.	30	3	10.0			
DeKalb, III.	100	7	7.0			
Oxford, Ohio	75	5	6.7			
Tampa, Fla.	150	3	2.0			
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	0	0			
Manchester, N.H.	15	Ō	Ō			
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	Ŏ	Ŏ			
National Teams	6,000 5,	779	96.3			
Mid-Atlantic	(1,676)					
Southwest	(1,447)					
Southern	(1,398)					
Western	(1,258)					
General	325	,	99.4			
TOTAL TO DATE			56.0			
SHOULD BE		362				
GOAL	30,000 100.0					
	30,					



Photo by Ellen Lemisch



# What are you doing Nov.6?

Hundreds of Militant supporters from around the country will participate in a massive sales campaign for The Militant at the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations. Their goal is to get The Militant into the hands of as many antiwar activists as possible.

You can help too! The Militant will have special dispatch points in every city where there is a demonstration Nov. 6. Just look up the one in your area on page 22 and pick up a bundle of Militants to sell.

Help sell The Militant, the fastest growing socialist newsweekly in the U.S.!

)	Enclosed	d is	\$1	for	10	weeks	of	The	Milit	ant.

- ) Enclosed is \$2 for three months of the International
- Socialist Review and 10 weeks of The Militant. Send me a full year of The Militant for \$6.
- ( ) I'm a GI. Send me six months of The Militant for \$1.50.

Name		
Address		
City	State	Zip
14 Charles Lane, N. Y	7., N.Y. 10014	_

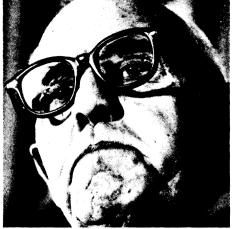
## Congress, courts unite behind Phase II

On Oct. 19, the Republican administration delivered to the majority Democratic Congress its proposed legislation establishing a government apparatus for restricting wages.

On Oct. 22, Nixon named his appointees to the first Pay Board and Price Commission. On the same day, a three-judge federal court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, the legislative basis of the wage freeze. These three events revealed substantial agreement among the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government to establish strict limits

The Republican administration has asked Congress to extend its authority to regulate wages and prices until April 30, 1973. It also asked for legislation that will provide for fines and establish a three-judge Temporary Court of Appeals, to be appointed by Chief Justice Burger, to hear all appeals of Pay Board or Price Commission rulings. The administration wants the Temporary Court of Appeals to be empowered to review and rule on all appeals from U.S. district court injunctions in wage-price cases. This last provision, if enacted, would lay the basis for a special strike-breaking court to move against union defiance of Pay Board rulings. This is the enforcement "teeth" Nixon promised he would ask of Congress.

The Nixon appointees to the Pay Board reveal the intent of the government even more clearly. Of the 15member Pay Board, the 10 who represent industrial management and "the public" are committed by their positions in society and all past experience to uphold the restrictive guidelines of government policy against wage raises. The five remaining mem-



George Meany, left, and Leonard Woodcock are two of five labor representatives on Nixon's Pay Board.

bers are top union officials in those key industries which are the principal target of a wage rollback-building construction, transportation, steel, auto, and the metal trades.

The U.S. district court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Economic Stabilization Act establishes a convenient precedent for upholding the more drastic legislation now requested by the administration. It demonstrates that the judiciary will not override the actions of Congress and the administration on a question involving the economic policy of the employing class.

The near unanimity within the ruling class at this juncture to hold the line on wages and drive down the living standard of the workers is reflected in both political parties of big business. The Democrats in Congress voiced no serious opposition to the wage-freeze legislation submitted by the Republican administration. In fact, they were the first to insist upon economic controls, were the authors of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, and were loud in praise of Nixon when he issued the Aug. 15 wage-



freeze edict. Their criticism of the proposed legislation is limited to secondary considerations and voiced most often by minor representatives of the party. For example, Representative Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), an ardent supporter of wage controls, threatened a minor amendment which if enacted would require Senate confirmation of all appointees to the wage and price boards.

Many leading economists prominently identified with past Democratic administrations have testified for wage controls. On Sept. 1, Arthur M. Okum, who served as chief economic adviser to President Johnson, appeared before the Senate Joint Economic Committee and proposed a limit of 5 percent on wage raises.

Walter Heller, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under both Kennedy and Johnson. appeared on the "Meet the Press" television show Oct. 17, where he contended that most union wage agreements could be allowed to stand because raises in the second and third years do not exceed 6 to 7.5 percent. He also said that a general guide-

line limiting wage increases to 5 to 6 percent could reduce the annual rate of inflation to 2 or 3 percent, the announced goal of the Nixon admin-

Such are the "learned" opinions offered to the Pay Board even before it meets to resolve the first and most urgent question: whether to let stand wage increases already negotiated and not due to expire until 1973.

The five union captives on the Pay Board - AFL-CIO President George Meany, President Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, President I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, President Floyd E. Smith of the Machinists, and President Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters - negotiated contracts in the five key industries. They are now in the position of having to re-negotiate and justify those contracts in the Pay Board.

When Woodcock appeared on the television program "Issues and Answers" Oct. 24, prior to the first Pay Board meeting, he cited the example of 20,000 UAW members at Douglas aircraft plants who are owed 34-cent hourly pay raises retroactive to July 19, a total of about \$5-million. He said, "If those workers don't get that money paid to them, that \$5-million simply goes to swell the profits of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation. It is absolutely unfair, it is wrong and does nothing to restrain inflation.

When asked if he would resign from the Pay Board if it should vote to disallow the money owed those Douglas workers, Woodcock was noncom-

The false assumption that wage increases cause inflation is the basis for the Pay Board operation and the justification the government uses to restrict wages.

In an article in the Jan. 23 New Continued on page 22

## Why the price index understates inflation

The government's Consumer Price Index (CPI) has been climbing very rapidly since the start of the Vietnam war and the latest figures show that it continues to rise (see box). But this index, which is used to compute pay increases required by cost-of-living escalator clauses in labor contracts, undertstates the actual rises in living costs caused by inflation. This can be deduced from facts contained in an article by Richard Janssen and Albert Hunt in the Oct. 21 Wall Street

The most obvious defect of the Consumer Price Index is that it lags behind the actual increases in prices. The fact that the index is computed and reported once a month means that there is up to a month's lag in recording price increases. But the computations themselves, according to Janssen and Hunt, are based on price surveys taken on 398 items at some



"There's an art to analyzing statistics."

18,000 retail outlets. Though food prices are checked each month, most other items are surveyed only quarterly. This means that the CPI can be up to three months behind in registering price increases in these items.

The best of the cost-of-living escalator clauses, such as that contained in the present United Automobile Workers contract, call for pay adjustments once a quarter. Thus, for UAW workers there can be a lag of nearly six months between price increases on items surveyed quarterly and compensating pay increases. Many escalator clauses provide for cost-of-living adjustments only once a year, producing an even bigger lag in catch-up pay

Another serious defect in the CPI is that it does not record price increases for a product if the manufacturer convinces the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), which compiles the index, that there has been a commensurate increase in quality. The government, not surprisingly, is easily convinced. Thus, the CPI has registered no increase in automobile prices from the introduction of the 1959 models through the 1970 models, though car prices have increased by hundreds of dollars in that period. The claims by auto manufacturers that quality has increased commensurately are belied by the widespread and dangerous mechanical defects that have required call-backs of millions of cars in recent years.

Ralph Nader charges, according to Janssen and Hunt, that "the BLS does not have engineers equipped to evaluate the industry's quality claims and that the auto companies usually prevent their engineers from talking to the government." The result is that the government generally accepts industry claims on quality when deciding whether to record price increases that have been put into effect.

A third major defect of the governments' cost-of-living index is that it leaves out federal, state and local personal income taxes. According to Janssen and Hunt, the reason the BLS cost-of-living statistics issued by the government contain a bias that favors the employers. The only way the cost of living can be measured accurately is through the formation of consumer price committees that are totally independent of the government

In September, consumer prices (seasonally adjusted) climbed 0.2 percent nationally and 0.4 percent in New York City, according to index figures released by the Labor Department Oct. 22. The national increase in August was 0.4 percent and in New York City 0.1 percent.

Thus, during the first full month of the "price freeze," New York City prices went up four times faster than during the previous month. The slower national rise in September as compared to August is in large part due to a factor having nothing whatsoever to do with the "price freeze": a record-breaking fall harvest. This caused food prices to decline last month by 0.8 percent, the biggest drop in four years.

The index category that went up the most in September was apparel and related items: a whopping 3.4 percent for New York City and 1.6 percent nationally. The administration, apparently puzzled over how such widespread price increases could have occurred during its "remarkably successful" freeze, has ordered the Internal Revenue Service to investigate prices of women's and girls' apparel as well as other items for possible violations of Nixon's stabilization order.

officials give to explain why this major cost-of-living item is left out of the index is that it is impossible to determine whether "a tax-rate increase has been offset by an increase in the quantity or quality of governmental services.'

"For instance, says one official, 'Am I supposed to be happier if the Army buys a new tank?'" Because of such "knotty" problems, the government not only fails to record income tax increases but it ignores the obvious cutbacks in "the quantity and quality of government services" that have been made in recent years due to the Vietnam war.

These facts clearly show that the

and allied with the labor movement. Such committees, if organized on a mass scale, could not only devise a more accurate formula for computing living costs. They could also implement constant monitoring of prices as opposed to surveys taken once a month or once every three months. Such an index could then be the basis for automatic and prompt increases in wages, social security benefits, and welfare payments that fully compensate for price rises.

The "watch-dog units" proposed recently by the AFL-CIO to be set up on a national scale to monitor prices could be an important step toward the establishment of such committees.

## Defense actions held building for Shirley Wheeler

Bu CAROLINE LUND

Women took to the streets in many cities Oct. 21 to voice their outrage at the sentencing of Shirley Wheeler, the 23-year-old Florida woman who was convicted of manslaughter for



Shirley Wheeler

having an abortion. On Oct. 15 Shirley Wheeler was sentenced by a Daytona Beach, Fla., judge to two years' probation with the condition that she must either get married or move to North Carolina and live with her family. Shirley Wheeler has decided to appeal her case.

A Militant correspondent in Boston reports that about 300 people gathered in front of the state house on the Boston Commons Oct.21 to demand freedom for Shirley Wheeler and the repeal of all abortion laws. The crowd responded enthusiastically and with frequent cheers to speakers from a broad spectrum of the women's movement in Boston, including representatives of Female Liberation, the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Women vs. Massachusetts, the Black and Third World Women's Liberation Alliance, the Third World Task Force of the abortion repeal

campaign, the Young Workers Liberation League, United Women's Contingent and the Socialist Workers Party.

Jeanne Lafferty, a founding member of Female Liberation and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge City Council, spoke about the terror unwanted pregnancy brings to most women and the crucial nature of the abortion law repeal campaign.

Pat Bonner-Lyons, Young Workers Liberation League candidate for Boston School Committee, solidarized herself with the fight for repeal of all abortion laws and spoke of the need for sex education in the schools.

Fifty Philadelphia women held a picket line and rally in support of Shirley Wheeler and were faced with a counter picket line of members of Save Our Unborn Lives (SOUL).

One hundred women from the University of Minnesota marched to the University Health Service, protesting the treatment of Shirley Wheeler and linking the Wheeler case to their demand for abortion referral counseling to become part of the student health service. Their demonstration was covered by all four local TV stations.

Twenty-five women picketed the Federal Building in Chicago, and Los Angeles women picketed the U.S. Courthouse in support of Shirley Wheeler.

In addition, a united press conference was held in San Francisco by the Women's Abortion Action Coalition, the National Organization for Women, Zero Population Growth and the American Civil Liberties Union. A press conference was also held by the New York Women's Abortion Action Coalition.

The Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition pledged its active support for Shirley Wheeler by launching on Oct. 21 a massive petition campaign addressed to the governor of Florida demanding Wheeler's freedom. A petition campaign is also being waged by the Seattle Abortion Action Coalition of Women, and has already been signed by Elizabeth Bracelin of the New Women Lawyers; Irma Levine from the Abortion Referral Service; Judy Ismac, reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer; and Mildred Henry, director of the Women's Division of the Seattle Human Rights Agency.

## Building OO + for Nov. 20 +

With this issue The Militant is beginning a column of news from around the country on organizing and building toward the Nov. 20 march on Washington, D. C., and the parallel demonstration in San Francisco. The Nov. 20 demonstrations, demanding repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization and repeal of anticontraception laws, are being organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

WONAAC now has well over 1,000 endorsers from a broad spectrum of the women's movement. The most recent prominent endorser of Nov. 20 is Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.). The National Organization for Women in Berkeley, San Francisco, and Nashville have officially endorsed the demonstration. Other endorsers include: La Donna Harris (whose husband is Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris); Planned Parenthood of San Francisco and Alameda County; Edna Williams of the Cairo, Ill., United Front; and Fanny Lou Hamer of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

The second issue of WONAAC's Newsletter, dated Oct. 21, has appeared. This special 20-page issue, which sells for 50 cents, will be a helpful organizing tool for the Nov. 20 demonstration. The Newsletter notes that one area where there is great potential for obtaining endorsement and active support for Nov. 20 is among tradeunion women. The Newsletter lists 26 national and international unions whose female membership is over 10,000, and requests that local abortion coalitions contact these unions, ask for the opportunity to speak before

Forced Motherhood," and "Abortion Is a Woman's Right to Choose." A rally following the march heard statements by Shirley Giellis, radio talkshow commentator; Idell Grant, National Welfare Rights Organization; and Linda Reed from Colorado University Women's Liberation.

On the same day 150 women marched on the state capitol in Austin, Texas. The march was organized by the University Women's Abortion Action Coalition to build local support for Nov. 20. One of the speakers at the rally after the march was Pvt. Cher Miller from the Women's Army Corps at Ft. Sam Houston. She spoke against President Nixon's recent declaration that military women cannot receive abortions unless they are legal under the laws of the state in which the women are stationed.

On Oct 21 the Women's Abortion Action Committee at the University of Texas appeared before the Austin City Council. Two members of the committee, Deborah Stanton and Sally Armstrong, presented a resolution to the council to endorse the Nov. 20 march on Washington. The vote was six to one not to endorse, but the demonstration received good publicity because of the confrontation with the council.

The national abortion campaign and the Nov. 20 demonstrations are receiving increased support and publicity in the Washington, D. C., area. Dr. Barbara Roberts, a project director of WONAAC, appeared recently on two television interview programs, one of them called "Black News."

Another recent event was a confrontation between Dr. Roberts and E.



rnoio by nowara remic

Abortion march in Austin, Texas

their membership on the abortion law repeal campaign, and ask for endorsement, general support and financial contributions.

The Newsletter can be ordered from WONAAC at 917 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 347-0946.

The Newsletter stresses that if Nov. 20 is to be a success in demonstrating to the government the united power of women behind our demands, then local supporters of Nov. 20 must begin immediately and seriously to organize mass transportation to Washington, D. C., and San Francisco. The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition has already reserved ten buses, for instance, and is selling bus tickets at campus abortion literature tables, public speaking engagements and through all their publicity.

Buses should arrive in Washington in time for marchers to assemble in the Ellipse (behind the White House) between 10 a.m. and 12 noon Nov. 20. The San Francisco march will assemble at the Embarcadero Plaza at 10:30 p.m.

Two hundred women marched from the state capitol to the University of Colorado Denver Center on Oct. 16 to help build participation in the national abortion law repeal demonstrations Nov. 20. Marchers carried placards with statements such as "Abolish Michael Lawrence, editor of Triumph magazine, an ultraconservative Catholic monthly, in a debate attended by oever 250 people at American University.

In urging support for the Nov. 20 action, Dr. Roberts said that "Mass actions, like those against the war, have been instrumental in the past in educating a recalcitrant government and forcing it to act."

A conference sponsored by the Cleveland Abortion Project Coalition Oct. 23 was attended by 100 women, who agreed to launch a big organizing campaign to build the Nov. 20 march on Washington. Keynote speakers were Kipp Dawson of WONAAC and Barbara Robb, attorney for the classaction suit by Michigan women challenging the constitutionality of the Michigan abortion law. The conference discussed the possibility of initiating a class-action suit against the Ohio abortion law.

A Black women's workshop discussed plans for mobilizing Black women to march in the Black women's contingent in the Washington march.

Over 50 women gathered in Atlanta for a statewide organizing meeting for the national abortion campaign. There was a workshop on legislation and a large workshop on building for Nov. 20.

## SWP campaign wants 5,000 endorsers

The Socialist Workers 1972 campaign has launched a national drive to obtain at least 5,000 endorsers of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president by Dec. 31. If successful, this drive will surpass the total number of endorsers obtained during the entire 1968 campaign, when Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle were the SWP candidates.

Campaign supporters across the country will participate in the public drive, soliciting endorsements from high school and college students, trade unionists, Blacks, Chicanos, Latinos, women, professional people, unemployed, gay activists and others. Every person who supports the Jenness-Pulley campaign as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, even though he or she may not necessarily agree with all aspects of the SWP program, will be encouraged to sign an endorser card.

Thousands of endorser cards are being printed for the campaign. Endorser catagories include Women for Jenness and Pulley, Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley, Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and a general endorser classification. These cards will be widely distributed through mailings, meetings, public bulletin boards, literature tables and scores of other ways.

The drive will establish contact between the SWP campaign and thousands of potential endorsers; for many, it will serve as an introduction to socialist ideas. Many of the endorsers will commit themselves to becoming active builders of the Jenness-Pulley Campaign.

Every endorser will regularly receive materials from the national campaign committee. Endorsers will also be able to obtain a three-month subscription to *The Militant*, the SWP campaign newspaper, for only \$1 by simply checking a box on their endorser cards

To obtain endorser cards, or find out more about the Jenness-Pulley campaign, write: Socialist Workers Party 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003; phone: (212) 260-4150.

## In Our Opinion

#### On to Nov. 6

As the fall antiwar offensive builds toward the culminating actions on Nov. 6, many commentators, both in the radical press and in the mass media, are talking once again about the moribund state of the antiwar movement. Some point to the modest size of the Oct. 13 actions, others to the "Evict Nixon" fiasco in Washington Oct. 25-27. The conclusion is then drawn that the war is no longer a key issue in American politics, or that the ineffectiveness of the antiwar movement has led to its demise.

Were the effect of such commentary not harmful to the antiwar movement, it would be almost amusing. The same arguments have come up so many times in the last six years that it becomes evident some people never learn. For example, throughout the spring of 1970 the press was filled with similar "analysis" and commentary, only to be belied in May when the Cambodian invasion sparked the biggest explosion of antiwar sentiment ever and the greatest social crisis this country has seen in decades.

This is not to say we are heading into another May 1970. We cannot predict the timing of such mass upheavals. But, as in 1970, the antiwar movement is far from foundering on the rocks. It is stronger, broader and deeper than ever.

The nationwide Oct. 13 actions were obviously not a repeat of the Oct. 15, 1969, Moratorium. But few thought they would be. They were projected as building actions for Nov. 6, and as such they were

The Oct. 25-27 charade in Washington was something else again. Called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice as Phase I of a campaign to "Evict Nixon," the organizers labeled it the most important action in a quarter of a century. But few people even heard about it.

No. Nixon has not succeeded through partial troop withdrawals and a scheduled trip to Peking in "outmaneuvering" the antiwar movement. There is no way to "outmaneuver" those millions of Americans demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina. Nixon either meets that demand, or not. If he does not, the antiwar movement will continue to grow and take to the streets in mass actions. If he does, we will be victorious, not outma-

But Nixon has no intention of withdrawing all U.S. forces from Indochina, either immediately or otherwise. And the administration's problems only grow deeper. The decision to implement a 90-day wage freeze and try to roll back the standard of living of American workersall in order to pay for the Vietnam war—only adds a highly explosive, powerful new component to the antiwar struggle.

Some troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam—and every one of those represents a victory for the antiwar movement—but nearly 200,000 remain. There may be "only" eight, 10 or 12 American dead each week, but not one death, Vietnamese or American is acceptable to the antiwar forces.

At the same time, the bombing of the North has been resumed on a massive scale. The war in Laos and Cambodia has been escalated. In other words, the objective conditions which originally gave rise to the antiwar movement, which laid the basis for a genuine mass movement, continue to exist. And explosive new contradictions have been added since Aug. 15.

It is in this context that Nov. 6 is being built.

## Victory for China

The Oct. 25 decision of the United Nations General Assembly to seat the People's Republic of China as the legitimate representative of the Chinese people was a historic event.

The expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship from the UN was a price U.S. imperialism was willing to pay in order to consolidate the new Washington-Peking relationship. But it was not Nixon's optimum program and in that sense the UN vote was a rebuff to U.S. imperialism's China policy. The fact that the U.S. government has been forced—at the UN and in its other dealings—to acknowledge the victory of the Chinese revolution is a dramatic reflection of the shifting balance of world forces. The Vietnamese people can today take significant credit for this continued weakening of world imperialism.

The struggle to seat the People's Republic of China began in 1950, one year after the defeated counterrevolutionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek set themselves up on Formosa and declared that they still spoke for all China. A more contemporary parallel would be if the Cuban counterrevolutionary gusanos who fled to Miami after the 1959 victory of the July 26 Movement had declared themselves the government of Cuba and demanded that they, not the government in Havana, be recognized by the entire world. Like the recognition of China itself, the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of imposters is only historical justice.

The decision to seat China is a victory for the world revolution

everywhere.

## Letters

#### United Attica Brothers

We, the Attica brothers, are experiencing a continuation of the "massacre" that began Sept. 13, 1971. The stifling aspect is that though we have raised our voices in unison against this intimidation, deprivation and dehumanization, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, through his agents Oswald and Mancusi, continue to disregard us as human beings.

Most recently, while ombudsmen from the Parole Department (located in Buffalo) have come to witness the treatment of the inmates, they aren't allowed to clearly see the real issue. For in having advance knowledge that ombudsmen are coming, some attempt is made to perform a "display-type" treatment.

Mancusi and his Sgts. now use a tape recorder when meals are being served, recording the protests of pork and pork substances while they snicker at the inability of the inmates to be treated as human beings. This pork is served on the average of twice per day to provoke men who are going through

Further noted that various groups of people visit the prison, for the explicit purpose of viewing the men who dared to ask for humane treatment, while the members of the legislature are denied entrance. The American Legion, for example, is one of these groups who view men that are locked in their cells 24 hours a day! For those who can go to the yard do so under the deadly atmosphere of automatic rifles and tear gas guns, held at the ready by prison guards perched on corners of the exercise yard roof.

We Attica brothers urge that everyone who cares what becomes of the husbands, fathers, brothers and sons here at Attica, contact the following people: Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve (Buffalo); BUILD president William Gaiter (Buffalo); Amsterdam News Publisher, Clarence B. Jones (New York City); NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins (New York City); Fight Organization founder Rev. Florence Chandler (Rochester). Yours in struggle, United Attica Brothers Attica, N.Y.

#### Apostolic work

I was reading your magazine earlier today and enjoyed it very much. I am presently doing apostolic work with teenagers in the Wisconsin House of Correction and would like very much to have this magazine to take out to them so that they might be able to keep abreast of the hap penings in the world.

Since I am on an extremely meager budget, I myself cannot afford the money. I was hoping that in view of my use of the magazine, I would be eligible to receive it under the "in the penitentiary" stipulation.

Take it slow, M. A. P.Sacred Heart Monastery Hales Corners, Wis.

#### Oklahoma State Fair

We stopped by a United Auto Workers information booth at the Oklahoma State Fair in Tulsa, talked with the union members who were in charge, and took some of their liter ature.

In exchange we offered to sell them subscriptions to The Militant. They liked the paper and bought copies, but one said they could not get subscriptions for their locals until the executive committee ap-

Some of the information they were distributing was interesting, and should be known by readers of The Militant. For example, "All UAW aerospace workers were due an automatic contractual raise of 34 cents an hour (the accumulation of costof-living money above the eightcent annual cap) at the expiration of their contracts."

This would have meant, they say, \$2.72 a day, \$13.60 a week, \$54.48 a month - based on straight-time earnings-for every member in the aircraft industry from the date their contracts expired until the conclusion of Phase I of the wage freeze, Nov. 14.

"Remember," says the UAW poster, "if Phase I didn't get you, Phase II will!!!" They can add to that now that if Nixon can't make it work, UAW president Woodcock and AFL-CIO president Meany are right in there to help try to make it work.

The poster asks a couple of good questions. The first is "How do we get our money back?" And the answer they give is "By electing a president and Congress to represent US!" The next question: "How do we do this?" Well, the answer they give to that one is a crime. They say give money to their political fund to elect Democrats to office.

I think they will read the Militants we sold them and I know they need to, because the only way to get anything for working people out of the 1972 election is to vote for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. They can start now by asking their union executive committees to subscribe to The Militant and stop wasting their dollars on the Democrats. Vote socialist. Organize a labor party. *M*. *J*.

Nov. 6 and the handicapped

Houston, Tex.

Tonight I picked up a book called The Wasted Americans (the book is about welfare recipients) that had a quotation of F. D. Roosevelt in it. I quote it in part: "Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers."

This is a rotten thing for Roosevelt to say, since he was himself handicapped and knew quite well what able-bodied means in our world. He was certainly a chauvinized cripple. He didn't hesitate to force young men to become crippled and killed in order to defend U.S. imperialism.

I hope every handicapped Vietnam veteran, Korean War veteran, World War II veteran, and all handicapped people will make an extra effort to take part in the normaloriented antiwar demonstrations on Oct. 13 and Nov. 6. We can be a powerful force for peace.

Boston, Mass.

#### AFT convention

Your correspondent's recent report on the convention of the American Federation of Teachers (Sept. 10 Militant) was profoundly erroneous in at least one respect. He says that the opposition United Action Caucus did not offer a class-struggle program for teachers to the convention.

In fact, the caucus introduced and fought for the following resolutions on the floor of the convention: 1) On the wage freeze: for a one-day national work stoppage by all labor. This received one-third of the

vote. 2) On antistrike laws: for a coalition of all public employee unions to fight the laws by all means including statewide strikes.

3) On the war: for immediate withdrawal and support of Nov. 6 actions. 4) For women's rights and many others.

Is it possible that your correspondent cannot recognize a class-struggle policy when he sees one?

Steve Zeluck

New Rochelle, N. Y.

Reply: The United Action Caucus never introduced a resolution supporting the mass demonstrations scheduled for Nov. 6. The "California Resolution on S. E. Asia," signed by 203 delegates and alternates from California and endorsed by AFT presidents representing seven locals which had submitted antiwar resolutions to the convention, was the only resolution to mention the Nov. 6 actions.

This resolution was not even allowed a hearing on the floor of United Action Caucus meetings. Supporters of "set the date" and sectarian opponents of the National Peace Action Coalition in the UAC were mainly responsible for this destructive factionalism.

The UAC leadership's anti-Blacknationalist position left them at the mercy of demagogue Albert Shanker, who was able to continue with impunity his attack on the efforts of the Black community to control their schools.

The UAC offered no opposition to the AFT bureaucracy's reversal of last year's convention position supporting the women's Equal Rights Amendment. Leaders of the UAC joined with the AFT tops in opposing the ERA.

I believe the above more than bears out the assertion in my article that the UAC lacked a consistent class-struggle program.

Jeffrey Mackler

Berkeley, Calif.

#### Raza Unida spreading

I have subscribed to *The Militant* since April of this year. I find your paper most interesting. I would like to know if there is a way that you all could send *The Militant* down to Victoria. I don't promise that I can sell it, but maybe after the people around here see it they will subscribe.

I have enclosed a newsletter that we put out. I wish that there was a way to subscribe to the *International Socialist Review* and *The Militant*, but right now we're raising money to get La Raza Unida Party started here. I might be able to help you with your quota goal. R. V.

Victoria, Texas

Editor's note: The Militant welcomes exchange subscriptions with other groups and publications.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## The Great Society

Nixon takes firm position on toilets—Demonstrating its determination not to be easily moved by price-gougers, the Nixon administration ordered the Detroit Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel to roll its recent 25-cent pay toilet price back to a dime. However, the increase may be approved if the hotel shows it's providing a new service. "If they put in new seats, for example," a price-freezer said, "we'd have to determine the cost of such a capital improvement."

Meanwhile, industry gets its stuff together - Undeterred by the Sheraton-Cadillac ruling, Nik-O-Lok, which has been installing toilet locks since the days they were a nickel, warned the public to anticipate nationwide price increases on pay toilets as financially troubled cities continue to shut down free public ones. They should be sure to point out that the decline of the free public toilet represents a setback for creeping socialism and that no true American should mind paying a few cents extra for the privelege of using a device so splendidly symbolic of our free-enterprise system.

Heil Jesus!—Atheists will not be permitted to settle in South Africa.

Well, that's different—Recently we reported a federal assurance that airborne lead was not a matter of particular concern since it chiefly affected only children and some workers in central cities. But now Dr. Tsaihwa J. Chow, a scientist who worked on the study upon which the government press release was based, says the release offered a false version of the report's finding and that in fact airborne lead is a menace to the health of all urban dwellers.

Put some starch in your bones—A Stanford Research Institute study of post-nuclear-attack food supplies in Albuquerque, N. M., concluded that initially "survivors may anticipate severe shortages of every commodity except potatoes," reports Roger Rapoport in the Oct. 10 Los Angeles Times. "The survival of much of the national harvest, coupled with the immediate availability of the local crop, guarantees that Albuquerque will not lack pota-

toes at any time during the first postattack year," the report assures. And, even better, the presence of three potato chip factories in Albuquerque will offer a "certain dietary variety to local survivors. . . . "

Free-enterprise science—A California psychologist says he can teach parents to use applied therapy with disturbed children. One method, with seriously withdrawn children, is to offer them tokens that can be exchanged for candy or other goodies. Among the problems Dr. Paul Clement says parents can help a child cope with—unless the reporter was putting us on—is "coprolalia," which is described as a compulsion to utter foul language at inappropriate times without apparent cause. He didn't say whether they get them to stop or give them a cause.

At least it's cheaper—A European council on smoking was told that a nonsmoker spending eight hours in a smoke-filled room will inhale the equivalent of one pack of coffin nails.

- HARRY RING

## Women: The Insurgent Majority

VICTORIES FOR WOMEN—In the Oct. 1 Insurgent Majority we reported on the fight of Florence Cafarelli in Peekskill, N.Y., who sued her community hospital for refusing to allow her to have a sterilization operation there. The Oct. 3 New York Times reported that the hospital has capitulated and will allow the operation on the grounds of "medical necessity." However, Cafarelli says she will continue her suit in order to help establish the constitutional right of women to be sterilized for any reason if they desire.

° A federal judge in San Francisco has temporarily stopped the Navy from discharging Lt. Sheryl Lawrence simply because she is pregnant and unmarried. Lawrence's attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union argued that discharge would violate her right to equal protection, since Navy men are not automatically discharged for physical disabilities, says the Sept. 8 Los Angeles Times.

° The October 1971 issue of Hospital Physician reports: "Butcher jobs done by illegal abortionists have been drastically reduced by passage of liberalized abortion laws. At L. A. County Hospital, 800 women a year were treated for incomplete and septic abortions before the (liberalized) law; now the number is 100."

° The Oct. 15 Los Angeles Times says that from now on all publications of Yavapai College in Prescott, Ariz., will use the title Ms. before women's names, making no distinction between married and unmarried women.

° After receiving complaints from four teachers from Long Island, N.Y., the State Human Rights Commission has ordered a Long Island school district to give seven weeks' back pay to Susan Arluck, a teacher who was forced by the school to begin her maternity leave earlier than she wanted to. This was reported in the Oct. 14 New York Post.

BILLIE JEAN KING—Women's tennis champion Billie Jean King is now solidly for the women's liberation movement, she told the Sept. 18 New York Post. "What I'm doing now is part of it," she said. What helped most to convince her of the justice of the women's movement was seeing the blatant discrimination against women tennis players. For instance, as female winner of the U.S. Open Tennis Tournament Sept. 15, her prize money was \$5,000 while the prize for the male winner was \$15,000.

This discrimination was even more disgusting since the women's tournament drew more spectators than the men's this year.

Barbara Trecker from the New York Post wrote that Billie Jean King "hates it when the subject of babies comes up." "I really get annoyed," said King. "For six years, not one day has gone by when someone hasn't asked me when I'm going to settle down and raise a family."

OUT NOW!—The United Women's Contingent was established prior to the antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C., last April 24, and it succeeded in bringing out thousands of women who marched together in one of the most spirited sections on the march, with banners and chants relating our demands as women to our demand for an end to the war.

This fall the United Women's Contingent is again calling upon women to march together in the mass demonstrations in 17 cities on Nov. 6. An Oct. 5 appeal for support from the Contingent was signed by Ruth Gage-Colby from the National Peace Action Coalition and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Gloria Steinem, actress Julie Newmar, attorney Florynce Kennedy, Debby Bustin from the Student Mobilization Committee, and Kay Camp from WILPF.

For more information on how you can help build the United Women's Contingent, write to: United Women's Contingent, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011 or call (212) 741-2018.



Photo by Sue Swope

WOMEN'S LIBRARY—The Women's History Research Library in Berkeley has made an appeal for donations (tax deductible). The library needs many small donations in order to demonstrated the public support required to receive grants necessary to finance continued operation of the library.

The library is also looking for unpublished material by women—poems, diaries, research papers, tapes, and especially materials by and about Black women. The library compiles a catalog index of all these materials, which it sends to libraries, women's studies programs, and other groups. Send donations and materials to the library at 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, Calif. 94708.

CHINESE-AMERICAN SISTERS—Twenty young Chinese-American women and men picketed the Miss Chinatown Beauty Pageant in New York Oct. 11, reported the New York Times. The beauty pageant was part of a three-day celebration in Chinatown of the Chinese nationalist revolution in 1911. The demonstrators carried signs saying "Liberation for Women" and "Asian sisters, rise up."

— CAROLINE LUND

# NPAC proposes united antiwar congress

The following open letter from the national coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition was sent Oct.: 16 to the national coordinators of the People's Coalition for Peace and Instite

We of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) are convinced that the time is now for all who oppose U.S. military intervention in Indochina to unite in a single antiwar coalition. We think this should take place as soon as possible. We specifically propose a national unifying convention of the entire U.S. antiwar movement for early December.

The need for a unified coalition is self-evident. Though the largest peace demonstrations took place this year, the killing in Indochina goes on. The building of an even more powerful antiwar force is imperative to bring it to a halt. A unified movement will spur our common efforts to end the war.

Trade unionists—and workers generally—are increasingly moving into the antiwar movement. Unifying the movement will be a tremendous boost in hastening this development and making it massive. The existence of two national coalitions breeds confusion, division and unwanted competition. With one national coalition, antiwar activists will no longer be asked to choose sides. We will all be on the same side and the only other side will be Nixon's and the warmakers.

Another convincing reason for us to get together is a desire for such unity on the part of the Vietnamese. No one who supports their right to self-determination can be indifferent to their often repeated plea that all sections of the American antiwar movement unite.

An important step toward such unity occurred with the sponsorship of the Oct. 13-Nov. 6 demonstrations by both the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. National conventions held by each group this summer agreed "to achieve a working unity of all organizations opposed to the war, to build a series of massive antiwar actions in the streets this summer and fall." The actions contemplated were agreed to be "peaceful, orderly, nonconfrontational" in character.

Is there any reason why we cannot continue this agreement in a united coalition? Is there any reason why one unified coalition cannot plan and implement massive antiwar demonstrations for the spring and as long afterwards as is necessary to end the war?

In proposing that all who oppose the Indochina war be part of one united national antiwar coalition, we of course recognize that participating groups, such as the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, would retain complete freedom to independently carry out campaigns on all issues with which they are concerned.

Please let us hear from you as soon as possible on our proposals for a single unifying national convention in early December.

### Antiwar sailor explains petition

By BOB SCHWARTZ

SAN FRANCISCO—A new wave of antiwar opposition is sweeping the armed forces today, manifesting itself in action more often than in the past. One example of this new burst of antiwar activity is the petition signed by more than 1,000 crew members of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Coral Sea, asking Congress to halt the ship's scheduled return to Vietnam Nov. 12.

Seaman Larry Harris, a former Coral Sea crew member now stationed at the Treasure Island Navy base here, told The Militant how he and others began circulating the petition after hearing about the drive in San Diego by members of the crew of the U.S.S. Constellation and the San Diego antiwar movement to keep that aircraft carrier from sailing to Vietnam.

Harris and several others typed up a petition and circulated it shortly before the *Coral Sea* docked at the Naval Air Station at Alameda, Calif., in September. They gathered more than 300 signatures in a few days. They expected to get many more signatures from the 4,500-man crew, but the executive officer and two chief petty officers seized the petition.

With the help of the staff of Up Against the Bulkhead, a GI-oriented antiwar newspaper put out by civilians, Harris and the other sailors prepared another petition and began circulating it again—this time together with a leaflet listing previous GI antiwar actions, such as the First Air

Cavalry advertisement printed last spring in the New York Times ("We urge you to march for peace April 24. We'd do it ourselves but we're in Vietnam."), the July 4 petitioning of the U.S. Embassy in London by armed forces personnel, and a strike on the U.S. S. Ranger.

The petitioners have organized a group called Stop Our Ship (SOS), determined to get as many members of the crew as possible to sign the petition, which says in part: "In our opinion, there is a silent majority aboard ship which does not believe in the present conflict in Vietnam. It is also the opinion of many that there is nothing we can do about putting an end to the Vietnam conflict. . . . This is where we feel that the majority of the *Coral Sea* has been fooled by military propaganda. . . ."

According to Harris, the group holds meetings every night to plan activity for the following day. It was while they were making buttons at such a meeting that the brass indicated it would go beyond seizing the petition. The ship's captain and executive officer appeared and announced that although the petition was legal, anyone circulating it would be given a hard time.

Later, in contradiction to what the two officers had said, the ship's command issued a direct order to stop the petitioning. The sailors who continued to exercise their constitutional rights were put on report. Another petition was begun, protesting the interference with the first petition. The

command responded by arresting 12 of the most active sailors and marching them to the captain's quarters. The captain told them that, beginning that morning, it was necessary to secure his approval of all literature circulated on board.

After that, continued attempts to petition were met with increasing repression. Three seamen—Mike Hayes, Terry Cooper and Jim Mackan—were thrown into the brig. Two other sailors were put on restriction and Harris himself was punitively transferred to Treasure Island to await discharge.

Asked about the ultimate goal of SOS, Kerry Tresback, whose two brothers are *Coral Sea* crewmen, said "We're working for the same' thing as the GIs at Firebase Pace" who refused to fight in early October.

Harris believes the chances for actually stopping the Coral Sea are better than they were for the Constellation. "We started inside the ship by ourselves and then took it to the people," Harris said, explaining that the Constellation protest began with a vote by civilians in San Diego.

When the Coral Sea docks after sea trials preparatory to departure for Vietnam, SOS plans a picnic they hope will involve almost the whole crew. Harris is a scheduled speaker at the Oct. 23 Military Rights Convention hosted by the Bay Area Concerned Military, and SOS hopes to draw a lot of the Coral Sea crew to the convention.

They also look forward to a special *Coral Sea* contingent in the Nov. 6 San Francisco antiwar action.



Photo by Jesse Smith

The U.S.S. Constellation steaming out of San Diego Harbor early last month. Drive to stop Constellation's departure for Vietnam inspired antiwar petition among sailors on U.S.S. Coral Sea.

## Final push for Nov. 6 launched

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct 23—"All out for Nov. 6!" was the message here today at Cooks Local 209 head-quarters as the National Peace Action Coalition's national steering committee meeting launched NPAC's final two-week mobilizing drive for the Nov. 6 regional mass demonstrations against the war.

The steering committee also reaffirmed and renewed NPAC's attempts to unify the antiwar movement by urging the participation of all in its national antiwar convention in December.

In launching its intensive two-week effort, NPAC took special note of Nixon's efforts to convince the American public that the war is "winding down." NPAC's final material for Nov. 6 will emphasize that the war continues unabated. The NPAC steering committee called on all to fully mobilize Nov. 6 to give President Nixon's fraudulent peace plan a striking repudiation.

Included in NPAC's final efforts will be a nationwide massive leafleting campaign; a daily release of information on the march build-up to the news media, including the labor, Black, neighborhood, and campus press; a final Nov. 6 endorser drive; a fund-raising drive; publicity for a national antiwar convention; daily use of sound trucks; and many others.

The steering committee approved an open letter addressed to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) national coordinators calling for a unified national antiwar coalition and convention. (See text of the open letter on this page.) Written by the NPAC national coordinators, the open letter proposes the creation of a single national antiwar coalition that can formalize and develop the unity gained around the April 24, Aug. 6, Oct. 13, and Nov. 6 demonstrations. The NPAC open letter points out that while PCPJ would be participating in an antiwar coalition, it would retain full freedom to conduct activity around all issues with which it is concerned.

Brad Lyttle of PCPJ reported to the NPAC steering committee that PCPJ was interested in the open letter, but had not yet formulated a policy on it. He said that even though it did not know whether it would cosponsor a national convention in December, he expected that PCPJ would have a delegation present if NPAC called the convention.

The steering committee then adopted a call for an open, national convention in the hopes that PCPJ would become a cosponsor of it. The convention is scheduled for Dec. 3-5, probably in Washington, D. C..

The steering committee also heard a report from Hilton Hannah, executive assistant to the president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, on the possibility of a trade-union antiwar conference to be held sometime early in 1972. Hannah reported that such a convention was being discussed among trade-union officials who had been involved in the antiwar movement. The NPAC steering committee voted to give its aid and cooperation to this project.

Another NPAC steering committee meeting was scheduled for Nov. 21 to evaluate the Nov. 6 actions.

### Nov. 6 antiwar march routes and rally sites

The following Nov. 6 schedule lists the times and places for 16 of the 17 regional antiwar actions. The time and site for the Tampa, Fla., action were not known when we went to press.

Atlanta: Assemble at 11 a.m. at the Civic Center Parking Lot (Piedmont and Fourth) for a march beginning at noon down Peachtree to Whitehall to the steps of the capitol for a 2 p.m. rally.

Boston: Assemble at 11 a.m. at the Cambridge Common for a march beginning at noon. A women's contingent will begin its march from a rally at Copley Square and join the rest of the march at the intersection of Tremont and Massachusetts. From the intersection, the march will proceed on Tremont to the Boston Common for a 2 p.m. rally.

Chicago: Assemble at 11 a.m. at the intersection of State and Wacker for a noon march down State Street to Eighth, down Eighth to Michigan, and down Michigan to Grant Park for a 2 p.m. rally.

Cleveland: Assemble at noon at East 24th and Euclid Avenues for a 1 p.m. march west on Euclid to Public Square for a rally.

Denver: Assemble at City Park for a 1 p.m. march west on Koufax to 15th Street, on 15th Street to Curtiss, on Curtiss to 16th Street, on 16th Street to Broadway, on Broadway to the state capitol for a 2:30 p.m. rally. The Chicano contingent will join the rest of the march in a feeder march beginning at 16th Street and Downey.

Detroit: Assemble at Wayne State University at 11 a.m. for a noon march down Woodward Avenue to Kennedy Square for a 1:30 p.m. rally.

Houston: Assemble at City Hall at noon for a 1 p.m. march north on Los Angeles Boulevard to Texas Street, east on Texas Street to Main, and south on Main to Hermann Park for a rally.

Los Angeles: Assemble at 9 a.m. at MacArthur Park for a 10 a.m. march downtown on Wilshire Boulevard to City Hall for a 1:30 p.m. rally.

Minneapolis: Assemble on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis at 11 a.m. for a noon march east on Washington Avenue to University Avenue and seven miles down University to the state capitol in St. Paul for a rally on the capitol grounds at 3 p.m.

New York: Assemble beginning at 10 a.m. from 36th Street to 43rd Street along Fifth through Eighth Avenues. The march will proceed uptown along selected avenues to Central Park; the New York Peace Action Coalition and the New York Civil Liberties Union are still attempting to secure a rally permit for the Central Park Sheep Meadow, which has been denied as a site by the city despite Mayor Lindsay's endorsement of the action.

Philadelphia: Assemble at Independence Hall at 11 a.m. for a noon march to the Art Museum for a 2 p.m. rally.

Phoenix: Plans are for three feeder marches, including a bicycle contingent from neighboring Tempe, Ariz.,

to converge for a rally at the City Hall complex.

Salt Lake City: Assemble on capitol hill at 10 a.m. for a noon march down State to Fourth South to 30th East to 9th South to Liberty Park for a 2 p.m. rally.

San Francisco: Begin assembling at 8 a.m. at Embarcadero Plaza for a 9 a.m. march to Post to Gary to the Polo Field for a 1:30 p.m. rally. Antiwar forces in Oakland and Berkeley are attempting to secure a permit for a feeder march across the Bay Bridge to join the San Francisco action.

Seattle: Assemble at the Federal Court House at noon for a 12:30 p.m. march down Madison to Broadway to Volunteer Park for a 3 p.m. rally.

Washington, D.C.: Marchers are to assemble at the twin assembly points of Arlington National Cemetery and the Capitol beginning at 11 a.m., leaving at noon and meeting at the White House Ellipse for a 1 p.m. rally.

## High schools, colleges prepare for Nov. 3

By LEE SMITH

Student Mobilization Committee National Coordinator Deborah Bustin ran smack into a high school free speech fight on the final leg of her tour to build participation in the Nov. 3 student strike and the Nov. 6 regional mass actions for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indo-

The Woodrow Wilson High School SMC in Washington, D. C., which had been facing harassment from the administration since its formation in early October, was denied permission to hold a meeting for Bustin on school property Oct. 21 on the grounds that SMC supports the Nov. 3 strike.

Not content with denying the high school students' free speech within the reach of his own arbitrary and unconstitutional authority, however, the principal, Maurice Jackson, notified the cops that the students had planned a meeting for Bustin in a nearby park.

When Bustin arrived at the park where 70 students assembled to hear her, cops surrounded them and ordered them to disperse because they didn't have a permit. Rather than risk arrest by pressing the issue at that point, Bustin and the students moved a couple of blocks away to the front yard of one of the students where

she and James Harris of the Black Moratorium Committee urged the students to organize against further violations of their constitutional rights and promised that their organizations would back the students up.

The Woodrow Wilson High School SMC plans to lead a march from the school to the campus of George Washington University for a strike rally Nov. 3.

In another important pre-strike development, the Boston SMC and the student government at Northeastern University forced the administration to rescind its invitation to Attorney General John Mitchell to speak at the dedication of the school's Law and Criminal Justice building Oct. 23.

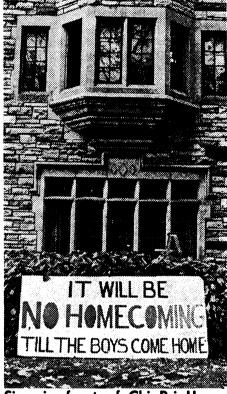
The invitation was announced Oct. 18. The following day the student government contacted the SMC and called an open meeting that drew 500 students. The meeting overwhelmingly passed a motion put forward by the SMC and the student government to call for a "peaceful, legal, mass picket line" outside the dedication ceremonies. Citing Mitchell's role in closing the Kent State investigation, in the Mayday arrests, in the suppression of the Pentagon papers and the indictments against Daniel Ellsberg, the motion

called "on the students and the rest of the people of Boston" to join the protest. Faced with the prospect of a massive demonstration, the administration withdrew its invitation to Mitchell.

In Knoxville on Oct. 19, the student senate of the University of Tennessee unanimously voted to make Nov. 3 a day "which seeks not to close the university but to open it up to a day of intense antiwar activity."

At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 50 members of the football team, including two who had gone to Vietnam last January on a State Department-sponsored "goodwill tour," added their names to a petition signed by 750 other students asking for an antiwar half-time show at the school's homecoming game Oct. **30**.

Star halfbacks Billy Taylor and Glen Doughty, the two who visited Vietnam in January, explained their reasons for signing to Howard Kohn of the Detroit Free Press Oct. 22. "What I got from talking to the troops is that the sooner we get out, the better," Taylor said. Doughty agreed, adding that "the Vietnamese people don't want us over there either.'



Sign in front of Chi Psi House on "Fraternity Row" (University Avenue, S.E.) at the University of Minnesota links homecoming to antiwar struggle.

#### ver 100 Ft. Hood Gls arrested Oct. 25

OCT. 26—What would have been one of yesterday's largest GI and veterans antiwar actions in the country was broken up before it got started by the arbitrary and unconstitutional arrest of more than 100 GIs and others in Killeen. Texas, outside Ft. Hood.

The Ft. Hood United Front, operating from the Oleo Strut coffee house in Killeen, began organizing for yesterday's action immediately after the July 4 convention of the National Peace Action Coalition adopted plans for GI and veterans antiwar actions Oct. 25. They made repeated attempts to secure a parade permit, even taking their request to court after it was denied twice by the City Council. However, as yesterday arrived, they still had no permit.

Killeen Mayor James Lindley made an attempt to get the GIs to pay a \$4,000 bond to cover "police expenses" in exchange for permission to march along a two-and-a-half-block route. The GIs turned down the mayor's

deal — even after he lowered the figure to \$500 — and began to lead the crowd of between 800 and 1,000 down the sidewalk. Lindley told them that the demonstration was still a parade, even if they marched on the sidewalk, as long as they carried placards.

When the first marchers reached the first corner, cops carrying batons and shotguns rounded up 200 of them and herded them down to the police station. Those who protested were grabbed by the neck, shoved toward the station door and whacked with batons. About half of the 200 managed to drift away, but the cops seized the rest and then began arresting others in twos and threes. At no time was there an order to disperse given.

More than 100 remain in jail, including many of the leaders of the Ft. Hood United Front. The GIs are asking that protests be sent to Mayor Lindley and that messages of support be sent to the Oleo Strut, 101 Avenue B, Killeen, Tex as, demanding that all the victims be released and all charges dropped.

Many other GI and veterans actions numbering the audience turned out took place on and around Oct. 25 in other cities. In San Antonio, Texas, 200 active-duty GIs and 50 others marched carrying a banner reading "On to Nov. 6!"

The First International Military Rights and Antiwar Convention in San Francisco Oct. 23 attracted more than 100 active-duty GIs from five states and about 150 others to hear speeches from former members of the crews of both the U.S.S. Constellation and the U.S.S. Coral Sea, a member of VVAW, Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), and Andrew Pulley, who was one of the Ft. Jackson Eight and is now the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate for 1972.

President Nixon didn't show up at a Veterans Day ceremony in Eisenhower Park, East Meadow, L. I., where he had been scheduled to speak along with the national commander of the American Legion, but 500 members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and others did show up, outby the U.S. Veterans Day Committee.

When the antiwar group marched up to the amphitheater chanting "Bring Our Brothers Home!" the organizers of the ceremony decided to invite Al Hubbard of the VVAW to share the platform with the Legion commander, who called antiwar demonstrators "anarchists."

An estimated 10,000 shoppers and spectators expecting a traditional parade in Chicago cheered and flashed peace signs as an antiwar veterans march came down the street instead.

Organized by the Chicago Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and the VVAW, a group of about 500 veterans, many of them Black and many of them Vietnam veterans, marched by the cheering crowd on the sidewalks to a rally in Grant Park, Chaired by Bart Savage of the VVAW, the rally heard from several speakers, including an active-duty sailor and a Black World War I veteran. Savage and the speakers repeatedly stressed the need for a massive turnout on Nov. 6.

## Evict Nixon' Campaign: a cover for support to the Democrats



Photo by Howard Petrick

"I'll probably vote Democratic, but it turns my stomach." — Rennie Davis

By LEW JONES

Initial reports indicate that the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) demonstration, around the theme "Evict Nixon," in Washington, D. C., Oct. 22-27 received scant support (see news report, page 24). The small turnout comes as no surprise. The actions were not designed to attract many people. The PCPJ even claimed that "the offices of the presidency will be stopped for a national memorial service that will surround and close the White House." Few people in their right minds believe that the antiwar movement should or could conduct such an action. Few people are enchanted by this kind of absurd rhetoric these days.

The confrontational tactics of the PCPJ activities, however, should not obscure the fundamental political thrust of the plans to "Evict Nixon." The ultraleft tactics are a smokescreen that covers a totally liberal, election-year strategy designed to take the antiwar movement off the streets and into the Democratic Party. The elements of what PCPJ calls its "election year offensive" are already clear. They raise serious questions about the strategy the antiwar movement (and the other mass movements) should pursue

The PCPJ approaches the 1972 elections with two assumptions about the antiwar movement. It accepts the myth that the era of an active mass opposition to the war is over, and it rejects the strategy of independent mass mobilizations. As PCPJ leader Rennie Davis states in an "analysis" he has written of the election year strategy, "Whatever it is that describes our movement, this much is clear: there is no motion in this country for Vietnam." A PCPJ brochure states, "Another mobilization in Washington . . . is not what is needed now."

In place of mass action, which the PCPJ has at least formally supported in the past, they are now developing a "program that tries to face the immediate spectacle of a presidential election and the very real threat of a Richard Nixon reelected." The aim of such a program is best summed up in the PCPJ statement that "the value of defeating Richard Nixon cannot be underestimated. . . . " In order to do this, the PCPJ feels it must "create a climate in the United States that drives Richard Nixon from political power just as Johnson was forced out in 1968."

"Phase One" of the campaign was the Oct. 22-27 Washington D. C. actions. "Phase Two" apparently lasts until the Republican Party national convention in August. The PCPJ has called for "worldwide" demonstrations during the convention, as well as one in San Diego, where the convention will be held.

Part of the campaign is the establishment of a "People's Grand Jury," which was first convened in Washington Oct. 22. PCPJ describes the "People's Grand Jury" as follows: "[it] will initiate the process of formulating an election year strategy; continuing after October, it will investigate the serious crimes of politicians, industrialists, and major U.S. institutions on a region-by-region basis. The Grand Jury will enter primaries like those in New Hampshire and Florida to issue its indictments and offer the factual and political foundation for a local resistance campaign. . . ."

#### Mass action

Is the "Evict Nixon" campaign of the PCPJ a fruitful one for the antiwar movement?

No serious radical, of course, would question the political impact of driving Nixon out of office. The forced retirement of LBJ in 1968, which is the precedent PCPJ points to, was a victory for the antiwar movement—not because it got rid of Johnson in particular but because it reflected the

mass repudiation of the war policies Johnson had carried out. Johnson's retirement was part of a tactical shift in the war policies by the capitalist rulers as a concession to the massive sentiment against the war. Among other concessions was a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam.

It was not Eugene McCarthy and the "Dump Johnson" movement within the Democratic Party that provided the social power that drove LBJ back to the ranch. It was the periodic, independent mass mobilizations of the antiwar movement that accomplished that. McCarthy's role was to try to corral the antiwar movement into the Democratic Party.

Yes, Johnson was driven from power and it would be good to do the same to Nixon. This is so, not because Johnson's replacement, Nixon (or the potential replacement, Humphrey) was any better, but because it showed the strength of and represented a victory for the antiwar movement and was a setback to the government's war policies.

The idea of getting rid of Nixon is a reflection of a popular sentiment among masses of Americans. That sentiment is to get rid of the war and all that goes with it immediately.

When the PCPJ abandons the war as an issue and turns its back on mass action, they set a course that leads away from mobilizing masses of people, away from creating a political atmosphere that can force the ruling class to make concessions.

#### Lesser evilism

That different course comes under the heading of "lesser-evilism." Especially at presidential election time, the Democratic Party and its supporters begin cultivating the notion that no matter how bad the Democratic Party presidential nominee may be, he (it always is a he) is better than the Republican nominee. Therefore campaign and vote for him.

A classic example of lesser-evilism occurred in the 1964 presidential race between Johnson and Goldwater. During that campaign, as Goldwater voiced the policies Johnson was later to carry out, the Democrats, the Communist Party, most civil rights leaders, and others called for support to Johnson as the lesser evil, as the peace candidate. Students for a Democratic Society, a new left organization of the 1960s, even came up with the slogan "Part of the way with LBJ."

The common theme of these forces who supported the lesser-evil approach was that Goldwater had to be stopped at all costs - a Goldwater victory was the worst catastrophe that could happen. The fallacy that year, as it always is with lesser-evilism, was that there was a difference between Johnson and Goldwater on the fundamental policies that are in the interests of the American ruling class. And information now available even proves that while Johnson was posing as the peace candidate, he was already planning the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The same basic pattern occurred in the 1968 elections. While Johnson was the front-running candidate, the Communist Party and other lesser-evil supporters turned to third party and third ticket formations to put pressure on the Democratic Party. The McCarthy candidacy was supported by these same forces. When Johnson withdrew, "Dump the Hump" became their slogan. After Humphrey received the Democratic Party nomination, the lesser-evil rallying cry became "Stop Nixon." Humphrey was touted as the lesser evil to Nixon, although many had a hard time buying that. In the last days of the campaign, this policy received its biggest boost when Mc-Carthy endorsed Humphrey.

The lesser-evil scheme is beginning

early for the 1972 elections. As slogans go, there is no qualitative difference between "Stop Goldwater at all costs," "Dump the Hump," "Stop Nixon," or "Evict Nixon."

#### **Democratic Party**

The PCPJ tries to obfuscate its pro-Democratic Party orientation. But when it submerges the struggle against the war, projects entering primaries, calls a march on the Republican convention, avoids any criticism of the Democratic Party or its frontrunning candidates, it is clear what its real stand is. At a minimum, the "Evict Nixon" strategy leaves the door open for the various groups that are part of PCPJ to work actively for the Democratic candidate of their choice. But the "Evict Nixon" strategy can also be a means of building an organization and movement that can be put at the disposal of the Democratic hopeful.

This was shown recently in a statement by Rennie Davis, one of the chief architects of the "Evict Nixon" strategy and an organizer of the Mayday actions last spring. As quoted by New York Post columnist Mary McGrory—and there are witnesses to verify it—Davis explained Oct. 15 at George Washington University in answer to a question of how he would vote, "I'll probably vote Democratic, but it turns my stomach."

The Young Workers Liberation League, a youth group which is in general agreement with the Communist Party, has the same aims in mind. In an article in the Oct. 26 Daily World, the following is reported about a recent meeting of the YWLL's National Resident Committee. "The discussion on the '72 elections, which was led off by Jarvis Tyner, national chairman of the YWLL and vice-presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket, stressed the independence of youth today and the new possibilities for broad unity among millions of young people in an effort to dump Nixon, defeat other pro-war, racist candidates and elect progres-

At the time of the Mayday actions last spring, Militant reporters commented that even though the tactics of the Mayday were ultraleft, the basic political line of the actions was liberal. Their central demand was "Set the Date" for ending the war, a demand that gives the United States the right to decide how long it will maintain itself in Vietnam, thereby trampling on the Vietnamese right to self-determination.

sives to office." (Emphasis added.)

The same thing is true of the current PCPJ demonstrations and plans. Even though the initial actions in Washington and the slogan "Evict Nixon" have an ultraleft veneer, statements like Davis' and the YWLL's reveal the basic reformist, lesser-evil direction. Each statement indicates an acceptance of the two-party status quo, lesser-evilism, and reliance on the Democratic Party.

There is a fundamental contradiction between the "Evict Nixon election year strategy" and the antiwar movement's orientation of mobilizing mass actions independent of the ruling class and opposed to its policies. It is hard to oppose the ruling class in the streets one day and then support it at the polls the next. For this reason, the PCPJ election-year "offensive" is accompanied by attacks on mass antiwar mobilizations.

The "Evict Nixon" campaign is not designed to build the antiwar movement in an election year. It is a proposal to derail the antiwar movement from its independent course into the Democratic Party.

In a subsequent article, we will discuss the revolutionary-socialist view of the best way for the antiwar movement to conduct the fight against the Vietnam war during an election year.

## Pulley takes campaign to Gls, students

By MIKE ALEWITZ and JANICE LYNN

OCT. 25 — Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, met with GIs in several cities around the country this past week. Pulley, a former GI organizer from Ft. Jackson, S. C., was in San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 18, where he talked to GIs from Ft. Sam Houston and Lackland Air Force Base. The following day he spoke with 35 GIs at the Oleo Strut Coffee House in Killeen, Texas, at a meeting sponsored by the Ft. Hood United Front, a group of antiwar active-duty GIs.

"Nixon says he's winding down the war," Pulley told the GIs, "and he cites only eight GI deaths in Vietnam last week to prove it. I say that he's no friend of any GI until there are no deaths... and that's what my campaign stands for—immediate withdrawal of all troops from Southeast Asia. We must continue to mobilize GIs in massive antiwar demonstrations for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia." After his talk, 17 GIs signed up to receive further information about the campaign.

On Oct. 23, Pulley was a featured speaker at the first International Military Rights and Antiwar Convention, which was held in San Francisco and sponsored by the Bay Area Concerned Military. Over 100 of the 250 persons present were GIs from bases in the western United States, some from as far away as Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Pulley participated in the GI rights and GI projects workshops and urged the participants to take part in the GI contingents in the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations.

In both Texas and San Francisco, many GIs endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Earlier in the week, Pulley had attemped to make a visit to the Travis County Jail in Austin, Texas. Sheriff T.O. Lang was conveniently absent from the jail when Pulley demanded entrance to talk to prisoners. He was met by Deputy Sheriff George Pope, who refused Pulley entrance,

claiming, "The sheriff said no, and it is the sheriff's prerogative to say who can go into the jail and who can't." When asked if they would allow Spiro Agnew or Richard Nixon into the jail, Pope replied, "They've never asked me!"

After being refused entrance to the jail, Pulley held a news conference on the steps of the court house that received wide coverage, including a front-page article in the *Daily Texan*. Pulley blasted prison officials for refusing to allow the prisoners their constitutional rights to talk to political candidates.

While in Austin, Pulley was able to get word of the SWP campaign to thousands of Texans. At Huston-Tillotson College, a small Black college in Austin, he spoke to a meeting of 75 people, after which many students signed up to support the campaign and several asked for autographed posters.

The most enthusiastic welcome Pulley received in Austin was undoubtedly from high school students. At Travis High School, students ran out after school to talk with Pulley and to get campaign literature. Twenty Black and Chicano high school students signed up to support the campaign. Similar rallies at Austin High School and Reagon High School netted the campaign over 50 supporters. Pulley was also able to speak before the Upward Bound High School Program, where 18 more Black and Chicano students signed up to become campaign supporters.

Pulley also addressed a spirited crowd of 70 students at the University of Tex as at Austin.

While in Austin, Pulley received extensive media coverage.

On Oct. 21, Pulley appeared at a news conference in Houston that announced plans for the upcoming national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. That evening he spoke

at a meeting of 125 at Arizona State University in Phoenix. Many students signed up to endorse the campaign.

The next day, Pulley was in Tucson, where he spoke at Pima Junior College. His talk was taped by the local TV station. Many of the Black and Chicano students there decided to support the campaign and to organize a chapter of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. That evening Pulley spoke to 80 people at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Ten GIs in the audience expressed support for the socialist campaign, 15 people bought subscriptions to *The Militant*, and many others signed up to work on the campaign.

Pulley's tour continues with stops planned at Santa Barbara, San Diego, Los Angeles, Claremont, Riverside and San Francisco, Calif. Pulley has been invited to be one of the featured speakers at the Nov. 6 antiwar rally in San Francisco.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Andrew Pulley with students outside Austin high school

## Jenness' Ohio tour wins many endorsers

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, Oct. 25 — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, has just completed the first part of the Ohio leg of her current national tour. On several Ohio campuses she was enthusiastically received by audiences of 100 to 200 students. Jenness addressed 150 at the College of Wooster in a meeting Oct. 19 sponsored by the college speakers' bureau. At a mock election held the previous week, Jenness tied John Lindsay and placed ahead of Henry Jackson, Julian Bond, and George Wallace.

The following day, Jenness spoke to a meeting of 125 at Ohio University at Athens. After the meeting 30 people endorsed her campaign and 10 subscriptions to the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, were sold.

At Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, Jenness spoke to 150 students. She was also the subject of a front-page article in the *Miami Student*. Eighteen people signed up to support the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

In Dayton, Ohio, Jenness attended a downtown political rally at which local aspirants for city and county offices also appeared. When the chairman of the rally discovered that Jenness was in the audience, he invited her to speak. She received an impressive ovation from the large crowd when she scored the war policies of

the Nixon administration, a point no other candidate had spoken to.

The highpoint of the tour was the SWP campaign banquet held in her honor Oct. 23 at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. Over 70 people attended the banquet. "I don't think that it's in the interest of anybody in this country to vote Democratic or Republican," Jenness told the audience, "I think both of those parties are controlled from the top by a very tiny group of businessmen, bankers and millionaires. In fact, if the Democrats and Republicans wanted to be honest, they would change the names of their parties to Capitalist-Imperialist Party Number One and Capitalist-Imperialist Party Number Two."

Jenness appeared on two talk shows on radio station WERE and was well received by campus newspapers wherever she appeared. She is scheduled to speak at John Carroll University in Cleveland and Edinboro State College in Erie, Pa., while in this part of the country. All in all, over 85 people signed up as endorsers of the SWP 1972 campaign ticket.

One sidelight of Jenness' Ohio tour was the attempt to enter the Wright Patterson Air Force Base, just outside of Dayton. When supporters of Jenness talked to the colonel in charge of public relations requesting permission to

enter the base, he replied that no political campaigns were allowed on the base. However, when asked if McGovern, McCloskey or Muskie would be given permission to enter the base, Jenness supporters were told that was different, since they were senators and congressmen.

Campaign supporters plan to return to the base to challenge this clearly unconstitutional attempt to prevent them from talking to the servicemen.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness received 5.4 percent of the votes cast in an Oct. 18 presidential preference poll of students at the College of Wooster (Ohio). Jenness placed seventh among 10 candidates appearing on the ballot in the student government sponsored survey.

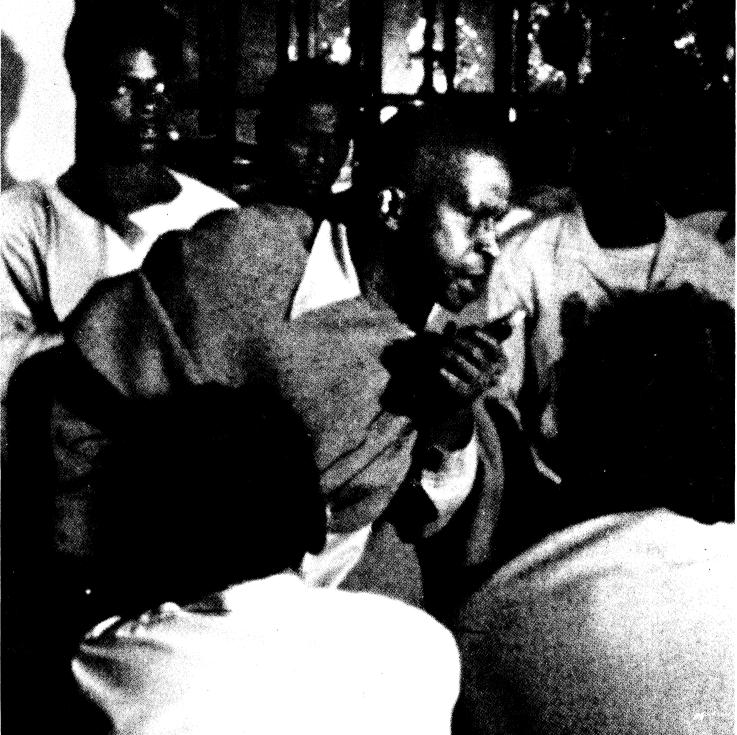
1,007 of the college's 1,900 students participated in the voting. Since each student was permitted to vote for as many or as few candidates as he or she wished, the results of the poll, listed below, add up to more than 100 percent:

Senator Edmund Muskie, 488 votes (48.5 percent); Senator George McGovern, 422 (41.9 percent); President Nixon, 256 (25.4 percent); Senator Edward Kennedy, 235 (23.3 percent); Representative Paul Mc-Closkey, 198 (19.7 percent); Senator Hubert Humphrey, 106 (10.5 percent); Linda Jenness 54 (5.4 percent); New York Mayor John Lindsay 54 (5.4 percent); Senator Henry Jackson, 52 (5.2 percent); Alabama Governor George Wallace, 27 (2.7 percent). Write-in votes: Julian Bond, 19; Senator Fred Harris, seven; Ralph Nader, six; several other candidates received five or fewer votes.

A total of 647 of the participants were registered voters and 360 were not.

Out of 888 who responded to a question on party affiliation, 495 called themselves independents, 199 Republicans, and 194 Democrats. The student government plans another poll in the spring.

# Prisoners Bill of Rights



Inmate leader addresses Attica prisoners during revolt

The following "Bill of Rights of the Convicted Class" is the program of the United Prisoners Union and was prepared by the union's executive board in consultation with its attorneys. The Bill of Rights is based essentially on the Folsom Manifesto, a series of demands drawn up by prisoners during a 1969 protest action at Folsom prison in California.

It is available in a four-page tabloid at 15 cents a copy from the UPU at: P.O. Box 2558, Sacramento, Calif. 95812; Local 9, 1345 7th Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94122. Telephone: (415) 664-4315; Local 100, 4718 Metrose Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004. Telephone: (213) 664-8728.

"While there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." - Eugene V. Debs

We, the people of the Convicted Class, locked in a cycle of poverty, failure, discrimination and servitude; DO HEREBY DECLARE, before the world, our situation to be unjust and inhuman. Basic human rights are

systematically withheld from our class. We have been historically stereotyped as less than human, while in reality we possess the same needs, frailties, ambitions and dignity indigenous to all humans. Our class has been unconstitutionally denied equal treatment under the law. We are the first to be accused and the last to be recognized.

We hereby assert before the tribunal of mankind that our class ought not to be subject to one whit more restraint, nor one ounce more deprivation than is essential to implementing the constructive purposes of the criminal law. Prisons should no longer be dim, gray garrisons designed to isolate human waste. Rather, they must mirror the outside world if we are to harbor any hope that its residents will ever rejoin it. In that spirit, we demand the restoration of our constitutional and human rights.

The following shall be called THE BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE CON-VICTED CLASS, and will serve as the foundation upon which we shall be liberated:

#### ARTICLE I

The Convicted Class is entitled to full, complete and equal justice under the law as guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the principles of international law governing the treatment of prisoners.

Section I: The Convicted Class demands comprehensive legal redress, both during and after incarceration.

Section II: Members of the Convicted Class are entitled to effective legal representation in all matters pertaining to their destiny. A prisoner's right to confide in and engage in untrammelled communication with his attorney is inviolate.

Section III: Members of the Convicted Class are entitled to due process of law in all prison or jail disciplinary and parole revocation proceedings initiated against them.

Section IV: Members of the Convicted Class demand their right to the assistance of attorneys of their own choosing and conjunctively self-representation, if desired. Every prison or jail facility shall render available and accessible to all of its inmates a comprehensive and up-to-date law library. Section V: All members of the Con-

victed Class shall have the right to file or respond to individual or class, civil or criminal suits.

Section VI: Members of the Convicted Class (male and female) shall have the same right of legal redress in all matters pertaining to the destiny of their children, parents, siblings and other relatives, as those persons not subject to penal restraint.

Section VII: The Convicted Class demands full legal protection against illegal searches and seizures and invasions of privacy during incarceration and while on parole. The lavish body of court decisions protecting the ordinary citizenry against such invasions shall govern the legitimacy of intrusions by institutional personnel. Section VIII: All members of the Convicted Class are entitled to be free from coerced confessions or admissions, and this right envisions that no penalty shall flow from a decision to maintain the constitutional right to silence.

Section IX: All members of the Convicted Class demand that in all prosecutions, parole of probation revocations, of disciplinary proceedings, that they enjoy their inalienable right to know and confront their accusers and to subpoena witnesses in their behalf, absent any and all intimidation directed toward the accused and those who assist him, or towards those persons sought to be subpoenaed.

Section X: Members of the Convicted Class maintain their constitutional rights of speech, press, religion and association, and these rights include the free exchange of information, vocally or in writing, and the right to transmit or receive any letters and publications, and the right to assemble with others of one's choosing, including members of the Convicted Class, for purposes of exchanging and debating various viewpoints on the controversial issues of our day.

Section XI: The right of all members of the Convicted Class to exercise all forms of peaceful dissent and protest, without threat and coercion, shall not be limited.

Section XII: All members of the Convicted Class insist upon their right of self-determination in the practice and/or advocacy of their political, cultural or religious beliefs, and matters of conscience, without prejudice of any sort, including physical and psychological intimidation.

Section XIII: The Convicted Class deplores as unconstitutional all forms of preventive detention, such as parole and probation holds, travel restrictions, excessive bails, and other impediments to the presumption of innocence and a full and complete defense to the accusations leveled against its members.

Section XIV: The Convicted Class demands the right to be free from all unnecessary restraint: food rationing, leg irons, handcuffs, gags, isolation, or any and all other forms of unjustified or vindictive human degradation.

Section XV: The Convicted Class shall be free from all forms of cruel and inhuman punishment: adjustment centers, involuntary segregation, isolation, electric shock treatments, utilization of depressants and tranquilizing drugs for punishment in the name of therapy.

Section XVI: The Convicted Class demands the right to be judged by a jury of its peers in all stages and forms of prosecution, including disciplinary accusations, both during and after incarceration.

Section XVII: The right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of present or previous condition of servitude

Section XVIII: No member of the Convicted Class shall be stigmatized or penalized in any fashion because of a prior arrest or conviction; this includes all judicial or administrative proceedings, employment opportunities, police investigations, or any other harassment or intimidation geared to making him suffer anew for past acts and deterring his rehabilitation and

immersion into a law-abiding society. Section XIX: The Convicted Class shall pay no federal, state or local taxes in any form without full reinstatement of all constitutional and human rights presently revoked upon the conviction of a felony.

#### **ARTICLE II**

All members of the Convicted Class insist upon their right to full and complete access to all files, documents and records, open and confidential, pertaining to themselves, which are maintained by prison, jail or military authorities. Furthermore, any member of the Convicted Class shall have the right to grant this same access to his or her agent.

#### ARTICLE III

All members of the Convicted Class shall have and be entitled to those rights and privileges possessed by persons not subject to penal restraint which are compatible with the enjoyment of life, the fullest participation in the democratic process and the earliest return to society at large.

Section I: The right to organize and belong to professional and legal unions, related organizations, and to receive the full benefits that such membership entails or implies is a cardinal principle of our social and economic Bill of Rights.

Section II: The conditions of labor and employment for the Convicted Class shall include all the rights of working-class union members in the outside world, e.g., minimum wage, disability compensation, vacation from work, vacation pay, pension plans, retirement benefits, life insurance. Involuntary servitude must cease!!

**Section III:** No forced labor of any kind shall be imposed.

Section IV: The structure and purpose of all prison industries and work tasks shall be to train and prepare prisoners for realistic and available employment in outside industries. The federal government and the various states shall implement this precept by coordinating the vocational facilities for the incarcerated with a program designed to stimulate job opportunities for members of the Convicted Class upon their release.

Section V: Physical housing conditions must conform with minimum health, safety, sanitation, and fire standards that apply to all multiple housing in the state in which the institutions are located. These conditions must be maintained for all prisoners regardless of the nature of their custodial confinement.

Section VI: Standards of nutrition and apportionment set for all foods served in prisons and jails must equal the criteria established by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a full and balanced diet. The government is forbidden to starve a prisoner or diminish his food supply or otherwise jeopardize his life or life span as punishment for his behavior.

Section VII: Every prison or jail must maintain complete and up-to-date medical facilities, services and equipment common to all major medical centers. An adequate complement of full-time professional medical doctors and nurses shall be on duty twentyfour hours a day to service the needs of inmates in accordance with the true spirit of the Hippocratic Oath.

Section VIII: The Convicted Class shall be afforded the social, psychological and emotional environment, facilities, activities and treatment essential to promote, develop and sustain individual needs, and no member, regardless of his or her condition of custody, shall be denied these rights.

Section IX: Members of the Convicted Class shall suffer no monetary penalties for infractions of institutional rules for additional food portioning or for the sale of creative items.

Section X: The right of artists, writers and those who practice hobby/craft vocations to pursue, without discrimination, their professions as a form of approved, full-time employment while in prison and while on parole shall not be abridged.

Section XI: The Convicted Class shall be afforded comprehensive and unrestricted visiting and correspondence rights with all persons—including members of the Convicted Class—in an atmosphere conducive to relaxed, inspired and natural interaction.

Section XII: Conjugal visitation shall be utilized freely for the benefit of prisoners of all custody classifications in all institutions.

#### ARTICLE IV

The Convicted Class shall no longer be the victim of system-imposed, encouraged and perpetuated racism and sexual discrimination.

#### ARTICLE V

The Convicted Class demands the right to be treated as an integral part of the selection process, disciplinary proceedings and the upgrading of the qualifications of all personnel within the Department of Corrections, Adult Authority, Youth Authority, Juvenile Authority and employees of city and county detention facilities.

#### ARTICLE VI

The Convicted Class demands the prosecution of all prison, jail, parole and military personnel for all crimes and degradations inflicted upon its members.

#### ARTICLE VII

The Convicted Class demands an immediate end to the abuses of both the indeterminate-sentence law and the fixed-sentence law.

#### ARTICLE VIII

The Convicted Class demands that capital punishment be abolished.

#### ARTICLE IX

All persons unwillingly conscripted into military service are members of the Convicted Class and all grievances bared and rights demanded herein are applicable to those persons.

Section I: The Convicted Class demands an end to the draft and the involuntary servitude which it requires and the immediate termination of the War in Southeast Asia as a subtle and discriminatory form of capital punishment. It further insists upon the convening of an international tribunal to adjudicate the guilt of those who continue to perpetuate war crimes.



Photo by Candida McCollam

Harlem march Sept. 18 in solidarity with Attica prison revolt

## By Any Means Necessary

HANCOCK COUNTY IN GEORGIA was the site of a recent demonstration of armed self-defense by the Black community. The county's population is about 10,000, of which 80 percent is Black. Last year the Blacks organized and took two of the three county commissioner offices, three of the five seats on the board of education, and the positions of county ordinary (probate judge) and clerk of the Superior Court. After the election, the Blacks in office appointed a Black warden for the county prison and two Black sheriff's deputies.

To deal with the economic depression in the formerly cotton-growing area, the Blacks organized into economic cooperatives to set up a 350-acre catfish farm and have plans for a cement plant and concrete block factory. Financial backing is coming from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Ford Foundation.

The county's whites have found it hard to accept the new relationships. This achieved its most extreme expression last spring when the white racist mayor of Sparta—the county seat with a population of 500—announced that the city was purchasing 10 submachine guns for its 6-man police force. The mayor, T. M.. Patterson, in justifying the act, told his white City Council, "It looks like they're taking pot shots at our policemen—not here, but all over the country," according to the Oct. 17 New York Times.

The purchase was made—and the guns were used. John McCown, 35, the county administrator, explained in the Oct. 9 Baltimore Afro-American, "In Warren County . . . Blacks held a meeting protesting the firing of a teacher for punishing a white student. Police from Sparta ripped the building with machine-gun fire. They burned the meeting hall the next night to destroy the evidence."

The response of the Black county officials to this move was to announce the purchase of 30 submachine guns. In addition, Black activists circulated leaflets during the summer announcing the formation of the Hancock County Sporting Rangers, which according to the Oct. 17 Times, would be a "hunting and fishing club that would help county residents buy rifles and shotguns, from .22-caliber automatics to M-1 rifles."

The leaflets, listed the club organizers as McCown; Edith Ingram, the 29-year-old county ordinary; and Leroy S. Wiley, the 35-year-old county clerk.

The final move of the Blacks was to announce, in late September, a boycott of Sparta's business community.

These measures together brought the City Council to its knees. The council voted on Oct. 1 to give up the guns, turning them over to the state police. The Black officials are reported then to have turned over the county's submachine guns to the state police, calling off the boycott and the organization of the sporting club.

IN WILMINGTON, N.C., the Black community is not only being besieged by the police but by a paramilitary racist organization known as the Rights of White People (ROWP). Last February police staged attacks on the Black community after protests broke out over the expulsion of Black students from the newly desegregated high school. In the church used as headquarters for a school boycott, Black students engaged in armed self-defense against these attacks. During the strife, an unarmed Black youth was killed by police. After a white man was shot to death, National Guardsmen were sent into the Black community. On the morning that the guard staked itself outside the church for combat, they were told that the students had vacated it the previous night. Since then, the city has been tense.

The latest incidents, according to a news release from the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), were set off "during a high-school (football) game, when ten police officers beat up a Black minister, fractured his skull, and then charged him with assaulting an officer. The minister had asked a policeman why he was arresting a 12-year-old youth. Several other fights broke out, and the disturbance spilled over into the largely Black neighborhood around the stadium."

In the wake of this event, armed white vigilantes rode into the Black community and fired on the residents. When the fire was returned, the police set upon the armed defenders. SCEF reports, "At this point, ROWP leader (Leroy) Gibson threatened to get 600 men and hunt down Black community defenders 'like rabbits.' Bob Jones, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, walked into police headquarters and offered 300 Klansmen as deputies, to 'help clean up the mess.'"

Fearing the situation might get out of hand, the mayor of this city of 50,000, of which a third is Black, issued on Oct. 5 a state-of-emergency proclamation barring people from carrying weapons in public.

ROWP, which began last February as an anti-busing group, is led by white ex-Marines. One of its leaders boasted, in the Oct. 7 New York Times, "If necessary we'll eliminate the Black race. What are we supposed to do while these animals run loose in the streets? They'll either abide by the law, or we'll wipe them out."

This demagogy, strained to the point of absurdity, is but a deep-seated reflection of ROWP's fears and anguish about "niggers with guns."

- DERRICK MORRISON

#### Militants turn Raza conference around

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A national gathering Oct. 23-24 of Chicanos and Boricuas (Puerto Ricans) billed as a national "Spanish Speaking Coalition Conference" under the slogan of *Unidos* (United) turned out quite differently than the organizers expected or wanted.

Sponsored by Senator Joseph M. Montoya (D-N. M.) and Congressmen Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.), Herman Badillo (D-N. Y.) and Manuel Luján (R-N. M.), the expected 150 invited participants swelled to approximately 1,500, including a sizable contingent of Raza Unida Party supporters from Texas and Boricua youth from New York and Connecticut. These latter groups injected a militant tone, transforming the conference, which began with Senator Montoya saying, "We are here because we trust in America and its institutions," into one which called for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam, endorsed the Nov. 6 antiwar actions, called for independent political action by Chicanos and Boricuas, and solidarized itself with the independista movement on the island of Puerto Rico.

Ostensibly organized to "deal with the social, economic and political problems of the Spanish-speaking people in this country," its real purpose was to initiate a national organization which could effectively contain the rising militancy in the Puerto Rican community and channel the already successful independent electoral action of Chicanos back into the twoparty fold, especially the Democratic Party. The hope of these liberal Democrats was to emerge from the conference with the mandate to speak in the name of La Raza and launch similar conferences on the state and local level in preparation for turning out the Chicano-Boricua vote in 1972 for "those candidates who support our platform," meaning, of course, any liberal capitalist politician.

From the beginning of the conference, the participants made it clear that they had something else in mind. When Badillo opened the weekend meeting with the statement that he was "here as a symbol of the Puerto Rican community," he was greeted with shouts of "No!"

Beginning with the keynote address of Senator Montoya, things went downhill for the politicos and their supporters. Although Montoya attempted to use nationalist sentiments concerning the preservation of the Spanish language and culture in a demagogic manner, he only revealed his lack of touch with the state of mind of radicalizing Chicanos. When he exclaimed, "And don't ever forget that it was the Spanish peseta that financed Columbus!" the audience shouted back, "What about the Indians!"

When Montoya berated the militants for using "violence" (the "vehicle to self-destruction") and urged them to "work within our democratic institutions," he was greeted with shouts of "An eye for an eye!" and "Remember the Alamo!"

At the conclusion of his speech, members of the audience rose up and demanded that Reies López Tijerina, who was present, be allowed to address the gathering. José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder and leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party then introduced Tijerina, reminding people that he had been in jail for over two years.

Tijerina explained that the New Mexico state police had held a rifle to his wife's head, forced her to smoke marijuana all night, and repeatedly raped her in front of their two children. "These are not simply allegations. We have witnesses."

The outraged audience was filled with shouts of "Justicia! Justicia!" Irma

Vidal Santaella, a commissioner of the New York State Human Rights Appeal Board, rose to her feet and demanded that the conference "demand of President Nixon and the attorney general an investigation so that justice may be done in the case of this Spanish-speaking woman."

Senator Montoya, forced to take a stand, stated that he would help "promote an impartial investigation."

Workshops were held covering such areas as political strategy, education, housing, economic development, health and social services, equal employment opportunities, unions, and community action programs.

The organizers considered the "Political Strategies" workshop one of the most important, listing it first on the agenda. But when it became clear that the discussion and resolutions were taking a course different from what they wanted, Representative Roybal reversed the order of the workshop reports putting political strategy last. With the most controversial resolutions relegated to the late afternoon of the last day of the conference, the organizers hoped to avoid them altogether.

#### Militant resolutions

In spite of these maneuvers, Roybal, Badillo, and the other organizers were confronted with militant resolutions from almost every workshop. Three resolutions were "accidently" left out

painfully by those who called the conference came in the late afternoon with the political workshop report. Roberto Mondragón, lt. governor of New Mexico, read some of the most important resolutions from the committee. To cheers and shouts of approval, he read: "That this conference take a position against the war in Vietnam, against the draft, and demand the immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and further support the nationwide antiwar demonstrations planned for Nov. 6."

Mondragón continued, "That this conference go on record supporting the efforts of La Raza Unida in its continuing struggle to help the Chicano community in Crystal City, Texas."

José Angel Gutiérrez presented a report from a Chicano caucus which had been held. One of the resolutions adopted urged "That La Raza dedicate itself to form, support and maintain a movement to build an independent political party dedicated to define our problems, priorities and to run candidates in our respective cities and organize our people outside of the existing political structures." Another resolution censured U. S. congressmen Henry B. Gonzales (D-Texas) and Eligio de la Garza (D-Texas) for their opposition to the Chicano movement.

A motion that met with enthusiasm was a request that the congressional sponsors of the meeting sign their original purpose of creating "a national body to carry out the resolutions from the conference." Roybal, who was chairing the session, summarily adjourned the gathering for "lack of a quorum," leaving up in the air implementation of resolutions and the formation of a committee to organize another conference.

The conference resulted in a defeat for the liberal Democratic Party circles who called it. The only kind of unity they wanted was unity around a liberal capitalist program that could safely be endorsed by any liberal capitalist politician.

In an interview published in the Oct. 26 El Diario — La Prensa, the most widely read Spanish newspaper in New York, Badillo declared that the "conference was a complete failure."

According to the Oct. 27 issue of the same paper, Badillo, Roybal and Montoya had made statements to the news media to the effect "that their participation in the conference had ended on Sunday night since the assembly did not authorize them to act in any way." The article stated that none of them "are about to participate in any other conference and that they leave in the hands of the Chicano-Boricua community to take whatever actions they consider opportune.

Although the reformist Democratic Party politicians were not able to crystalize the organization they wanted



Photo by Antonio Camejo

Jose Angel Gutierrez, Raza Unida Party leader from Crystal City, Texas, introduces Reies Lopez Tijerina (center) while Representative Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) looks on.

of the plenary report on education and when a woman attempted to read them from the floor Roybal ruled her out of order. The resolutions, however, were eventually brought to the floor as the gathering repeatedly voted to overrule the chair.

The woman reporter for a spontaneously organized youth caucus stated that "The opportunist character of the organizers of this conference is evident. They are using us for their own political ambitions and not to unite us."

The union workshop report, presented by Moclavio Barraza, a leader of the United Steelworkers of America, demanded of Nixon's new pay board "that immediately upon the expiration of the 90-day period, all contracts or wage and benefit increases negotiated by unions shall be placed into effect." The resolution on the wage freeze in addition demanded that these increases be retroactive to Aug. 15. Other resolutions included denunciation of Democratic Party support to California Senate Bill 40 aimed against the Farm Workers union and a call for the formation of a "national Spanish-speaking labor council" that would actively involve itself in the struggles going on within the Chicano and Boricua community and in the factories and fields.

The resolutions most enthusiastically received by those present and most

names to all the resolutions passed to show they were with the people. Passage of the motion was followed by a request by Marta Bustamante of Sacramento, Calif., that the organizers reply publicly, then and there, whether or not they would sign.

Badillo rose and stated that he was for some resolutions and not for others. He opposed the resolution supporting the independence movement in Puerto Rico because "that will have to be decided by the people of Puerto Rico." And he continued, "I am a Democrat and I am not for forming a third political party."

Roybal backed Badillo's refusal to sign the resolutions, stating that "the resolutions are merely the intent of the group and nothing else." Like Badillo, he stated, "I am now a Democrat and expect to remain a Democrat."

These statements brought on a wave of denunciations from the majority of those present. The conference was able to continue only because of the intervention of Tijerina who in a dramatic speech called for unity and urged respect for and support of "nuestros congresistas" [our congressmen].

By this time, however, it became clear to the reformist organizers of the conference that it would not be to their advantage to carry out their out of the conference, neither were the militant proponents of independent political action able to totally dominate organizationally. Roybal was still able to adjourn the conference against their wishes, and before any on-going structure could be set up.

In view of this, it is difficult to understand how the Communist Party's Daily World could write on Oct. 26 that the "throng unanimously established itself as the initial Coalition of Spanish Speaking Americans. . . . Also inaccurate was the contention by the Daily World that "virtually every Spanish-speaking group in the nation was represented. . . . " Many militant Chicano as well as Puerto Rican organizations were not present, including the Denver Crusade for Justice, the various chapters of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán - Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán) from California, and UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) from Colorado. In fact, there were very few young people present. What is important to note is that in spite of the absence of these forces, radical resolutions were adopted. This is one more indication of the depth of the nationalist radicalization within the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities and a lesson for the vendido (sell out) politicians that the days when they can so easily mislead people are ending.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

THEY DON'T LET THEM READ AT PAN AMERICAN COLLEGE: The Oct. 9 Ya Mero reports that Gary A. Seltzer was arrested Sept. 24 for selling Space City!, a Houston underground paper, on the campus of Pan American College in Edinburg, Texas. A week prior to that, says Ya Mero, "Manuel Barrera, 19 years old and a student at the University of Houston, was selling a left-wing paper The Militant on the campus without registering, but apparently he 'escaped' without being caught by those who fear that the students, the majority of whom can vote, might read something that the Edinburg police don't like." The law under which Seltzer was arrested and others have been harassed states that one must have a license to sell all goods with the exception of newspapers and magazines!

ACLU TO AID VICTIMS OF TEXAS POLICE VIOLENCE: Pharr, Texas, not far from the abovementioned town of Edinburg was the scene of a police riot this past Feb. 6. A group of Chicanos, tired of the constant harassment by police because of their opposition to local government officials, decided to picket city hall. By about 7:30 p.m., a crowd of 300 people had gathered, cheering on the pickets.

Shortly thereafter, according to the Oct. 14 Papel Chicano, "Sgt. Sandoval drove a squad car into the middle of the street and using the loudspeaker said, 'This is no longer a lawful picket. You are hereby ordered to disperse.'" Within minutes, "high pressure fire hoses were turned on the crowd."

"Enraged youth responded with rocks and botiles." Police then used shotguns, killing bystander Alfonzo L. Flores, a 20-year-old construction One demonstrator, Alonso López, was convicted June 17 of "interfering with a police officer" for allegedly throwing rocks, which he denies. A grand jury indicted 11 people, "all of them but one known as . . . outspoken critics of the Pharr administration." Among those scheduled to stand trial this month is Efrain Fernandez, who had for some time been demanding that the city make available what are supposed to be public documents concerning ordinances, budget figures and even City Council minutes. Fernandez is charged with "destruction of public property," and of "participating in a civil disorder."

One of the problems faced by the defendants is the question of jury selection. Although Hidalgo County is about 80 percent mexicano, juries are notoriously majority Anglo. In the case of Alonso López, the jury was composed of nine Anglos and three Chicanos. Many prospective Chicano jurors are excluded for not knowing English or not knowing how to read and write. The Oct. 9 Ya Mero stated that one member of the jury that convicted López even stated beforehand that he thought López was guilty.

The deputy sheriff who shot and killed Alfonzo L. Flores was indicted for "negligent homicide," which is only a misdemeanor.

The ACLU has agreed to provide lawyers free of charge but they estimate that defense costs may be as high as \$10,000. Checks may be sent to the Rio Grande Valley Civil Liberties Union, c/o David Fishlow, P.O. Box 1044, McAllen, Texas 78501.

MODEL SONS: Last week I reported in a separate article about the nomination of Romana

Acosta Bañuelos for U.S. Treasurer, but failed to mention her two fine sons, Carlos and Martin. Both will receive promotions to president and vice-president respectively of the \$6-million family firm once their mother's appointment is approved by the Senate.

As it turns out, according to the Sept. 25 New York Post, both sons are reserve deputy sheriffs in Los Angeles County. The reserves are called up for special occasions such as the attack on the National Chicano Moratorium Aug. 29, 1970, where L. A. deputy sheriffs murdered Rubén Salazar and two other Chicanos.

With all their new responsibilities, will Carlos and Martin still have time to engage in their pastime of cracking heads?

PUERTO RICAN FARM WORKERS UNDER MISERABLE CONDITIONS: The Sept. 26 issue of Claridad, Spanish-language newspaper of the MPI (Movimiento Pro Independencia — Puerto Rican Independence Movement), reports that the Hartford, Conn., chapter of MPI recently looked into the condition of Puerto Rican farm workers there. José La Luz reported that "the workers who live in these [farm labor] camps are not permitted to read newspapers or to leave the area without the grower's permission.

"Many of these places are watched 24 hours a day by police, which converts them into little else but concentration camps."

MPI hopes to organize classes for migrant workers interested in the independence movement and also to organize the Puerto Rican students in the area.

- ANTONIO CAMEJO

## Terrorist killings in Dominican Republic

The following article is compiled from two articles by J. V. Hanley that appeared Oct. 11 and Oct. 25 in Intercontinental Press.

The supposedly "dissolved" right-wing terrorist formation in the Dominican Republic known as "La Banda" has resumed its killings on an expanded scale, setting off a new political crisis for President Joaquín Balaguer.

Public opinion was shaken severely by the discovery Oct. 9 of five new victims of the so-called Juventud Democrática Reformista Anticomunista (Democratic Reformist Anti-Communist Youth). The five victims, whose bullet-ridden bodies were discovered in three separate parts of Santo Domingo, had all been threatened with death by La Banda members for having expressed satisfaction over the killing of La Banda leader Johnny Batista, also known as Johnny Vargas Oct. 6.

The dead youths were identified by the Santo Domingo daily El Nacional de Ahora! Oct. 10 as members of the "Héctor J. Díaz Club" of the "27 de Febrero" slum district. The club, whose cultural activities had a strong element of nationalism, issued a statement condemning the murders as aimed at "halting our work of community organizing and cultural development."

Two of the youths, Rubén Dario Sandoval and Reyes Florentino Santana, were also involved with left-wing political groups. Sandoval was reportedly active in the Revolutionary Student Union at Juan Pablo Duarte Night School. Florentino Santana was identified as a member of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). The other slain youths had no apparent political affiliation outside of the neighborhood cultural club.

All of the victims, along with two fellow club-members who subsequently managed to escape, were seized by a group including known La Banda members at approximately 3 a.m. as they were leaving a wake for a club member who had been killed in a traffic accident. In full view of uni-

formed policemen, who were patrolling the neighborhood in unusual strength that evening, the kidnappers loaded the victims into two sedans and drove away. The police apparently had instructions not to interfere with the raid.

This latest atrocity was the largest multiple murder in a long series of killings perpetrated by La Banda. In response to exposures by the international press and growing protests from its own citizens, the Balaguer government had proclaimed Sept. 10 that it was launching a crackdown against La Banda. In an unexpected address broadcast from the National Palace that evening, Balaguer admitted for the first time the existence of the terrorist group. He also tacitly

his speech, and also to the demonstration called by the PRD, the main opposition party, for Sept. 18 in Washington, D. C. He was clearly upset at the prospect of a massive gathering of Dominicans protesting U.S. provision of advisers and equipment to the Dominican police.

The PRD demonstration was carried off as scheduled with some 2,000 reported participants. But PRD leaders took pains to stress their support for Balaguer's efforts to gain renewal of the sugar quota.

Public outrage over La Banda's terror campaign has grown rapidly in recent months. Even the Catholic Church and the Dominican Bar Association have joined the general out-

which on Sept. 25 murdered two peasants in the vicinity of San José de Ocoa. The victims were apparently involved in a property dispute with local landlords.

On Oct. 11, according to an Associated Press story in the Oct. 12 New York daily *El Diario*, "the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, Hugo Eduardo Polanco Brito, called for an end to what he termed the 'river of blood running through our society.'"

The Balaguer government moved quickly to head off the mounting protests. On Oct. 14, Balaguer appointed Brigadier General Neit Rafael Nivar Seijas as the new head of the National Police.

Nivar Seijas' predecessor, Major General Enrique Pérez y Pérez, had



Bodies of two students murdered by La Banda and discovered Oct. 9

confirmed the close ties between the national police and La Banda. In the days immediately following, several hundred alleged La Banda members were picked up by the police. Most were quietly released, however, within one to three days after their arrest

While international correspondents were beginning to expose the political and economic crisis faced by the Balaguer regime, the U.S. Congress was in the midst of a debate over the annual sugar import quota awarded to the Dominican Republic and other major producers. Balaguer referred directly to the quota debate early in

The Oct. 3 El Nacional de Ahora! published a list of questions it had submitted to the U.S. Embassy in Santo Domingo Sept. 28 concerning North American complicity in the campaign of police repression against the left since 1966.

The questionnaire began by pointing out that the Agency for International Development (AID) had been carrying out a police training program in the Dominican Republic since 1966, and that a total of 3,700 agents were to have completed their studies by the end of 1972. AID was responsible for creating the "Special Operations" unit of the National Police,

been implicated as an organizer and key collaborator of La Banda. His hypocritical pronouncement Oct. 10 that the murderers would be punished "with all the force of the law" could be expected to carry little weight with the Dominican people.

Pérez y Pérez and Nivar Seijas, both close associates of Balaguer, have clashed frequently over the tactics to be used in repressing the Dominican left. Nivar Seijas went so far as to have 14 La Banda members arrested last July by an army unit under his command, only to have his action repudiated by Balaguer shortly thereafter.

## The threat of an int'i recessi

By DICK ROBERTS

On Sept. 28, French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing told the meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, D. C.: "The world economy is entering a stage of lessened growth in which, within a few months, problems of activity and employment will raise universal concern."

D'Estaing's warning of an impending worldwide recession was overlooked at the time, less than one month ago. Yet as of Oct. 20 at the beginning of the third month after the announcement of Nixon's "New Economic Policies":

- The Group of Ten, representing the 10 most powerful capitalist nations, meeting in secret in Paris, was—as expected—unable to resolve the international monetary crisis precipitated by Nixon's moves.
- Denmark announced that it would impose a 10 percent tariff surcharge of its own, presumably following the U.S. example.
- A leader of the French aerospace industry reported in Paris that France has asked her partners in the European Economic Community (EEC - popularly known as the Common Market) for a bloc barrier against imports from the United

New York Times correspondent Clyde H. Farnsworth, writing from Paris Oct. 19, described the Danish and French moves as "two signs of what has been feared most in the world monetary crisis spreading protectionism. . . . '

The front page of the New York Times financial section of Oct. 20 carries an article written from New York by Leonard Silk: "... the American trade and monetary moves are coming under heavy fire for aggravating what many businessmen and government officials abroad now fear may become a major recession [in Europe and Japan]. . . .

"If unemployment continues to increase overseas and world trade should decline," Silk states, "there could be a more decisive breakdown in the international monetary system than has occurred.

"The effect on world trade and development would be grave. The business decline of 1929-30, which for more than a year seemed like a characteristic cyclical downturn, was turned into the most serious world depression in history by the collapse of the international monetary system.

'There is danger today that the non-Communist world, which since the end of World War II has been led by the U.S., may split into isolated and protectionist blocs."

#### A world recession?

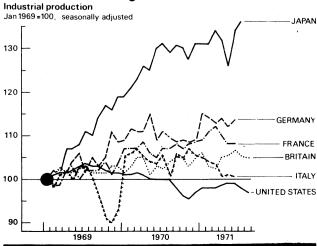
As the graph on this page from the British Economist shows, a slowdown in industrial production in the advanced capitalist countries has been underway since 1970. In this period, the economies of the United States, Italy and Britain have been experiencing a recession; that of France has experienced only a slight upturn; and those of Germany and Japan have continued their postwar upward momentum but at greatly slowed paces.

International competition has been greatly intensified by this slowdown of world capitalist growth, as Nixon's trade-war offensive makes dramatically clear. When corporations face saturated markets at home, they step up their efforts to break into foreign markets. Nixon's "New Economic Policies" are designed to aid U.S. sales abroad-by forcing a realignment of exchange rates between the dollar and major foreign currencies that will reduce prices for U.S. goods abroad, and by slashing real wages of U.S. workers.

But these moves—by setting off a spiral of pro tectionist retaliations—can end up reducing world trade and reinforcing recessionary tendencies.

An extensive analysis of the possibility of a major recession in Europe was presented on the front page of the Oct. 18 Wall Street Journal. "The decline was in the making long before the

#### Slowdown in world growth



U.S. trade measures were announced in August," says Journal staff reporter Neil Ulman, writing from West Germany. "The biggest factor in the decline has been slumping steel consumption by capital-goods makers. . . . But most economists agree that hopes for an early recovery here have been dashed by the Nixon measures.

"In fact, the Common Market Commission figures that the combination of the Nixon import surcharge, the special investment credit for Americans' purchase of U.S.-made goods, and the revaluations of European currencies are stopping dead in its tracks the billion-dollar-a-year EEC capital-goods export trade with the U.S."

The Wall Street Journal reporter does not have to explain that it was a slump in capital-goods production in the United States that prompted Nixon's proposal of a tax-benefit for purchases of capital goods to begin with.

#### European slowdown

"Problems extend well beyond the borders of the Common Market," Ulman states. "Unemployment in Britain now stands at over 900,000, the highest absolute level since 1963 and the highest in 30 years on a seasonally adjusted basis."

offensive and possible world-trade breakdown on West Germany and Japan that most troubles the economic experts.

"Even before August, the Japanese economy was already in what for Japan is a depression - i.e., it was growing at less than 8 percent a year," states the Oct. 16 Economist. "Steel mills have actually been cutting back production; so have companies like Mitsubishi Motors; and the major electric appliance manufacturers are taking on no more employees next year."

This was written before Tokyo agreed to Nixon's demands on Japanese textiles. The Wall Street Journal reported Oct. 18 that Shinzo Oya, president of the Japan Textile Federation, denounced the agreement and declared in Tokyo that the industry wouldn't cooperate. Mr. Oya said 300,000 Japanese textile workers would have to be laid off if the agreements were enforced."

Neil Ulman, writing for the Wall Street Journal, stressed the danger of recession in West Germany. ... the U.S. trade measures, coupled with currency problems, are going to cut about 30 percent, or \$1.1-billion, from Germany's annual exports to the U.S. Such calculations mean further



Tokyo textile workers demonstrate against Nixon's import restrictions

The general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, quoted in the British Guardian Oct. 2, declared that, "High as it is, the unemployment figure is an understatement of the true position. There are scores of thousands of women out of work who are not included in the overall total. Short-time working is on the increase: in manufacturing alone, 70,000 workers are on shorttime. The real loss of output brought about by the government's policies is already equivalent to far more than one million unemployed."

The austerity policies of the British ruling class are themselves a product of the deepening crisis of world capitalism. Initiated by the Labour government of Harold Wilson in 1965, they were principally designed to reduce British imports and spur exports. In the past few months, after such a long period of squeezing British workersmarked by rapid inflation and extensive strike action on the part of the workers themselves-Britain has finally begun to realize a balance of trade surplus. The high unemployment figures already cited, unabated inflation, and the escalation of the class struggle show what "incomes policies" mean in the long run.

Many bourgeois economists now expect an upturn of the British economy. But this is threatened by the possibility of a world-trade slowdown, since exports represent more than 25 percent of Britain's gross national product.

"The Italian public is feeling the whipsaw blades of a particularly vicious recession," Times reporter Farnsworth wrote from Milan Oct. 18. "Industrial production is running 7 percent lower than last year. Prices are 7 percent higher. The jobless total is estimated at more than one million workers and thousands of other men are on short-time schedules."

Farnsworth cites job slashes including thousands of workers at Fiat, Italy's biggest auto maker and second in Europe after Volkswagen; Pirelli, the giant European rubber firm the third largest in the world; and at Zanuzzi, the biggest European maker of electrical appliances. "Some economists have forecast an additional 150,000 men may find themselves unemployed as a result of the American action," Farnsworth states.

#### Effect on Germany, Japan

But it is the potential effect of the U.S. economic

bad news for the German steel industry, which figures about half of all its production is exported," stated the Journal reporter.

"German industry's profits are still falling steadily; and the outlook for investment, judged by domestic orders for capital goods, is pretty bleak," the Oct. 18 Economist declared.

#### World overproduction

The worldwide decline in steel production coupled with the potential of a world decline in capitalgoods production underline the fundamental tendency of capitalism to overproduction. Willy-nilly the monopolies within each nation and internationally expand their productive capacities to the maximum in hopes of enlarging their shares of the market. This anarchic competition inevitably leads sooner or later to a general condition of excess capacity and overproduction, with the inherent necessity of recession as capital investment and inventories are cut back.

Periodic recessions under capitalism are inevitable. But the postwar period of world capitalist development has been characterized by staggered recessions among the major powers. This has helped to stabilize capitalist development since the downturns in one economy - and there have been six recessions in the United States - have been cushioned by the upward movement of other economies, particularly the long European boom.

It is the threat of simultaneous recessions, each reinforcing the other on a world scale, that now looms for international capitalism. The timing of such a recession will above all be determined by the economy of the United States, which remains by far the biggest market in the capitalist world. Closely related to the U.S. economy is that of Canada, which is doubly threatened by Nixon's trade policies since an overwhelming part of Canadian production is exported to the United States.

Finally, the trade-war policies initiated by the Nixon administration are a most severe threat to the economies of the underdeveloped world. This threat as well as the prospects of the U.S. economy and the impact of trade war on U.S.-Canadian relations will be discussed in future articles.

#### Dissent voiced at III. AFL-CIO convention

By PAUL DAVIDSON

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The impact of the radicalization in the United States, especially the opposition to the Southeast Asian war and to Nixon's attempt to make the workers pay for an even greater share of the war with the wage freeze, was reflected in the proceedings of the Illinois AFL-CIO state convention held here Oct. 4 to

This was true even though proportionately few of the 2,300 convention delegates were from the sectors of the labor movement bearing the greatest brunt of the war, the wage freeze, and the current high rate of joblessness. Few of them were young, female, Black or Latino.

Leadership and convention policies of the Illinois AFL-CIO repeatedly came in for criticism by delegates demanding a new and more responsible approach to the problems of organized labor. The issue reached a high pitch Oct. 5 during a routine vote on resolutions. Alex A. Tulik, a mechanic at Agar Food Products and a delegate from the Chicago Meat Cutters union, led the floor fight for reassessment of the Illinois AFL-CIO.

"Labor has grown middle-aged and increasingly middle-class, powerful and sometimes arrogant; old-style imaginative and dedicated leadership are what rank-and-file union members are looking for today," Tulik said.

After Tulik's resolution was read, Joseph Germano, district director of the powerful United Steelworkers of America, and Mort Bialis of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, moved in to counter the attack, which had been joined by several younger delegates.

In a loud and demagogic speech, Germano attempted to thwart passage of the resolution, which he had failed to silence during a committee meeting he headed the night before. Smarting under the accusation by Tulik that some locals feel their organizations are "only there to collect union dues," Germano fired back that any move to use the state convention as a podium to criticize international unions would not be tolerated.

Germano is a leading labor figure in Illinois Democratic Party politics.

Bialis defended the state leadership, saying, "To say people who built the movement, went to jail, and felt the police clubs on their shoulders are not responsible is an insult."

Charles Nagy of the Chicago printers union, joining the attack against the union's do-nothing attitude, charged: "This big convention presents the same old programs year after year. It's time you get off your rumps and start leading us."

Jack B. Spiegel, president of the Chicago district council of the shoe workers union, backed Nagy, saying he

was "sick at heart" at attempts to silence the resolution in the previous day's committee meeting. He warned, "I feel that you do not realize what is happening in the labor movement."

Charles Hayes, international vicepresident of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and a State AFL-CIO Executive Board member, criticized the wording of the resolution in comparing labor unions to business, but added, "I have sat here year after year hearing resolutions to maintain the status quo, and I never even gulped. But changes have to come about. We can no longer sweep reality under the rug."

Stanley L. Johnson, state AFL-CIO president, called for a vote on the resolution which modestly sought "new approaches to meet the wants and needs of a new concept of unionism and an honest appraisal of the past."

The move was defeated by a standing vote of roughly three-to-one, but was declared 10-to-one by Johnson.

The convention later passed a resolution calling for Congress to set the date for a total withdrawal from Vietnam, consistent with the safety of U.S. troops, and contingent upon the release of U.S. prisoners of war. Also adopted was a call for protests and actions by the national AFL-CIO before the implementation of Phase Two of Nixon's economic policies, including the suggestion of a 24-hour work

stoppage. A move was defeated to have the "suggested" work stoppage be specifically set for Oct. 13, and thus be part of the national fall offensive against the war.

The convention was addressed by several politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties, including Minnesota Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Illinois Senators Percy and Stevenson.

Senator Stevenson, in his remarks to the convention Oct. 7, made an ominous threat to transportation unions, drawing a parallel to Nixon's use of a Taft-Hartley injunction against the striking West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the striking Chicago Grain Elevator, Flour and Feedmill Workers, Local 418.

"The time has come," Stevenson asserted, "to face up to the fact that neither the public nor the government can any longer tolerate lengthy national transportation strikes."

Despite his thinly-veiled attack on the right to strike by transportation workers, he received applause from the delegates.

The convention was successfully leafletted by local supporters of the National Peace Action Coalition, who distributed a statement signed by many trade unionists opposing the wage freeze and the Vietnam war.

## The National Picket Line

UNION MEN AND WOMEN preparing to demonstrate Nov. 6 against the war and the wage freeze are comparing the freeze to a secret weapon reportedly developed by the Army a few years ago that would kill people but not damage property. The freeze improves on that idea, hitting only workers and adding value to corporate property.

Some union officials who only yesterday were telling skeptical members that everything will be adjusted after the 90-day wage freeze are now faced with the cruel fact that wages have already been adjusted down while prices and profits go

How many billions of dollars were stolen from wages since Aug. 15 is not yet known. A small indication of how much this amounts to is the fact that New York teachers alone have lost \$15-million in canceled wages. This figure does not include pay losses of hundreds of thousands of other teachers.

The 1.3 million salaried federal employees plus another 650,000 federal blue-collar workers have been informed that they will suffer an extension of the wage freeze until July 1972 at the earliest. A scheduled raise Jan. 1, 1972, has been canceled, costing these workers about \$1-billion in lost wages.

In one small segment of private industry, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union estimates that

100,000 packinghouse workers, deprived of a scheduled Sept. 6 raise of 25 cents per hour, are losing \$1.33-million weekly.

Extension of the wage freeze will continue to cut deeply into the wages of millions more industrial workers, auto workers among them. About \$7.8-million of auto workers' wages will go directly into the coffers of the giant automobile corporations each and every week later this year if cost-of-living and annual-improvement-factor increases are not paid. These amount to about 28 cents an hour for every worker.

THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION and others have sought to insure eventual payment of long overdue wage deferments by asking employers to put withheld monies in escrow. The Sept. 23 issue of The ITU Review advises printers to send letters of protest to Treasury Secretary Connally's Cost of Living Council in Washington, and "suggestions" to local employers.

Form letters were reproduced for ITU members in all parts of the country to complete and mail. The one to the employers suggests, among other things, that "on each payday all employees will be given a written record of the difference in the amount of wages received and the amount they would have received had the wage freeze not been imposed," and further, that "all such excess monies shall be deposited in an escrow account in a local

bank until such time as the wage freeze is terminated."

These are good suggestions. But the office of ITU President John J. Pilch failed to inform the printers how to convince publishers that these suggestions ought to be followed.

our correspondent in San Francisco, a member of the Transport Workers Union local 250-A, has forwarded a copy of the Sept. 14 issue of the local's Newsletter, which says that a law suit to aid municipal transportation workers and other city employes was filed by the city attorney. "The suit challenges the right of the president of the United States to make the wage freeze retroactive to July 1, the effective date of the wage increase for platform employees . . . (and) also challenges the right of the federal government to prohibit a city and county from paying a wage increase, citing the Fifth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution."

Court redress of the federal wage freeze has been sought in other areas by several unions, including meatcutters, teachers and government employees.

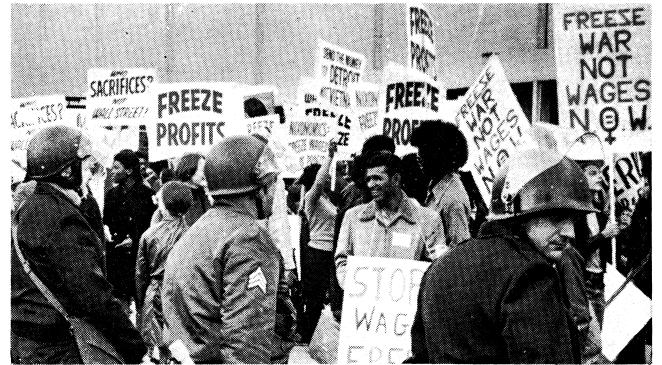
In San Francisco, the local bureaucrats of the Transport Workers Union were anxious to show appreciation of what their "friends" in city government are doing about the wage freeze. The Newsletter says, "the combined Executive Boards of Locals 250-A and 292 have officially recommended to the membership that each member sign a voluntary check-off card in the amount of \$40, with a minimum of \$5 per payday, the whole amount being used for political education in line with the Executive Board's expressed determination to 'reward our friends and punish our enemies.'"

The money raised is going to the campaign fund of strikebreaking Mayor Alioto of San Francisco, adding insult to injury.

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT on Oct. 12 announced important actions infringing the right to strike. One such action was the refusal to hear an appeal by the United Federation of Postal Clerks, thus allowing to stand a lower court ruling that no federal employee has a right to strike. Another similar action was the court's refusal to hear an appeal from a Kentucky court's permanent injunction against striking schoolteachers.

On Oct. 22, a three-judge federal court upheld the constitutionality of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, the law that was pushed through Congress by the Democrats and provides the legal basis for the wage freeze. The law was being challenged by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO.

- FRANK LOVELL



Pickets at Sept. 23 protest against the war and the wage freeze called by the Detroit AFL-CIO outside the hall where Nixon addressed the Detroit Economic Club.

### **British Labour Party moves left**

From Intercontinental Press By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

LONDON - The annual conference of the Labour Party, held in Brighton October 4-8, concluded with a sight that "could make a cat laugh." There was the assemblage of rogues, knaves, and left-wingers that constitute the new National Executive Committee [NEC] holding hands on the platform and singing lustily the Red Flag.

Harold Wilson, too, joined in this end-of-the-conference tradition. Perhaps his voice was even louder than the others: "Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the Red Flag flying here. . . .

The former Prime Minister, now Leader of the Opposition, put his heart into it, no doubt. But what irony in the contrast between the words of that song and Wilson's deeds while in of-

He had hardly stood up bravely against the Swiss bankers and the City [London's Wall Street]. The workers had to bear the burden of those repeated confrontations. Even the viciously antilabor Industrial Relations Act, passed by the Tories after they were back in power, had its prototype in legislation submitted by Barbara Castle as a member of Wilson's Cabinet. It would have been enacted, too, had it not been for pressure against it from the unions.

The Labour party lost the elections last year because of Wilson's sorry record in betraying his campaign promises and carrying out policies designed to bolster British capitalism. Prominent among the measures he took to help the bosses was the wage was an issue at Brighton.

Barbara Castle, former Minister of Employment, and Roy Jenkins, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave assurances that there would be no return to "the old prices and incomes policy." But these public commitments were made reluctantly and only after strong warnings were given privately to the NEC by Hugh Scanlon, President of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers [skilled automobile and steel workers], and Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union-the two largest trade unions in the country.

The NEC document on this question states that "we would seek to establish some kind of permanent but flexible system of price controls." To this end a mobile "prices inspectorate" is to "tour the country to investigate price restraint at retail level." This weaselworded document was adopted.

The delegates voted by 5,073,000 to 1,032,000 against supporting the terms accepted by the Tories for British entry into the Common Market. They then approved a resolution calling for a General Election after October 28, the day Parliament is to vote for or against the Tory position on entry.

A bloc of about sixty Labour Members of Parliament headed by Roy Jenkins, the Deputy Leader of the Labour party, talked of voting with the Tories in defiance of the position taken by the delegates on the Common Market.

According to the rumor, Wilson proposed that they vote with the Tories on October 28 as "a matter of conscience" but that in the subsequent voting—which may go on for many months—to implement the decision to enter the Common Market, they vote in every instance against the Tories.

Wilson went on TV to vehemently deny the rumor. It must be said that the rumor may have been initiated by the pro-Marketeers as a trial balloon. The alleged deal hardly fits in with the new "left wing" image Wilson is trying to create for himself.

Ian Mikardo, this year's left-wing party chairman (the chairmanship rotates from year to year according to seniority in the NEC), said at a meeting organized by the Tribune, the left Labourite weekly:

"If . . . a squalid deal has been done to allow 60 pro-market MPs to eat their cake and have it, then . . . 60 constituency parties will have the right . . . to cast a verdict on this shabby manoeuvre."

On TV, Mikardo said that he believes that the Parliamentary Labour party should be brought under control of the party conference and the

In general the conference marked a shift to the left. The delegates, for instance, voted - in face of NEC opposition-for nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, and mortgage companies [building societies], and other "commanding heights" of the economy.

In contrast to this tendency, the conference took a shameful position on the struggle in Ireland, in effect back-

#### A persistent rumor had it that Wilson had cooked up some kind of deal ing British imperialism. freeze he imposed on the workers. This with these right-wing "pro-Marketeers."

San Quentin frame-up presse By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO - On Oct. 19 the arraignment of the San Quentin Six was delayed until Oct. 29 because the defendants had been harassed by prison officials in their attempts to secure legal counsel. However, Judge E. Warren McGuire of Marin County threatened in a stormy hearing to appoint attorneys for the defendants if they failed to appear in court on Oct. 29 with counsel.

With their heads shaven and chains tightly fastened to their necks and hands, defendants Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez, Willie Tate, Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell and David Johnson, were brought into the tightly guarded Marin County courthouse to hear the reading of murder and conspiracy charges stemming from the Aug. 21 shoot-out that led to the death of three prison guards and three prisoners, including George Jackson.

Many attorneys, including John Thorne, who represented George Jackson, and Richard Silver, who currently represents Fletta Drumgo in the Soledad Brothers trial, protested the courtroom antics of Marin District Attorney Bruce Bales, as well as those of Judge McGuire, who refused to allow one defendant at a time to appear in the courtroom.

Willie Tate requested a conference of all the defendants, and Larry Spain demanded that McGuire appoint Charles Garry, who has defended many members of the Black Panther Party, as his "court-appointed" attorney.

Bales claimed that the prisoners had no excuse for appearing in court without counsel, since San Quentin officials were providing them with the proper forms for securing new attor-

neys. At this point, Thorne, seated in the spectator section of the courtroom, shouted that only the forms for securing "attorneys of record" - attorneys already appointed by the court are available in the adjustment cen-

Bales then hedged, saying he wasn't sure what forms were available in the adjustment center, which caused Thorne to tell McGuire that Bales' behavior was making a shambles of any pretext of respectability for the proceedings.

Before granting the delay, McGuire was also forced to hear a variety of prisoners' complaints lodged against San Quentin authorities, including their failure to provide the defendants with adequate writing space. The defendants also demanded the return of papers confiscated from them on Aug.

#### cops leaflet against 'hate'

LOS ANGELES—Chicanos in the East Los Angeles barrio lack many things—decent homes, schools, hospitals, jobs, and much more. But one thing there is no scarcity of is vio-

The Los Angeles Police Department is concerned about this problem. Recently it has been distributing a leaflet in East Los Angeles devoted to the question. Entitled "Violence Must Stop in East Los Angeles," the leaflet states:

"The hateful revolutionaries are destroying your jobs and your community with their acts of violence. They are trying to ruin your churches, schools, business and government. They are against everything that represents a peaceful community. They

are greedy for power and they will cause violence to get it.

"Riots and bombings in East Los Angeles are costing you jobs. Businesses are being driven out by the bandits. Businesses that stay are forced to charge the people more because of riot and bomb damage. Do not listen to people who want to destroy us. Don't let your children be taught to hate others. Fight revolution, crime and narcotics. Work for a community you can be proud to

"L. A. P. D., Hollenbeck Division."

Even though published in Spanish and English, many Chicanos must have been puzzled by this message. Daily they see people in the barrio brutalized by men in uniform. They have seen men in uniform attack

peaceful demonstrations with clubs, gas and guns. The bloodiest of these attacks was on the antiwar Chicano Moratorium of August 1970. The dead in that attack included the Chicano journalist, Reuben Salazar.

"... greedy for power"? "... will use violence to get it"? Reading this, the people of the barrio could easily get the idea that the "revolutionaries" they must be so wary of are those men in uniform who patrol their barrio like an occupying army in a col-

The leaflet was brought to the attention of the rest of Los Angeles by radio station KMET-FM. Queried by a KMET reporter about the leaflet. a police department spokesman explained it was intended to improve community relations.

#### **Pakistan** receives N. Korean arms aid

By MARCEL BLACK

On Oct. 15, the New York Times reported from Washington, D. C., that "The Sipsah, an 8,000-ton Pakistani ship, recently unloaded crates of North Korean small arms and ammunition at Karachi [capital of West Pakistan], well informed sources reported here today [Oct. 14].

The vessel arrived at Karachi Sept. 19 from the port of Hungnam in North Korea, the sources said.

"They also reported that Pakistan and North Korea had signed agreements for the opening of consulates in each other's countries."

Thus the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has joined the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China. Ceylon, and Great Britain in providing support and aid to Yahya Khan's genocidal war aginst Bangla Desh.

Despite this formidable array of opponents, the resistance movement against military occupation in Bangla Desh continues.

Recent weeks have seen an upsurge in guerrilla activity in Bangla Desh: "They have severed — and kept severed — the main rail line, many key roads and innumerable bridges, and they constantly blow up crucial power installations. Since August guerrilla frogmen have been attacking ships in East Pakistan's harbors and have damaged sunk at least a dozen," reported New York Times correspondent Malcolm Browne Oct. 12.

"The guerrillas claim the killing of 20,000 to 30,000 Pakistani soldiers.

Meanwhile, the burden of the millions of Bengali refugees has heightened social contradictions in India. The refugees have depressed wages and employment, and many Indians living near starvation have demanded to be sustained in a similar fashion to the refugees. Refugees and newsmen have reported graft and political blackmail



Kim II Sung beneath his portrait

being used to deny food to refugees Indira Gandhi's government has increased security measures in refugee camps.

Despite widespread rumors of potential conflict between India and Pakistan over a solution to the refugee problem, India has consistently refused to do more than give token aid to the Bengali guerrillas, fearing the unleashing of the deep social and national conflicts within India itself. The Gandhi regime is now discussing behind closed doors with both Washington and Moscow the possibility of forcibly deporting Bengali refugees back to Pakistani-controlled territory, especially if a more liberal-faced Pakistani administration is established in East Bengal. But an attempt by the Indian government to do this would set off deep explosions among the refugees and expose India's reactionary policies before the people of the world.

### Child-care referendum set for Cambridge

By ANN MARIE CAPUZZI

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Cambridge is the first city in the nation where residents will have the opportunity to vote for free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care. The child-care referendum's place on the Nov. 2 Cambridge ballot was won by the efforts of the Cambridge Child-Care Referendum Committee.

Supporters of the referendum spent three months this summer collecting nearly 6,000 signatures of Cambridge residents in door-to-door canvassing of the community. The petitions were filed on Sept. 1 with the Cambridge City Clerk. At the Sept. 13 Cambridge City Council meeting it was announced that the Cambridge Election Commission had certified that the petitions contained 4,528 signatures of registered voters—over 10 percent of the registered voters in Cambridge, and two percent more than was required by law to make the referendum eligible for the Cambridge ballot.

The Cambridge City Council had 20 days to take action on the petition's resolution. At the Sept. 13 council meeting, members of the referendum committee expressed their desire that the referendum be placed on the ballot. Marnette O'Brien, a coordinator of the committee, explained, "We want to let the people of Cambridge decide. We feel that a massive 'yes' vote by Cambridge residents on Nov. 2 will be a powerful force in the establishment of free, community-controlled, quality child care, available on a 24-hour basis, for all who need it."

The council meeting referred the question to the city solicitor, who found no grounds for keeping the referendum off the ballot. Since no action was taken by the City Council at its meetings during the 20-day period, the referendum will go to the people of Cambridge for a vote Nov. 2.

For the child-care referendum to become the policy of Cambridge, a "yes" vote from a majority of the voters in the Nov. 2 elections is required.

This "yes" vote must also be at least one-third of the number of registered voters in Cambridge. The Election Commission estimates there will be approximately 45,000 residents of Cambridge registered to vote by the Nov. 2 elections, therefore a minimum of 15,000 "yes" votes will be required.

The idea for a referendum on child care grew out of a general meeting of the New England Women's Coalition last February. The project was then endorsed by the New England Congress to Unite Women, which was attended by 800 women in March at Harvard University. While the women at the Congress realized child care is a national issue, they felt Cambridge was a place to start.

By May the Cambridge Child Care Referendum Committee was formed and received broad endorsement from Cambridge residents and organizations—including such groups as the Greater Boston Chapter of the Union of Social Workers, Eastern Massachusetts chapter of the National Organization for Women, Female Liberation, Black and Third World Women's Liberation Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and many individual women attorneys, specialists in early childhood education and community leaders.

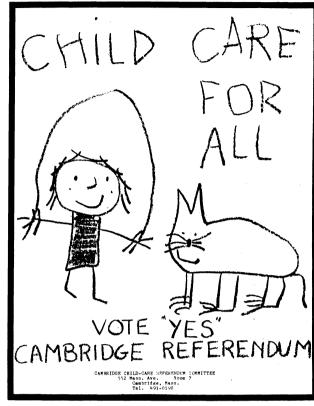
The committee held a Community Forum on Child Care June 5 at the First Baptist Church in Cambridge. Attended by 150 residents, the forum launched the petitioning drive for the referendum. During the summer, supporters of the child-care referendum reached every part of Cambridge with petitions and educational materials on the need for public child care and on the history of public child care during the depression and during World War II.

The child-care referendum has received much favorable response from the Cambridge and Boston media. Members of the committee have appeared on a variety of radio and TV talk shows and wide coverage has been received in the press.

The committee now plans to reach the Cam-

bridge community with the news that the referendum is on the ballot through brochures, posters and buttons in a "Vote yes" campaign. In addition, supporters will be leafletting near the polling places Nov. 2.

For more information, contact Cambridge Child-Care Referendum Committee, 552 Massachusetts Ave., Room 7, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Phone: (617) 491-0190.



Poster of the Cambridge child-care referendum committee.

## N.Y. hearings on gay job discrimination

By JOHN LAURITSEN

NEW YORK — More than 200 persons filled the City Hall hearing room here Oct. 18 for public hearings of a bill that would ban discrimination based on a person's sexual orientation in city employment, housing, places of public accommodation, commercial space, and resort or amusement places. The bill, which is being sponsored by councilmen Eldon Clingan and Carter Burden, received strong support from leaders in the labor and feminist movements, from politicians and public officials, writers, and gays.

The Clingan-Burden bill is of great importance to gays because there is virtually no area of employment open to a known homosexual. Typical public policy is expressed in the Civil Service handbook: "Persons about whom there is evidence that they have

engaged in or solicited others to engage in homosexual or sexually perverted acts with them, without evidence of rehabilitation, are not suitable for federal employment." In fact, even having homosexual friends or a reputation for associating with homosexuals is grounds for dismissal from certain jobs.

Current New York City regulations even prohibit homosexuals of either sex from remaining in or being employed in cabarets, dance halls, and food-catering establishments. Under existing regulations, these establishments could lose their licenses if homosexuals were found to be frequenting them. (The city's Department of Consumer Affairs has recently proposed dropping all restrictions on homosexuals in places of public accommodation except for one prohibiting

transvestites in teen-age cabarets.)

Some of the strongest testimony at the hearings came from Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The executive council of his union, he explained, voted overwhelmingly in favor of his testifying in favor of the bill. The leaders of his union, he stated, felt that "no individual should have to face discrimination that would interfere with the ability to work."

"No human being should be denied the right to explore his full human potential," Gotbaum went on. He emphasized the need to approach the question in a rational way, maintaining that "there is no real or scientific evidence that homosexuality is a perversion."

Hostile questioning came from councilmen Thomas Manton and Michael DeMarco, who wondered if exceptions to the ban on discrimination could be envisaged, in particular with regard to the police and fire departments. Gotbaum replied that he thought the ban should also apply to these departments.

Statements of support for the bill came, either in writing or in person, from a number of politicians, including assemblymen William Passanante and Antonio Olivieri, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, and Congressman Edward Koch.

Eleanor Norton, chairwoman of the City Commission on Human Rights, spoke for the Lindsay administration in giving firm support to the bill. She related discrimination against gays to discrimination against Blacks and women, asserting that an issue of human rights is involved and that it is time for equal protection to be extended to homosexuals.

For some reason, her very reason-

able testimony elicited intense hostility and rudeness from councilmen Manton, DeMarco and Sharison. After interrupting her several times, DeMarco began shouting, "Stop bringing in Blacks and women!" Norton, who is Black, said she would answer questions in her own way.

Kate Millett spoke on the psychological oppression of gay people and related it to women's oppression. Stressing the arbitrariness of sexual norms, she criticized the church and the psychiatric profession for presenting prejudice as morality, and convention as mental health.

Mark Rubin, a gay teacher, discussed his many years of teaching experience and said "My entire career would not have existed if I had been known to be homosexual."

Clarence Morgan, a gay Vietnam veteran, admitted that he, like so many other gays, had lied during induction by not checking "homosexual tendencies."

Dr. Ann Scott of the National Organization for Women (NOW) read a resolution adopted by her group recognizing the "double oppression of lesbians" and viewing lesbianism as a valid concern of the feminist movement. She strongly urged passage of the bill.

Among those speaking in opposition to the bill was Robert Goff, commander of the Queens County Catholic War Veterans, who said that "Fun City has become Sin City." Assailing "pornography" and "immorality," he asserted that the bill was "not a thing to be proud of" and proposed in its place that New Yorkers continue to respect "norms of conduct that we have had for thousands of years." He said homosexuals were "sick" and should be treated by "criminal psychiatrists."



Photo by John Lauritsen

Victor Gotbaum, president of AFSCME District Council 37, testifies in favor of bill to bar discrimination against homosexuals.

## In Review

### **Art Exhibit**

#### 'Art in Revolution'

"Art in Revolution." Soviet Art and Design since 1917. At the New York Cultural Center until Oct. 31.

The exhibition "Art and Revolution" reflects the impact of the world's first successful socialist revolution on art and architecture. On exhibit are paintings, architectural models, sculptures, costume designs, and posters by a broad array of Soviet artists from the early 1920s.

The predominant characteristic of the show is the free and unfettered creativity of humankind striving toward the maximum balance between esthetics and utility. The works are imbued with unrestrained defiance and the radicalism of the time and stand in marked contrast to the traditional paintings and sculptures of feudal Russia. This is not to say that the socialist revolution produced better art; rather, it is simply testimony to the quality of art produced during an enormous social upheaval.

of the masses. Herein lies the balance of creation and object in a work like Tatlin's "Monument to the Third International" or Barkhlin's "Project for the Meyerhold Theatre."

But creativity is not stifled by the object in these works. One viewer saw the costumes for Tarelkin's Death, a stage production, as having little regard for conforming to the human body. The costumes were, in fact, deliberately designed this way; to have done otherwise might have hampered the urge of the designer to experiment. Art can not become stagnant or be stifled by norms and ideals. It breaks them boldly, just as a social revolution must break through the decaying remains of the old order to proceed to the new.

For this very reason the constructivist school was suppressed by the para-



Lenin speaking on "Peace, Bread, Land." Constructivist photomontage.

The genre of the exhibit is "constructivist." In her article in Soviet Surveu entitled Futurism, Supermatism, and Constructivism, Camilla Gray defines constructivism as "the organization of the given material on the principles of tectonics [the science of construction], structure and construction, the form becoming defined in the process of creation by the utilitarian aim of the object." Constructivism is one of the best attempts at striking a balance between creativity and utility. In contrast to it, the "art for art's sake" schools see no utility and are devoid of the real experiences of humanity.

For the constructivist, the creativity unleashed by the air of change during the revolution is tempered by relating the work to the everyday experiences sitic Stalinist bureaucracy beginning in 1928. The conservative bureaucrats could not tolerate such a free and elastic art form and sought to replace it and all others with "socialist realism," in which creativity was sacrificed for the sake of glorifying the mediocrity of the bureaucratic caste. Just compare any of the tawdry trash produced by the socialist realist artists with even the least of the constructivist works and the tragedy of the bureaucratic deformation of the Soviet Union becomes graphically apparent.

The powerful tension, unbridled optimism and vitality, and the fine composition of these works, make this an exhibit well worth seeing.

- FRANK MANNING and SAM MANUEL

#### Film

#### **Sunday Bloody Sunday**

Sunday Bloody Sunday. Directed by John Schlesinger. Screenplay by Penelope Gilliatt. Starring Peter Finch, Murray Head and Glenda Jackson. United Artists.

Set in London, Penelope Gilliatt's story concerns the devotion of a man, well into middle age, and a woman, approaching it, to their separate love relationships with the same young man. Daniel Hirsh, (Peter Finch), a doctor; his rival Alex Greville (Glenda Jackson), an employment agent; and the object of their twinned longing, Bob (Murray Head), a pop sculptor, become believably real in this, the best film yet made by director John Schlesinger (Darling, Midnight Cowboy).

The homosexual component of this film makes it an extraordinary love story for the screen, although, paradoxically, it is precisely Schlesinger's ordinary treatment of this aspect of human relations that makes it extraordinary. The 1966 change in the Motion Picture Code declaring an end to the taboo on homosexuality in big-studio films put an end to the monopoly previously exercised over the subject by pornographic movie outlets ("All Male Cast! Hard Action Feature Plus Selected Shorts!"). But the appearance of a homosexual theme in major motion pictures has generally been accompanied by stereotyping and sensationalism. Schlesinger's earlier film, Darling, was one of the first to include a matter-of-fact sequence dealing with homosexuality (in which Julie Christie's date and a waiter eye each other and are later seen in the background riding off together on a motorcycle), but there it was peripheral to the plot. Sunday Bloody Sunday is the first regular-theater movie to centrally feature a sexual relationship between two men without so much as lifting an eyebrow. This alone makes Sunday Bloody Sunday remarkable enough to be regarded as a landmark.

But it is not only homosexuality that makes the love story an unusual one for the movies. The film succeeds, without either gushiness or cynicism, in showing us the kind of imperfect respite from loneliness that is called love in the everyday real lives of most people.

Bob, young and pretty, is made uncomfortable by the search for an emotional commitment from him pressed by both his older lovers. He keeps them both at a distance while being occasionally affectionate, alternately to one and then the other. "I know you can't get enough of me," he says to Alex on a weekend together babysitting for the pot-smoking, pre-teen kids of their mutual friends, "but you have all there is."

The difference between the two affairs, perhaps best captured by *Time* reviewer Stefan Kanfer's designation of Daniel as Bob's "lover" and Alex as his "mistress," is delineated by male chauvinism that Gilliatt presents, not as propaganda, but as simply part of her script's subtle but ruthless reflection of the reality of human relations as we know them.

Neither Daniel's nor Alex's love for Bob is the kind of imaginary all-consuming passion that drives out all else in their lives, sweeping them to peaks of perfect joy or dashing them into a dark pit of despair. Rather, both lead busy, empty lives, yearn for affection, clutch gratefully at Bob when they are together with him, occupy their thoughts with him during the time that separates encounters, and smoke and fret at the frequent broken dates and missed phone calls that punctuate the lonely intervals.

Daniel and Alex are not meant to be pathetic. Gilliatt's perspicacity is not the blindered insight of the misanthrope; both characters emerge as vivid, sympathetic personalities.

Daniel, who operates a successful private medical practice from his comfortable office/apartment, has kept his homosexuality closeted from his Jewish parents and relatives and from his patients. In a scene where he is recognized on the street by a young man he met in a one-night stand, we learn that the doctor is not a stranger to London's "gay world," but for now the tenuous affair with Bob has eclipsed the desperate world of "cruising" from his life.

Daniel attends his nephew's Bar Mitzvah and endures the questions a homosexual whose family doesn't know always suffers at such functions ("When are you going to surprise us?"— and they mean get married, not come out).

Less cautious than Daniel, Alex's demonstrative displays of jealousy and possessiveness make it appear that she is less conscious of how far what she has is from what she wants. Her mother (Peggy Ashcroft), when Alex asks why she doesn't pack in her empty marriage to Alex's father, tells Alex she would be lonely if she did. "You think it's nothing," her mother says. "Well, it's not nothing. Your trouble is you throw in your hand because you don't have a whole thing. Well, there is no whole thing." But, in fact, Alex does recognize that her relationship with Bob is not the "whole thing"—something she admits in breaking off with Bob: "I bought this on your terms," she says, "and they were rotten terms."

As Bob, Murray Head is cast in the least sympathetic role; but Bob is not a charlatan. His male chauvinism is typical and makes him no more—or less—contemptible than any other young man. His affection for Daniel and Alex is not feigned but limited by a fear of involvement not strange for a young person with the uncrossed horizons of a promising artist.

If Bob were no more than a hard-hearted pretty face, his admirers would be buffoons. And Daniel and Alex are not buffoons; they are two people who have come to terms with the reality that their lives offer them only shadows of their dreams.

Gilliatt's brilliance, Schlesinger's skill, and the acting cast's talent have given the flawed affairs of these three small characters the sweep of a statement about personal alienation in this society that manages to be neither hackneyed nor dull.

- LEE SMITH

#### Portland SWP launches campaign

By LORENZO BLACK

PORTLAND—The Socialist Workers Party launched its 1972 election campaign here with a rally Oct. 22. The rally, which also marked the opening of the new SWP headquarters, announced the campaign of Ruth Getts for U. S. Senate and John Linder for Board of Education Position 1, Portland School District.

Getts, 24, an employee of Pacific Northwest Bell and a leading activist in the Oregon Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, charged that "attempts by Oregon's incumbent senator to 'set the date' for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia through maneuvers in Congress only leads to more deaths and destruction. Oregon has the highest percentage of deaths in relation to population of any state. We need to end that war—not in a week, not in a month or six months, but now."

John Linder is a 16-year-old senior at Lincoln High School. He said his campaign would be based on a platform of high school rights. He demanded the right to form political organizations in Portland's schools, Black and Chicano control of schools in the Black and Chicano communities, women's studies, and student control of funds and facilities.

In addition to the candidates, the rally was addressed by Clifton De-Berry, the SWP's presidential candidate in 1964. DeBerry called for support for the socialist campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president and for a break with the capitalist two-party system.

Earlier in the day the candidates spoke to the press, calling for an end to the wage freeze and demanding the release of Cheryl James, a Black Portland woman sentenced to 18 months in prison for defending her home from illegal entry by FBI agents.

# Judge rules against Hawkins

Bu DUNCAN WILLIAMS CLEVELAND - On Oct. 21, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Lambros upheld the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections' decision to deny Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate John Hawkins a place on the Nov. 2 ballot in the Cleveland general election. Hawkins filed suit in District Court Oct. 12 after learning that the Ohio Supreme Court had ruled against his effort to overturn the arbitrary ruling of the election board. The board denied Hawkins ballot status on the basis of what the Cleveland Plain Dealer called a "flyspeck technicality" (failure to file his master petition).

In an 11-page opinion, Judge Lambros held that Hawkins' constitutional rights had not been violated by the board. In a statement before the decision was read, Lambros said that, in his personal opinion, the board had acted arbitrarily and was not

bound to keep Hawkins off the ballot but should have accepted his master petition on Aug. 19, one day past the deadline.

Hawkins' attorneys in the suit were Ben Sheerer and Albert Purola of the American Civil Liberties Union.

At a news conference on the steps of the federal courthouse here immediately after the decision, Hawkins announced that he would file an appeal in the Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. The news conference was attended by all the Cleveland TV stations, the *Cleveland Press*, and most of the area radio stations. Afterwards, WKYC-TV taped an interview with the candidate.

On Oct. 14, Hawkins confronted Black mayoral candidate Arnold Pinkney. Pinkney is the chosen heir of Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes and a leader of the 21st Congressional District Caucus, a Black Democratic Party organization created by Stokes and his brother, Representative Louis Stokes. The confrontation occurred at a seminar of the women's organization of the Jewish Community Federation.

In response to Hawkins' criticism of attempts by Black Democrats to reform the Democratic Party, Pinkney defended his strategy of attempting to work "within the system." The 21st Congressional District Caucus, he claimed, was never intended to be anything but a "pressure group" to make "requests" of the county Democratic Party. When Hawkins pointed out the persecution and ridicule which the Democrats directed against the Black politicians within their own ranks, Pinkney replied, "They laughed at the New York Mets too, but they went on to be champions."

There was a lively discussion after the presentations by the panelists, who also included representatives of the Women's Equity Action League, the American Independent Party, and Cleveland Women's Liberation. Most of the questions were directed to Hawkins and revolved around the question of independent political action for Blacks and women.

# Socialists making an impact in S.F.

By SANDY PECK

SAN FRANCISCO — The Socialist Workers Party is running a full slate of candidates for Board of Supervisors (city council) and mayor here, and has been making a big impact in recent weeks.

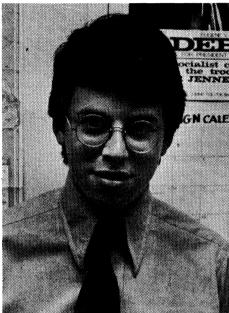
SWP mayoral candidate Nat Weinstein received an overwhelming ovation at a meeting Oct. 6 at San Francisco State College where an important issue was the murder the previous day of a Black resident of the Hunters Point ghetto by a cop. Of all the mayoral candidates, only Weinstein did not hedge on the issue. He told the 850 people at the meeting that the cop should be indicted and a civilian review board elected by the Black community to control the police.

On Oct. 7, Weinstein participated in a candidates' day at Balboa High School in the Black community. The students were enraged by the shooting and questioned every candidate on the issue. Mayor Joseph Alioto and liberal Dianne Feinstein were received with great hostility by the students. Weinstein, however, was given enthusiastic support as he explained that the police are used to carry out the desires of white property owners and not to protect residents of the Black communities.

One of the most controversial issues on the ballot is Proposition "T," an

amendment to the city charter that would limit all future construction of buildings to six stories. Exceptions would require a referendum. The Democratic and Republican candidates have lined up in opposition to this amendment.

At a meeting for mayoral candidates sponsored by the Gay Activists Alliance Oct. 12, Alvin Duskin, author of the amendment and a candidate for supervisor, asked each candidate to state their position on the issue. Weinstein stated that he supported it because it gives voters a chance to determine at least one aspect of what is to be constructed in the city. "I am a member of a building trades union," he added, "and I know that many people in those unions oppose this proposal. Their opposition is a good example of the labor movement supporting business interests rather than their own interests. It is business interests that make the profit out of these high rises and working people who have to bear the extra tax burden of servicing these build-



Jeff Berchenko

Two SWP candidates for Board of Supervisors, Jeff Berchenko and Laura Dertz, addressed a candidates' night sponsored by the YWCA Oct. 14.

One of the most important meetings of the campaign thus far was a meeting for all the candidates sponsored by the local chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) Sept. 30. Each candidate was asked if he or she supported the Equal Rights Amendment and the abortion law repeal campaign. Except for the SWP candidates, very few gave unequivocal support for either.

Close to 300 persons packed the auditorium of the San Francisco Society for Individual Rights (SIR) for the organizations' Candidates' Night Sept. 15. Both SWP candidates Weinstein and Dertz were well received. A report on the meeting in the Los Angeles gay newspaper The Advocate Oct. 13 says that Dertz was one of two women who "evoked enthusiastic responses." According to the report, the audience responded with shouts of "Right on!" to her statement that "The only time things change is when people stand up on their own two feet and change them. You have got that power. You are standing up. But you have to keep it up!"

#### SWP supports YWLL campaign

BOSTON — The Socialist Workers Party is urging everyone in Boston to support Pat Bonner-Lyons for School Committee. Lyons, 23, is a Black hospital worker and a member of the Young Workers Liberation League. In a preliminary election last

month she finished ninth in a field of 14 candidates. The top 10 candidates are now competing for five seats on the School Committee in the Nov. 2 election. She is running independent of the Democratic and Republican parties and is for this reason being supported by the SWP.

Pat Bonner-Lyons has also received support from Citizens for Participation Politics, two locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, the *Boston Globe*, and the Black Political Convention in Boston.

The SWP candidates in Boston are conducting a write-in campaign for the offices of mayor, City Council and School Committee. In all public meetings they are explaining their support for Bonner-Lyons and urging people to vote for the four socialists in the election: the three SWP candidates and Bonner-Lyons. The SWP campaign committee has printed thousands of leaflets for the Bonner-Lyons campaign and has volunteered to help distribute leaflets and to watch polls on election day.

The SWP's offer of support has been spurned by the YWLL.

The SWP feels that it would strengthen the Bonner-Lyons campaign if she would take a clear stand in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, which so far she has failed to do. It is urging her to 1) withdraw her support for Democratic mayoral candidate Tom Atkins and other Democratic Party candidates; 2) come out clearly for Black control of the Black community; and 3) to support the creation of an independent Black political party.

# Queens candidate won't be on ballot

By MIMI HARARY

OCT. 26—Elizabeth Jayko, a 20-year-old Queens College student, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for 25th Assembly District (Queens) in a special election Nov. 2. Due to discriminatory handling of the election, however, she will be barred from a place on the ballot and there will be no provision for a write-in.

The special election is taking place this year rather than next year as regularly scheduled because the incumbent resigned in order to seek a more prestigious office. The vacancy, however, was not really publicized until after the deadlines for obtaining both ballot and write-in status. (According to the election laws, independent candidates must file 1,000 signatures by Sept. 22 to be on the ballot. To arrange for a write-in provision, a letter requesting such status must be sent to City Hall by Sept. 21.) The SWP and other independent political parties received no notification of the election until it was too

"This denial of a write-in provision in the election of an Assembly representative for the 25th District," declared Jayko, "is a Thieu-like curtailment of the democratic right of every voter to choose whomever they want; you should be able to walk into the voting booth and vote for yourself if you want!"

She called upon her opponents to join her in supporting the democratic rights of voters in the district. In addition to her Republican and Conservative opponents, she is challenging Alan Hevesi (Democrat-Liberal), a professor at Queens College who was handpicked by the incumbent. She will be debating him at Queens College

## Calendar

CAMPAIGN RALLY: The Crisis in American Politics. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; guest speakers. Fri., Nov. 12, 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE LOS ANGELES UNITED WOMEN'S CONTINGENT for the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in L.A. will assemble at 9 a.m., at MacArthur Park (between Seventh and Wilshire). Banners and signs for the march to City Hall and the rally at 1:30 p.m. can be picked up at the assembly point. Call (213) 461-3337 for further information.

WOMEN'S ABORTION ACTION COMMITTEE MEETING. 2936 W. 8th St., Third Floor. Wed., Nov. 3. 8 p.m. All women welcome. Join the abortion law repeal campaign: class-action suit; National Commission of Inquiry; Nov. 20 demonstration in San Francisco to repeal all abortion laws; end forced sterilization and repeal all restrictive contraception laws. For further information, call 487-7696. Bus tickets to San Francisco demonstration available.

**SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA** 

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute program, 5:45 p.m., Thursdays, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

## Nov. 6 Militant dispatch centers

Floor, beginning at 10 a.m. Phone: (404) 523-0610.

Boston: 1) Pathfinder Books, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 at 10 a.m. 2) Militant sign at assembly point at entrance gate to the Cambridge Commons at 11 a.m. 3) Rally point at "Revolutionary Socialist Literature Here" table at the Boston Commons on Beacon St. near Charles St. Phone: (617) 536-6981.

Chicago: Socialist Workers Campaign headquarters at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310 (five blocks from assembly point) all day.

Cleveland: Northeast corner of Ontario and Public Square at the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley literature table all day. Phone: (216) 391-5553.

Denver: 1) Militant literature table at the assembly point at City Park across the Mall from the Bandshell at 12 noon. 2) Literature table at the rally site on the west side of the capital building. Phone: (303) 623-2825.

Detroit: 1) Militant truck at Cass and Putnam at assembly point. 2) Militant truck at rally site on north side of Kennedy Square. Phone: (313) TE1-6135.

Houston: At car with Militant sign at assembly point in the parking lot at Rush and Smith Sts. from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. "Revolutionary Literature" table at rally site on the north side of the Reflection Pond at Hermann Park from 3 to 6 p.m. Phone: (713) 674-0612. Open house and party after the demonstration at 6409 Lyons Ave., sponsored by the Houston Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Los Angeles: 1) Table at northwest corner of Wilshire and Alvarado. 2) Literature table at rally site on south side of City Hall at First and Spring. Phone: (213)

Minneapolis: 1) Room 131, Coffman Union, University of Minnesota. 2) Dispatch van with Militant sign near State Capitol Mall. Phone: (612) 332-7781. Meeting to organize sales: 9 a.m., Nov. 6, Room 131, Coffman Union, U of Minn. Wrap-up party after demonstration sponsored by Twin Cities Young Socialist Alliance at Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E.

New York City: 1) "Socialist Workers Campaign" sign at assembly point at 41st St. and Fifth Ave. 2) "Socialist Workers Campaign" table at rally site at Sheep Meadow. Phone: (212) 982-6051.

Philadelphia: 1) Station wagon with Militant sign at the assembly point at southwest corner of Independence Mall, 10:30 a.m. 2) Table with Militant sign on right side of the Art Museum, 1 p.m. Phone: (215) WA5-4316. Wrap-up party after demonstration at So. cialist Workers Party Campaign headquarters at 1004 Filbert St. (Fourth Floor), sponsored by the Philadelphia Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

San Francisco: 1) "Read The Militant" truck at the assembly point at Embarcadero Plaza. 2) "Revolutionary Socialist Literature" tables at rally point at Polo Fields in Golden Gate Park. Phone: (415) 626-9958.

Seattle: 1) Militant table at assembly point at Federal. Courthouse at Fifth and Madison. Phone: (206) 523-2555.

Washington D.C.: Militant sign across from Constitution Hall on 17th St. N.W. Phone: (202) 833-9560.

#### **Defiant** dock workers held in contempt

By JEAN SAVAGE PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 25 - Three of the six locals of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) here were held by a state court today to be in contempt of a backto-work injunction issued Oct. 17. The court set Oct. 27 as the deadline for compliance and levied fines of \$50 per day per man for each day the strike continues beyond this deadline. Each ILA officer of the three locals was likewise threatened with the \$50 per day fines.

Except for one local, longshoremen have not yet returned to work. The port was closed Oct. 1 in response to the East and Gulf Coast strike of the ILA when the union contract expired on that date. All major Atlantic ports have been closed since the strike call went out, and only Texas ports have been operating in the Gulf.

Charles Brown, secretary of ILA Carloaders Local 1332, told this reporter that despite the unjust rulings of the courts the longshoremen probably would return to the docks. He said the ILA has no plans to do anything if they refuse to work.

The court action is designed to cripple the coast-wide strike and to isolate longshoremen in the port of New York who have been locked out by the Shippers Association there.

Under terms of the expired union contract, the New York longshoremen had an annual guaranteed income equivalent to 2,080 hours worked (40 hours for 52 weeks) to protect them against unemployment caused by mechanized cargo handling. The New York shippers are unwilling to extend this agreement.

It is widely believed here that the New York shippers persuaded Nixon Oct. 6 not to invoke the Taft Hartley Law in the East and Gulf strikes at the same time he forced the West Coast longshoremen to halt their 100-day strike under the 80-day "cooling off" provision of that law. The New York shippers were quite willing to have all other longshoremen forced back under the terms of employment prevailing before the strike but not the New York dock workers, because they would then have had to pay the guaranteed annual wage. The shippers now seek to open ports outside New York by means of local court injunctions and contempt citations such as the one issued here today.

The ILA spokesman, Local 1332 Secretary Charles Brown, said that if Philadelphia longshoremen return to work, "no cargo or ships diverted from the port of New York will be worked." There are 50 ships in New York harbor waiting to discharge car-

Longshoremen on the West Coast are members of an independent union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, with a different contract and a different expiration date. Brown said that to the best of his knowledge there had been no joint demands agreed upon between the East and West Coast longshoremen, no effort to coordinate the strikes on both coasts, and no liaison between the two unions to plan joint action.

Working conditions on East and Gulf coasts are not uniform. Here in Philadelphia, longshoremen have a guaranteed annual income for 1,800 hours, less than in New York. Other ports in the South Atlantic and Gulf have no such guarantees. This lack of a standard contract complicates negotiations and has served to weaken

The shippers' strategy now appears to be to stall all negotiations, to rely upon compliant judges to issue injunctions against the strike in key ports, and to force the New York longshoremen eventually to give up their guaranteed annual income.

#### ...wages

Continued from page 4

York Times, UAW President Woodcock, before he agreed to sit on the Pay Board, described this myth that wages somehow cause inflation as having "an Alice in Wonderland flavor." He then admitted, "The absurdity is all the more bizarre in the light of the facts on price and wage movements. In the three most recent inflations (including the present), prices started upward when unit labor costs were actually falling. Labor costs began their rise later, as workers sought to catch up with prior inflation. Similarly, wage increases tend to recede toward rates approximating productivity growth as price rises abate. Although wage restraint does not induce price restraint, the reverse is true."

What Woodcock's argument lacks, as well as those of other union officials like him who seem to think inflation can be cured by governmentimposed wage and price controls, is an explanation of the basic cause of inflation.

The truth is that the present inflation is caused by \$80-billion annual armaments expenditure, the war in Southeast Asia, and government deficit spending. This truth has not entirely escaped the attention of some prominent union spokesmen who are now becoming involved in the antiwar movement.

## Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728

Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's

College, Claremont, Calif. 91711 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles,

Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP-(213) 463-1917, YSA-(213) 463-1966. Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958. San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O.

Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115. Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 87106, Tel: (805) 685-1363.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Araphoe Ave.,

Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440. Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-

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

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

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655. GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301, Tel. (404) 523-0610. HLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr.,

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts.

#22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401. KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence,

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

Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

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

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

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201. Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Morkers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107. Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP. YSA and Labor Bookstore. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H.

NEW JERSEY: Wayne: YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, William-Paterson College of N.J., 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Sharon Abeles, 225 Carlisle Blvd. N. E., Albuquerque, N. M. 87106. Tel: (505) 265-2569.

NEW YORK: Binahamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849. Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516)

New York City-City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 260-0976.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP-(212) 982-6051, YSA-(212) 982-8214, Merit Books-(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025, Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland,

Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Oxford: YSA, Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45056. Tel: (513) 529-5872. Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 4888 W. Amazon, Eugene,

Ore. 97405. Tel: (503) 342-7076. B S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore

97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715 PENNSYLVANIA: Erie: YSA, c/o John Sajewski, P.O. Box 3222, Erie, Pa. 16508.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Keith Harris, P.O. Box 8402, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Elizabeth Lariscy, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station,

Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202. UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Wangsgard, 1611 E. 16th N., Logan, Utah

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D. C., 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Roger Snelgrove, 209 High St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, Box 157, La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1702 E. Lafayette Place, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 271-3624. Oshkosh: YSA, 440 Bowen St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-

2145.

## Classified

TIMES CHANGE PRESS publishes quality paperback pamphlets and posters on women's liberation, hip culture, third world struggles, gay liberation, anarchism, revolutionary poetry, kids' liberation, marxism, men's consciousness-raising, ecology, etc. Write for free illustrated catalog, which includes our six new winter releases: 1023-M Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10018.

#### Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art

edited with an introduction by Paul N. Siegel

"Trotsky wrote with an original, lively style, as this selection of his literary criticism shows." -- Long Beach Independent

"Trotsky was one of the founders of Marxist literary criticism, and his range of interests in art and literature was surprisingly wide. In this anthology of his literary criticism, Siegel has brought together scattered articles, essays, reviews, statements, letters, and manifestoes covering the period 1908-1939. . . . Much of this material has never before appeared in book form. . . . Trotsky brings critical insight and considerable taste and judgment." -- Library Journal 248 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45

Order from:
PATHFINDER PRESS
410 WEST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

#### GRANMA

Feminism.

Gay Liberation.

Cuba.

Arab Revolution.

Chicano Struggle.

Marxist Classics.

Labor History.

Vietnam.

Black Struggle.

Ecology.

BOOKS

2509 Telegraph Avenue Berkeley 841~9744 Hours: 12~10

Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for Classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads.

# You can't change it alone I want to join the YSA. Please send me more information. Enclosed is 60 cents for Organizing the YSA. Send me more information on Young Socialist Nat'l Convention in Houston, Dec. 28-Jan. 1. Name Address City Zip Phone Clip and send to YSA, Box 471 Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.

#### 5,000 new readers of International Socialist Review

That's the goal of the ISR's eleven-week subscription campaign. We want to become the biggest and most widely read socialist magazine in America. We think you'll want to help us get there. If you want to fight to change society, the ISR's contributors are your kind of people: not literary reformers but revolutionary Marxists out to refute the rhetoric and the lies of the status quo, from Attica to Vietnam.

As an extra inducement to let you see what you've been missing we have arranged with The Militant to offer you an introductory sub to both publications for half the newsstand price.

## 3 months of the ISR and 10 weeks of the Militant for just \$2

Special November issue: PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTION: DOCUMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION... Includes: ... Lessons of the New Radicalization... Toward a Mass Feminist Movement... The Struggle for Chicano Liberation

December: Is Biology Woman's Destiny by Evelyn Reed . . . Nixon's 'Solution' to the Pollution Crisis by Ronald Reosti . . . Trotsky Speaks: October 1917 . . . An Interview with Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the IRA

Camal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the IKA	•
<ul> <li>( ) Enclosed is \$2 for three months of the ISR and ten weeks</li> <li>( ) Enclosed is \$1 for three months of the ISR.</li> <li>( ) Send me a full year of the ISR for \$5.</li> </ul>	of The Militant.
NameAddress	
CityStateZip	

#### Like a window...



نامه ای از ایران:

لطفاً آبونمان مرا برای اینترکانتینانتال پرس تمدید کن این مجله کمنظیر مثل سابق در این خفقان بصورت روزن ی برای ما خواهد بود ۰

In Persian, simple and to the point:

"Please renew my subscription to the Intercontinental Press. In this period of political suffocation this unusual magazine will be, as in the past, like a window to us."

No matter what country you're in, Intercontinental Press can provide you with an unparalleled view of the international political scene.

Why not subscribe now!

Intercontinental Press			
P. O. Box 116			
Village Station			
New York, N. Y. 10014			
Name			 _
Street			 
City	State	Zip	
() Enclosed is \$7.50 for 26 iss () Enclosed is \$15.00 for one () Please send a sample copy	year.		

## THE MILITANT

# French Trotskyists arrested for role in antiwar action

By DAVID THORSTAD

At 6 a.m. Oct. 21, 13 members of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, were arrested in their homes by Paris police and taken into custody. Those arrested included several members of the League's Political Bureau, among them Henri Weber, Jean Métais, Jeannette Grimaldi, and Charles Michaloux, the editor of the League's weekly newspaper, Rouge.

The French revolutionists, who were all released without charges the evening of the same day, were arrested in police retaliation for a demonstration of several hundred supporters of the Communist League Oct. 5 outside the U. S. consulate in Paris. The purpose of the demonstration was to show solidarity with the struggle of the Indochinese peoples against U. S. imperialism, to protest the Saigon elections, and to kick off a campaign culminating in antiwar demonstrations Nov. 6 in conjunction with the American antiwar movement.

The Communist League immediately issued a statement denouncing the government and calling for a united front of all left and democratic forces to mobilize a defense against this attack. A news conference that day heard messages of support from persons representing a number of different groups, including the United Socialist Party (PSU), the Socialist Party, the Federation of National Education (FEN), and Lutte Ouvrière. The League for the Rights of Man sent a message of support as well.

The Communist Party newspaper

l'Humanité reported Oct. 22 the CP's refusal to participate in such a joint defense. "As far as the Trotskyist groups aimed at are concerned," it said, "there is no need to spend much time going over our attitude, which has not changed. It is out of the question for us to agree to any joint action with them of any kind whatsoever."

The Oct. 21 raids followed on the heels of a somewhat different, though related, attack on the French Trotskyists. This was the legal proceedings initiated against the Communist League's newspaper, Rouge, for which hearings were held Oct. 19. A fivecount indictment had been brought earlier this year against the editor of Rouge, Charles Michaloux, for articles in the paper that were said to publicly slander and insult the police and to be "of such nature as to cast aspersions on the honor and repute of the police department, a public service." The articles in question appeared between December 1970 and March of this year. During the testimony Oct. 19, an impressive list of prominent witnesses testified in defense of the Trotskyist paper. They included: a lawyer for the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor); Professor Laurent Schwartz; the secretary of the Socialist Party; several journalists; a film director; an actress; the secretary of the Federation of National Education; former Communist minister Charles Tillon; and a representative for the League for the Rights of Man. Michel Rocard, secretary of the PSU, sent a statement of support that was read at the hearings.

## Few turn out for D.C. 'Evict Nixon' action

By STEVE CHASE

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 26 — Over 300 antiwar activists were arrested today as they attempted to serve an "Eviction Notice" on President Nixon, climaxing several days of antiwar activities sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Denied a permit to surround the White House, they were stopped by police on Pennsylvania Avenue as they marched from a rally at the Sylvan Theater attended by around 800 people.

Speakers at the rally included Father James Groppi, Dick Gregory, Rennie Davis, and George Smith, a former prisoner of war.

The tenor of the rally was set by Groppi, who said: "We must vote in 1972 to get that madman [Nixon] out of the White House."

Davis, who did not call for direct support to the Democratic candidate in 1972 as he has in local campus meetings, outlined a program of intervening in presidential primaries to prevent Nixon's reelection. Calling the rally "the most important meeting in the last 25 years," he projected a demonstration of one million at the Republican national convention in San Diego in August.

The rally also heard by transatlantic telephone from the Paris representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, who explained the PRG's seven-point peace proposal.

The Nixon Eviction Notice had been drawn up by the People's Panel: a grand jury investigation of citizens' grievances held in Washington on Oct. 22-25. After hearing testimony from a wide range of witnesses on oppression in capitalist society, the panel concluded "that you [Nixon] and your administration have consciously deceived the American people and deprived them of their rights."

It was projected that the Nixon Eviction Notice be served wherever Nixon campaigns.

The hearings were held in a church, where supporters of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition were not allowed to distribute materials building the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration. They were told that the ban on their distribution was "for your own protection." None of the national heads of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice would intervene for the right to distribute literature for an action that they themselves endorse.

## Raza Unida makes good showing in L.A.

By OLGA RODRIGUEZ

LOS ANGELES—Raul Ruiz, candidate of La Raza Unida Party for State Assembly from the 48th District, made a good showing in the party's first electoral effort in Southern California.

Running in a gerrymandered district where only 18 percent of the voters are Chicano, Ruiz polled 1,378 votes, nearly 4 percent of the total. Competing against seven contenders for the Democratic nomination, a Republican, and a Peace and Freedom Party, candidate, Ruiz ran fifth, outpolling four of the seven Democrats.

The district is heavily Democratic, and the two leading contestants for the Democratic nomination were both Mexican-Americans. About 60 percent of the votes were divided among the Democrats. Since none of the nominees won a majority, a runoff election will be held Nov. 16.

Ruiz will be on the ballot, along with Richard Alatorre, Democratic front-runner who polled 7,685 votes; Bill Brophy, the Republican, who received 12,236 votes, and John Blaine, the Peace and Freedom candidate, who got 638 votes.

The election was a special one to fill the vacancy created by the election of the incumbent, David Roberti, to the State Senate. Alatorre ran with the support of a faction of the Democratic machine, including Roberti. His principal rival, Ralph Ochoa, had the backing of another party faction and the endorsement of the AFL-CIO.

The contest evoked unusual interest for an off-season special election. Nearly 44 percent of the district's eligible voters went to the polls, as against the 35 percent that was expected

In addition to addressing himself to particular problems of the Chicano community, Ruiz emphasized the fact that neither major party offered the Chicano people genuine representation.

Chicanos comprise at least 12 percent of California's population but only two of the 140 state legislators are Mexican-Americans. Both of these are the property of the Democratic Party.

It is reported that more Mexican people live in the Los Angeles area than in any city in Mexico itself, excepting Mexico City. Yet no Chicano holds elected office in Los Angeles. In East Los Angeles, where the great bulk of Los Angeles Chicanos live, the gerrymandering is so blatant that there is not a single election district with more than 30 percent Chicano voters.

In addition to focusing on this issue, Ruiz emphasized the need for building the Raza Unida Party and estimates that some 2,000 people were registered in the party during the course of the campaign. To qualify for the state ballot in the 1972 elections, La Raza Unida Party is aiming to register 66,000 voters by Jan.

It is expected that the registration drive will be aided by the extension of the vote to 18 year olds. Many young people, including Chicanos active on the local campuses, were attracted to the Ruiz campaign, and the runoff election should provide the basis for mobilizing even greater support.

Thus far, his campaign has won the support of the Chicano student organization, MECHA; Chicano Law Student Group; the community group, Carnalismo; individual members of the Mexican-American Political Association, and others. The Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party endorsed his campaign.

The attitude of the Communist Party toward the Ruiz campaign seems to be ambivalent. At the outset, the People's World, West-Coast voice of the CP, ran an article that seemed to welcome both the campaign and the development of La Raza Unida Party. But the Oct. 16 issue of the paper, which appeared on the eve of the election, featured an article by L. A. correspondent Sam Kushner that seemed as friendly to the Mexican-American Democratic candidate, Alatorre, as to Ruiz and to Raza Unida.

Reading this article, a voter in the 48th A.D. would not have been able to figure out which candidate the *People's World* favors.



Photo by Walter Lippmann