

THE MILITANT

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

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IRANIAN APPEAL: On Oct. 25, the Iranian Students Association in the U.S. announced the fate of some of the more than 4,000 persons arrested by the Shah's police last month. The roundup preceded the Shah's celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian monarchy. Six of the victims have already been sentenced by a military tribunal, five of them to death. The fate of these six is not known. The death sentence is also being asked by the Iranian military prosecutor in the cases of 37 others. The World Confederation of Iranian Students has demanded an "immediate stop to this inhuman behavior" and "an open trial based on the human rights provisions of the UN Charter." The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. has appealed for "all democratic-minded people of the U.S." to send telegrams to Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida, Tehran, Iran, protesting the treatment and sentences of those arrested. Copies of a petition being circulated may be obtained by writing to the Iranian Students Association, 525 Ave. of the Americas, Third floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ALASKAN NATIVES CLAIM BILL: Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) and other sponsors of the measure to provide Alaskan natives with 40-million acres and \$1-billion are congratulating themselves on its imminent passage (the House passed it Oct. 27 and Senate approval is virtually assured). Gravel boasted that "all" the Alaskan natives in Washington, D.C., to lobby for a land claim settlement were "pleased." The Nov. 1 *Race Relations Reporter* points out that this is not the case and quotes Anchorage Eskimo William Willoya, who says Gravel's bill is "just another way to get the land away from the people." The bill will make land that only provides nomadic residents with subsistence into taxable property, meaning the land will be taken piece by piece to meet the taxes. Moreover, at least 3,000 hunting, fishing and gathering areas are excluded from the land allotment in the bill, meaning they will become subject to state fish and game laws. Willoya predicted that in two decades the 20,000 Alaska natives would be driven from their land by taxes and have their way of life destroyed. Commenting on the support the bill does enjoy from some natives, he said, "I will stake my life's blood on the fact that 99 percent of the Alaska natives do not know what is going on down here" (i.e., in the Capital).

MCCLOSKEY SAYS HE WILL DEBATE JENNESS: Representative Paul McCloskey, Republican presidential aspirant, told a student audience at Providence College in Providence, R.I., Oct. 29 that he would be willing to debate Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness. In response to the questions from Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley about the war, McCloskey said: "If she (Jenness) will write to me and ask to debate me on my position on the war, I'll write back and try to arrange a debate."

NIXON'S FIVE-MEGATON FIRECRACKER: The White House has made clear its intention to ignore the dangers and almost universal protests and forge ahead with "Cannikin," the test of a nuclear warhead 250 times more powerful than the bomb that wiped out the city of Hiroshima. The "super-bomb" is a prototype of the warhead to be placed in U.S. Spartan anti-missile missiles, and its explosion sometime before Nov. 5 on Amchitka Island in the Aleutians will almost certainly have a disastrous effect on the ecology, according to many experts. On Oct. 27, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman James Schlesinger announced Nixon had given the authorization that Congress had required in a feint at halting the test. Later the same day, Justice Department attorney Edmund Clark told a federal appeals court, in effect, to get lost because its ruling on a suit to stop the test brought by environmentalists could have no effect now that the president had decided to go ahead.

EMBATTLED ATTORNEY: Daniel T. Taylor, a Louisville, Ky., attorney who defends many Black, poverty-stricken victims of capitalist "justice," has again been cited for contempt and, according to the Oct. 31 *New York Times*, is being held in jail. After Narvel and William Tinsley, two Black youths Taylor was defending, were found guilty by a jury that recommended a death sentence Oct. 30, the judge in the Louisville murder trial called Taylor before him and sentenced him on nine counts of contempt, the *Times* reports. The judge accused him of having a "flippant" attitude. Taylor is hated by some judges and powerful Kentucky lawyers because he defends many who would otherwise be railroaded to jail. In the early 1960s, he was one of the attorneys in the well-publicized free speech case of three Bloomington, Ind., Young Socialist Alliance members. The *Times* quotes Taylor on the current contempt case: It is a question of

"whether we're just going to bow down to raw authority or not. I'm going to resist."

NINE MILLION COLLEGE STUDENTS: That's about how many students are enrolled in universities and colleges this year, according to the Oct. 31 *New York Times* — an increase of 5 percent over last year.

RIGHT-WING TERRORISTS AND CAPITALISM'S LEGAL DOUBLE STANDARD: On Oct. 30, 1966, New York cops arrested 20 Minutemen and seized "over a ton" of firearms and explosives cached by the ultraright group. One month earlier, the New York offices of the Socialist Workers Party had been fire-bombed. There had been similar attacks earlier that year against antiwar groups, the Communist Party and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. In making the arrests, cops revealed that the Minutemen had planned to raze to the ground three camps in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and the Brooklyn campaign offices of Communist Party congressional candidate Herbert Aptheker. According to cops, the Minutemen planned to kill anyone they found at these places if necessary. The full facts never came completely into

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 3—Lt. (jg.) Gordon Piland, a Naval Academy graduate and an antiwar activist stationed near here at the Mare Island Naval Shipyard, faces a punitive transfer to Adak, Alaska, for his part in organizing the Oct. 23 First International Military Rights and Antiwar Convention. The brass have repeatedly told Piland that his activity in the Bay Area Concerned Military (BACOM), which sponsored the convention, is not consistent with his duties as an officer. On Nov. 1, he was informed of the transfer to Alaska.

Piland stated at a news conference today that the Navy "will never stop me from opposing the war in Southeast Asia and exercising my constitutional rights. I'll continue to organize at Adak just as I have in San Francisco." In addition, Piland plans to take the Navy to court Nov. 15 to demand an explanation of this violation of his rights as a citizen in uniform.

Piland has requested support from the civilian antiwar movement. Messages of protest should be sent to Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee and Admiral E.R. Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C., with copies to BACOM, P.O. Box 15187 Station A, San Francisco, Calif. 94115.

the light, but it was revealed that a number of cops in the organization were not assigned to infiltrate it—they had joined on their own. In one case, a state trooper had turned over police files on the Minutemen to the group. After the initial arrests, 16 rightists were charged with conspiracy and four were let off.

Last month, the Queens district attorney's office dropped all charges against all 16 men, using as his reason a court ruling that search warrants used in the cases of nine of them had been defective and that the other seven had been denied a speedy trial. When one bears in mind that Angela Davis has been held without bail for more than a year on trumped-up evidence and the way in which judges trample on left-wing defendants' constitutional rights in trials such as the Soledad case, the words of Queens Assistant District Attorney Frederick J. Ludwig as he dropped the charges against the murderous right-wingers are an insult to the intelligence: "This office is vigilant to observe conspiracies . . . whether from the Black left or the white right."

CAPITALIST "JUSTICE" has two standards, one for the left—by which the simple act of opposing oppression warrants frame-up, jail and death—and another for the right—by which burning, bombing, shooting and lynching warrant only an occasional wrist-slapping.

Another timely example of this double standard is the case of Meir Kahane and the Jewish Defense League. Kahane, after pleading guilty to a firearms-transport conspiracy in a deal with the prosecutor, got a five-year suspended sentence in July—the most recent of numerous arrests and convictions from which the racist demagogue has walked away free. A condition of his parole was that he cease his violent activities, a condition he announced his intention to violate in a news conference immediately after stepping out of court.

After bullets smashed the windows of a Soviet UN Mission bedroom where children were sleeping Oct. 20, Kahane went on TV to make a public threat against the life of Soviet Premier Alexsei Kosygin, who was visiting Canada. The JDL leader is still walking around on parole.

—LEE SMITH

Charges dropped for Black GIs in Germany

PARIS, Oct. 28—The support and publicity mobilized by a vigorous defense campaign in behalf of 29 Black GIs from the 93rd Signal Battalion in Darmstadt, West Germany, made U. S. Seventh Army commander General Michael S. Davidson decide to drop the case Oct. 22.

Not only did Davidson drop the charges against the 29 who had been facing court-martial, but he set aside the penalties against 17 others who had accepted Article 15s (minor administrative punishment) in connection with the same incident the past summer. The 47 were part of the now-famous Darmstadt 53.

The case of the Darmstadt 53 is indicative of the racism that confronts the 28,000 Black GIs in the 215,000-man Seventh Army stationed in Europe. It began July 18 with a fight in the mess hall. Some Black GIs were listening to the juke box when a group of whites came in and began loudly playing tape-recorded country-western music. After the whites were asked to turn down the volume, a group of them left and returned carrying sawed-off pool cues. The Blacks defended themselves and a Black GI was arrested for "inciting a riot."

On July 19, 53 Blacks gathered outside the battalion headquarters demanding to know why the Army was

trying to make the victim into the criminal. The 53 were surrounded by white GIs carrying M-16s with fixed bayonets. Then the battalion commander appeared and ordered the GIs to disperse. Almost immediately, a truck pulled up and the Black GIs were nudged into it at rifle point by the whites. They were held overnight in a barbed-wire compound with no shelter, food, water, or bedding. Some of the armed white GIs guarding them were the same ones who had led the racist attack in the mess hall the day before.

When the brass offered Article 15s to the 53, 29 of them refused, insisting they be tried by court-martial in order to protest the injustice they had suffered.

The GIs began a defense campaign that gathered support from white GIs, from U. S. civilians in Germany, and, for the first time, from a significant number of Germans. The Revolutionary Communist Youth (RKJ), a German Trotskyist organization, called and led a demonstration in support of the Darmstadt 53 in Mannheim on Oct. 4, when the first six of the 29 were originally scheduled to be court-martialed. Posters and leaflets for the action were pasted up in towns and cities for a 300-kilometer (190-mile) radius around Mannheim, which

is 10 kilometers from the Darmstadt base.

Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and Joe Miles, both of whom were attacked by the brass for their activity at Ft.

Jackson in 1969, spoke in support of the Darmstadt GIs to a Frankfurt memorial meeting for George Jackson Sept. 18. Some 300 GIs from bases all over Germany attended.

Continued on page 30



Photo by Joe Miles

Andrew Pulley (left), former GI and now the socialist candidate for vice-president, gives clenched fist salute with some of the Darmstadt 53 on his September 1971 trip to Germany.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	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
Erie, Pa.	5	5	100.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	37	92.5
North Andover, Mass.	20	16	80.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	152	76.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	73	73.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	711	71.1
Boston, Mass.	2,000	1,399	70.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	7	70.0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	810	67.5
San Diego, Calif.	200	134	67.0
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	1,052	65.8

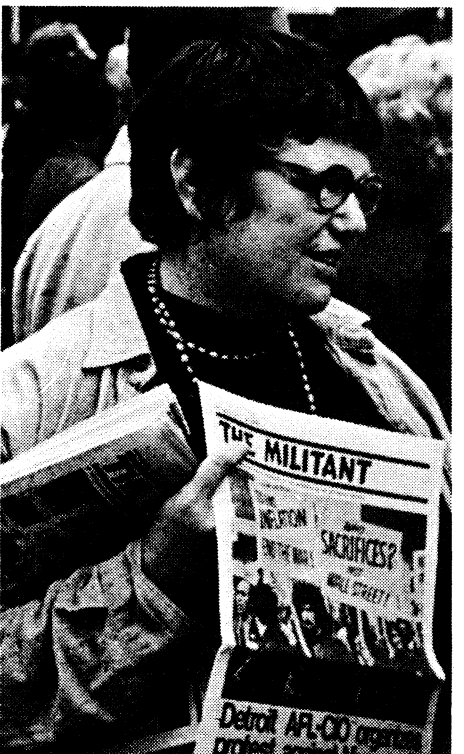


Photo by Dave Saperstein

Binghamton, N.Y.	100	51	51.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	20	10	50.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	609	48.7
Connecticut	200	95	47.5
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	611	47.0
Seattle, Wash.	600	278	46.3
Logan, Utah	100	45	45.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	530	44.2
Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	541	43.3
Durham, N.H.	40	17	42.5
Amherst, Mass.	100	41	41.0
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	502	40.2
Davenport, Iowa	10	4	40.0
Nashville, Tenn.	45	18	40.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	8	40.0
Atlanta, Ga.	750	291	38.8
Houston, Texas	600	233	38.8
Portland, Ore.	400	153	38.3
Long Island, N.Y.	200	75	37.5
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	37	37.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	72	36.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	354	35.4
El Paso, Texas	50	17	34.0
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	5	33.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	483	31.2
Eugene, Ore.	40	12	30.0
Lubbock, Texas	25	7	28.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	27	27.0
State College, Pa.	20	5	25.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	37	24.7
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	4	20.0
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Marietta, Ohio	10	2	20.0
Wichita, Kansas	20	4	20.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	10	16.7
Edinboro, Pa.	25	4	16.0
Kansas City, Mo.	200	28	14.0
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	4	12.0
Modesto, Calif.	30	3	10.0
DeKalb, Ill.	100	7	7.0
Oxford, Ohio	75	5	6.7
Tampa, Fla.	150	7	4.7
Lawton, Okla.	5	0	0
Manchester, N.H.	15	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6,000	6,415	106.9
Mid-Atlantic		(1,869)	
Southern		(1,562)	
Southwest		(1,562)	
Western		(1,422)	
General	325	345	106.2
TOTAL TO DATE		19,027	63.4
SHOULD BE		19,089	63.6
GOAL		30,000	100.0

National sales teams top quota in 7th week

By BAXTER SMITH

NOV. 2—At the end of the seventh week in the fall campaign to obtain 30,000 subscribers to *The Militant*, the scoreboard shows we have 19,027 new readers. This is 62 fewer than what we need to be on time this week.

One reason why the sub drive is slightly behind schedule for the first time is that *Militant* subscription sellers have been among the most active builders of the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations and during the past week were deeply involved in the final preparations for the actions.

Two areas, Boston and Chicago, were still able to send in over 300 subs each this week.

The national sub teams have now sold 6,415 subscriptions. The originally projected goal for the teams was 6,000. Several of the team members, commenting on the relative ease with which they have surpassed their goal, feel that a final total of 10,000 subs may not be an unrealistic possibility for them.

In Pennsylvania, the Mid-Atlantic team was hampered in its sales at Slippery Rock State College when officials said they weren't allowed to sell door to door in the dorms. One team member, Fred White, told of an incident that occurred when students heard about this restriction: "Two students suggested I wait inside their room while they went out to bring back students they thought would be interested in subscribing to *The Militant* and *ISR*. The response to our publications was enthusiastic, to say the least. And our new subscribers, in turn, would return with other interested students."

One letter we received last week is an example of the impact the sub teams have had. A new subscriber in Ashland, Va., writes, "*The Militant* was much appreciated by the left-wing students of Randolph-Macon College, who, by the way, are increasing in number. The recent visit to the campus by a *Militant* sales team resulted

in a surprisingly large number of subscriptions, considering the college's conservative history. Most of the students now receiving *The Militant* will likely renew and more will probably take advantage of your special introductory offer."

A salesman in New York reports success in selling *The Militant* at Catholic schools, where the students expressed interest in the struggles of the Catholics in Ireland and *The Militant's* support for them.

The Mid-Atlantic team reported success in West Virginia. Sally Moore wrote, "You can see concretely the effect of the radicalization and lessons learned from the Cambodian events of May '70. For example, at Glenville College, women organized a fight to get rid of hours in the women's dorms. These women went to the administration building to present the president with a petition for open dorms. His response was to call in the police. Because of this incident, women wanted to buy a sub to *The Militant*, to find out more about different struggles, especially women's liberation."

The letter concluded, "It is important that everyone see *The Militant* to read that there is a real alternative in this society and that people themselves can bring about the basic changes needed."

International Socialist Review

Subscription sales of the *International Socialist Review* continue to lag far behind with a total of 1,459 new readers. This is still less than half of what we need in order to be on schedule. *ISR* sub sales should be carefully planned out in conjunction with *The Militant* so that those areas behind schedule can catch up.

The November *ISR*, containing the Socialist Workers Party's position on the Chicano liberation struggle, was well received at the statewide convention of La Raza Unida Party, held in San Antonio, Texas, last weekend. At least 35 copies were sold.

March on Washington for abortion law repeal wins growing support

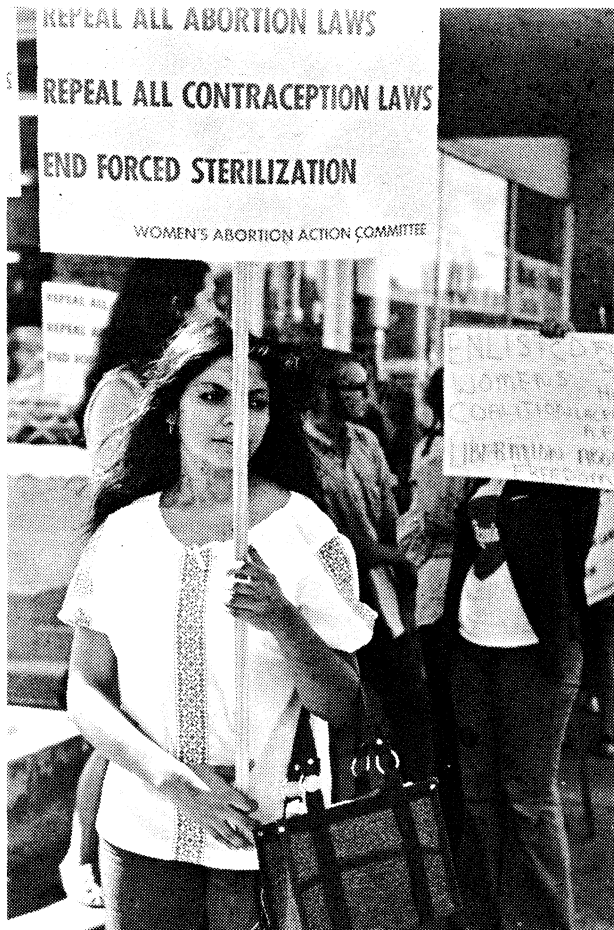


Photo by Howard Petrick

Austin demonstration Oct. 16 building toward Nov. 20

Black women organize in D.C.

By MARSHA COLEMAN

At the Women's National Abortion Conference held in New York last July, 45 Black, Latina and Asian women met in the Third World women's workshop to decide on plans for involving Black, Latina and Asian women in the campaign to repeal abortion laws and in the Nov. 20 march on Washington and San Francisco. Since then, Black, Chicana and Asian women from across the country have proceeded to implement those ideas.

Within the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), a Black Women's Task Force has been formed, and in local areas Black, Asian and Latina women are laying the groundwork for building independent groups for abortion law repeal as well as task forces within existing abortion law repeal organizations. Independent groups organizing for Nov. 20 now exist in five cities, and another at American University in Washington, D. C., is in the process of formation.

During the past month, WONAAC and the Nov. 20 demonstrations have been endorsed by Black Student Unions across the country, as well as by Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.), Fanny Lou Hamer of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Georgia state legislator Julian Bond, the Honorable Marjorie Lawson, and Mary Treadwell of Pride, Inc.

The Black community in Washington, D. C., has been quite receptive to the abortion law repeal campaign. Black women met recently at American University to plan building for Nov. 20. A literature table on abortion was set up, and discussions took place with several Black male student leaders on the relevancy of abortion law repeal.

The women at the meeting enthusiastically supported the idea of organizing a Black women's abortion group. Later, a discussion was held in the Black women's section of the American University dormitory. Plans were made for setting up regular literature tables and organizing mass leafletting of the campus and the community.

At Howard University, Black women met on Oct. 20 to discuss the involvement of Black wom-

en in the Nov. 20 march. Women at Howard have formed a group called Black Student Struggle for Abortion Law Repeal. The group began at Howard by leafletting all the floors in one dormitory, putting stickers on every door, making announcements of the demonstration, setting up literature tables in the lobby of the dormitory, and holding informal meetings any time three or more women were together. The women then spread out across the campus for a mass distribution of leaflets, stickers, and the WONAAC brochure for Third World women. They have also asked professors to allow speakers on abortion in their classes.

The editor of the Howard University *Hilltop* has endorsed WONAAC and agreed to print regular articles on the Nov. 20 demonstration.

The abortion campaign at Howard has raised the question of free speech and the right of the community to participate in activities on the campus. The Oct. 20 meeting at Howard had decided to set up a debate on the question of genocide, but the student government refused to permit the use of a classroom, on the grounds that some women active in the abortion group are not students. The group has decided to fight this decision, and to fight for the right of the Black community to hold meetings at Howard University.

Another activity of the Black Women's Task Force in D. C. has been to attend meetings of the candidates for D. C. School Board forcing the candidates to respond to questions on their position on abortion law repeal. This provides both publicity and an opportunity to pass out leaflets and sign up women who are interested in the abortion campaign.

So far, six of the candidates for the School Board have endorsed the Black Women's Task Force of WONAAC.

Activities of Black women in other cities are also going well. The Black Women's Task Force of WONAAC recently received a letter from Cleveland, which contained this suggestion: "The term 'women's liberation' sometimes evokes negative feelings from Black women. If this is the case, and those two words turn you off, don't use them. Instead, let's talk about the woman's right to control her own body, to decide for herself whether or not she wants to bear children, when, and how many." Our next letter from these women reported that a Black women's group had been formed in Cleveland.

In Detroit, a meeting of Black Women for Abortion Law Repeal was held at Highland Park College. Discussion was organized on "Abortion: Genocide or a Woman's Right to Choose?"

Black women in Chicago are involved in leafletting and are seeking speaking engagements to build Black participation in the Nov. 20 demonstration. At the western states abortion action conference held in Berkeley, Calif., Oct. 15-16, the workshop of Asian, Latina and Black women decided to lead the West Coast march in San Francisco.

The Black Student Union at Mills College in Oakland, Calif., has endorsed the Task Force, as well as Warren Widener, mayor of Berkeley.

These developments show that the potential is there—that Black, Latina and Asian women will be in the streets on Nov. 20, and we urge all our sisters across the country to join us.

Debates, teach-ins on Boston campuses

By MATILDE ZIMMERMAN

BOSTON—There are literally dozens of campuses in the immediate Boston area, some of them with long traditions of involvement in the women's liberation and other movements, and others very new to organized political activity of any kind. According to Ginny Hildebrand of Boston Univer-

sity, "Women from nine different schools attended the founding meeting of the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC) in August. We all had very ambitious ideas about reaching every campus in the area with news about Nov. 20 and seeing organized groups working on the abortion campaign in as many schools as possible. Nothing since has made us more modest—if anything, the potential is greater than we had realized."

Much of the success in Boston has been due to the initiative taken by women at Boston University. Since BU opened before any other major college in the area, the first events there got the whole campaign off to an early start.

A BU Abortion Action Coalition was formed, largely by women from an established feminist group, BU Female Liberation. The new coalition projected a series of three activities on successive Wednesday nights in September. They were well publicized on other campuses and helped to inspire the formation of other campus groups.

The BU series consisted of: a teach-in on abortion Sept. 15, with speakers on the medical, legal, political and religious aspects of abortion; a debate on "Whose Life?" Sept. 22 between Dr. Barbara Roberts of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and Dr. Mildred Jefferson of the Value of Life Committee; and the "Abortion Waiting Room," a two-day, drop-in, multimedia presentation Sept. 29-30. The last event featured displays and posters made by women of the BU Abortion Action Coalition or borrowed from medical groups, two showings of films each day, and plenty of opportunity for new interested women to talk about the abortion repeal campaign and become involved in it.

About 1,000 women attended one or more of the BU events and women from 15 schools signed BOWAAC mailing lists.

A number of organizational forms have developed on other campuses. Some schools have, like BU, organized new groups specifically to work on the abortion campaign. Two examples are the Abortion Action Committee at the University of Massachusetts in Boston and the Harvard-Radcliffe Women's Abortion Action Committee.

At Boston College, a Catholic school, the organizers of a female studies course are the most active builders of the abortion campaign. There are about 45 women in the course, but an open

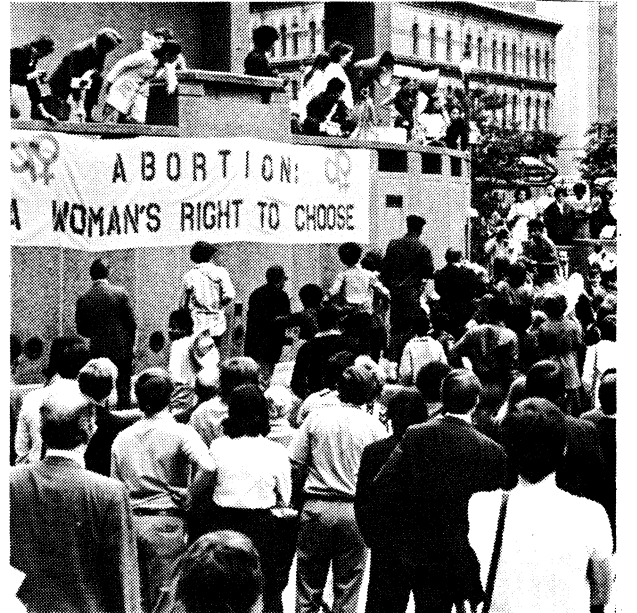


Photo by Gene Yzquierdo

Detroit abortion rally Aug. 31

class devoted to the abortion campaign drew about 100.

The situation is similar at Emmanuel, another Catholic college. There the women's studies course has one weekly section entitled "Birth Control and Abortion."

The Wellesley Abortion Action Committee is a subcommittee of the Women's Center at Wellesley. They work closely with the city-wide abortion coalition.

Campus coalitions have used many different types of events to educate about abortion and build Nov. 20. Almost every college group has sponsored a debate with a representative of an anti-abortion group such as the Value of Life Committee. The most lively was a four-way, all-female debate at Harvard, where two pro-repeal professors debated two physicians from the Value of Life Committee.

Other successful actions have included teach-ins, films and speak-outs. The general experience in Boston has been that two or three interested women can build a successful debate, and among those who attend they will find many more to help the work of further publicity, getting faculty support, fund raising, setting up literature tables, and selling bus tickets to Washington for Nov. 20.

Three campus groups have already been able to distribute to their entire faculties a letter requesting financial contributions and endorsements for the Nov. 20 demonstration. This has been a major source of funds for BOWAAC.

Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American women have also been more active in the abortion repeal campaign than in any previous feminist activity in the Boston area. A regional abortion conference Oct. 29-30 was sponsored by Umoja (the Black Student Union at Boston University), and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center, as well as BOWAAC.

About a third of the women at a large Northeastern University meeting on abortion were African-American.

The response on college and high school campuses so far indicates that a large Black contingent can be built for Nov. 20.

Enthusiasm for abortion campaign in high schools

By BRIDGET ROWAN

NEW YORK—"We're old enough to get pregnant but too young to get an abortion or birth-control information," was one high school woman's summation of the situation faced by "underage" women around the country. The situation is one in which hopelessly inadequate birth-control services compound the risk of an unwanted pregnancy that cannot be terminated by a safe, legal abortion.

An unwanted pregnancy, a tragedy for any woman, is doubly so for the high school woman, who is least likely to have the financial resources, the connections, and the parental support required for obtaining an abortion when a woman is "underage." The high school woman who is unable to obtain an abortion is either forced to drop out of school or exiled to one of the "pregnant" schools, far removed from the "uncorrupted" students.

Now, however, for the first time, high school women are organizing to change this degrading and oppressive situation. We are recognizing for the first time our basic right to have control over our own lives, our right to freedom of sexual activity and our right to birth-control information and abortion on request.

In early October, 45 high school women representing 16 New York City high schools formed a High School Abortion Coalition as an affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). At this first city-wide meeting we made the decision to concentrate our forces on building the Nov. 20 march on Washington, D. C., for the repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization and repeal of all contraception laws, as well as on distributing birth-control information in the high schools through literature, films and speakers.

Our success in organizing the maximum number of high school women to participate in the Nov. 20 demonstration as part of the high school contingent will have important ramifications for the success of our future work in the city.

To implement our decision to concentrate on building the high school contingent for Nov. 20, we set up three committees—transportation, publicity, and speakers. The transportation committee is coordinating the sale of bus tickets to Washington in high schools all over the city. This committee is organizing the sale of buttons and literature to raise money for subsidizing bus tickets—making a cheaper ticket available for high school women.

Women on the publicity committee have drawn up a special high school contingent leaflet, which is to be distributed on a massive scale to high school women. A chart listing every high school in the city has been put up on the wall of the WONAAC office so that we can keep a record of how many leaflets are being passed out at

each school and be sure that every high school knows about the Nov. 20 demonstration and the high school contingent.

The speaker's committee is planning to get speakers from WONAAC and Planned Parenthood into the schools to publicize Nov. 20 and give women thorough, accurate birth-control and abortion information. These speaking engagements are being set up for gym classes, hygiene classes, general school assemblies, or, in some cases, for after classes are over.

The progress we have made so far in building the high school contingent for Nov. 20 is encouraging, particularly considering the short time we have been organized. High school women are unequalled in the enthusiasm and optimism they bring to the fight for repeal of all antiabortion laws.

How men can support Nov. 20

The following statement was released by the national office of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) on Nov. 1.

In the course of building the Nov. 20 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco for repeal of abortion laws, many male supporters of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition have asked how they can help.

WONAAC is a coalition of women, and the abortion campaign is being run by women and for women because abortion is something which affects the lives of women the most. Just as it is a woman's right to choose whether or not she wants an abortion, women must make the basic decisions about how a campaign for the right to abortion should be carried out. At the same time, there is an important place for men who would like to help us build the campaign, and we welcome their support!

There are many things men can do. First and foremost, we hope that large numbers of men as well as women will be out marching on Nov. 20, so that we can have the greatest show of strength possible. In addition, men can help us build the demonstrations by distributing leaflets and by selling bus tickets and buttons.

Another important way men can help is by contributing money to the coalition. WONAAC has amassed a large debt as a result of our efforts to launch the abortion law repeal campaign and build the Nov. 20 demonstrations. Many of the women working on the campaign are already actively working to raise this money. But the need is still very great.

Male supporters can help not only by contributing money themselves, but also by helping us approach other people for money.

Contributions can be sent to: WONAAC, 917 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.



Photo by Ed Weaver

Texas abortion repeal march Jan. 30

Building for Nov. 20

Over 100 women from 13 states met in Washington, D. C., at George Washington University Oct. 30 for the national coordinating committee meeting of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Shirley Wheeler's conviction and sentencing for having an abortion has aroused much protest in local areas around the country. This sentiment has helped build the Nov. 20 demonstration and broadened support for the abortion-law repeal movement.

WONAAC has printed two new buttons for the Nov. 20 demonstration, including a Black Women's Task Force button. One is in black and white, with the slogan "Abortion is a woman's right to choose," and the Black Task Force button is in black, red and green, with the slogan "Repeal all antiabortion laws; no forced sterilization."

Leaflets, posters, brochures and buttons can be ordered from WONAAC, 917 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005. Phone: (202) 347-0946.

The Abortion Law Reform Association and the Women's Liberation Movement in New Zealand are organizing actions there on Nov. 20 in response to the international call for actions on Nov. 20 by WONAAC. A women's liberation group in Nottingham, England, is also sponsoring a demonstration on Nov. 20.

The Minneapolis-St. Paul affiliate of WONAAC held a very successful weekend of activities Oct. 29-31. Over 200 women attended a speak-out on abortion Friday, and on Sunday a cocktail party to raise money for the abortion repeal coalition was attended by Abigail Van Buren (Dear Abby).

Boston women held a regional conference the same weekend, which was attended by over 200 people. Attorney Florynce Kennedy was the keynote speaker on Friday evening.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, national project director of WONAAC, spoke to a group of 50 women at San Diego State College as part of her national tour, and is speaking in Los Angeles during Nov. 7-15.

One of the demands of the Nov. 20 demonstration is for no forced sterilization. Although everyone knows that forced sterilization is not uncommon, it is usually not done openly or officially. In a small town in Ohio called Zanesville, instances of forced sterilization have come to public attention.

Zanesville probate judge Holland M. Gray has ordered 12 female and two male sterilizations since 1962. As reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, "this was done to prevent them from having children whose IQ may be low and who may become public charges."

The judge and others are the object of a \$3-million suit by a woman who was sterilized at the age of 17 and is now suing, since she has turned 21. She was sterilized because she was supposedly a "problem child" and had an IQ of 57.

And in Virginia, according to the Oct. 31 Washington Post, a female doctor, Dr. Ann R. Karnitschnig has been arrested and will be brought to trial on Thursday, Oct. 28, for prescribing birth control pills to a 17-year-old woman without her parents' consent. This is a major issue that has been raised by WONAAC high school affiliates, which are demanding the right to have birth control information disseminated in the high schools.

The Clark University Abortion Action Committee conducted a referendum on abortion law repeal recently on the Clark campus.

The total number voting was 539, or 30 percent of the campus population, 262 female and 262 male, with 15 not indicating their sex.

The total in favor of abortion law repeal was 511, or 94.8 percent. Two hundred fifty-two women, or 96.3 percent, voted for, and 246 men, or 93.9 percent, voted for.

Who do Pay Board's 'public' members speak for?

By DICK ROBERTS

Phase Two of President Nixon's wage-freeze attack on American workers will supposedly be regulated by the 22 members of the Pay Board and the Price Commission Nixon established Oct. 22. Five of the 22 appointees are the so-called "public" members of the 15-member Pay Board.

These are the five officials who are supposed to make impartial judgments in Pay Board wage settlements, where it is assumed that the five labor representatives will vote one way and the five business representatives the other way.

It is an old trick. The cards are stacked against workers from the beginning by careful selection of "public" members whose sympathies to the ruling class are well known in the "right places." Nixon's choices are no exception to this rule.

The five are: George Boldt, a Tacoma, Wash., judge with a long record of contempt for civil liberties; William Caples, a corporate executive and college president with two decades of antilabor experience in the steel industry; Kermit Gordon and Dr. Neil Jacoby, two former members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; and Arnold Weber, a top official of the Nixon administration who headed the wage-freeze Cost of Living Council in Phase One.

Here are some facts about these five men whose votes will influence the wages and livelihood of all American workers.

Judge Boldt

Boldt is the chairman of the Pay Board. A U.S. district court judge, he undoubtedly won recognition from the White House for his vicious rulings in the "Seattle Seven" case last winter. Boldt was also the man who ordered the arrest of Leslie Bacon in order to force her to testify in the "Capitol Bombing" case.

The Tacoma judge first made the headlines during the antilabor drive of the late 1950s when he sentenced former Teamsters President Dave Beck to five years in prison on a tax-evasion charge.

In the "Seattle Seven" case, Boldt attempted to get the antiwar activist defendants into prison without a trial. The government's case had fallen apart when an FBI agent declared in court he would go to any lengths, including lying, to see the defendants convicted.

Boldt's ruse was to declare a mistrial a few days later when the court had resumed but while the defendants were still outside. When the defendants returned and protested, Boldt convicted them of contempt, handed down six-month and one-year sentences and held them at \$25,000 bail. All of these decisions were later overruled in higher courts.

Boldt's order for the Washington, D.C., arrest of Leslie Bacon to make her testify in a Seattle trial was also ruled illegal in a higher court, after Bacon had been jailed for seven weeks.

William Caples

This college president is also presently a director of the First Knox National Bank of Mount Vernon, Ohio, has served as general attorney for Continental Casualty Co., vice-president of National Casualty, manager of industrial relations and vice-president of Inland Steel Co., president and director of Inland Steel Container Co., and director of Inland Steel Products Co. Caples is also a vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers, the powerful antiunion organization, and chairman of the committee of industrial relations of the American Iron and Steel Institute.

All of these are the credentials of an opponent of labor; it is only necessary to recall the history of the steel industry in the postwar period (Caples served Inland from 1946 to 1968): the steel bosses drove back steelworkers' wage demands, destroyed their protection of working conditions and stripped their cost-of-living clause to the bone.

As college president, Caples did Mitchell and Agnew a favor in the Nixon administration's campaign to intimidate students. Caples was one of the nine college presidents in July 1969 who urged administrators to refuse to negotiate with student protesters and to reject requests for amnesty in civil and criminal cases.

'Economic advisers'

Neil Jacoby and Kermit Gordon both served on the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Jacoby under Eisenhower, 1953-55, and Gordon under Kennedy, 1961-62. Gordon also served as director of the Bureau of the Budget from 1962 to 1965.

The careers of these two men illustrate how the posts of "economic advisers" at the top levels of government administration are closely interwoven with private business, with the semi-governmental agencies that review and help determine capitalist policy, and with university faculties.

On the private business level, Jacoby is presently a director of the Occidental Petroleum Corp., and he has served as a director of First Western Bank and Trust and Gibraltar Financial Corp. Gordon is presently a director of the General Reinsurance Corp. and North Star Reinsurance Corp.

Jacoby, as dean of the University of California graduate

school of business administration for 20 years, lists himself in *Who's Who in America* as an educator.

Jacoby "advised" Eisenhower into the post-Korean-War recession of 1953-54 and served as U.S. representative to the UN Economic and Social Council, where he defended the high levels of U.S. military spending—in 1957, 60 percent of the budget—to international critics. In 1967, he turned out a study praising U.S. aid to Taiwan.

Kermit Gordon is an influential expert on imperialist foreign and domestic policy and a professor at Williams College. A graduate of Swarthmore College, a Rhodes Scholar and graduate of University College, Oxford, and a graduate of Harvard, Gordon was one of the promot-



ers of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations' "wage-price guideline" attack on workers.

Gordon is former vice-president and now president of the prestigious Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., which, as one of the oldest capitalist "thinktanks," helps manufacture government policy. He serves on the Council of Foreign Relations and the Committee of Economic Development.

Gordon worked for the Office of Price Administration during World War II. In 1961 he told the *New York Times*, "anybody who endured that ordeal came out of it, I think, with a deep-seated aversion to expansion of direct control over prices. . . ."

Controlling wages seems to be a different matter.

Arnold Weber

Weber mainly achieved recognition in the inner circles of the Nixon administration itself.

In 1963, he completed a study about retraining workers. This project concerned 650 workers laid off at an Armour Plant in Ft. Worth, Texas. Of these 650, 117 took the retraining course; 91 found jobs. In an article heralding the study, the *New York Times* nevertheless pointed out, "But their base pay [of the workers who found jobs] had averaged \$2.43 [at Armour]; it was \$1.61 in the new job."

Such projects brought Weber into the Nixon administration in 1969 as an assistant secretary of labor and director of the "Concentrated Employment Program." This fraudulent "job-training" program was described by the *New York Times*: It "contains no provision for participation of the poor, it would not guarantee jobs for those trained, it makes no attempt to deal with racial discrimination and, as one critic said, it would only feebly attempt to face the problem of rising unemployment."

Weber was promoted to the post of associate director of the Office of Management and Budget, July 2, 1970. Six months later, in January 1971, Nixon picked Weber to head up the much-publicized task force to meld seven cabinet departments dealing with the domestic economy into four superagencies.

Then, four days after the Aug. 15 announcement of the "New Economic Policy," the president made Weber the second-in-command, under Secretary of the Treasury Connally, to head up the entire Cost of Living staff.

The man who chiefly organized Nixon's wage freeze during Phase One will hardly be sympathetic to workers' wage demands in Phase Two. The entire five-man "public" section of the Pay Board is stacked against labor from the outset.

Illegal price increases mount despite 'freeze'

By JON BRITTON

When the "price freeze" was first announced Aug. 15, the government declared that elaborate enforcement machinery would not be necessary because consumer pressure and voluntary cooperation of business would be sufficient to assure compliance. "The burden of enforcement of the freeze, according to IRS [Internal Revenue Service] officials . . . falls on individual consumers," wrote *New York Times* reporter Grace Lichtenstein Sept. 3.

As for business cooperation, Treasury Secretary John Connally stated at a news conference Aug. 16, ". . . it's inconceivable to me that a major American corporation would attempt to violate the wage and price freeze."

Recent disclosures show, however, that illegal price increases have been widespread and that the administration is making it as difficult as possible for consumers to find out about them.

Recent revelations include the following:

- Prices of daily staples such as meat, bread, margarine, canned goods and milk rose in the New York metropolitan area during the week ending Oct. 31, according to a *New York Times* survey. The price of milk, for example, was found to have risen more than 6 percent in one area. The *Times* was unable to report how many of these increases were illegal since most of the retailers surveyed did not have lists of ceiling prices with which to make comparisons.

- Paul W. McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, announced Oct. 22 that women's and girls' apparel, footwear, frozen orange juice, several cuts of beef, margarine and salad oil were among items whose price rises, disclosed by September's Consumer Price Index figures, would be investigated by the IRS for violations of the freeze.

- A *New York Times* investigation, the results of which were released Oct. 25, showed that retailers in New York City, including major supermarket chains, illegally increased the prices of seven out of 27 meat cuts, ranging from pork shoulder to porterhouse steak.

- An official of New York City, Milton Musicus, accused oil companies of illegally raising the price of fuel oil. The increase, he said, "could cost the city \$1-million this winter and landlords, building operators and householders millions more," according to the Oct. 21 *New York Times*. On Oct. 1, oil producers set a price on No. 6 fuel oil, used to heat most of the city's apartments and homes, that was 7.6 percent above the price a year ago. They say the increase is justified because the sulfur content in the oil has been lowered to conform with the city's Air Pollution Code. The Internal Revenue Service says it is investigating.

- A large apartment complex in New York City illegally increased the security on new leases as a way of getting around the freeze on rents. The increases were ordered rescinded by the IRS after receiving some 40 complaints from tenants.

The dishonesty of the administration's claim that it is depending on consumers to enforce the "price freeze" was underscored Oct. 27 when the government suspended altogether, for an indefinite period, the requirement of Nixon's stabilization order that a list of ceiling prices be available for inspection by consumers at each place

of sale. A previous order by the Cost of Living Council, issued after it had become apparent that businesses were largely ignoring this requirement, had stipulated that these lists be made available to customers no later than Nov. 1. Shoppers lacking access to such lists have absolutely no way of knowing whether stores have illegally raised prices.

In dropping this requirement, an action which itself directly conflicts with Nixon's order, the Cost of Living Council left standing another, virtually unpublicized, option that had been allowed retailers: providing customers, on written request, the ceiling price of an item by mail within 48 hours. To obtain this information, the customer must fill out a "ceiling price information request form" for each item, describing the item, the price paid, the "style number," the store department, and the buyer's name and address.

Aside from the discouraging red tape involved in getting price information by mail, it's highly questionable whether the stores will comply with this requirement any more seriously than they did with the other one.

The lack of enforcement of the "price freeze" stands in stark contrast to the extremely effective enforcement of the wage freeze. The reason is simple: the employers are the wage-freeze enforcers. They issue the pay checks, and it is clearly in their interest to see that wages don't go up.

Inflation is endemic to a modern capitalist economy. That's why it is crucial, if living standards are to be maintained, that guarantees are won for automatic increases in wages, social security benefits and welfare payments linked to the rising cost of living. Nixon proclaimed the "price freeze" not with the serious intention of actually freezing prices but to create the appearance that prices were going to be held down, thereby hoping to fool working people into going along with the real freeze, the freeze on their wages.

An effective response by the labor movement to this attack on workers' living standards requires among other things that Nixon's "price freeze" fraud be thoroughly exposed. The "watch-dog units" recently proposed by the AFL-CIO could play an important role in this regard.

These units could be organized to monitor the general price level as well as to check prices of individual retailers to see if they are within legal limits. Since the price ceilings specified in Nixon's stabilization order are based on the prices charged in the 30 days prior to Aug. 15, the watch-dog units would also have to have complete access to business records to insure that the price ceilings claimed by each retailer are valid.

Even President Nixon's stabilization order recognizes that access to business records is required for price freeze enforcement. It states in Section 5 that the Cost of Living Council "may require the maintenance of appropriate records or other evidence which are necessary in carrying out the provision of this order, and may require any person to maintain and produce for examination such records. . . ."

Needless to say, the Cost of Living Council has not utilized this power to check compliance with the price freeze. But the AFL-CIO watch-dog units, if they have the same access to business records, could do so very effectively.

Meany's fond memory of War Labor Board

The October 1971 issue of *The American Federationist*, the publication of George Meany's AFL-CIO Executive Council, contains an "interview" with Meany by an unnamed "reporter." The article, entitled "The War Labor Board: A Plan that Worked," is of particular interest because of what it reveals about the mentality and plans of those supposedly representing labor on President Nixon's Pay Board.

Meany reiterates that he would be satisfied with a wage-control commission modeled after the War Labor Board (WLB) of the Second World War. He explains that the WLB was formed in 1941 after a two-and-a-half-day meeting between union representatives and management where the labor bureaucrats agreed that they would try to prevent strikes.

"All the decisions made in the WLB were participated in by labor and by management and the general public. At no time, during all those years, was there any disagreement once a decision was made."

Meany's rosy presentation of the war-time strike ban and wage freeze is a clear indication of his intentions. Lee Smith summarized the reality of these WLB anti-labor policies in *The Militant*, Sept. 17. A more detailed history can be found in *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014. \$7.50).

In July 1942 the WLB imposed a settlement on steel workers known as the "Little Steel Formula." This "formula" reduced wage increases to a fraction of what the steel workers demanded, and it was later used to drive back the wage demands of workers in other industries. The WLB used the Little Steel Formula to deny Ford workers asking for a dollar-a-day raise any increase at all.

In the *Federationist* interview Meany admits, "Now, we came up with the Little Steel Formula and that placed a limit on wages and that was the War Labor Board recognizing the danger of inflation. Of course, labor was opposed to that, but we lost."

Win a few, lose a few. Especially when "the public" represents the pub-

lic of the bosses. In these two sentences Meany accepts without argument the number-one myth used by the capitalists in their wage-freeze attack: wage raises cause, rather than follow, inflation. What did workers get in return for being denied pay increases? Says Meany, "pension and welfare plans were not inflationary and could be negotiated."

Meany's "reporter" then asks Meany: "Were there potential penalties if somebody didn't go along?" You might think this question referred to penalties on the capitalists for not going along with the alleged price freeze. No, the question is about penalties for workers who did not go along with the no-strike pledge.

"The only penalty they [the international unions] had, as far as unions were concerned," replies Meany, "was the union constitution. . . . For instance, we never had a case where we really had to deal with an Iron Workers local because, if they went on strike, or even talked about going on strike, Patty Morrin, the president of the Iron Workers, just picked their charter up and by the time we [the WLB] got into it, there wouldn't be any more union there."

Meany complains, "We can't do this any more under Landrum-Griffin. It has really tied our hands." Here Meany is tipping his hat to the capitalists again. There have been increasing complaints in ruling-class circles about the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act because it provides a framework whereby unionists are allowed to vote on—and reject—agreements reached by the bureaucrats and the bosses. There are moves afoot for new laws requiring rank-and-file unionists to accept the contracts reached at the top.

In fact, workers in World War II did not sit by and accept the dictates of the government and the WLB. Once they clearly recognized that the WLB was foe, not friend, things began to change. Beginning with the coal miners' strike in 1943, workers refused to abide by the strike ban and they ultimately smashed the Little Steel Formula.

International Socialist Review, Young Socialist Alliance, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley announce a fall series of:

Socialist Education Conferences November 26-28

Topics covered include:

- * THE MEANING OF NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE
- * SOCIALIST STRATEGY IN THE 1972 ELECTIONS
- * CURRENT ISSUES IN THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT
- * BLACK NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM
- * THE STRUGGLE FOR CHICANO LIBERATION
- * HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U.S.

For further information, contact the nearest regional office of the YSA, listed on p. 30. (In some areas the conferences will be held on a weekend other than Nov. 26-28.)

In Our Opinion

Labor and '72

On Aug. 15, the Nixon administration launched the most serious attack on the living standards of the American working class in more than a quarter of a century. The 90-day wage freeze, followed by the creation of a special Pay Board whose function is to drive down real wages in the coming months, signified a political turning point in this country. The main impact of that change has yet to be realized.

The major domestic targets of Nixon's economic policies are the giant, powerful industrial unions, whose contracts for wage increases must now be approved in advance by the Pay Board—which was created with full bipartisan support and even proposed by the very individuals who are supposed to represent the interests of labor on it.

This board is now considering several key questions: 1) whether to "allow" payment of wage increases already won by 5.8 million workers; 2) whether to "permit" retroactive payment of millions of dollars of wages withheld during the 90-day freeze; 3) whether they can get away with establishing a 5 to 6 percent guideline for wage increases as suggested by Nixon. The answers to all three of these questions will depend first and foremost on what decisions they think they can force the American workers to accept. The ruling class will take back as much as it can, as fast as it can.

If the Pay Board decides to reject payment of deferred wages and already negotiated increases, it will mean that the government has in effect ripped up contracts, many of them won after long strike struggles. The American workers are not only up against their immediate employers, but are confronting the entire apparatus of the capitalist government every time they demand a penny more.

What can the labor movement do?

One thing is certain. Workers cannot rely on the five labor members of the Pay Board to protect their interests. Even though Meany, Woodcock, and the others say they will withdraw from the board if the deferred wage increases are not granted, the fact that they agreed to serve on the board in the first place shows that they agree in principle with the creation of a board controlled lock, stock and barrel by the bosses. They believe that wages must be limited if inflation is to be stopped—even though everyone who works for a living knows wage increases are won only after inflationary price rises have drastically eroded buying power.

Nor can any faith be placed in the Democratic "friends of labor" in Washington. They were the ones who first passed the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 providing the legislative basis for the freeze. The Democrats' main disagreement with Nixon was that he should have frozen wages sooner!

There is only one force on which the American workers can rely: their own power, their own ability to mobilize mass independent struggles against the employers and the government. Paul Schrade, the United Auto Workers West Coast director, has stated that "If Nixon and the Pay Board's program is to prevent working men from getting what they are owed, there should be a general strike and a new labor party."

Several unions, including the Illinois AFL-CIO and the King County Labor Council (Seattle, Wash.), have recommended that the AFL-CIO call a 24-hour general strike to demonstrate the united power of the labor movement against Nixon's freeze. This would be a political action that could inspire the confidence of the working class and serve notice on the administration that American workers will fight to prevent their standard of living from being driven down.

To chart a program of united action against Nixon's direct attack on the working class, an emergency congress of labor should be convened, with representatives democratically selected by the rank-and-file of every union in the country. Such a gathering should adopt a program to fight inflationary price increases by demanding automatic cost-of-living wage increases equal to every rise in living costs.

Such steps by the labor movement would be incompatible with continued support to the Democratic Party. It would be increasingly clear to ever larger numbers that rather than elect opponents of labor to political office, the unions should break with the two parties of the big industrialists and bankers and establish their own political party, responsible to the labor movement.

The 1972 elections will offer the first opportunity for labor to use the electoral arena nationwide to respond to Nixon's attack. Unfortunately, there is presently neither a labor party nor even any independent labor candidate to whom workers can turn. But there is a campaign which represents that perspective. The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are campaigning in support of independent political action by labor, and those who agree with this perspective should join in and help build the 1972 SWP election campaign.

Letters

Proud to be in YSA

I have just joined the Young Socialist Alliance. I am proud to be a member of an organization which is fighting for socialist democracy in the U. S. A. I hope many of your readers will follow in my footsteps.

Tom LoBello
Bronx, N. Y.

Prospective Communist

Could you do a fellow revolutionary a favor? I know that you are socialists, and would probably like to get most leftists in the Socialist Workers Party, but could you help me get in contact with the Communist Party, U. S. A.? If you could find out the address of either the central CPUSA office or a cell somewhere near Durham (which is near Raleigh), I'd really appreciate it.

I hope it's not too much of a bother, and if you can't find out the address, or if you don't care to help a prospective Socialist become a Communist, you don't have to. Anyway, we're all fighting for the same cause, so whether I become a member of the CP or the SWP isn't as important as helping the working class achieve its final victory over the vicious forces of capitalism.

By the way, I hope you are successful in your drive to get new *Militant* subscriptions. I would sell it myself, but there are already so many people from UNC [University of North Carolina] and NCCU [North Carolina Central University] selling them, I don't think I'd be of much help.

I like *The Militant*, especially the reporting you've done on the atrocities at Attica Prison. But I do wish you'd spend less talk on trivialities (not that Attica was a triviality; it's just that it is not the main issue with which Marxists are concerned) and concentrate on the important thing: the proletarian revolution in America. You do report on the labor movement, but not really in a socialist sense. If you could have a few more articles on how and why we should emancipate the working class, it would give your paper a lot more meaning.

A. P.
Durham, N. C.

In reply—The address of the national office of the Communist Party is: 23 West 26th St., New York, N. Y. 10010.

McGovern at UCLA

McGovern was here at UCLA on Oct. 15. Nearly 3,000 (an estimate) turned out to hear him speak. He got a pretty good response, especially to his end-the-war promises and promises of amnesty for war objectors.

Unfortunately, he "couldn't" answer more than five questions afterwards, so I couldn't call him out on his refusal to debate Linda Jenness.

Anyway, keep up the good writing. Enclosed is \$1 for an introductory subscription to be sent to a prisoner in the U. S. jails. Your choice.

M. M.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Rings true

The article in the Oct. 8 issue of *The Militant* on "Marx, McLuhan, McGovern and Gus Hall" certainly rings true. It's always a pleasure to see the Communist Party and other reformists harried in this manner.

E. B.
New York, N. Y.

Gay people's rights

I have asked Mr. George Mendenhall, *Vector* editor, to send you complimentary copies of his publication, and told him I would ask you to send him *The Militant*. [*Vector* is a gay monthly published by the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) in San Francisco.]

Your current series on the Stalinist trends in revolutionary Cuba are appreciated and objective.

I have also sent Mr. Mendenhall the article on Mr. Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston, who is outspoken in his support for the rights of gay people.

T. H.
San Francisco, Calif.

Women's liberation

I believe in women's liberation. The reason I am writing is because I am going to do a report on women's liberation. I have a friend who wrote to you for some information, so that's where I found out where to write to.

D. D.
Monrovia, Calif.

Note—Anyone interested in literature on women's liberation can write for a free listing of inexpensive pamphlets on this subject (which is printed on the back of a women's liberation poster) to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

"Attica Mylai Two"

Peace and Right On! Convey our greetings to Sister Angela and Mrs. Georgia Jackson.

Tricky Dicky Nix is on the political bandwagon and he gives lip service to the National League of Families about bringing their P. O. W. relatives home. We wrote to him to the effect that we, the "Attica Mylai Two" survivors, would gladly be exchanged to a man for the Lt. Brooks and/or any other prisoner. No response! Attack-General Mitchell says that Russian Jews can come over here—fine, we will take their place in any non-imperialist country in a fair exchange!

Rocky says that he will spend \$200-million to confine us in a "maxi-maxi" concentration camp: the land of the free, white, rich oppressors!

Contact anyone whom you consider to be concerned about this situation, including the various embassies, and use them of our plight. Peace and Power!
Herbert X. Blyden,
Minister of Information,
The Attica Liberation Faction

Like gold

I am a prisoner in the state of Michigan (K. K. K.) prison, and would like very much to receive your highly informative paper.

Your paper is a big thing here at Jackson Prison. The brothers look upon your paper as if it was gold.

Your paper is a highly informative one, and I really do enjoy reading it, for you really do tell it like it is, and that's what we need more of. I'm not just saying this because I want to be added to your mailing list at no charge, but because it is true.

Also, can and will you ask your readers to write to me and I will answer all letters.

Charles E. X (Thompson)
#111686
Jackson Prison, 4000 Cooper St.
Jackson, Mich. 49201

The Great Society

The Who

The following letter is in response to a review of The Who's album *Who's Next* in the Oct. 1 issue of *The Militant*.

Right on, brothers and sisters—you said it like it is.

Of course The Who are going to tell people to be apathetic, after all look at their socioeconomic status. Let's say The Who give 15 concerts next year and the tickets are \$5 each. Now with a 1,000-person audience, that makes \$5,000 per concert. Multiply by 15 for a total of \$75,000. Sounds like a pretty good chunk of coin to me.

As for their charge that today's leaders of the revolutionary struggle will sell out their followers, The Who said more than they intended. Remember the songs "My Generation" and the young man from "Who Live at Leeds"? They helped make Townshend a culture hero for "his generation." Now he reverses himself by encouraging apathy and submission. How much more a self-indictment is needed to realize that Townshend is telling us of his own moral cop-out?

For the American Servicemen's Union at the Presidio,
Jim

San Francisco, Calif.

McCabe and Mrs. Miller

Just a comment to Steve Beck on his review of *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* in the Oct. 1 *Militant*. I agree—as far as you go—with your views on *McCabe*, but with some of your references to past westerns—hogwash.

I do not think that you have seen some of the classic westerns that have been made by Hollywood, especially from 1939 to 1963. If so you could not have said what you did.

I refer you to: *My Darling Clementine*, *Red River*, *Winchester 73*, *Rio Bravo*, *The Searchers*, *Sergeant Rutledge*, *The Big Sky*, *Fort Apache*, *Seven Men From Now*, *Wagonmaster*, *They Died with Their Boots on*, *Three Godfathers*, *The Lusty Men*, and so on.

Because of the almost built-in success of this genre, some of the world's greatest film artists (Ford, Hawks, Mann) were able to have their greatest freedom to express their vision. A vision which I believe is one that revolutionaries can look to. But my views on this are not unique. They mainly flow from the work of Andrew Sarris and his book *The American Cinema*.

D. S.

Chicago, Ill.

Less editorializing

I am among those of your subscribers who would be delighted if you began to give us more political and party news reporting and less editorializing.

Please accept my criticism in good faith. I do enjoy *The Militant* very much. It's a publication like yours that keeps some of us in Texas going in the midst of the "silent Texas majority."

J. M.

Denton, Texas

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.

Jugheads in high places—Patricia Murphy of Philadelphia charges that "the IRS is male chauvinist." The revenooers rejected her application to renew her license to make 200 gallons of home-consumption, tax-free wine. She said the application was rejected on the ground that the exemption is limited to heads of families and the IRS can only see her husband in that role. The IRS responds that Murphy said on her application that she wasn't the family head. Maybe she should write back that their teen-age kid is.

Want God in right place sexwise—CEASE (Citizens Enraged at Sex Education), a Lyndhurst, N.J., group, perceives a nationwide plot to teach young people the "mechanics" (?) of sex. They are particularly uptight about the introduction of sex education at a local Catholic school. "All this comes from much higher than the local authorities," a CEASE representative advised. "The only difference is that the Catholics sprinkle God's name in their discussions—and not always in the right place."

Spiritual enrichment dep't—A suggestion that the Vatican sell its art works to help feed the hungry was vigor-

ously assailed at the World Synod of Bishops by Joseph Cardinal Slipyj. "To sell art works and ecclesiastical treasures would be to help fill stomachs while depriving the spirit of its nourishment," the good father declared. Besides, he added, "the poor are sometimes prone to prodigality. It happens that some poor people seek charity, but smoke good tobacco and drink good brandy." They must think they're bishops.

Bankruptcy sale?—A Los Angeles bookstore is featuring bibles at a 50 percent discount.

It would be un-American—A New York reader advises of a rumor that the Nixon administration may freeze the bribes of New York's Finest, which, according to a current informer, run as high as \$1,500 a month per cop. If true, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Ass'n and other concerned groups should challenge on the grounds that a cop's take is neither wages, nor prices, but pure profit—which everyone knows must remain unrestricted if we are all to enjoy the benefits of our free-enterprise system.

He even attended their funerals—"Absurd," responded New York Police

Commissioner Patrick Murphy to the informer's assertion that every single cop on gambling squads was taking bribes. The commissioner said, "I know for a fact" that there are members of the squad who are not taking bribes.

From the Automat?—Los Angeles industrialist Norton Simon bought a painting for \$775,000 in a New York gallery auction. He did his bidding by phone from a restaurant where he was eating. In our neighborhood they used to call them big-time operators.

Note to esthetes—Recently we reported the availability of a toilet-paper holder with a built-in radio. If you're planning on installing one, be sure to also consider the currently available shaped toilet seat lid that functions as a contour back.

Thought for the week—"Should we vainly play the game of democracy and freedom which will lead us to complete defeat or should we curtail anarchic freedom in order to achieve victory?"—Cambodian Prime Minister Lon Nol explaining why he suspended the national assembly.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

RESERVE LABOR FORCE—A reader from Minneapolis sent in an item that appeared on the editorial page of the *Minneapolis Tribune* Oct. 23. Taken from an article by Harvey Cox printed in *Christianity and Crisis*, it illustrates the changing consciousness in this country concerning the "role" of women. The article reads in part: "The very recent dogma that a woman should be a 'full-time wife and mother,' a strange notion indeed, may spring from the shrinking labor-supply needs of late capitalism and high technology.

"Women constitute the reserve labor force. The mindless TV housewife, idiotically agog over whiter washes and crisper pie crusts, can be transmuted into Rosey the Riveter with a flick of the corporate wrist. And then she can be shipped back to the ironing board and doesn't even sully the unemployment statistics. Or at least this was the way it worked until recently.

"Now the flesh-splitting contradictions of this replaceable coolie's role have begun to stoke the rage of women. They now know that the job of full-time diaper-changer and pot-scraper is a shill. They will no longer be shoved on and off the assembly line like colored beads on a playpen. Once again, as Marx predicted, the very lineaments of the capitalist system have spawned their inevitable contradictions."

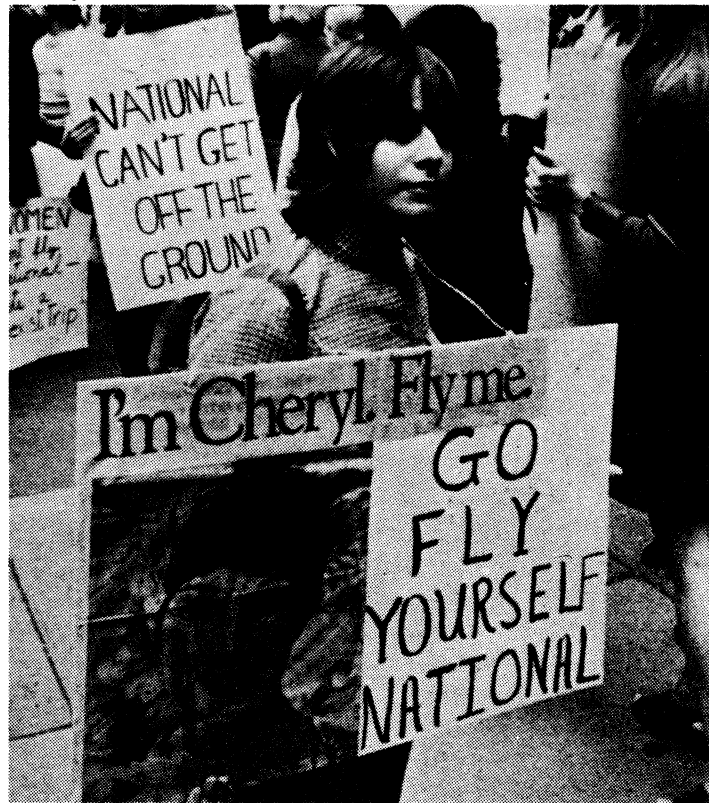
WOMEN IN CHINA—The November *McCall's* carried articles by two American women who recently visited China, Simone Attwood and Jean Garavente. Garavente says that the gains for Chinese women since the 1949 revolution have been "enormous" and "dramatic." A woman gets 56 days of paid maternity leave, and then can leave her child in a child-care center where she works. Birth-control pills and abortions are available free, but not to unmarried women.

Garavente also writes that "Men don't ogle women in the streets," and that women "dress for convenience rather than to attract men."

On the other hand, Garavente reports that the University of Peking, which was closed down during the "Cultural Revolution," has reopened with only one-third of the students female. Attwood says that no fiction whatsoever and no poetry other than Mao's is published in China.

A SWIMMER AND A FIGHTER—Diane Freed, who is faster than some of the men on the New York City College swim team, has appealed to the CCNY Student Senate to back her in a fight for the right of qualified women to be on the school swimming team. Her request for support and legal aid will come up at the next meeting of the school's Policy Council. Diane Freed told the Oct. 25 *New York Post*: "I want the backing of my school. I want that body to confront the Eastern Collegiate Athletic Conference with their outlandishly discriminatory rule and end the separation of the sexes in this activity.

"There should be a swimming team that's open to the best swimmers. Their eligibility should be based on their ability in the water, not on their sex."



FLY ME—I'm sure many women have felt outraged at the "Fly me" ads for National Airlines, which really take the cake for sexist advertising. We're glad to report that women from the New York National Organization for Women (above) organized a picket line at National's Manhattan ticket office. They told executives from the airline's advertising agency that the ads were degrading to women.

CHAUVINIST QUOTE OF THE WEEK—The following is from a statement by Bishop C. Kilmer Myers to the annual convention of his Episcopal diocese in San Francisco. He was trying to explain why women should not be ordained as priests.

"The sexuality of Christ was no accident, nor is his masculinity incidental. This is the divine choice. Jesus continued that choice in the selection of men to be his apostles. . . .

"God is represented in masculine imagery. The Father begat the Son. To tamper with this imagery is to change the faith into something else. . . . The male image about God pertains to the divine initiative in creation. Initiative is a male rather than a female attribute."

—CAROLINE LUND

The antiwar movement and the 1972 elections



Photo by Mark Satinoff

The only consistent antiwar policy is one of building mass movement independent of rulers. "Now is not the time for pulling back or subordinating the antiwar movement to the Democratic Party." Above, April 24, 1971, demonstration in Washington, D. C.

By LEW JONES

With the culmination of the fall antiwar offensive in the Nov. 6 regional mass demonstrations, the antiwar movement's attention will turn toward preparation for the next phase of activity. Discussion of plans for the coming months and decisions about what to do next will take place at a convention of the antiwar movement Dec. 3-5 in Washington, D. C.

In a large sense, the discussion has already begun. Many commentators in the mass media and the radical press have remarked on the "decline" of the antiwar movement. Some, like Rennie Davis, a leader of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), feel that "there is no motion in this country for Vietnam." The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, basing itself on assumptions like Davis', has decided to forego antiwar actions in favor of a year-long campaign to "Evict Nixon" by participating in primaries and calling for a demonstration at the Republican Party national convention next summer.

These are important issues for the antiwar movement to confront, discuss, and decide upon. An assessment of the real strengths and weaknesses of the antiwar movement, and of the relationship between the antiwar movement and the 1972 presidential elections, is involved.

Far from the war becoming less of an issue in American political life, it is becoming more of an issue, simply because more people than ever before oppose the war at a time when the government remains intent on its aim to win a military victory. Consequently, the antiwar movement has the potential for significant growth and massive activity. What is called for is a large-scale, united campaign to build the movement toward the next round of mass actions in the spring. Now is not the time for pulling back or subordinating the movement to electioneering for the Democratic Party.

Illusions and disillusionment

In charting out a course for an election year, it is important to remember the origins of the antiwar movement. The first massive outpourings against the war occurred when President Johnson, who had just been elected as the peace candidate, drastically escalated the war in early 1965. Many people, discovering for the first time that they had been lied to and manipulated by the government and the Democratic Party, took to the streets to demand an end to the war.

Over the last six years a similar pattern has reoccurred numerous times. Administrations representing both the Democratic and Republican parties have put forward peace plans, "secret" peace plans, and "peace candidates" only to have the fraud of those plans exposed. The real plan of both the Democratic and Republican parties has been and is to win a military victory in Vietnam. As each lie has been exposed and as the effects of the war have become more apparent, the opposition to the war has grown and the antiwar movement has been able to mobilize in action increasingly significant sectors of the population.

This process, of course, has not been a simple one of each demonstration being bigger than the previous. There have been ups and downs in the readiness of those who oppose the war to demonstrate in the streets. This has been especially true in election years, when many have believed, for a time, that a particular candidate or a new government would make a decisive difference. Following each election, when the war continues as before, public tolerance breaks down and new upsurges in antiwar activity occur. This was the case, for example, in the 1968 elections when Nixon said he had a "secret plan" to end the war. When his plan turned out to be the same as all of Johnson's plans, large-scale actions occurred in the fall of 1969.

Undoubtedly a similar process will occur during the 1972 elections, although the timing and scope of it remain to be seen. But even if willingness to march ebbs, it will not signal the end of the antiwar movement.

The antiwar movement, regardless of ups and downs, has become established as a real power in the political life of the United States. It has organized the largest political demonstrations in the history of this country. It has transformed American political life and forced the government to make major concessions. It has prevented the rulers from conducting the war as they wish. The strength of the antiwar movement and the source of its victories has been its understanding of the need to mobilize the greatest numbers of people in action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties in order to force the government to stop the war.

President Nixon has spent a great deal of effort trying to undercut the antiwar sentiment and

disarm the antiwar movement. There are those, as we mentioned before, who feel he has succeeded and the antiwar movement is "moribund" at this time.

Not dead

Regardless of the size of the Nov. 6 demonstrations, that view of the antiwar movement is incorrect and pessimistic. There are several key reasons why.

First. Antiwar sentiment has reached such proportions that one force that could actually end the war, the organized labor movement, is for the first time beginning to become involved on a significant scale. Both the April 24 and Nov. 6 actions have made big advances in trade-union support and participation. A great deal more, of course, is needed, including the actual mobilization of the ranks of the labor movement. But with the Nixon administration's attempt to make the workers pay for the war by freezing their wages and driving down their living standards, there is every reason to believe that the antiwar movement can expect increasing labor participation.

Second. The widespread antiwar sentiment is reflected in another way also. Those who rule the country are not united over the war policies. There are deep divisions among them and they are becoming deeper, not disappearing. One indication of this is the number of national, state and local government officials and bodies that have endorsed the Nov. 6 action. Nov. 6 is officially "Peace Action Day" in at least four cities: Seattle, Minneapolis, Atlanta, and New York. Another indication is the burgeoning number of Democratic Party hopefuls trying to gain the reputation for being the most dovish. The divisions among the rulers reflect the widespread mass antiwar sentiment and in turn help deepen that sentiment.

Third. The main reason, however, for rejecting the "moribund antiwar movement" theory is the war itself. Nixon, while claiming to "wind down" the war, has in reality kept the war raging. And it will only be a matter of time until once again masses of people realize they have been lied to.

Nixon and the government have no intention of ending the war and withdrawing the troops. Their policy remains that of winning the war by militarily defeating the National Liberation Front. For that purpose there are still close to 200,000 GIs in Vietnam and the Saigon army has been greatly expanded. For that purpose, the bombing of North Vietnam has been resumed and the war has been escalated into Laos and Cambodia. Under Nixon's regime, 96,000 tons of bombs are dropped every month in Southeast Asia, compared to Johnson's average of 60,000 per month. In its first two-and-one-half years, the Nixon administration dropped over 2.7 million tons of bombs on Indochina, more than fell during World War II (2,057,244) and the Korean War (635,000) combined.

No, Nixon is not "winding down" the war. He is pursuing it with great vigor. If this fact is not widely known in the American population, it is certainly suspected, and the suspicion is growing.

To the extent the antiwar movement remains in the streets mobilized around the "Out Now" demand, which Nixon cannot maneuver around, greater numbers of Americans can and will be brought into action.

Election-year strategy

If this assessment is accurate, then what is required is the broadest possible unity around a program of action building toward spring demonstrations that seek to involve all who are opposed to the war.

The PCPJ "Evict Nixon Election-Year Strategy," however, goes in a different direction. Their claim that "Another mobilization in Washington . . . is not what is needed now," combined with concentrating their activity on preventing Nixon from being reelected, means only one thing. PCPJ is putting together a program that subordinates the opportunities for building the independent antiwar movement to the needs of the Democratic Party. Electioneering for yet another dove is the direction they are moving in. Rennie Davis made this explicit by saying he will "vote Democratic" in 1972.

The entire history of the war and the antiwar movement indicates the futility of this approach. Every single one of the Democratic Party doves, from Eugene McCarthy to Vance Hartke and George McGovern, have demonstrated their unwillingness to take the steps necessary to end the war. Time and again, for instance, they have voted for the war appropriations and draft laws necessary to continue the war.

The Communist Party, Rennie Davis, and PCPJ

are, of course, entitled to choose any course of action and support any candidate they wish. All the antiwar movement asks of them is that they not seek to impose their reformist electoral goals onto the antiwar movement and seek to take the movement off the streets.

The Socialist Workers Party, which is running Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president, feels that an independent struggle in the electoral arena is needed, as well as the independent struggle of the antiwar movement. But the Socialist Workers candidates do not demand that the entire antiwar movement endorse their full program because they recognize that it would significantly reduce the size of the antiwar movement. On the contrary, the Socialist Workers candidates will be campaigning to build the broadest possible antiwar actions.

To that end, the SWP supports the initiative taken by the National Peace Action Coalition national coordinators in seeking to achieve a single national antiwar coalition and a unified antiwar convention in December. In an open letter to PCPJ (see Nov. 5 *Militant*) the NPAC coordinators suggest that PCPJ should "independently carry out campaigns on all issues with which they are concerned." But they also propose the two coalitions unite to build independent mass antiwar actions. As the letter states, "The building of an even more powerful antiwar force is imperative to bring [the war] to a halt. A unified movement will spur our common efforts to end the war."

Differences exist in the antiwar movement over the 1972 presidential elections. The NPAC proposal, however, provides a vehicle for building the independent antiwar movement without asking the movement to settle those differences. While revolutionary socialists feel that the only electoral activity consistent with the antiwar movement is one independent of the rulers, we urge those who plan to support Democrats or Republicans to fully support NPAC's call for united antiwar activity as well.

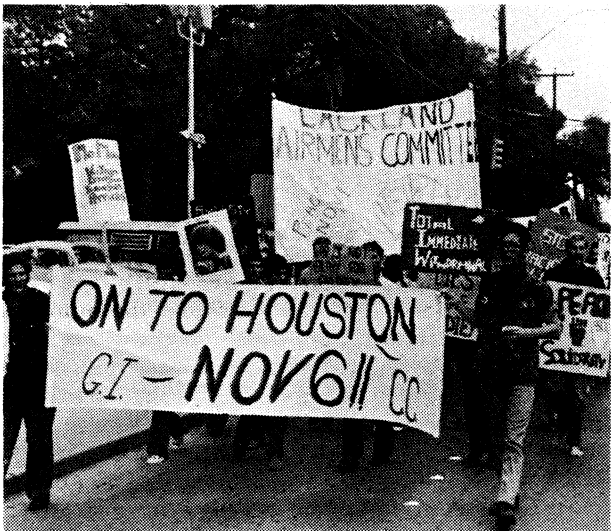


Photo by Howard Petrick

Antiwar GIs demonstrate in San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 25.

Union support for antiwar movement grows

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 30—With one week left before the Nov. 6 regional mass antiwar actions, Rachel Towne, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition's Trade Union Task Force, said the number of Nov. 6 endorsements from union officers, locals and official bodies was close to 300 "and they are still coming in every day."

In an interview here yesterday, Towne and Derrel Myers, NPAC Trade Union Task Force coordinator for New York, said that labor support for the Nov. 6 antiwar actions marked a new stage in the relationship between the antiwar movement and the unions.

The endorsements this time are broader and more numerous than ever before, according to Towne. "Many of the unions endorsing this fall's

antiwar actions have never previously endorsed an action," she said. The endorsements represent a "real cross-section" of the labor movement, including many AFL-CIO unions with no recent record of radical political stands.

Both Towne and Myers said they believed there would be "hundreds more" endorsements from unions had NPAC been able to contact them. A big factor in the heightened receptivity of union officials to antiwar action, Towne said, has been the wage freeze. "The freeze has been the sharpest expression so far of the war-aggravated economic crisis that has been putting a squeeze on working people for years," she said.

Myers agreed, and added that the continued mass mobilizations of the antiwar movement had produced a shift in the attitude of most workers toward mass demonstrations. "There is no more looking at a demonstration as something kooky," Myers said. "Mass actions are just looked at as a regular part of the American scene."

The two labor task force coordinators said that when they made initial phone calls to set up appointments to talk to union officers, the response was consistently friendly. "If you tell the secretary you're calling from NPAC, the group that organized April 24, you usually get right through or you get called back right away," Myers said. "Most officials at the local level are willing to talk," he said, "and there is no hostility." He said the worst that happens when a union is asked for an endorsement "is that they might say no—and that's happening less and less often." The attitude that antiwar activists working on labor support should have, Myers asserted, "is to assume that every single union local in your area will endorse. It's just a question of being able to talk to as many as you can."

Among the nearly 300 endorsers, in addition to the locals and local officers, are regional and district officers, about a dozen metropolitan central labor union councils and the Colorado State AFL-CIO. Just last week, the central labor councils in Santa Clara, Contra Costa, and San Mateo, Calif., endorsed the San Francisco action.

In at least half a dozen of the 17 scheduled actions Nov. 6, Towne said, the labor contingents will include unions marching under their own banners. Some unions have done direct mailings to their entire membership, others have put out their own union leaflets for the actions, and others have set up committees to actually mobilize the rank and file to turn out.

Myers described the meeting at which Minnesota PAC Trade Union Task Force Director Bill Peterson secured the endorsement of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the city's central labor body. "An amendment to change the demand from Out Now! to Set-the-Date got just two votes," Myers said, "and the final vote on the main motion was 125 for endorsing to one against."

Towne said that a UAW committeeman from a GM assembly plant in New Jersey had passed out Nov. 6 buttons, leaflets and posters in the plant. "The attitude of a whole layer of leadership in the unions, especially at the local level, is changing very fast," Towne said.

"Another important aspect of these endorsements," Towne said, "is that they be used on leaflets distributed at factory gates, shopping centers and union meetings." While some unions are taking steps to mobilize their membership for the Nov. 6 action, she said, "at this point getting the endorsements is still just the first—and easiest—step. Then we have to take them and publicize them in an effort to get workers out on the marches."



Photo by John Ratliff

New York Mayor John Lindsay declared Nov. 6 Peace Action Day in New York Nov. 1. With him at City Hall are Jerry Gordon of NPAC and a representative of the Manhattan borough president's office.

Nov. 6 count-down

November 6 is officially Peace Action Day in seven of the 17 cities holding demonstrations. The mayors and city councils in Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, San Francisco and Seattle have declared Peace Action Day in these cities, and the Minneapolis City Council took similar action in spite of the mayor's attempt to veto it there.

Nine senators and 21 representatives had endorsed Nov. 6 as of the end of October. The most recent endorsement came from Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.) Oct. 29. The other senators endorsing are Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), Mike Gravel (D-Alaska), Fred Harris (D-Okla.), Philip Hart (D-Mich.), Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.), Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), and John V. Tunney (D-Calif.).

Thirty-one of the 55 students in the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas sent a statement to the *Daily Texan* Oct. 28 calling for an immediate end to the war and urging people to join the Nov. 3 student strike and the Nov. 6 actions in major cities.

A few of the most recent Nov. 6 endorsements from organized labor are the Columbia Region of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Washington and Oregon; the Northern California Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO; the American Federation of Government Employees Local 476 in Washington, D.C.; Shirley Davis, district vice-president of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees in New Haven, Conn.; and the Minnesota United Auto Workers.

In Denver, two broadcasts by organized labor, one on TV and the other on radio, will build Nov. 6 in the week before the action. An AFL-CIO TV show called "Labor's Language" will be an interview of Peace Action Coalition Trade Union Task Force representatives Skip Ball and Susan Blanchard by Herick Roth. And Roth will interview Jim Lauderdale of PAC on the radio show "Voice of Labor."

The Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition, with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, secured a permit for the Nov. 6 rally that will take place on Eakins Plaza in front of the Art Museum. A previously granted permit for the Museum steps had been suddenly and arbitrarily revoked Oct. 22.

At a membership meeting attended by 200 teachers, the Portland, Ore., Federation of Teachers Local 111 passed a motion Oct. 27 endorsing the Nov. 6 Seattle action. The meeting also passed a motion calling on AFL-CIO President George Meany to organize a one-day general strike against Phase Two of the wage freeze, but the latter motion was referred to the executive committee after discussion was reopened.

Three hundred civilians joined 100 GIs from Ft. Huachuca and Davis Monthan Air Force Base in an Oct. 25 antiwar action in Tucson, Ariz. GIs spoke at a rally that followed a march, and distributed their antiwar paper, *Where Are We*.

Among the many events besides the student strike leading up to the Nov. 6 action in New York during the final week are several showings of a film by the NPAC Dominican Task Force. The film, "Fuera Yanqui," is about the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. A sound truck caravan organized by the Puerto Rican Contingent will drive through Spanish-speaking neighborhoods Nov. 5, featuring Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI).

Thousands of marshals for the New York Nov. 6 action are to be trained in two-hour sessions at the Washington Square Methodist Church from noon to 7:30 p.m. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday before the action.



Black Caucus in U.S. House of Representatives

Black Democrats debate '72 strategy

By DERRICK MORRISON

A great deal of attention has already been focused on the question of a Black political strategy for 1972. The 13 members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Black mayors like Carl Stokes, political activists such as Rev. Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket in Chicago, and Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of the Committee for a Unified Newark and Congress of African People, and state legislators like Julian Bond—all have been involved in meetings and discussions to map out a purported plan.

The nationally prominent Black Democrats feel a considerable amount of wind was put into their sails with last year's election of four new Blacks to the House of Representatives, the election of 114 of the 300 Blacks who sought office in the South, and the mayoral victory of Kenneth Gibson in Newark.

These electoral victories are a reflection of the deepening nationalist sentiment in the Black community. The masses, growing tired of voting white and not getting anything in return, are beginning to vote Black, for candidates whom they feel are going to be accountable to them.

But will the growth in the number of Black officeholders enable the Black community to acquire some political power? The Black Democrats say yes. And their strategy is to work through the Democratic Party in trying to achieve this end.

Some of them work as individuals. Others organize into predominantly Black groups or factions within the Democratic Party. This is the case with Carl and Louis Stokes' 21st Congressional District Caucus in Cleveland, John Cashin's National Democratic Party of Alabama, and Charles Evers' Loyalist Democrats in Mississippi.

The strategy of these figures for 1972, as it emerged at a meeting in Northlake, Ill., on the weekend of Sept. 25, was to field a Black presidential candidate in the primaries in order to organize a Black caucus at the Democratic Party national convention in the summer of 1972.

According to Julian Bond, Georgia legislator, they hope through such a move, and a reform in party convention procedures, to elect 600 Black delegates committed to none of the white aspirants for the presidential nomination. This ambitious plan is operational only in those states where the delegations are elected in the primaries on a district-wide rather than statewide basis.

In the latter case, the state winner of the presidential primary would have the commitment of all of that state's delegates. Whereas in the former, some of the delegates would be

committed to let's say Senator George McGovern, some to Senator Edmund Muskie, and, if the plan worked out, the delegates out of heavily Black districts would be committed to the Black candidate for president. This candidate might be a Black favorite son or daughter running in the state. Or, if the Black Democrats should decide to unite behind Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), who has already indicated she wants to run for president, then the Black delegates would be committed to her.

Even the election of a substantial number of Black delegates—Bond hopes for doubling the 1968 total of 5.5 percent—is heavily dependent on reform of party procedures. This was the hotly contested issue when leading Black Democrats came out in the middle of October and urged their national committee to reject the candidacy of Patricia Harris for temporary chairwoman of the credentials committee for the 1972 convention.

Harris, an African-American who was formerly the U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg and sat as an alternate delegate for the U.S. in the United Nations, and now sits on the boards of directors of IBM and the Scott Paper Company, was backed by the old-line, anti-reform forces of the Democratic Party. She has strong ties to the party's hierarchy, which explains how she defeated Senator Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, the candidate supported by the reformers and most of the Black Democrats.

Thus, her election places a question mark over the potential success of Bond's strategy. Moreover, Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Miss., and a national committee member, broke ranks and supported Harris.

Despite this setback and their differences of opinion, Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.) boldly exclaimed, "They [the Democratic Party] are either going to give us what we are entitled to, or we are going to deny them what they want from us—our votes," reported the Oct. 26 *Wall Street Journal*. This view—or bluff—has both its opponents and proponents in the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.), of a more conservative cut, reasoned, according to the *Journal*, "Running a Black candidate and just raising hell at the convention risks irritating other groups we need to join within the party. . . . Our first job is to defeat Mr. Nixon even if we don't elect an ideal candidate."

In addition, it is widely acknowledged that Chisholm in announcing her intention to run for president, did not consult with the CBC, leaving some of the members very rankled.

These statements and actions demonstrate the Black Democrats are

Continued on page 30

Votes in Congress reflect deep divisions over Vietnam war

By DICK ROBERTS

Recent debates and votes in the U.S. Congress reflect the major divergent forces in American politics concerning the war in Southeast Asia. On one side is the administration's increasingly apparent policy of permanent war: strengthening the Thieu regime in Saigon, escalating the conflict in Cambodia and Laos, and extending the massive U.S. bombing throughout the entire arena of war in Indochina.

On the other side is the increasing mass opposition to the war in this country and the increasing awareness that Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy is a cover for indefinite U.S. war. The votes in Congress give the lie to any conception that antiwar sentiment is decreasing in this country.

They reflect deepening divisions in the U.S. ruling class about Nixon's war policies and the American voters' deepening hatred for the war.

A pivotal point in Congressional war legislation is the "Mansfield amendment." As described in *The Militant* Oct. 15, this amendment has no force of law and could not in any way bind the White House. It simply places Congress on record as favoring U.S. military withdrawal from Southeast Asia within six months of enactment of the amendment, provided U.S. prisoners of war are released by Hanoi.

Spineless though it is, the amendment has been forcefully opposed by the administration, which has succeeded in preventing it from passing the House or from emerging from any House-Senate conference. (Most recently, the Mansfield amendment was tacked onto the foreign aid bill Oct. 29 by a Senate vote of 45-36. The defeat of the foreign aid bill the following day blocked Senate passage of the amendment.)

The ever-higher number of votes in the House and Senate for the Mansfield amendment, despite immense White House pressure, is a barometer of the anxiety in Congress about mass opposition to the war and Nixon's escalation plans.

On Oct. 19, the administration succeeded in blocking the Mansfield amendment in the House by a vote of 215-192. But this compared to a vote of 219-176 on the same amendment last June. "The relative narrowness of the margin by House standards represented a high-water mark for critics of the Vietnam war in their repeated efforts over the last two years to get a direct vote on the war issue," John W. Finney reported in the *New York Times* Oct. 20.

Other legislation concretely reflects Nixon's plans to escalate the war. In two succeeding Senate votes on the funding of the war in Laos and Cambodia, Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) made concessions to the administration allowing for increasing Pentagon funds going to these nations.

On Oct. 28, the Senate voted 52-35 to raise the ceiling on U.S. spending in Cambodia to \$341-million, the amount requested by the administration. This does not include funding of U.S. air warfare.

Washington announced Oct. 28 that it is ordering "a new force of light armed aircraft to better equip [South Vietnam] to take over the job of attacking supplies and troops moving down the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos,"

according to *New York Times* correspondent William Beecher.

"Planners suggest that even after Saigon has taken over responsibility for the campaign, the United States will probably continue to maintain fighter-bombers both in Thailand and on aircraft carriers off the Vietnamese coast to deter Hanoi either from attempting an invasion in strength or from employing its aircraft against targets in South Vietnam," Beecher stated.

"The initial test [of the new bombers], by American crews, will take place at Elgin Air Force Base in Florida. In the spring the tests will be conducted over the Ho Chi Minh Trail itself. . . . Both American and Vietnamese pilots will participate in the combat tests."

The lucrative bomber contract was awarded to Fairchild Industries of Germantown, Md.

An unsigned *Times* dispatch from Saigon Oct. 25 described Pentagon worries about the failure of the Saigon army to press the CIA's counter-guerrilla "pacification" program.

"The Phoenix Program, conceived by the CIA in 1967," the dispatch stated, "was turned over to the South Vietnamese in principle the following year. Americans have since pushed the program, providing advisers and funds as a primary means of seeking out the Vietcong."

"Under the Phoenix operating plan, each province receives a quota of Vietcong to be 'neutralized' each month, which can mean arresting a man, taking him into the Open Arms program, which accepts defectors, or killing him. . . .

"Last August, in an attempt to bolster the program, the United States and the South Vietnamese government decided to begin experimental cash rewards in four provinces, paying up to the equivalent of \$11,000 for certain key leaders. It is doubtful the rewards are effective."

This dispatch also noted that the costs of U.S. funding of this program from 1968 to 1971 amounted to a whopping \$732-million. (For the sake of comparison, the entire annual budget associated with operating the U.S. Congress, the federal judicial system and all of the major government regulatory agencies is roughly \$500-million.) "Current contributions [to the Phoenix Program] have not been disclosed," the *New York Times* dispatch stated.

On Oct. 31 the Nixon administration made an open show of support to the Thieu regime it holds in office by sending U.S. Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally to Thieu's second-term oath-taking ceremony.

The ritual took place "with thousands of troops and police patrolling Saigon and its outskirts," the *Times* stated. "Police searched roofs and apartments overlooking the inaugural stand in the heart of the city. . . . And American 'firefly' helicopters equipped with searchlights flew over the surrounding areas in search of enemy gunners who might be intent on spoiling what Mr. Thieu regards as the high point of his political life. . . .

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YSA national convention in Houston Dec. 28-Jan. 1

By FRANK BOEHM

Preparations for the Eleventh Young Socialist National Convention, to be held in Houston, Texas, are well underway. The first young socialist convention ever held in the South will begin Tuesday, Dec. 28, and continue through Jan. 1, 1972. All indications are that this national gathering of young revolutionaries will be the largest in more than 25 years.

A press conference in Houston on Oct. 21 announced that the contract for the spacious 2,800-seat Houston Civic Center Music Hall had been signed after having been approved by the YSA National Executive Committee and the Houston City Council.

At the press conference, Jeannette Tracy, Houston convention coordinator, revealed the ambitious campaign that the YSA was launching to mobilize young people to attend the Houston convention. She described the projected convention-building activities that would reach virtually every major campus and many high schools in the South and Southwest. In late November, Mirta Vidal, the national Chicano work director of the YSA, will conclude a nationwide tour with a special convention-building blitz tour throughout Texas. At the same time, Norman Oliver, the national organization secretary and national Black work director of the YSA, will be concluding a convention-building tour that will have taken him through the Mid-Atlantic and Southern states.

Tracy also described the special efforts that would be made by the statewide Texas YSA to bring hundreds of activists from their region to the convention. Arrangements have been made for Olga Rodriguez, a well-known Los Angeles Chicana activist, to travel through parts of New Mexico and Texas speaking at colleges and high schools during the final month prior to the convention.

Four teams of Houston regional travelers will fan out through the states of Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma in December. Ted Stacey, Texas regional traveler, had already left Houston at the time of the press conference to help prepare for the upcoming tours.

Finally, Tracy reported on her tour, which was scheduled to begin shortly after the press conference. She will be working with young socialists throughout eastern Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Mississippi, and western Tennessee to help them organize contingents from those areas to attend the convention. While on her tour, she will also be addressing gatherings on dozens of campuses and will be talking to campus radio stations and newspapers.

Young socialists in other parts of the country have also begun building the convention. Many areas have reserved buses, and in some of the places farthest away from Houston, other forms of transportation such as planes and trains are being checked into. Thousands of convention posters and over 200,000 printed leaflets are being circulated throughout the country. Plans are also being made by revolutionary socialists from many countries around the world to send representatives and delegations to the convention.

Among those attending the Houston Young Socialist convention will be Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Both will have just concluded the first leg of their campaign by the time of the convention. Special efforts are being made by the candidates and by supporters of the campaign to urge young people to attend the convention. A full evening of the convention will be

set aside for a socialist campaign rally, with both Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley as featured speakers. This will be the first time a massive socialist campaign rally has ever been held in Texas, and it promises to be one of the most exciting events of the five-day convention.

The late December gathering will be the culmination of a period of intense fall activity not only for young socialists but for other activists involved in the movements for social change. Even before the fall began, the capitalist government launched a major assault upon the American working class through the imposition of the wage freeze, signaling an intensification of the class struggle. Soon after that the rebellion at Attica broke out. And only a few days later, the country was shocked by the bloody massacre of the rebel prisoners. Hundreds of teach-ins were spontaneously organized on campuses across the country in protest. Tens of thousands expressed their outrage at the slaughter.

In the midst of these events, the fall antiwar offensive was being organized and built. Plans for the Nov. 20 abortion demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco were well underway as well.

Young Socialists have been deeply involved in all these aspects of the fall offensive. At the Young Socialist national convention, these activists will evaluate the progress of the mass struggles directed against different forms of capitalist oppression, assess the fall actions, and discuss how best

to build the next stage of these movements. One of the major reports at the convention will deal with the developments in the war and the fight against it. Hundreds of antiwar activists will attend the convention and participate in the discussion of this crucial question.

The history of U.S. aggression in Vietnam has decisively proven to many young people that the interests and actions of the government run counter to those of the American people. Others have come to recognize this through their struggles as Blacks and Chicanos for self-determination, and still others through their struggles as women and their fight for the legalization of abortion, through their fight for student rights, gay liberation, and as young workers. These are the young socialists who will attend the Houston convention and discuss how best to advance the fight against capitalism and build the revolutionary movement.

Anyone who would like packets of material to help build the convention in their area and organize a contingent, or who would like information on transportation, housing and other convention arrangements, can write or call:

• YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; (212) 989-7570.

• Young Socialist Convention Center, 6409 Lyons Avenue, Houston, Texas 77020.

• Or contact the Young Socialists nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 30.

Campus workers on strike in Phila.

By ROSE OGDEN

PHILADELPHIA—On Oct. 18, the International Brotherhood of University Employees, a predominantly Black union at Temple University, went on strike to demand a 38-cent-an-hour wage increase, a paid pension plan, clearly defined job classifications, and a one-year contract instead of the two-year agreement the university insists on. Under the present contract, women workers make about \$60 a week while men average \$90.

In an interview with Jean Savage, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, IBUE Vice-President Willie Reeves stated the strike was being supported by members of Local 835 of the International Union of Operating Engineers, AFL-CIO, who have been honoring the picket lines even though a clause in their contract makes it illegal for the union as a whole to officially go out on a sympathy strike.

At the beginning of the strike, a meeting of all campus groups was called to organize support for the striking workers' demands. Groups supporting the strike include the Young Socialist Alliance, the student government, the Black Student League, the Revolutionary Union, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Workers Liberation League, Temple Women's Liberation, Student Mobilization Committee, Federation of Puerto Rican Students, the Labor Committee and the Workers League.

Activities planned include a regularly published newsletter, rallies and demonstrations, and staffing the picket lines on a 24-hour basis to discourage deliveries and trash removal. The strike has activated hundreds of students who have never before participated in political activity. Trash and garbage has accumulated on the campus, the school and dorm cafeterias have no food, and many buildings have been closed because of rats.

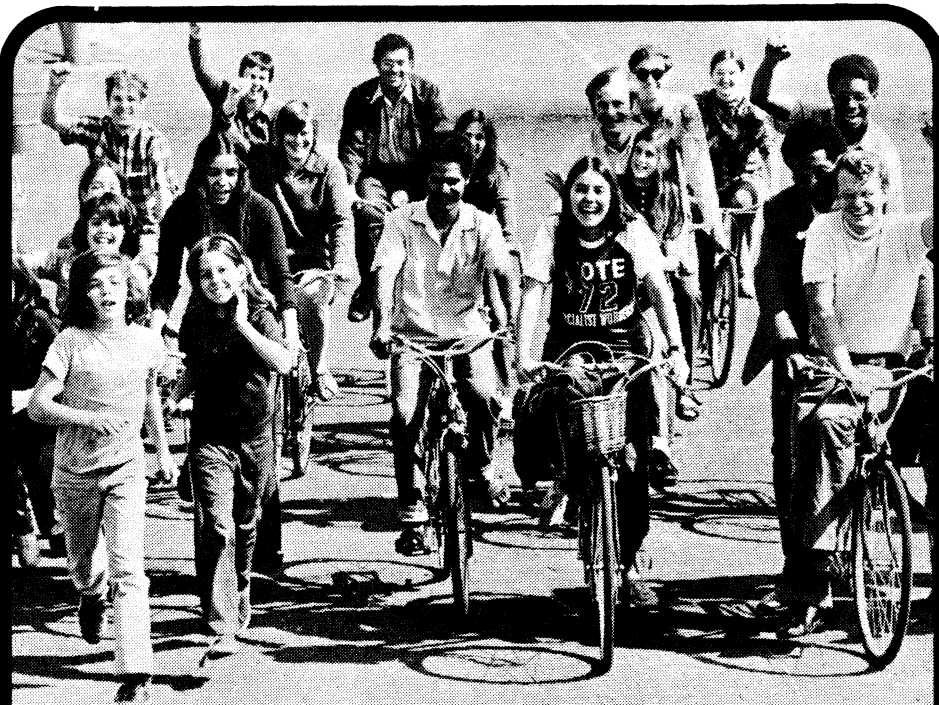
The university's response to the situation was to request an injunction against Local 835 and an injunction placing limits on both the IBUE and student pickets. Attempts have been made by the university to move food into the cafeteria by substituting supervisors for Teamsters who have consistently refused to cross the picket lines.

The strike supporters responded to this attack by increasing the number of pickets at key dorm entrances. On Oct. 28, 100 Black resident students blocked the gate where the administration, supported by campus and city police, attempted to move the trucks onto the campus. No action was taken by the police.

When another attempt was made the following day to deliver food to the dorms, over 300 students gathered to prevent delivery. The administration was prepared with 200 city police and 18 students were arrested. It is not yet clear what they are being charged with.

The administration arranged for dorm students to stay in hotel rooms for the duration of the strike, but fewer than 50 have agreed to move.

Although the administration has threatened to close down the campus, morale is high and students are insisting the university meet the demands of the strikers rather than close the campus.



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Special Militant Feature



Socialist Workers Party 1972 Campaign off and running



Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate (top). Below, Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate, with Travis High School students in Austin, Texas.

By DAVID THORSTAD

To promise to run the biggest socialist election campaign since Eugene V. Debs sounds ambitious enough. But Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, went even further when she told the Aug. 12 campaign kick-off rally in Cleveland: "Our campaign is the campaign that will change American politics."

Recently, I asked the national campaign staff in New York just how they thought the campaign would change American politics. It was logical to ask them, since much of the work necessary to carry out such a task will fall on them.

"The capitalist candidates are not going to be able to ignore the issues we are raising," replied Laura Miller, at 19 the youngest of the eight full-time people on the staff. "Big-scale socialist campaigns are just going to be a fact of life in American politics from here on out."

Though young, this is not her first presidential campaign. She worked actively for Eugene McCarthy in Chicago during the 1968 campaign. "We're very optimistic," she said. "We're going to make a big impact."

"You see, the Democrats and Republicans have this game they play," added campaign manager Larry Seigle. "They pretend that the real choice is between Nixon and Humphrey, or between Johnson and Goldwater. But that's not the real choice. There are only two choices for American youth: They can support the capitalist candidates, or they can support Jenness and Pulley."

"That's why it's so important for us to run a big campaign."

Already, less than three months after it was launched and more than a year before the election, it is big. The presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, have so far campaigned in 17 states. Before the campaign is over, they will have been to all 50 states. Many of their appearances are being arranged by the close to 30 campaign offices that have been set up throughout the country.

Pulley has already made one of the several international fact-finding tours that are planned. In September he discussed the nationalist struggle in Ireland with revolutionaries there before going on to investigate conditions among Black GIs in Germany.

The candidates are not the only ones to speak for the campaign, however. A National Campaign Committee exists consisting of 10 people who not only serve as "resource people" in different areas but who are available to speak for the campaign anywhere in the country. They include Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, 1968 SWP vice-presidential candidate Paul Boutelle, Chicana activist Olga Rodriguez, and Marxist scholar George Novack.

Two members of the staff, Cindy Jaquith and John Hawkins, both national coordinators of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP), are touring the West and the Northeast until the end of the year in an effort to form hundreds of YSJP chapters on U.S. campuses and high schools. New ones are being formed at the rate of five per week, I learned. The goal is to obtain 5,000 endorsers of the socialist campaign by the time of the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance at the end of December.

Student referenda

One of the projects of the YSJPs will be to confront any capitalist candidate who tries to get support on campus. Another will be to initiate referenda on the campuses and in high schools. "What we want to see is a referendum on every campus this fall and spring to find out what students think about the candidates running and the issues," Laura Miller explained. The YSJP, besides challeng-

Photo by Howard Petrick

ing the campus groups supporting other candidates, such as Youth for McGovern, to debate, will collaborate with them on such referenda because "we all have a common interest in seeing how our candidates are doing."

In one such referendum, held at the College of Wooster in Ohio on Oct. 18, Linda Jenness received 5.4 percent of the vote and came in seventh out of 10 presidential candidates on the ballot. Seigle was impressed with this showing because no campaigning for Jenness had yet been done on the campus. "We were very surprised because we didn't even have a YSJP chapter there and hadn't distributed any literature."

It wasn't because they hadn't published any literature. More than half a million pieces of campaign literature have already been sent out to supporters. And in addition to leaflets and brochures, and special campaign supplements to *The Militant*, other literature will be published. This includes "truth kit" pamphlets on each of the other major candidates, a newsletter called the "YSJP Campaigner," and a regular four-page reprint of newspaper clippings on the campaign from across the country, "The Socialist Campaign in the News."

Moving all the campaign literature is not easy work. "One of the things I've noticed working on the staff is that you have to have muscles," quipped Judy Uhl. In addition to the literature, 50,000 campaign buttons have also been produced.

Judy Uhl is a former student at New York University and a former Peace Corps volunteer. Her main duty on the staff requires a lot of patience. She is in charge of coordinating all the work of getting the SWP candidates on the ballot throughout the country. She spent the entire summer reading up on every state's election laws.

She said the SWP plans to file for ballot status in more than 30 states during the 1972 campaign. This compares with 19 states in 1968, 11 in 1964, and 12 in 1960.

I observed that this must require hard work and long hours. "But I



Photo by Brian Shannon

1,200 supporters participated in launching of SWP campaign in Cleveland, Aug. 12, 1971.

love it," she said. "Working for something you believe in is very satisfying. And working for this campaign in particular, when you see the response you get."

She said she had not even heard of the SWP election campaign in 1968, but that if she had she would certainly have supported it. "I think it's the same with other young people today," she added.

Seigle, drawing attention to the significance of the suits that the campaign will be filing against discriminatory election laws, and in order to gain access to prisons, jails, and military bases, pointed out that "This campaign will extend democratic rights for everybody—in the prisons, in the high schools, and on the campuses." One such suit has already been filed against Chicago Mayor Richard Daley for preventing Linda Jenness from speaking in the city's Civic Center.

Extensive press coverage

Steve Beren, who is in charge of press relations for the campaign,

showed me the campaign "scrapbook," containing page after page of newspaper articles on the candidates from every corner of the country. He estimates that from newspaper coverage alone, more than 10 million people have already learned about the campaign.

The press coverage is "much more sympathetic" than in the past, Janice Lynn, another staffer, told me. She keeps up with the inquiries that pour into the office by mail. Many of these, she said, are from people who have received campaign brochures from the four *Militant* subscription teams that are traveling across the country. Many subscriptions each week arrive in the SWP campaign office from people who clip the coupon on the brochures. "In essence, those teams are campaign teams," Lynn added, "just spreading the word about the campaign."

The kind of response the campaign is generating is fantastic. She told of a student at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pa., for instance, who, after hearing Linda Jenness was running for president, called up to ask for 10,000 of each of the three brochures the campaign has published so far.

Laura Miller said one of the main things the SWP campaign hoped to accomplish was to help build mass movements for social change. That's why the candidates are publicizing and supporting the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations and the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. "Our candidates are the only candidates campaigning on issues," she insisted. "They are the only ones who ask their supporters to work to build these mass movements."

Were they perhaps overly optimistic, I asked, pointing out that the *New York Times* had just printed a front-page article suggesting that students were not really interested in politics this year. "That's the article they write every fall," Seigle shot back. "They write it because they hope it will come

true. And it is true for the Democratic and Republican candidates. But not for us. Besides, there are more socialists now than there have been in many years."

Not only are there more socialists, he added, but one of their most effective weapons is one that only they have—the truth. He said Linda Jenness had summed up the need for the other candidates to lie this way: "If the Democratic and Republican parties were really honest, they would call themselves 'capitalist imperialist party No. 1' and 'capitalist imperialist party No. 2.'" "We're telling the truth," he added. "That's why our campaign is so attractive. Even if people don't agree with everything we're saying, they know we're telling the truth."

To get out the truth as widely as possible, he said the campaign needs to establish a "network of contributors." He emphasized that even small contributions of \$5 or \$10 were important, and that there was no danger of getting too much. "Don't worry, we'll spend as much as we can raise."

Support mounts for socialist slate

By JANICE LYNN

For the past five weeks, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley have been stumping the country seeking support for their campaign on the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential ticket. At the same time, Cindy Jaquith and John Hawkins, the two national coordinators of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, have been meeting with young campaign supporters throughout the country, organizing high school and college groups of campaign activists.

The enthusiasm, excitement and dynamism of the campaign tours so far is a good indication of the degree to which many people are getting fed up with the phony politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, and of the growing receptivity to socialist ideas and activities. With exactly 12 months to go in the campaign, the goal of running the biggest socialist election campaign since the time of Eugene V. Debs seems realistic.

The SWP candidates are running activist campaigns, aggressively taking their program onto military bases, into the prisons, high schools, migrant labor camps, and other areas ignored by their Democratic and Republican counterparts. They are speaking at rallies and demonstrations, before community organizations, and at street rallies. They will be taking their views to workers at plants and union meetings. And they are speaking on college campuses throughout the country.

Jenness has been touring the Midwest, appearing on numerous radio and TV programs, and receiving excellent press coverage, which has already reached millions of Americans.

Pulley has been campaigning in the South and Southwest, where he has been enthusiastically greeted by Black and Chicano high school and college students, as well as GIs and ex-GIs who had heard of his GI organizing when he was at Ft. Jackson, S.C. in 1969. Part of Pulley's tour of the South included a visit to Ft. Jackson, where he talked to many GIs before being surrounded by the Military Police and escorted off base in clear violation of the constitutional right of GIs to hear political candidates.

The candidates' most recent activities make it clear that the campaign is rapidly moving into high gear. On Oct. 26 Jenness spoke to a meeting at Cleveland State University and then to 300 high school students at two assemblies at Shaker Heights High School. That evening she spoke to an enthusiastic meeting of 165 students at Edinboro State College in Pennsylvania. After the meeting, 35 people signed up to endorse the SWP campaign and to actively work as Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on their campus.

Jenness opened the Michigan leg of her tour with a news conference Oct. 28 at the Detroit Press Club. Attended by over 20 reporters, it was one of her most successful news conferences since the campaign began in August. Appearing with Jenness were Maceo Dixon, a Black Detroit activist who announced his candidacy for U.S. representative from Michigan's First Congressional District on the SWP ticket; and Linda Nordquist, a feminist active in the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition, who an-

nounced her candidacy for U.S. Senate, also on the SWP ticket. Dixon will be running against Democratic Congressman John Conyers.

Later that afternoon, Jenness spoke to 100 students at Wayne State University in Detroit. Present at the meeting were John Zupan, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1497 on the Wayne State campus, who has endorsed the SWP campaign, and several members of the Wayne State Students for McGovern. Senator McGovern, an aspirant to the Democratic presidential nomination, had appeared in Detroit several days before Jenness. Having heard about his refusal to debate Jenness at the University of Wisconsin Oct. 2, the Students for McGovern at Wayne approached McGovern to see if they could arrange such a debate. McGovern, however, refused to answer yes or no even to his own supporters. Disillusioned, some McGovern supporters came to hear Jenness and were generally impressed with what she had to say. Many of them began to rethink which candidate they should support in 1972.

That evening Jenness spoke at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant and the next day at Delta College in Bay City, Mich. She also appeared on the "Guy Gibson Show" on radio station WCAR. Jenness was invited to be a guest on the show after Gibson heard her at the Oct. 28 news conference.

Jenness plans to visit the Jackson State Prison and to meet with inmates at the Detroit House of Correction for Women. On Nov. 3, she will address student strike rallies at Wayne State University, Highland Park College, Oakland Community College (Auburn Hills Campus), Schoolcraft College in Livonia, and Macomb County Community College in Warren, Mich. From Michigan, Jenness plans stops in Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., New York and the New England area.

On the West Coast, Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate, was greeted by large SWP campaign banners draped from buildings at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Pulley spoke to an audience of 150 on the campus Oct. 25.

In San Diego, Pulley spoke at outdoor rallies at the University of California, San Diego and San Diego City College at which Mario Garcia, a member of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) and professor of Third World studies, urged support for Pulley's campaign. Pulley also spoke at a meeting sponsored by the San Diego Gay Liberation Front, and taped radio and TV interviews.

On Oct. 27, Pulley was invited to speak to a literature and philosophy class, composed primarily of Black students, at San Diego State College. That evening, he was the featured panelist at a meeting on electoral politics sponsored by MECHA.

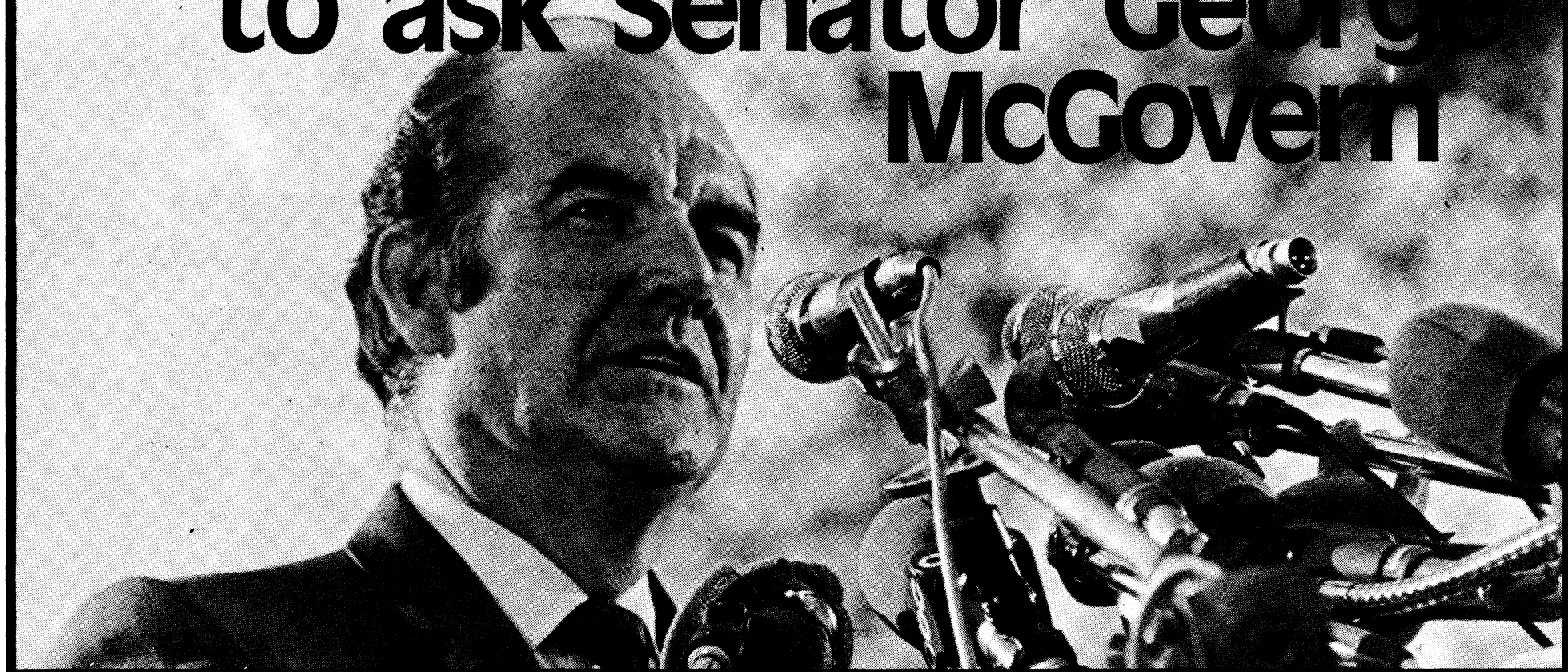
Pulley and several campaign supporters have received invitations to tour the Lompoc Federal Correctional Institution in Ventura County, Calif. They were invited by Warden Frank F. Kenton after a request by Los Angeles SWP campaign manager Tony Dutrow.

Pulley plans to speak at the Claremont Colleges, L.A. Valley College (at a rally organized by the president of the Black Student Union there), and at several high school assemblies in Beverly Hills and San Marino. On Nov. 3, Pulley will address the strike rally at Los Angeles City College.

Pulley's tour will take him to California's Bay Area, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Colorado and Missouri.

Meetings may be arranged for the candidates by contacting the Socialist Workers Party 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

What you always wanted to ask Senator George McGovern



By LAURA MILLER

George McGovern, the first declared Democratic presidential candidate for 1972, is making a whirlwind tour of college campuses this fall campaigning hard for the youth vote. He recognizes that 25 million new young voters cannot be ignored by any office-seeker with high ambitions.

But the current attitude among many youth toward the Democratic and Republican parties, and virtually every other institution in this society, is marked by skepticism and suspicion. A recent poll of new voters conducted by *Newsweek* magazine reported that of all new voters who have registered thus far, 18 percent signed up as Republicans, 38 percent as Democrats and 42 percent as *independents*.

Young people are less willing than ever before to take the capitalist parties, or their politicians, at face value. None of the current liberals who aspire to the presidency—McGovern included—has succeeded in capturing the unquestioning allegiance and firing the imagination of youth in any way approaching the success of the McCarthy youth brigades of 1968.

Following are some questions young people on the campuses and in the high schools are asking McGovern. The Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, think that young people have the right to know the answers to these questions.

Vietnam war

Mr. McGovern, why did you vote for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964, which provided the legislative basis for the military escalation in Vietnam? Why did you vote against its repeal in 1967? Why did you vote for every military appropriations bill that came up in the U. S. Senate during the 1960s? Your position on the Vietnam war at the 1968 Democratic Party convention was support for a *temporary bombing halt* in Vietnam. You also opposed immediate and total withdrawal of U. S. forces and in fact are still opposed to it. Why?

The "Amendment to End the War," which you cosponsored with Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) in 1970, rather than demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. military forces, proposed instead to allow the war to continue until December 1971, and then to withdraw U. S. troops only if the Vietnamese people granted certain concessions to the U. S. aggressors.

According to an interview in the August 1971 *Playboy*, you stated: "I would think that negotiations for the release of our prisoners and the safe exit of our forces could begin within 30 days after I became president. And once those negotiations were completed, I see no reason why a full withdrawal couldn't be executed in six or eight months' time." Why do you think it would take so long to withdraw U. S. troops? Why do you feel the U. S. has any right to have U. S. troops on Vietnamese soil for even a few months or to extract any concessions?

Although you claim that the American public has a right to know what's going on in Vietnam, and attribute your past support to the war on lack of information, Daniel Ellsberg revealed that when he asked you to make public the Pentagon Papers in January 1971, you refused. Why?

You've spoken at antiwar rallies, but why haven't you promoted the antiwar movement and its demonstrations in your campaign speeches?

Middle East

While you think the war in Vietnam is too costly, you support arms aid to Israel. In the August 1971 *Playboy* interview, you stated: "I think Israel won't be fully secure until the United States and other countries guarantee its existence. Israel is the one free state we have in the Middle East." Why do you oppose the right of the Palestinian people, who have been driven out of their homeland, to self-determination? Would you advocate U. S. military intervention in the Mideast under any circumstances?

Women's liberation

You have failed to take a clear stand on the crucial question of abortion law repeal, and other issues of vital importance to women. Do you support the right of women to decide whether or not to have an abortion? If so, why haven't you endorsed and helped promote the Nov. 20 demonstrations for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws? Do you support free 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them?

Oppressed nationalities

Mr. McGovern, when you were chairman of the Senate's Interior Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, why didn't you produce any legislation to

aid the Native American people?

Why haven't you condemned Rockefeller and others responsible for the murder of 43 prisoners and hostages at Attica prison?

Why haven't you publicly called for freedom for Angela Davis?

Why haven't you publicly condemned the murder of George Jackson by prison guards at San Quentin?

Do you support independence for Puerto Rico?

Democratic Party

As past chairman of the Democratic Party's Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Reform, you were instrumental in attempting to make a few rules changes that will allow young people, oppressed nationalities and women to have greater participation in the Democratic Party. The primary strategy behind this reform movement is to convince young people to participate in the Democratic Party in order to discourage them from taking their grievances into the streets in independent mass actions. In your own words, even if all the proposed reforms take effect, they won't make much difference in who runs the party. You stated in the *Playboy* interview: "I find it's very bad operating procedure, for example, to go into a state without advance telephone calls and personal letters to key party leaders. . . . When it comes right down to it, the candidate will be selected by about 1,500 of these people at the next national convention."

If this is what you think, why do you defend a system of candidate selection based on maneuvering and back-room deals by a handful of

people? If, by your own admission, the new reforms will not change the balance of power within the Democratic Party, why do you ask us to build support for that party? Why do you encourage young people to forsake the independent mass movements for a party that we can never exert real control over?

Wage freeze

Mr. McGovern, why did you vote for the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, which gave President Nixon the legislative authority to freeze wages? After Nixon imposed the wage freeze on Aug. 15, why did you support this action and even go so far as to say it was "too little, too late"? Why do you think American workers should have stiff limits placed on wage increases, as Nixon intends during Phase Two of his economic plans?

Do you support the demand for guaranteed cost-of-living raises to protect workers' wages against inflation, and a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay to reduce unemployment?

Debates

Mr. McGovern, on Oct. 2 a debate between Linda Jenness and yourself, arranged by Students and Youth for McGovern at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, was canceled by you and your staff. Why?

When Chicago *Sun Times* reporter James Campbell called your national staff in Washington, D. C., about the Madison meeting, he reports that one of them referred to Jenness as a "kook and a Trotskyite." Do you condone this answer?

Why do you refuse to debate Linda Jenness?

Socialist candidates around the country

COLORADO: Joan Fulks, U. S. Senate; Miguel Pendas, U. S. Congress; Fern Gapin, U. S. Congress.

GEORGIA: Alice Conner, U. S. Senate; Frank Grinnon, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

MICHIGAN: Linda Nordquist, U. S. Senate; Maceo Dixon, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.

NEW YORK: Peter Buch, U. S. Congress, 14th C. D.; B. R. Washington, U. S. Congress, 18th C. D.; Stacey Seigle, U. S. Congress, 20th C. D.; David Keepnews, State Assembly, 66th A. D.; Evan Cohen, State Assembly, 67th A. D.

OREGON: Ruth Getts, U. S. Senate; John Linder, Portland Board of Education Position No. 1.

Student activists join campaign

By JUDY UHL

Gary Yost, a Lehigh University student, first heard of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign when he saw Linda Jenness on Underground News, a Chicago-based TV news show carried on Philadelphia's Channel 29. "She was talking about the antiwar movement and about how things really are in this country," he said. Yost and his friends in Allentown, Pa., immediately telephoned New York to place an order for 30,000 campaign brochures.

Yost and Dave Rizzetto, a Lehigh County Community College student, have already arranged to have Linda Jenness appear on the local educational TV station when she is in Allentown. "It will be broadcast to seven states," the 18-year-old campaign supporter said, "and we've got her a date to appear on cable TV as well." Jenness will be speaking in the Allentown area Nov. 8 and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have already pasted up campaign posters on the campuses in the area.

Getting on the ballot is another concern of the newly formed Allentown YSJP. "The Philadelphia campaign headquarters told us you need 20,000 signatures to get on the ballot in Pennsylvania and so far we've collected about 1,000 signatures," Yost reported. The campaign activist wasn't deterred when he was told that the actual signatures would have to be collected on special petitions which weren't available yet. "We can get them over again," he replied. "It won't be hard."

In addition to publicizing the campaign in his area, Yost was interested in the plans for the Young Socialist Alliance convention to be held in Houston, Texas. When he found out the gathering of socialists would take place over Christmas vacation, he said he'll be making plans to attend so that he can meet and talk with Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley activists from around the country.

The convention, which will feature a rally with Jenness and Pulley as speakers, will decide on a course of action for young socialists in the 1972 elections.

Michael Falladay read of the nomination of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in the newspaper. "As head of the University of Kentucky SDS in 1968, I arranged for Fred Halstead [1968 SWP presidential candidate] to speak at UK and supported the campaign in a speech and article endorsing Halstead-Boutelle in the campus newspaper," he explained in a letter to the national campaign staff. Falladay, who is currently doing alternate service as a conscientious objector at the University of Kentucky Medical Center, wrote to offer his services in helping to get the SWP ticket on the ballot in his state. "The Kentucky filing deadline is February or March," he reminded the staff.

Gordon Richardson, a Black ninth grader from Brooklyn, N. Y., was only nine years old in 1968. He had never heard of Fred Halstead. He has decided to help form a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley chapter. "A friend of mine took me to the New York headquarters and showed me the campaign literature," he explains, "and we decided to form a group."

The YSJP at St. Ann's High, where Richardson attends school, sets up a literature table in the school lobby all day on Wednesdays and Thursdays. They distribute campaign literature, antiwar and women's liberation

leaflets, and sell *The Militant*.

"It's a thing with this society," he suggested, when asked why he thought no woman had yet been elected president. "I don't see any reason why a woman and a Black man shouldn't run for office as long as they're qualified." Although he is impressed with the record of Jenness and Pulley, Richardson made it clear that it was the program of the candidates that made him a supporter of the campaign. He believes that socialism is the answer to the problems facing people in the United States today and is building the campaign to get out the ideas of socialism. "We put socialist pamphlets on the literature table," he pointed out.

Many Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley do not belong to an organized group that meets regularly. Some do. But all of them agree on one thing. They want to help build the SWP 1972 campaign and help increase the numbers who already support the program of the candidates.

"It's women who seem most excited about the campaign," offers Linda Jenness, remarking on the number of women who have endorsed her campaign after hearing the presidential candidate speak. "Many campaign supporters are Blacks, Chicanos and GIs," reports an organizer for the YSJP in Austin, Texas. He was describing the endorsements received after Andrew Pulley spoke to several meetings in Austin. Support for the campaign is coming from almost every sector of society.

The youthfulness of the candidates, especially their defense of the interests of young people, is a strong attraction to the campaign for many YSJPers. "I find that being a 20-year-old vice-presidential candidate is a definite asset in this campaign," says Andrew Pulley. "I know what it's like to be discriminated against because of my age. Our campaign is the only campaign which is fighting to extend the democratic rights, such as voting rights, of all young people. Every young person who wants to should be able to participate fully in electoral politics."

This fall, Cindy Jaquith and John Hawkins, national coordinators for YSJP, have been touring the country organizing youth support for the campaign.

In the months to come, thousands of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be energetically building the campaign across the country. They'll be challenging all of the other candidates and their campaign representatives to debates, and pressing the capitalist candidates for clear answers to the most important questions of the day whenever they appear on the campuses. YSJPers will be distributing millions of pieces of campaign literature, selling subscriptions to *The Militant*, the campaign newsweekly, and staffing literature tables in high schools and on college campuses everywhere. And every Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley who possibly can will attend the Young Socialist National Convention in Houston Dec. 28 to Jan. 1.

The socialist ticket Linda Jenness

Linda Jenness was born Jan. 11, 1941, in El Reno, Okla., but she has been a legal resident of Georgia for most of her life. After graduating from high school, she attended Antioch College, where she majored in history; while in school, she studied in Mexico and France. After leaving school, she taught English in Spain for a year and worked as a secretary in Washington, D. C., when she returned to

the U. S. She speaks Spanish fluently.

Influenced by the Cuban revolution and the war in Vietnam, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1966. She served as an officer of the Washington, D. C., Mobilization Committee at the time of the Oct. 21, 1967, antiwar march on the Pentagon. She worked for Merit Publishers (now Pathfinder Press) in New York in 1968. In September 1968 she represented the YSA in Lares, Puerto Rico, at the hundredth anniversary celebration of the Puerto Rican independence movement. In January 1969, she spent five weeks in Cuba as part of a YSA delegation invited by the Cuban government to participate in activities marking the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Linda Jenness was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970.

While a candidate in Georgia, she was a leader of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee and was active in Emory University Women's Liberation.

She is the coauthor of several pamphlets on women's liberation: "Women and the Cuban Revolution," "Abortion: A Woman's Right," and "Kate Millet's Sexual Politics: A Marxist Appreciation." This spring she toured the country, speaking on the women's liberation movement.

She spoke as a representative of the SWP at the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

Andrew Pulley

Andrew Pulley was born May 5, 1951, in Greenwood, Miss. When he was 12, he moved to Cleveland, Ohio. He was expelled from John Adams High School for playing a leading role in what school officials termed a "riot"—students had walked out of their classes as part of the nationwide protest by Blacks in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Given the choice of going to jail or joining the Army, he joined the Army.

As a GI at Fort Jackson, S. C., he became involved in one of the first GI antiwar organizations in the country—GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. As the organization's influence spread throughout the base and gained national attention, the Army decided to crack down on it. Its main leaders were arrested and threatened with court-martial. Pulley became one of the defendants in the celebrated case of the Fort Jackson Eight. He spent 60 days in the stockade before a well-publicized defense campaign brought about his release and discharge from the Army. (The full story of the case of the Fort Jackson Eight is told in *GIs Speak Out Against the War* by Fred Halstead, Pathfinder Press, 1970.)

In 1970, Andrew Pulley was the SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from California's 7th C. D., running against Democrat Ron Dellums. During his campaign, he toured India, Ceylon, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, speaking on the growing radical movement in the United States and helping to increase international support for antiwar demonstrations scheduled that fall. He also flew to South Vietnam in an effort to speak to GIs about the war and his election campaign but, on orders from the U. S. Embassy, was not allowed to get off the plane.

Following his congressional campaign, Pulley worked as a switchman in the Chicago rail yards.

This spring he was the Chicago coordinator of the Black and Brown Task Force to End the War in Vietnam. He was a featured speaker at the April 24, 1971, antiwar rally in Washington, D. C., as a spokesman for the SWP.

In September of this year, shortly after his vice-presidential campaign was launched, he visited West Germany to get a firsthand report of racial discrimination against Black GIs. While there, he spoke to several meetings of GIs.



Funds are urgently needed to build the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. Enclosed is my contribution of \$100 \$50 \$25 \$10 \$5 Other. I can make a regular monthly pledge of \$_____.

☐ I would like more information on the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign.

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

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

☐ I want to organize Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in my area.

☐ I want to attend the Young Socialist convention in Houston, Dec. 28 to Jan. 1. Send me more information.

☐ Enclosed is \$1.00. Send me 10 weeks of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the socialist campaign.

☐ I want to help sell *The Militant*. Send me a regular weekly bundle of _____ *Militants* and _____ subscription blanks.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE (Special rates available on all bulk orders.) Four-page *Militant* election campaign feature: 100 for \$1.50; 500 for \$6.00.

POSTERS: 1) Linda Jenness for President, 10c ea.; 2) Andrew Pulley for Vice-President, 10c ea.; 3) Eugene V. Debs, 50c ea.

BROCHURES: 1) Bring All the Troops Home Now; 2) Women's Liberation and the Socialist Campaign; 3) Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. All brochures \$2 per 200.

BUTTONS: 1) Linda Jenness—picture; 2) Andrew Pulley—picture; 3) Vote Socialist Workers in '72; 4) Make Your First Vote Count! Vote Socialist Workers—Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. All buttons 35c ea.

T-SHIRTS: 1) Vote Socialist Workers '72; 2) Linda Jenness for President (with women's liberation symbol); 3) Andrew Pulley for Vice-President; 4) Capitalism Fools Things Up—Vote Socialist Workers. All shirts \$3.00 ea., plus 50c postage per shirt on orders less than one dozen. Wide range of colors; available in small, medium, large, and x-large sizes.

Name _____
Address _____
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(for identification only)

Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, 8th fl., NY, NY 10003; phone: (212) 260-4150

Raza Unida in Texas goes statewide

By ANTONIO CAMEJO
and TANK BARRERA

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—A Raza Unida Party state convention held here Oct. 30 voted to organize a statewide party and to work for statewide ballot status in 1972. The decision came after a discussion of the possible difficulties involved in establishing a statewide party as opposed to a regional one.

Participating in this discussion were 42 delegates from eight counties as well as some 250 observers and other county delegates that did not meet the strict legal requirement to be seated according to the Texas election code. The gathering was made up of predominantly young people—25 percent of whom were women—from both rural and urban areas.

A credentials committee carefully checked all delegations to make sure that they had held the necessary precinct and county conventions and had the proper credentials to avoid any grounds for a possible legal challenge by state authorities. The gathering was held in a democratic manner, allowing all those who wished to speak to do so. This was in sharp contrast to the recent Spanish-Speaking Coalition Conference in Washington, D.C., Oct. 23-24, where Congressman Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) repeatedly tried to gavel participants into silence.

Mario Compean, former state chairman of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization), along with delegates Jesús Ramirez and Efraín Fernandez from Hidalgo County, presented arguments for building a statewide party.

Compean stated that "If we go back and evaluate the position of both parties, we will see that they have never done anything for us. We have always had to grab from them, pressure them to be able to get something." He continued that there were those who argued against independent electoral action by saying that "We are going to lose everything we have." Compean answered, "Well, what have we got? We have nothing. . . . You have to push progress to make sure progress comes across."

Another point raised by Compean was the importance of transcending local boundaries. "One of the things that has always kept us down," he said, "is that we are concerned with our little piece of land over here, or our barrio or our town or urban area. This has kept us from really moving forward as a united people." He argued that by organizing statewide rather than on a county-by-county basis, they would have "both local control and something on a statewide level."

Roberto Villarreal of Kleberg County, arguing for a statewide party, stated, "In order to get statewide and regional enthusiasm for the party, it has to have something higher than a county judge to shoot for."

Jesús Ramirez urged going statewide as the most effective manner of local organizing. He argued that if a statewide alternative were not present in the form of a statewide ticket, "La Raza will still be voting Democratic Party, and every year it's worse."

Others held that there were certain dangers in becoming a statewide party at this time, and that the best way to build the RUP was to expand and strengthen the county parties. This point of view was expressed by José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Crystal City RUP. Gutiérrez, who was nominated chairman of the convention by acclamation, felt that the party would be more assured of success by organizing on a regional basis.

He pointed out that the Raza Unida Party's earlier attempt to get on the ballot in Zavala County, though unsuccessful, had the effect of forcing the courts to enumerate the exact pro-



Posters urge Raza Unida vote in Crystal City elections in early April. Raza Unida won control of both City Council and School Board in elections.

Photo by Howard Petrick

cedures for getting ballot status in county elections. This clear ground, Gutiérrez argued, would be better than the relatively unexplored process of statewide certification.

Another consideration raised by Gutiérrez was the large number of signatures required to get statewide ballot status. Texas election laws require the gathering of signatures equal to 1 percent of those who voted in the last general election for the office of governor (over 22,000 signatures). The signatures must be gathered between June 1 and Aug. 15, and only registered voters who did not vote in the May primary may sign the petition. In order to appear on the ballot in subsequent elections without petitioning, the RUP candidate would have to receive at least 25,000 votes. On the other hand, if RUP organized exclusively on a county basis and ran local candidates, the party would have to file petitions for each candidate with signatures totaling 3 percent of the number of votes cast in that county for governor in the last general election. In Zavala County, for example, this would amount to only 200 signatures, according to Gutiérrez.

It was felt by Gutiérrez and those who agreed with him that RUP wasn't ready organizationally and financially to carry out the difficult campaign necessary to obtain ballot status statewide and organize a statewide party. They felt that by organizing on a county and regional basis, however, RUP can build the necessary base to launch a statewide campaign in 1974.

Compean held that it was important to the future of the party to take the step of going statewide now. One of the dangers of remaining regional, he felt, was that "we are only admitting what the media, the system, the gringo, have said about us. We're scared of doing anything. We don't have what it takes to do it. . . . We're the 'people of mañana.'" He then added, "Do you want to be the people of mañana or the people of today?"

At the conclusion of the vote of delegates, 21 were for a statewide party and 15 for a regional party. Gutiérrez then put a motion on the floor that in the spirit of unity the convention accept the motion by acclamation. The motion passed. Mario Compean then made a motion that Gutiérrez be made state chairman by acclamation. Gutiérrez declined because it would violate the state election code (he is presently chairman of the Crystal City School Board). Compean was then elected chairman of the state executive committee by acclamation.

The rest of the committee is composed of: Efraín Fernandez, vice-chairman, Hidalgo County; Alberto Luera, secretary, Bexar County; José Gonzalez, treasurer. Also included on

the executive committee are Roberto Villarreal from Kleberg County and Alma Carnales of Travis County.

The gathering voted to nominate candidates on the basis of a convention rather than a primary. The ballot will be headed by a gubernatorial candidate who, along with the other candidates, will be chosen at a future date.

The convention adopted a program presented by the platform committee. This platform, which will be further developed, included a broad spectrum of demands, ranging from abolishing the Texas Rangers to points relating to environmental pollution. A plank calling for public ownership of natural resources was also added.

All the planks passed unanimously except the one on Vietnam, which called for withdrawal by June 1972. Dorinda Sanchez of San Antonio, whose cousin is paralyzed from the waist down from an injury received in Vietnam, argued that "We should not wait until 1972 to bring the *carnales* [brothers] home. We should demand to bring the *carnales* home now."

The following are the principal points embodied in the planks of a draft platform approved by the founding convention of the Raza Unida Party of Texas. A final version of the platform will be acted upon at the state nominating convention to be held in June 1972.

- A broadening of the state educational program to include multilingual and multicultural programs at all educational levels.
- All levels of school personnel including administrative shall be representative of the people of the community.
- Eighteen-year-olds shall be able to hold office as well as vote.
- Abolition of filing fees for political office.
- Civil review and enforcement boards for all law enforcement agencies, with the composition of such boards to be representative of their communities.
- Indicted persons to be entitled to a trial by their racial, cultural and economic peers.
- End of intervention in the affairs of other countries, especially Vietnam, and withdrawal from Vietnam to be effectively completed by June 1, 1972.
- Free medical care including a program of preventive medicine for all.
- An effective system of local, state and federal antipollution laws.
- Support to the farmworkers' movement and all organizations' efforts designed to improve the economic and social situations of all working people.
- Support to the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would include women under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- Free public transportation for all.
- Abolition of the Texas Rangers.
- Election of student representatives to the board of regents and directors of institutes of higher learning.
- A minimum wage of \$2.50 an hour to be augmented as the cost of living rises.
- Endorsement of the National Coalition of Spanish-Speaking People formed in Washington Oct. 23.
- Public ownership of natural resources.

Carlos Guerra, executive director of MAYO, defended the platform committee's resolution, arguing that it had been carefully thought out. The difference involved was unclear to most of the delegates, and the "withdrawal by June 1972" formulation was adopted.

The convention ended with a strong note of unity and with the whole body determined to get the party on the statewide ballot in 1972. Jesús Gutiérrez Cardenas, publisher of the weekly *El Sol de Texas*, the only Spanish-language newspaper in North Texas, stated that he would do everything possible to build support for the Raza Unida Party among the paper's 25,000 subscribers.

The giant task of getting the party on the statewide ballot will require significant resources, sending speakers all over the state, putting out campaign materials, and doing everything else necessary to challenge the hold of the Democratic and Republican parties throughout the state. This effort will require large financial resources. Contributions should be sent to Raza Unida Party, P.O. Box 37305, San Antonio, Texas 78237.

Houston socialists draw first place on ballot

By JERRY FANNING

HOUSTON—On Oct. 28 Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, and Paul McKnight, SWP candidate for City Council, went to City Hall, where they both drew first place on the ballot for the Nov. 20 elections.

This was big news in Houston because for many months it wasn't clear whether or not the SWP candidates would even have ballot status at all.

Just the day before the drawing, Leonard and McKnight won a significant legal victory when a federal court knocked out sections of Houston's election code. The action, as a result of a suit filed by Leonard and McKnight, struck down: 1) a requirement of real estate ownership for two years; 2) filing fees of \$1,250 for mayoral candidates and \$500 for City Council candidates; 3) a five-year residency requirement.

The SWP also won a court injunction against enforcement of the loyalty-oath provision, permitting the SWP candidates to appear on the ballot without taking the oath.



Photo by Othell O. Owensby Jr.

Debby Leonard (right) and Manuel Barrera (center) selling *Militant* outside Spring Branch High School.

Incumbent Mayor Louie Welch has tried to make this a big issue by arguing that the loyalty oath is the same as the oath of office, and candidates that won't sign the oath aren't fit to take office. The mayor and the City Council publicly declared that they would have appealed the federal court ruling on the election requirements if it would not have posed a problem in getting the ballots printed before the elections.

The SWP campaign has had considerable publicity in the past weeks and has received an enthusiastic response throughout the city.

Some of the most favorable reactions have come from high school students. Since the high schools opened in September, Leonard has spoken at seven of them.

On Sept. 21, 80 students heard her speak at all-Black Worthing High, and 19 signed up as supporters of the SWP's 1972 presidential ticket.

The following week, about half of an assembly of 200 at St. John's applauded when she demanded the dismissal of Houston Police Chief Short.

On Sept. 31, a campaign supporter was arrested for "trespassing" at Spring Branch High School while selling *The Militant*. In response to this attack on civil liberties, the SWP campaign organized a news conference on the steps of the school Oct. 4. Leonard and Tank Barrera, SWP

candidate for school board, told reporters the arrest was an attempt to deny high school students the freedom to distribute and read any publication they choose. Over 30 copies of *The Militant* were sold to students coming out of the school. There were no arrests.

At Memorial High School, where students have been suspended for engaging in political activity, Leonard spoke to 700 seniors during six class periods Oct. 5. Fifty *Militants* were sold and 25 students signed up as campaign supporters.

On Oct. 20, journalism students at Madison High School video-taped a debate between Leonard and Bob Webb, a lawyer running for mayor. Mayor Welch and the liberal candidate, Fred Hofheinz, refused to participate in the debate. The tape is being shown to civics classes throughout Houston's high schools.

As the result of her meetings in high schools, many students have become involved in building high school participation in the Nov. 3 student strike and the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in Houston.

Also, a number of high school students are now actively campaigning for the SWP local candidates as well as its presidential ticket. They are helping to sell *The Militant* and are participating on teams to obtain *Militant* subscriptions.

U of Minn. students demand gay be rehired

By GREG GUCKENBURG

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 1,000 persons rallied outside the administration building Oct. 26 to demand that the University of Minnesota rehire Mike McConnell, a gay activist.

The rally, organized by an ad hoc coalition, received unprecedented endorsement from groups and prominent individuals in Minneapolis. The rally was the largest of its kind ever held in the state.

McConnell—who is gaining national prominence for his fight against the regents—thanked rally participants and vowed the struggle would continue.

Gay leaders at the demonstration estimated that over 200 gays from on and off campus were in attendance at the rally, organized on five days' notice. Gay bars throughout Minneapolis and St. Paul were leafleted, and

some 6,000 leaflets were passed out at the university.

The McConnell rally was organized in the wake of a U. S. appeals court ruling last week upholding the regents' decision not to hire McConnell. The court ruled unanimously that McConnell was trying "to foist his socially repugnant views on his employer."

McConnell is an outspoken gay activist in Minneapolis. Last year, he and Jack Baker, now University of Minnesota student body president, sought a marriage license, creating nationwide publicity. The request for the license was rejected on grounds that the two were violating sodomy laws.

McConnell, 28, had earlier applied for a librarian position, and his contract was approved by the head librarian in April 1970. But in July 1970, on the recommendation of the university administration, the regents

refused to approve McConnell's contract.

With the aid of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union (MCLU), McConnell took the case into court and won, but the regents appealed and last week won a reversal.

Others speaking at the rally included Conrad Balfour, ex-commissioner of human rights for the state of Minnesota; Mathew Stark, president of the MCLU; Jack Baker, student body president; Randy Furst, Young Socialist Alliance; John Preston, Minnesota Council on the Church and the Homophile; Bob Halfhill, from FREE, the campus gay group; Betsey Farley, University Women's Liberation; Sherri Buffington, editor of *Uptown Voice*.

The rally also received support from the president of the Hospital Workers union on campus, the president of the Teachers Assistants union on cam-

pus, and numerous professors and ministers.

The Young Socialist Alliance was involved in building the rally with Minneapolis gay groups and activists in the women's liberation movement.

The demands and slogans of the rally were: 1) hire Mike McConnell; 2) end discrimination against gays now; 3) a denunciation of the court of appeals decision as "repugnant to the constitutional mandate that every person is equal."

A major petition campaign is projected demanding that McConnell be hired. Funds are still urgently needed to build a national campaign to aid Mike McConnell's defense. Contributions can be sent to: McConnell Defense Fund c/o Women's Liberation, Room 110, Coffman Memorial Union, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 55455.

By Any Means Necessary

ACCORDING TO the Oct. 29 *Muhammad Speaks*, Sp/4 Samuel Robertson, 22, of Baltimore, and Sgt. Ronald L. Bolden, 23, of Cleveland, were acquitted of all charges arising from their being absent without leave for six months from the West Berlin brigade in West Germany. "This was the first time a defense based on racism and discrimination has been advanced in an AWOL case . . . and won," said the paper. The two faced a maximum sentence of six months in the stockade, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, and a bad conduct discharge. But Robertson was found not guilty last Aug. 16 by a special court-martial jury of four officers, including one Black captain. Later on, charges were also dropped against Bolden.

The brothers, who had served in Vietnam, left their base in January and returned there, after contacting the press, in June. In describing some of the factors that led to their flight, one Black GI who testified at the court-martial "named three Black GIs who had been so harassed that they became mental cases and were sent to hospitals," reported *Muhammad Speaks*. "He also related a recent mysterious incident where a Black GI had been found dead in a canal."

Robertson's defense attorney was Stanley Faulkner, the New York civil liberties lawyer.

"WHEN I HEARD THE SONG WAS BANNED in Saigon (by the Pentagon) . . . I was offended

at first. It was as if they were calling me a traitor, or disloyal, or something. And that really made me feel bad. I wanted to go off and picket or demonstrate at the Pentagon, or maybe the White House, since they claim they are doing what the song is all about, bring the boys home. I thought it was unfair."—Freda Payne, who recorded the popular song "Bring the Boys Home."

WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY at Walla Walla, a maximum security installation containing 1,155 inmates, is the site of one of the more liberal experiments in prison reform in the U. S.

At Walla Walla, there are no longer "guards" or "convicts," only "correctional officers" and "residents." The residents are allowed to dress in a variety of clothing styles and wear their hair and beards at any length. Inmates can make telephone calls and their mail is uncensored. Strip cells have been banned and solitary confinement is rarely used.

Perhaps most important are the Resident Governmental Councils; one for the 855-man inner prison, and another for the minimum-security building, which contains 270. Each council has 11 members, is elected every six months, and abides by an inmate-written constitution.

The present set-up began in late 1970, when the state director, Dr. William Conte, a psychi-

atrist, ordered Walla Walla Superintendent B.J. Rhay to carry out these reforms.

The establishment of the council, which had also been recommended, did not come about until the inmates—20 percent of whom are Black and 5 percent Native American, Asian, or Chicano—massed in the auditorium one day in January, armed with knives and clubs. Negotiations were held, resulting in the agreement on a constitution and the councils.

Conte's ideas for the experiment were the result of his dissatisfaction with U. S. models for prison reform. He sent Rhay, according to the Nov. 1 *Newsweek*, "on a scouting trip to Europe." Rhay was "impressed with experiments in prison self-government by convicts in Denmark and Holland." On returning, he and Conte convinced state officials to try the plan at Walla Walla.

According to the Oct. 18 *New York Times*, members of the newly elected councils were given a dinner in October where over 100 outsiders, including state officials, reporters, and inmate wives, attended.

Walla Walla at one time had a reputation as the worst prison in the West. Self-government or no self-government, it's still a prison, but perhaps a little more bearable.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Court denies press right to interview Attica prisoners

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Federal Judge John T. Curtin—in a rebuff to the right of the public to know—turned down a suit on Oct. 28 that would have permitted newspaper reporters to interview Attica inmates.

The suit was filed by David Burnham and Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*; Donald Singleton of the *New York Daily News*; Mary Breasted, Nat Hentoff and Jack Newfield of the *Village Voice*; the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press; Playboy Enterprises, Inc.; WBAI-FM; and two Attica inmates, James Brown and James Carter. It was argued in Buffalo early this month by Herman Schwartz, a professor at the University of Buffalo Law School.

Schwartz, in a telephone interview with the *Militant*, said the decision would be appealed.

Although Curtin had conceded earlier that the public was getting a one-sided view of the Attica uprising from state officials, he stated that the prohibition of interviews was not an "unreasonable restriction on contacts between prisoners and the press," according to the Oct. 29 *New York Times*.

Schwartz also cited a previous suit filed in the appeals court to stop the questioning of inmates by the state. It will be heard Nov. 5. The danger of the state's investigation, headed up by Deputy Attorney General Robert E. Fischer, is that inmates don't know whether testimony given will be used to prosecute or defend them. In the absence of their own legal counsel, this procedure amounts to a gross violation of their rights.

In other developments on Attica, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and "correction" officials

civil rights are not respected in a maximum security facility, how is it to be done in a "max-max"?

If we judge from past practices, the new prison will only intensify the deprivation and dehumanization that characterize the present hell-holes.

To aid Schwartz and the battery of American Civil Liberties Union lawyers helping to defend the Attica inmates, contributions can be sent to: Attica Defense Fund, c/o Center for Constitutional Rights, 588 Ninth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10036, attn.: Norma Munn.

In reaction to a disturbance in the Tombs (Manhattan House of Detention for Men) on Oct. 22, the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) held a press conference the following day demanding entrance and interviews with the inmates involved.

The story of city officials is that several inmates were transferred at about 8 p.m. to other cells, where they started pulling up toilet bowls and burning the mattresses in protest. Guards came in to quell it.

However, GAA and WLIB, a Black-oriented FM jazz station, reported a totally different story. GAA says the disturbance occurred in the gay section of the Tombs, which is on the 4th floor, and according to an inmate who called WLIB that night the guards were the ones who burned mattresses in an assault upon the inmates. They came in with their badges removed, using night sticks and tear gas. One inmate was reportedly badly beaten. GAA observers who were at the Tombs on the night of the incident noticed helmeted guards going into the Tombs as late as 2 a.m.



Aftermath of Attica assault. Prisoners' account of treatment since the revolt still has not been heard.

—despite repeated pronouncements about "prison reform"—are moving to set up a "maximum-maximum" prison. Although such a facility had previously been under discussion, it was decided to go ahead only after the 8,000 state prison guards, organized into Council 82 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, demanded it. The demand got spirited endorsement from Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME.

Other demands backed by Wurf included the equipping of all state prison guards with riot helmets and gas masks; rehiring of several hundred guards laid off due to budget cuts; and training of guards by state police and other "law enforcement" personnel. It is not clear whether the state agreed to the last two demands or not, but confirmation of the "max-max" came down on Oct. 5, two days before Council 82 had threatened to stage a "lock-in," i.e., a refusal to open cells for a day.

Wurf's actions and the organization of prison guards as a supposed component of the labor movement, amounts to openly embracing and collaborating with the police—the enemy of Black and working people. AFSCME members who want to disavow this action should demand that Council 82 be expelled and that the union extend support to the proposals of the Attica inmates for prison reform.

Rockefeller and Russell G. Oswald, the state commissioner of corrections, believe that through isolating 500 or more of the "real troublemakers" from the state's prison population of 18,000, there would be no turmoil and rebellion. To dress up the proposed prison, one official referred to it as a "special program facility," where inmates would receive "intensified treatment" with all due respect for their human rights. But if human and

While the press conference was in progress, Jim Owles, GAA president, met with Deputy Correction Commissioner Benjamin Malcolm to see about getting in. Owles returned before it was over and said he was denied entrance on the pretext that the city is making its own investigation.

Decisions by Judge Bruce McMarion Wright have proved upsetting to the judiciary machinery that grinds out "justice" in New York City. On the nights of Oct. 12 and 13 in Bronx Criminal Court, the African-American jurist released without bail a total of 43 people brought in by police. Judge Wright exclaimed, after his action was splashed about in the press, "I didn't do anything last night that I don't do normally." In a reiteration of his view in the Oct. 15 *New York Post*, he stated, "I said Blacks and Puerto Ricans were arrested because they were more visible. . . . I said they should arrest more of the big [drug] pushers. Cops in New York would never get promoted if it weren't for Blacks and Puerto Ricans." He was referring to the system of promotion on the basis of the number of arrests.

Judge Wright was appointed to the bench in 1970. Because of his outspokenness, he was transferred out of Brooklyn at the request of the district attorney. And now, because police and judicial officials are investigating his actions, he might wind up in Queens or Staten Island.

He is one of the eight Black judges among the 98 who serve in the criminal court system. When five supervisory judges were appointed recently to help deal with the backlog of cases, Judge Wright blasted the appointments because not one was Black, despite the fact that the majority of defendants coming into the courtroom are Black and Puerto Rican.

Questions raised by 'Rap Brown' arrest

By DERRICK MORRISON

The claim of the New York Police Department that they have arrested Black militant H. Rap Brown raises in a very poignant manner the relentless and unwarranted persecution of the brother by police and state authorities—from the time of the 1967 white racist attack on the Black community of Cambridge, Md., in which Brown was wounded, to the present incident and its aftermath.

The man police say is Brown was shot twice in the stomach at point blank range, then arrested along with three others, in an attempted robbery of an Upper West Side bar early Saturday morning, Oct. 16. Although their identification is based on a check of fingerprints, the man insists he is not Brown, but "Roy Williams."

At the Oct. 20 arraignment of "Williams" in Roosevelt Hospital on charges of robbery and attempted murder, police say Brown's wife and his brother Sam were standing by the bed. Bail was set at an astronomical \$250,000.

The day before at a preliminary hearing for the other three—Samuel Lee Petty, 23, Arthur Lee Young, 26, and Levi Valentine, 24—bail was set at \$100,000 apiece.

According to the Oct. 18 *New York Times*, Brown and the three others were under the surveillance of the St. Louis police while they were in that city several weeks ago. Petty, Young and Valentine were reputed to be former members of the now defunct Black Liberators, a St. Louis-based group that modeled itself on the Black Panther Party. All three were wanted by the police on criminal charges, including an indictment for carrying firearms. Brown, after he dropped out of sight in April 1970, was placed on the FBI's most wanted list. Nevertheless, despite this notoriety, no arrests were made by the St. Louis police while they had these four under surveillance, leaving the implication that the police could have had a hand in the Upper West Side robbery.

On the same day that "Williams" was arraigned, Richard L. Kinlein, the prosecutor for Howard County, Md., was found guilty of contempt of court and fined \$350. He was the man who told a reporter last January that the arson charge lodged against Brown, stemming from 1967 events in Cambridge, Md., was fabricated by the Dorchester County prosecutor to insure the entrance of the FBI into the case.

Brown had been charged with inciting to riot. Indications that the state has a very weak case came last year in the release of an unpublished report by the federal government's Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders. It stated "that the 'riot' that occurred after Rap Brown spoke had only taken place within the minds of the officials in that city."

The two-judge panel that ruled against Kinlein decided that his revelation was "prejudicial to a fair trial."

They also might have ruled that the March 1970 bombing of an automobile in which Ralph E. Featherstone and William "Che" Payne were killed was "prejudicial to a fair trial." The two, former leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, of which Brown was once chairman, went down to attend the opening day session, subsequently postponed, of Brown's trial in Dorchester County. As they drove away from the courthouse, the car exploded.

After this bombing, the trial was transferred to Howard County. But Brown dropped out of sight, feeling he could in no way get a fair trial in Maryland.

Despite police allegations, whether "Williams" is Brown has still to be verified.

From Intercontinental Press

By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY—On the anniversary of the massacre of Tlatelolco, three years after the army and police launched their suppression of the mass student and popular movement on October 2, 1968, by shooting down hundreds of persons attending a peaceful rally, Mexico seems now to be passing through a difficult watershed period.

Events in the month of September pointed up the conflicting currents. President Luis Echeverría made his first report to congress on September 1. This speech had been proclaimed for weeks in advance as an event of the greatest importance, a statement that would answer the questions most troubling the Mexican people.

Naturally, everyone expected a report on the investigation into the massacre that occurred last June 10, when rightist commandos, trained and equipped by the army, attacked a student demonstration, killing dozens of youths and bystanders and terrorizing a whole section of the capital city for several hours.

Echeverría admitted once again in his speech to the congress that armed bands attacked the students on June 10, thus contradicting the story put out by officials of his own government that the massacre was the result of "dogmatic" wrangling among the demonstrators.

However, since he was apparently unable to report any progress in bringing these murderous terrorist groups to justice, the president seemed also to be admitting that the goons and their patrons in the political establishment are too powerful to be prosecuted.

Among other things, this situation seems to illustrate the narrow margin for maneuver the Echeverría regime has for its so-called democratic opening. In any case, in September a secret armed terrorist repressive force, the "Hawks," remained on the loose—and, along with them, the politicians of the Díaz Ordaz regime who set them up and control them.

At the same time, the massacre of Tlatelolco, followed up by the new murderous attacks on a peaceful mass demonstration last June, has produced a mood of despair and confusion among broad sectors of the student population. This mood has been expressed in two ways—by the spread of the "drug culture" and by the proliferation of small adventurist groups.

In the first case, there is evidence that at least some elements in the government and the ruling class are actively promoting a "drop-out" mentality among the youth. Besides its political advantages, of course, this development has its financially profitable side.

One of the landmarks in the growth of the hippy movement, which has been led by demoralized young rebels of the generation of 1968, was the "Festival de Rock y Ruedas" [Rock 'n' Roll Festival] held on August 22 in Avándaro, a summer resort about two hours' drive from Mexico City.

This event was organized by one of the most reactionary sectors of the Mexican bourgeoisie, the sector linked to the Azcárraga and Espinoza Yglesias financial combine. This powerful financial group controls the Banco de Comercio, the country's biggest bank, as well as the largest radio and television network, and it has close ties to the Chrysler Corporation through its partnership in the Fábricas Automex. Former president Díaz Ordaz is also linked to this group.

The festival in Avándaro was the occasion of one of the most notable political scandals of the season. Many high government officials were implicated—the secretary of the interior, the governor of the country's most important state, and many others.

At the other extreme from the "hippy left," or the "love generation," is the still more tragic phenomenon of the adventurist groups carrying out anarchist-type actions and kidnappings.

Such guerrilla actions made the headlines several times in September. Just before Echeverría gave his report to congress, the police captured a group called CAP [Comandos Armados del Pueblo—Armed Commandos of the People]. These youths were accused of holding up drugstores and carrying out a series of "revolutionary expropriations."

The arrest of the CAP group was the third wave of jailings this year that Echeverría has directed against the adventurist far left. At the beginning of the year, nineteen persons belonging to the MAR [Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Action Movement] were arrested. This July, the police moved against a group linked to Genaro Vázquez Rojas.

The month of September concluded

tion" groups are contributing to the political confusion that exists in the country.

In present conditions, the only ones who can profit from such adventures are the most reactionary groups. While the guerrillas seem to be personally honest, their activities can easily be infiltrated by provocateurs. Some leaders of the revolutionary left like Rico Galán argue that it is very likely that some actions, such as kidnappings and bank robberies, have been carried out by the "Hawks" themselves.

Without examining such charges thoroughly, it does seem clear that the work of the "direct action" groups is obstructing the job of building the revolutionary vanguard, which is the urgent task at this time. And such a result can only gratify the progovernment forces.

Some groups of students and left personalities, on the other hand, have tried to find a way out of the difficulties of the present period by putting forward various "broad," or reformist

in which we are living and give a say to the people, a voice in the affairs of the country that has been taken from them. We are going to open our ears to the people, listen to them, get to know them directly. We understand that the people are tired of listening, of following orders. They want someone to listen to them, they want to give orders themselves. . . ."

If we didn't know from a reliable source that Castillo has no sympathy for Maoism, we might think that this was a typical project of "serving the people." But no, Fuentes, Paz, Castillo, and Cabeza de Vaca are too intelligent to stick a Maoist "label" on themselves, and they would be even less likely to do so at a time when Maoism is rapidly becoming discredited.

What then does this populist ingenuousness represent? Castillo and the others do, of course, admit to having a few "ready made" ideas. This is fortunate. After all that has occurred in the class struggle here in the past few years, it would be incredible if even

Left forces in Mexico search for answers



Part of Aug. 27, 1968, demonstration by 500,000 in Mexico City against government repression of student movement.

with the kidnapping of a businessman and high government official, Julio Hirschfeld Almada. He was captured on September 27 by the FUZ [Frente Urbano Zapatista—Zapata Urban Front] and released sixty hours later in return for a ransom of 3,000,000 pesos [one peso equals US\$.083].

Like the MAR before them, the CAP and the FUZ are made up of youths belonging to the generation of 1968, who have been frustrated by the repression. The members of these groups are honest revolutionary youths disgusted by the depth of decay into which the Mexican political system has fallen. But their moral and political indignation has been directed toward the most obvious and least effective outlets—open rebellion by small isolated groups without links to any sector of the masses, even the students.

Lacking a political program, a strategic orientation, or an appreciation of the need for the patient and difficult preliminary work of organizing revolutionary cadres, the rebels behind these mushrooming "direct ac-

political formulas. The case of Heberto Castillo and his compañeros is notable in this regard. Their proposals have received considerable publicity in the liberal press and seem to have a certain credibility for large sectors of public opinion.

On September 21, Heberto Castillo held a news conference, along with the student leaders Cabeza de Vaca from Chapingo and Salvador Ruiz Villegas from the engineering school of UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico], and the writers Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes. They called on "Mexicans to struggle politically to change the reality that repels almost all of us."

These figures declared: "We want to work politically side by side with the people, not in the name of the people." They specified: "We are not announcing the formation of a political party initiated from above by one group of Mexicans with a ready-made program. No. We are calling on Mexicans to discuss the bases, the program, the goals of a political organization that can transform the reality

the most primitive group had failed to draw some lessons. (It should be remembered, too, that Castillo and some of his compañeros have spent almost three years in prison and so have had time to reflect deeply on the experiences of 1968.) In fact, such a failure would reveal the most abject political incompetence.

Furthermore, Castillo and Fuentes are not newcomers to politics. They participated actively in 1961 in founding the MLN [Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement]. Afterwards, all the other "founding fathers" of the MLN abandoned it, leaving Castillo alone in a sinking ship.

Fortunately, as I have said, Castillo and his compañeros have some "ready made" ideas. They have perceived that the agrarian reform has failed, that the trade-union bosses are lording it over the workers, and that governmental corruption has reached abysmal levels. As the result of such insights, they are prepared to say, "We want to take over the government."

"For what purpose?" it might be asked.

"To transform the economic, political, and social structures of Mexico," they say.

That is, Castillo and his friends declare their intention of changing the prevailing capitalist system with the very modest weapons of a humble attitude toward the people and a willingness to let the people show them the way forward. They want to change the capitalist system, but at the same time that they "are going to go to the people" to inform them of this objective, the people are supposed to give them the instruments and solutions to achieve this objective.

Unfortunately, it is very probable that the Mexican people still have a long way to go in achieving the consciousness needed to define their objectives clearly. But they already probably see these new populists as one more confusing element, and not as part of the solution.

The Mexican people in general cannot give directions to anybody. What the average person is looking for is help in finding a way out. This is what any self-respecting vanguard must realize, and not waste any time with belated populist sentimentalism. It is hard enough for the people to understand this system, to say nothing of getting them to understand the need for replacing it. Replace it with what? How? By what means? Unless a vanguard tries to answer these questions, it does not deserve the name of a leadership, and of course it will never be one.

Thus, the panorama of the opposition, as featured in the press, does not offer a very convincing alternative to the regime. But some less publicized tendencies point in a more hopeful direction.

In September, a coordinating committee of several groups held its first activities pointing toward a wider regroupment of revolutionary Marxist forces. The organizations involved were the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [Revolutionary Communist Group], Teoría y Práctica [Theory and Practice], the Partido Mexicano del Proletariado [Mexican Proletarian party], and the Núcleo de Marxistas Independientes [Independent Marxist Nucleus].

The coordinating committee held two public meetings, one at the UNAM and the other at the Politécnico [Polytechnic Institute], to give a Marxist answer to Echeverría's report. Members of the FAT [Frente Auténtico del Trabajo—Authentic Workers Front] also participated in these meetings.

In its first issue, *Brecha*, the organ of the coordinating committee, expressed solidarity with the Fourth International, writing:

"The only instrument capable of dealing effectively with the complex conditions of the crisis in capitalist society is a cohesive party based on a common understanding of developments and the tasks they impose. We must repeat again and again that the international capitalist class has learned more from the triumph of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions than have the workers themselves and their allies. It is utopian, therefore, to think that in these conditions victory is possible without the supreme revolutionary instrument, the Leninist party. The Chinese won and the Cubans also won without this, but we will never win with a blunted instrument like the semi-Stalinized Chinese CP or the guerrilla movement of Fidel and Che. Today the bourgeoisie is much more adroit and will not let itself be taken by surprise again."

These are the revolutionary Marxist guidelines that the Mexican Trotskyist movement is following in its work to organize the vanguard in the dangerous conditions created by the uneven development of this vanguard's consciousness.

8,000 demonstrate in Montreal for a French Quebec

The following article is reprinted from *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian revolutionary socialist biweekly.

By MARILYN RAPHAEL

MONTREAL — A week of meetings and teach-ins on campuses in Montréal, Hull, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières, organized by the United Front for the Defense of the French Language, was climaxed when over 8,000 people marched through the streets of Montréal on Oct. 16. The demonstration commemorated the first anniversary of the invocation of the War Measures Act by launching a mass campaign for a French Québec. [The War Measures Act, suppressing civil liberties throughout Canada, was invoked by Prime Minister Trudeau following two political kidnappings attributed to the FLQ, the Québec Liberation Front.]

Oct. 15 was organized as a day of teach-ins in the schools against Bills 28 and 63. Both are aimed at maintaining the privileged status of the English language at the expense of the French-speaking Québécois. Bill 28 is presently before the National Assembly. Bill 63, which was passed in October 1969 by the provincial government, provoked the most massive protest demonstrations in Québec since the struggle against conscription in the Second World War.

Thousands of high school and college students in Montréal boycotted classes on Oct. 15 and representatives of the United Front visited dozens of schools to rally support for the demonstration the following day. Day-long teach-ins were held in four CEGEPs (community colleges) in Montréal. At one high school, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, over 1,000 students (practically the entire school) attended a rally to hear speakers from the United Front. At two other high schools, over 800 students left their classes and began a protest march, but were turned back by the police.

The demonstration, about 4,000 strong when it departed from Parc Lafontaine, was joined by over 4,000 more people along the six-mile route. Thousands of spectators in the working-class district the demonstrators marched through enthusiastically expressed their solidarity.

At one point the demonstration passed by the Parthenais jail where the 500 political prisoners were taken after the invocation of the War Measures last October. The jail was heavily guarded with provincial police

armed with standard riot equipment such as helmets and clubs, but there were no major incidents.

However, when the demonstration reached the Hydro-Québec building, the Montréal office of Québec Premier Bourassa, a few individuals among the demonstrators let fly a volley of rocks and bottles, smashing windows and preventing the orators from mounting the speaker's platform to begin the rally. This attempt to sabotage the demonstration was organized by a group of ultraleft Maoists who, in the weeks prior to the demonstration, had campaigned against the struggle for a French Québec, claiming that the Québécois' demand for the right to speak their own language only served to divide the working class.

After about ten minutes, the marshals were able to restore order and the rally began. Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, who was the first speaker, hit out at the social and economic oppression of the Québécois at the hands of American and Anglo-Canadian imperialism. He also condemned the Maoists, declaring "you make a revolution with the people, you don't make a revolution with a little gang of stone throwers."

The other speakers included: Reggie Chartrand of the Chevaliers de l'Indépendance, Robert Lemieux, lawyer for many of the victims of the War Measures, Alain Beiner, national organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, and Raymond Lemieux of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, who is presently under indictment for "inciting a riot" while he led a demonstration in St. Léonard for French-language rights in 1969.

Raymond Lemieux ended the rally by declaring that this was only the first step in a massive campaign to win a French Québec.

As the vast majority of the demonstrators dispersed, a group of about 200 ultralefts, led by the Maoists, marched through the downtown area smashing windows and ended up in a fighting match with the police. Nine arrests were made.

Despite these incidents, the demonstration was a big victory and is proof that thousands of Québécois are once again willing to come into the streets, to continue the struggle until a French Québec is won.



Photo by White/Labor Challenge

Montréal rally of 8,000 Oct. 16 marking first anniversary of invocation of War Measures Act, which aimed at suppressing national struggle for Quebec independence.

Appeal for Argentine militant

From *Intercontinental Press*

[Luis Enrique Pujals, said to have been wanted by the Argentinian police because of alleged membership in the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People), was kidnapped in Buenos Aires September 24 by unknown assailants.

[His companion, Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals, said that she had received an anonymous telephone call informing her that her husband was being held by the federal police. However, the police denied knowing anything about his whereabouts.

[In an open letter to President Lanusse, Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals appealed for information about her husband and for protection of his life.

[The following is a translation of her letter as published in the October 6 issue of *La Verdad*, a Buenos Aires weekly newspaper.]

The federal police have held my husband for seven days. After taking all the steps called for by the law, I should like to draw some conclusions as to what has happened to my husband.

I believe that the way in which he has been dealt with is not something unique. It could occur to anyone in view of the fact that our country's repressive institutions act in general with complete impunity, all restraints having been removed by new laws giving the government life and death powers over individuals without being held accountable.

While I do not intend to deny the political course followed by my husband, it is also necessary to note that this is part of the reality of our country which witnesses conflicts every day in all areas—labor, culture, and politics.

My husband is the victim of the only answer your government has to these facts—arrest, kidnapping, and refusal to indicate his whereabouts, thereby prolonging the suffering of his family, who, in view of the precedents that are publicly known (the Martins, Maestre, Verd cases) fear for his life or his being tortured.

According to the president of the nation, acts like these are justifiable inasmuch as a domestic war is being conducted against what he calls subversion. But I, like many Argentinians, wonder why the international Geneva conventions, which call for humane treatment and respect for the lives of prisoners of war, are not being observed.

As a psychologist it is a daily affair for me to encounter illness and in some instances death, but I have always tried to fight them. That is, my profession enables me to battle against them and draw human beings away from their influence. But on the other hand I have found that men exist whose profession it is to provoke them, and who even draw wages and support their families doing it.

Finally, Mr. President, I say to you: You are responsible before the law, before history, and before the people for the historical process our country is undergoing. You are also responsible for all the actions of the organs of power. You must guarantee the physical well-being and life of my husband. As a wife, as a mother, as an Argentine woman, I demand it.

Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals

Britain to enter the Common Market

By DICK ROBERTS

The British House of Commons vote Oct. 28 to approve Britain's membership in the European Common Market is a further reflection of the new stage of intensified world capitalist competition that was forcefully signaled three months ago with President Nixon's launching of the U. S. "New Economic Policy."

British Prime Minister Edward Heath told a meeting of his Conservative Party one week before the House of Commons vote: "Everyone concerned with trade and finance knows that rough winds are beginning to blow across the world." Heath's allusion to Nixon's aggressive economic policies did not have to be spelled out.

Just as Nixon's new policies in international economics are coupled with a vicious wage-freeze attack on American workers, British entry into the Common Market has nothing whatsoever to do with the needs of the British people. Polls show that most Britons oppose entry into the Common Market despite a multimillion-dollar campaign by the Conservative Party to popularize the move.

Since the early 1960s, the British ruling class has more and more favored entry into the Common Market (the popular name for the six-nation European Economic Community—EEC). This corresponded on one side to the declining power of British imperialism in the capitalist world market, and on the other side to the growing economic power of other European capitalist economies, especially of West Germany, France and Italy, the three major EEC nations. (The other three members of the EEC are Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.)

Initially in the postwar period, London chose to play the role of a junior partner to Washington in world economics and politics. The Bretton Woods, N. H., monetary conference, for example, gave the pound a favored position in the world monetary system—although secondary to that of the dollar.

But the strategy of British capitalism has more and more oriented toward combining with Europe in the ferocious battle for control of world markets. This process has been accentuated by the emergence of Japan as a powerful competitor in world trade.

It is not a coincidence that Nixon's Aug. 15 moves ended the Bretton



A few of the most ardent supporters of British entry into Common Market: (left) Paul Lorenz, chairman, Ford of Europe; (middle) Lord Stokes, chairman, British Leyland Motor Corp.; (right) John Thomson, chairman, Barclays Bank Ltd.

Woods system in world finance, and at the same time found London entering into a common front with the EEC nations opposed to Nixon's policies. Since Aug. 15, so far as world finance is concerned, Britain has already acted as a member of the Common Market.

Along with British entry into the EEC will probably come the entry of Norway, Denmark and Ireland, whose economies are closely tied to Britain. The new 10-nation group would have a population of 290-million, bigger than that of the U. S. Its total gross national product would be around \$650-billion, second only to that of the United States. It is this combined market that the British ruling class hopes will compensate for its loss of an empire.

A typical opinion appeared in a recent statement by John Thomson, chairman of the powerful British Barclays Bank: "The importance of the Common Market to the banker has been self-evident for a long time," said Thomson. "The Six already contribute 30 percent of the free world's trade and their share is growing. If the Six become Ten, their share will increase to around 40 percent. Any bank with international pretensions has of necessity endeavored to strengthen its associations with the Common Market. . . ."

The optimism of the British rulers stands in marked contrast to the po-

sition of the British workers. Since 1965, the London governments, first of Harold Wilson's Labour Party and now of Heath's Conservatives, have carried out a draconian economic austerity program in order to rationalize British industry in the fight for world markets, partially in preparation for entry into the EEC itself.

With prices rising at a rate of about 10 percent per year, unemployment in Britain and Northern Ireland stood in September at the highest level since 1940. There were 883,000 out of work in Britain, 3.9 percent of the work force, and an estimated 45,568 or 8.8 percent jobless in Northern Ireland.

The exact effects on people's incomes of British entry into EEC cannot be known until the various agreements are worked out on a step-by-step basis. Heath has been notoriously silent about the character of any promises he has already made to EEC leaders.

Nevertheless, it is well known that Heath has agreed to comply with EEC agricultural policies. "The Conservative government's most important agreement in the negotiations was acceptance of the Common Market's common agricultural policy as it stands," *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis wrote from London Oct. 29. "The policy maintains relatively high prices for farmers by imposing levies on imported food-stuffs."

This means that British people, who before had access to the cheaper agricultural produce of Commonwealth nations like Australia and New Zealand, will now have to pay the artificially high prices of European foods—a drastic penalty on the people for EEC entry. The other side of this is that the reduction of markets for Commonwealth nations' agricultural produce in Britain will depress the economies of these nations.

Coupled with inflation, unemployment and antistrike legislation, the threat of higher food prices has driven millions of Britons into opposition to EEC entry and Heath's government.

This, along with the issue of British intervention in Northern Ireland, has precipitated a sharp crisis in the Labour Party. Heath required—and got—a significant number of Labour Party votes on EEC entry. Sixty-nine Labour MPs voted with the Conservatives, despite the overwhelming vote to reject British entry at the Labour Party conference in Brighton Oct. 4.

The opportunism of the Labour Party leadership is all the more dramatized by the fact that Wilson—who, when he was Prime Minister, made important moves toward bringing Britain into the EEC and initiated the deflationary policies that resulted in the present British recession—now parades as an opponent of the EEC.

Successes reported for Bengali guerrillas

The Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) of Bangla Desh have succeeded in recapturing some territory that had been occupied since last March, when Yahya Khan's West Pakistani army began its campaign of slaughter. Although the total area of liberated zones is reportedly small in comparison to the total area of East Bengal (1,000 square miles out of 55,100), Bangla Desh military forces point to their existence as a sign of the future.

In the Oct. 22 *New York Times*, Sydney Schanberg described his visit to one such area, around the town of Putkhali in the Jessore District of southwestern East Bengal. Comprising about 100 square miles, the Putkhali area is adjacent to a 200-square-mile liberated zone in the Khulna District. Some 150,000 people live in the two zones.

Most of the villagers had fled last March, when Yahya's invading army burned their huts and crops, destroying most of the jute, banana, and mango trees. But in July, the Mukti Bahini retook the area, and much of the population returned.

A local administration of sorts has been created. It functions informally, as villagers set about reconstructing

the economic and social life of the region.

"The Mukti Bahini are here, so we are here. We are safe now," a farmer told Schanberg. Morale among the liberation fighters is high.

Gérard Viratelle reported in the Oct. 15 *Le Monde* that the Mukti Bahini have been successful in crippling much of East Bengal's transportation and communication facilities, making it increasingly difficult for Yahya's occupiers to "pacify" outlying regions.

The resistance seems to be firmly implanted in widespread sections of East Bengal: in the marshes around Gopalganj southwest of Dacca, in the forests of Madhupur north of Dacca, throughout the river channels of Noakhali in the southeast Ganges delta area, and in the extreme northwest pocket around the town of Thakurgaon. Many river routes, the major means of transportation in the country, are impassable to the army. Yahya's troops have abandoned attempts to repair the guerrilla-damaged railway linking Sylhet in the Northeast and the major port city of Chittagong.

The strain on India of more than 9,000,000 refugees fleeing Yahya's army has brought threats of war be-

tween India and Pakistan. Yahya, reluctant to concede that his army cannot handle the guerrillas, has blamed nearly every Bengali action on Indian forces or "Indian agents."

According to Benjamin Welles in the Oct. 24 *New York Times*, military specialists estimate that India and Pakistan have each mobilized about 250,000 troops along the West Pakistan-Indian border. About 100,000 Indian troops surround East Bengal, according to the same sources. During Oct. 23-24, some 600,000 military reservists were mobilized by India, and special wartime taxes were announced.

Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram, who the *New York Times* has called the Spiro Agnew of the Indira Gandhi government, has indicated what the character of Indian "aid" to the Bengali liberation forces would be. He "vowed that any war would be fought on Pakistani soil and that India would not withdraw from any territory her troops occupied," according to the Oct. 24 *Times*.

A dispatch from Washington in the same issue of the *New York Times*

quoted "senior United States specialists" as saying "that India and the Soviet Union are quietly collaborating to promote the political separation of East Pakistan from the central Pakistani government and its independence under Indian protection."

What this "independence" and this "Indian protection" would amount to is made clear by one of the U. S. officials quoted by the *Times*: "What the Indians want . . . is an independent East Bengal closely linked with India somewhat like Sikkim or Bhutan." India controls the political, economic and diplomatic affairs of these "protectorates."

On the eve of her departure for a three-week tour of West Europe and the United States, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in a special address to the population, called for national unity and "alertness, not only of our defense forces, but of all our people."

Yahya, on his part, thundered that his armed forces "are fully prepared to defend every inch of the sacred soil of Pakistan, with complete faith in the righteousness of their cause and trust in the help of Allah."

By CAROLINE LUND

Local 1112 of the United Auto Workers union in Lordstown, Ohio, is a somewhat unusual union. It offers a glimpse into the future of the trade-union movement in this country. The 8,200 members of this local recently elected a 29-year-old president, Gary B. Bryner. They also have a 29-year-old financial secretary and two executive board members who are 25 or under. The average age of union members is 24.

In the union elections Bryner defeated a 43-year-old candidate who urged members not to elect a "boy" to do "a man's job." In the last few weeks, Bryner spoke at the Oct. 13 Moratorium demonstration in Youngstown, Ohio, and has endorsed the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations.

The election of Gary Bryner, and the changes in Local 1112 are indications of the deepgoing process taking place in the American labor movement as a whole.

Members of Local 1112 work in the newly built General Motors plant in Lordstown, a "model" plant where GM produces its compact, Vega, and is trying to meet foreign competition by pushing the assembly rate up to 100 cars an hour (normal speed in Detroit auto plants is 50 to 60 an hour). So in the Lordstown plant, workers face a sharp accentuation of the pressure and tedium of all assembly-line jobs. Absenteeism has risen from 4-5 percent a year ago to 7 percent. And management complains that workers don't seem to respond to the signs hanging along the assembly aisles, which say things like "Product excellence makes our job secure," and "Quality keeps everybody happy."

An article on Local 1112 in the Oct. 4 Cleveland *Plain Dealer* commented that the young workers at the Lordstown plant want a lot of changes and have a lot of ideas—"about their jobs, about politics, about the war, about everything." In order to involve the membership in fighting for these changes, Local 1112 has set up 14 working committees, which meet at least once a month.

One of these committees, which hasn't gotten started yet, is a peace committee. "We have a list of 30 guys who want to join it," says Bryner, "and that's without any notification."

Another thing the workers want is a shorter workweek. "Somebody is already experimenting with a shorter workweek," Bryner told the *Plain Dealer*. "I think they're working a 10-hour day, four-day week. But I don't think that's going to satisfy our people down here. They don't want to work 10 hours a day. Eight hours a day, four days a week makes a lot

more sense to them."

In addition to young workers, women workers are also helping to create the new dynamism of this local. Regarding the older workers, Bryner said, "We try to use them the best we can, but the older people don't seem to be motivated any more. It's the younger people; the younger people and the women. We didn't have women in the plant until about a year ago, but now we have them, so that's having a bearing on what we do."

One of the union's committees is a women's committee.

The dissatisfaction of the workers at Lordstown—a dissatisfaction with the quality of their lives as a whole,

Wickham Skinner of the Harvard Business School summarized the "problem" with workers as a "lack of identification with the company or the product."

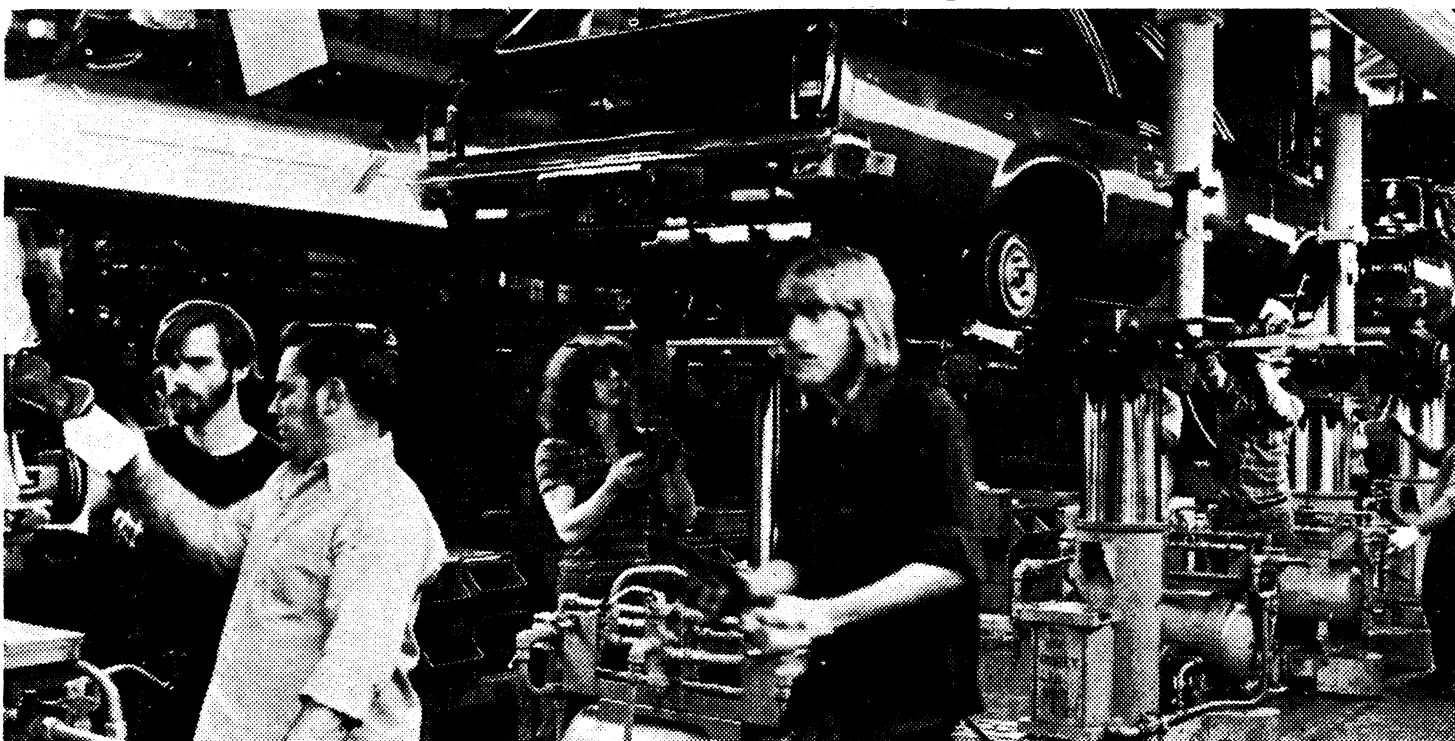
The *Newsweek* article included several short interviews with workers who told how they felt about their jobs. Willie Sanders, a 37-year-old riveter in a California shipyard, said: "You get to the point where you stare at the rivets and to make the job mean something you start counting them like counting sheep. When you do that, you better watch out. Some guys tell you that means you're going crazy. So when it happens to me, I just go home and watch television until I can

likes money, but who has the time to enjoy it? By the time you get off an assembly line, you're like a dunce."

The possibility of workers fighting for changes is not only bothering the businessmen; it also worries the trade-union bureaucrats. Earl Kester, 57-year-old president of Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local 2 in Oakland, Calif., told *Newsweek*: "These younger people expect too much in too short a time. They don't appreciate what they got."

But as in Local 1112 in Ohio, more and more of these young workers who want something better than they've got are beginning to organize to get it.

Young workers offer hint of labor's future



Young auto workers on the line at GM's "model" Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio. A "lack of identification with the company" worries bosses.

and not just with their paychecks—is growing among workers in other industries as well. The May 17 issue of *Newsweek* dealt with this unrest in an article called "Blue Collar Blues."

Newsweek noted that capitalists are getting concerned about problems of rising absenteeism, the growing phenomenon of alcoholism and drug usage among workers, the new rebelliousness of younger workers, and in some plants even the problem of workers deliberately sabotaging production.

come back and face it again."

George Watson, a 45-year-old welder: "A guy like me starts work when he is 17. By the time he's 50, he's all wore out. Someone hands him some small pension and if he ain't half dead already from heart trouble or if he ain't a drunk, he's got about five years of watching TV to look forward to. That's life, friend. And don't let anyone tell you any different."

Thirty-year-old auto assembler Tony Navarette said: "Everybody

They will be recognizing that the size of their paycheck and their conditions of work are at bottom *political* issues related to every other social issue in this country. They will be fighting for some control over the foreign policies of this country, for an end to the war in Southeast Asia, for greater control over the work they do and the product they produce, for control over their unions, and for greater control over the government of this country through a party responsible to the trade-union movement.

UTU right to vote group assesses gains

By WILLIAM L. BRANSON

CHICAGO—A call for union action against the wage freeze was issued here this month by an influential and well-organized group of railroad workers who are active members of the United Transportation Union, AFL-CIO. This group, comprised of local union officers and young activists, has an up-from-the-ranks history and seeks a program of struggle for the future.

At a regular membership meeting in October 1969, UTU Local 1433 elected a standing committee to extend the democratic rights of UTU members. The committee was called the Right To Vote Committee (RTVC), its central aim being to secure the right of all members to vote on union contracts. It quickly developed into a movement among railroad workers for control of their union and won endorsement from about 100 other locals of the 270,000-member UTU.

Officers and members of more than 500 additional UTU locals contributed financially to support this movement for union democracy.

During the past two years the RTVC has issued from time to time a *Progress Report*, keeping railroad workers informed of wage negotiations, government and management attacks, and major strike developments in the industry.

The RTVC secretary, Ed Heisler, was elected to represent Local 1433 at the UTU international convention in Miami Beach, Fla., Aug. 9-25, where a vote on democratizing the union constitution failed by the narrow margin of 815 to 848.

The latest issue of the RTVC's eight-page *Progress Report* carries a full account of the UTU convention and outlines the future course of the movement for union democracy. It says in part:

"As this issue of *Progress Report*

goes to press, Nixon has not announced how Phase Two of his freeze will operate, but he has made it clear that he intends to place some form of government controls over wages while corporate profits will not be touched.

"Many union officers and members are seeking effective measures to defeat this attack on labor. The following ideas should be considered by UTU locals in concert with other unions that are also affected.

"1. Organize mass meetings of all organized workers, unorganized and the unemployed against Nixon's New Economic Policy.

"2. Organize mass informational picket lines at appropriate government offices to oppose the freeze. Contact other labor unions, such as the United Auto Workers, who might be interested in building such public protests against the freeze.

"3. Call for a national congress of labor meeting. The legislative depart-

ments of the AFL-CIO affiliates and the independent unions such as the Teamsters and United Auto Workers could convene a national congress of our own with elected representatives. At such a congress the entire labor movement and its allies could present our own solution to the mounting economic problems we are faced with. We could develop a program and national structure for independent political action along the lines of forming a mass labor party if the politicians in Washington continue to ignore our needs.

"These are some modest proposals for action and I would like your comments and ideas on the above suggestions. If your local takes any action along the above lines please let me know."

This was signed by RTVC Secretary Ed Heisler. The RTVC mailing address is: P.O. Box 475, Bensonville, Ill. 60106.

Inquiry spotlights Lindsay's corrupt cops

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 29—"It is well known that the mercenary wages cops receive are supplemented by bribes and payoffs, often received from the very racketeers they are supposedly protecting the people from," *The Militant* stated Jan. 29 in an editorial on the "strike" of New York cops.

How the armed defenders of private property supplement their income has become even better known during the last two weeks, as hearings have been conducted here by the "Knapp Commission," the five-member Commission to Investigate Alleged Police Corruption, headed by Wall Street lawyer Whitman Knapp.

The Lindsay-appointed commission's 17-month-long investigation, costing \$540,000 in city and federal tax money, has brought to light many of the details involved in the elaborate payoff setup that channels an annual minimum of \$4-million in graft from the construction business, bars and the operators of gambling, prostitution and drug rackets into the pockets of "New York's Finest."

A succession of cops, former cops, investigators, gamblers, and others have appeared as witnesses in the hearings. Their testimony, in response to the questioning of commission counsel Michael F. Armstrong, has revealed, among other things, that:

- The acceptance of bribes, payoffs and other illegal gratuities is virtually a universal practice on the force, for everyone from rookies to inspectors. The regular per capita monthly income of plainclothes cops from graft varies from \$400-\$500 per cop in mid-Manhattan's Third Division to around \$1,500 per month per cop in East Harlem's Sixth Division.

- The practices are well enough established that they have generated a ritual and vocabulary in which new, young cops become educated by older cops. One witness, Patrolman Edward F. Droge Jr., testified that he was taught by older members of the force how to begin taking money before he had graduated from the police academy.

- Virtually every unit in the city has a "pad" (a regular schedule of fixed graft payments) of which each man in the unit receives a certain share (his "nut"). There is a graduated scale of graft income that corresponds to rank and assign-

ment, with plainclothes patrolmen being the biggest money-makers next to the brass (division commanders, lieutenants, captains, inspectors, etc.).

- In addition to money from the "pad," free meals and "scores" (one-shot bribes), some cops, such as those in the Harlem narcotics division, have additional arrangements. An established practice on the Harlem narcotics squad is the sale of heroin to informants in exchange for stolen merchandise (often stolen to specifications by informants for cops who place advance orders).



As a group of Black high school student observers at the hearings remarked, there is basically "nothing new" in all of this. "We see things like this every day," 18-year-old Denise Atkins told the *New York Times* Oct. 21. "Payoffs, kickbacks, corruption—that's all we see."

And if the hearings themselves are not something one sees every day, neither are they anything new, as Fred J. Cook, the author, pointed out in the *New York Times* "Week in Review" section Oct. 24: "More than 75 years ago," Cook

wrote, "the Lexow probe shook the city with its revelations of police corruption. So did the Seabury investigation of the 1930s and the Harry Gross scandal of the 1950s."

The Knapp hearings are proving to be no exception in terms of the momentary sensation they are creating. Daily segments of the hearings have been carried on two TV stations, at least one radio station has broadcast the entire proceedings live, and the New York daily papers have given the disclosures consistent front-page play.

It would be naive to expect the present hearings to depart from the basic pattern set by the earlier probes Cook mentioned and other similar investigations. Once all the shock and sensation have subsided, things will still be the same.

Mayor Lindsay has as much as admitted this, saying he intended to use the recommendations of the Knapp Commission expected in a written report by the end of the year, "as the basis for a major campaign to build public confidence in the Police Department and the integrity of our law enforcement processes" (*New York Times*, Oct. 26).

Despite Lindsay's attempt to play the role of corruption-busting mayor, his image is not coming out of the Knapp inquiry untainted. The creation of the commission in May 1970 came only after great publicity caused by two cops charging that Lindsay aides Jay Kriegel and Arnold Fraiman (now a supreme court justice) refused to investigate reports of police corruption. Knapp himself has admitted that the mayor cannot escape responsibility for the graft exposed by the commission.

Not only has all of the shady dealing exposed by the hearings been going on while Lindsay has been mayor, but it has been flourishing in spite of the shadowboxing bouts with department corruption waged by his "Mr. Clean" top cop, Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy.

Murphy's unique definition of honesty can be gauged by his handling of the case of Chief of Detectives Albert A. Seedman. After relieving Seedman of his duties for five days because the chief, his wife and another couple had eaten an \$80 dinner free at the New York Hilton, Murphy reinstated him, saying, "There is no indication that Chief Seedman is other than an honest man."

Former police agent tells of provocations

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has been accused of wholesale law-breaking in a murderous war against militant elements in the Black community and other political dissidents.

The charges were leveled by Louis Tackwood, 28, who for nearly a decade was a paid police informer and provocateur within the Black community.

Tackwood publicly declared that on Aug. 18, 1965, on instructions from superiors in a secret division of the LAPD, he made an "anonymous" call to police headquarters falsely advising them that guns were in the process of being transported into Muslim Mosque 27 of the Nation of Islam. The call, he said, was set up to provide the justification for the police attack on the mosque that followed, an attack in which eight Muslims were wounded. No guns were found in the mosque.

Tackwood further said that he had acted as an intermediary between the police and the cultural nationalist group US, led by Ron Karenga. He charged that the police had provided US with funds and weapons to wage gang warfare against the Panthers. On Jan. 17, 1969, Panther members Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter and John Huggins were gunned down. Two people associated with US were convicted of the killings.

He also charged that the police had planned for months to carry through the Nov. 17, 1969, raid on the Panther headquarters which resulted in the present trial in Los Angeles of 13 Panthers on charges of conspiracy to assault an officer, conspiracy to commit murder, etc.

Tackwood charged that the principal prosecution witness in the present trial, a former Panther leader who turned state's witness, is in fact a police agent who helped plan the raid. He said that the witness, Melvin (Cotton) Smith, had been identified to him as a police agent prior to the attack on the Panther headquarters.

Tackwood also disclosed that, under the direction of the LAPD, he had infiltrated the election campaign staff of D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, the two Black Caucus candidates elected to the Berkeley City Council last April.

Tackwood also asserted that the LAPD had advance knowledge of the Marin County courthouse shootout that led to the present prosecution of Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee.

He further asserted that the L. A. cops also had advance knowledge of the San Quentin shootout that led to the death of George Jackson. He said that he had been assured before the shootout by an L. A. secret police officer that Jackson would never come to trial for his alleged part in the shooting of a Soledad prison guard.

The media here has focused with most interest on a claim by Tackwood that members of the LAPD had discussed with state and federal intelligence agents the idea of setting off an explosive at the upcoming Republican convention in San Diego with the idea that this would lead Nixon to declare a state of emergency under which they could conduct a roundup of militants.

Tackwood's record as a police informer and provocateur is far from savory. He says that in two criminal cases he presented trumped-up police testimony that sent two men to prison for long terms and put another on death row. He says he killed a man

who was beginning to suspect his police ties and enjoyed immunity for the act.

But independent investigation, some of it from hostile quarters, indicates considerable substance to Tackwood's charges.

His disclosures have been made public through the Citizens' Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC), a local formation dedicated to probing and countering illegal investigations by law enforcement agencies, exposing police fabrications of "conspiracies" against political dissidents, and bringing to public attention illegal acts of intimidation and harassment of such dissidents.

Tackwood originally approached an underground paper, the *Los Angeles Free Press*, with an offer of information about the illegal activity of the LAPD. He was referred to Michael McCarthy, a political writer for the paper who is actively involved with CRIC and who referred him to that committee.

The committee taped Tackwood's entire story and then, realizing its explosive potential, sought other corroborative efforts in addition to its own. The *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* were informed of the story and offered the opportunity to investigate it on their own.

The three publications agreed, and in addition to their own study of the case, they arranged for Tackwood to be subjected to lie detector tests, which were administered by Chris Gugas, past president and current board chairman of the American Polygraph Association. He is regarded as a top expert in the field.

Tackwood, who was born in New Orleans and came here at age seven,

said his relations with the police began in 1962 when he was arrested for car theft. As an alternative to prosecution, he was offered the job of police informer in criminal matters.

Tackwood says that he was assigned to infiltrate the Panther Party in 1969. At that time, he says, a Sgt. Ronald Farwell, a Black member of the Criminal Conspiracy Section, the department in charge of surveillance of Black militants, provided him with names and photos of several hundred Black Panthers in the state. He spent several weeks studying them.

Farwell, Tackwood declares, then went over the photos with him and pointed out a number whom he identified as police agents within the Panthers.

Among those whom Tackwood charges were identified as police agents at that time was "Cotton" Smith, present principal prosecution witness in the Panther 13 trial.

Explaining his infiltration of the Berkeley campaign, Tackwood said he had been sent up north to gather information on an individual involved in the Angela Davis case. The individual, he said, turned out to be active in the Bailey-Simmons campaign, and it was decided that it would be useful for him to gather information on the campaign.

The polygraph expert, Chris Gugas, says he put Tackwood through rigorous, intensive testing of several days' duration. He concluded that while Tackwood was "an opportunist who will work for the highest price," he "did answer all the critical questions truthfully on the examination." He said he is convinced that Tackwood's statements "have considerable validity."

The National Picket Line

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT upheld two lower court rulings denying both federal and New York State government employees the right to strike.

The first case, decided on Oct. 12, involved the United Federation of Postal Clerks, which had sued to force the federal government to prove at least that a striking worker (and his or her union) were "essential" to national safety and health. Last March, a U.S. Court of Appeals had denied that petition.

The New York State case had been brought by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and challenged the constitutionality of the 1967 Taylor Law. Under the Taylor Law, not only are government employees forbidden to strike but any union wishing to represent them must pledge it will not even advocate the right to strike. The union based its case on infringements of the First Amendment's free speech clause.

In a third case, and only as a token to the growing militancy of the oppressed national minorities, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal in a case brought by a group of large construction firms seeking to declare the "Philadelphia Plan" unconstitutional. The Philadelphia Plan requires that building and road construction firms hire and train a certain percentage of Black and Latino workers to qualify for federal contracts.

The plan has failed due to the united opposition of the industry and the AFL-CIO building trades craft unions. The building trades unions got around the plan by giving would-be apprentices (predominately high school dropouts) such severe tests that most of them failed. One veteran construction worker who saw the test said, "Hell, I've been in the trade 30 years and I couldn't pass that test!"

An industry spokesman said the suit was brought because the plan "quotas" "violate the concept of a color-blind (?) Constitution and the equal employment opportunities section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

JAMES J. DICKMAN, president of the New York Shipping Association, announced Oct. 26 that he expects management in other ports besides Philadelphia and New Orleans to seek

local court injunctions against the East Coast longshoremen's strike. The strike began Oct. 1 when the shippers association locked out New York longshoremen. Dickman's purpose, of course, is to break the coast-wide strike and starve the New York longshoremen back to work under conditions dictated by the employers.

A NEW GIMMICK has been introduced by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics in order to further cover up the extent of unemployment in the country. The bureau recently revealed that henceforth it would no longer announce separate unemployment figures for the ghetto areas of large cities. The jobless rate in these inner-city areas now officially stands at 10.4 percent, as against 6 percent nationally. Among Black and Spanish-speaking youth, unemployment is now 37.1 percent.

In a letter to Secretary of Labor Hodgson, AFL-CIO President George Meany charged that the BLS is being politicized in order to cover up the real situation. Meany said:

"The announcement several days ago that the publication of quarterly reports on employment and unemployment conditions in urban poverty areas will be discontinued during 1972 — incidentally an election year — is the most recent of shocking examples of what is happening to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. . . .

"It came on the heels of the reorganization of the agency with shifts and downgrading of key career personnel, combined with the separation of interpretation of economic data from the collection and analysis of such information. . . . That development . . . came only a few months after career, nonpartisan statisticians were barred from the long-time practice of interpreting monthly employment and unemployment reports at public press briefings."

THE BALTIMORE LOCAL of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union struck back in anger at George Meany's abject acceptance of a place on the Nixon pay board by withdrawing all its delegates to state and local AFL-CIO bodies because "It is unbelievable to us that Meany would agree to a board weighted 2 to 1 against the workers of the nation."

— MARVEL SCHOLL

Youths rebel in five of Ceylon's prisons

From *Intercontinental Press*

Sirimavo Bandaranaike's "United Front" government in Ceylon is apparently having difficulty maintaining "law and order" in its detention centers. The centers were set up to hold the nearly 16,000 youths arrested during the witch-hunt the regime launched last April.

The October 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that rebellions have taken place at five of the centers. The campuses of Vidyodaya and Vidyalkankara, which have been transformed from universities into prisons, were the scenes of two of the revolts.

According to the account by an unnamed Colombo correspondent, "The detainees attacked guards with improvised weapons. Furniture was smashed, tube lights and ceiling fans wrenched out, toilets reduced to a shambles, doors and windows shattered. The buildings of the Vidyodaya university, a multimillion rupee showpiece, now look like cattle sheds. The damage caused in the science depart-

ment of this university alone is estimated at about Rs1 million [1 rupee equals US\$.168]."

The correspondent also reported that pictures of Lenin, Marx, and Che Guevara adorn the walls of the campus-prison.

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of October 7, the Lanka Sama Samaja party, one of whose members is minister of justice, threatened disciplinary measures against lawyers who undertake to defend any person suspected of having supported the April "insurrection."

Other defendants, however, are having more luck. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent, "many" members of the security forces have been brought before courts after the government received complaints that they had committed rape and murder under cover of the "state of emergency." Bandaranaike has decided to try them behind closed doors in order to avoid the damage to morale that might result from publicity.

from Pathfinder

"If war is right let it be declared by the people. You who have your lives to lose, you certainly above all others have the right to decide the momentous issue of war or peace."

- Eugene V. Debs, Canton, Ohio speech, 1918



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In Review

Film

SACCO & VANZETTI

Sacco and Vanzetti. Directed by Giuliano Montaldo. Produced by George Papi and Harry Colombo. Starring Gian Maria Volonte and Riccardo Cucciolla. A UMC Pictures release.

On May 5, 1920, two Italian immigrants were arrested in Brockton, Mass., and charged with a robbery that had taken place in South Braintree three weeks earlier. This was no ordinary case, however. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested as anarchists—and as an afterthought charged with robbery and murder.

Their arrest can only be understood in the context of the 1920 anti-red witch-hunts initiated by then U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. And the Palmer raids themselves were only one aspect of a campaign of repression that had begun much earlier, that had begun as an attack on the trade unions and had burgeoned into a campaign to throttle opposition to U.S. involvement in World War I, and to quell the popular response to the Bolshevik victory in Russia.

Where should one begin the story of Sacco and Vanzetti? With their ar-

rest? On the day of the robbery? With the Palmer raids? With the Russian revolution? The arrest of Eugene V. Debs? Giuliano Montaldo chose to open this film with the Jan. 2, 1920, Palmer raids on the headquarters of left-wing organizations. Another director might have begun with some personal incident, perhaps Sacco writing a letter to his father. But this would have been a very different movie, a movie about Nick and Bart, two impoverished immigrants, a shoemaker and a fish peddler, wrenched from friends and relatives and thrust improbably into political prominence. Such a film would have been less honest than Montaldo's.

Montaldo uses the Palmer raids as a frame to his portrait of Sacco and Vanzetti in order to focus our attention on the political significance of their trial and execution: the Sacco-Vanzetti case was not a simple miscarriage of justice but a deliberate and vicious attack on the movement they symbolized.

Sacco and Vanzetti were conscious of themselves as political symbols. In Vanzetti's own words:

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking

at street corners to scorning men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—Nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—All! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

The film is concerned primarily with the course of the trial. Witnesses testify. Lawyers argue. Jurors fidget. Montaldo compresses into a two-hour film the seven years between May 1920 and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in August 1927. Years are welded together. The trial and appeal are almost superimposed.

Gian Maria Volonte and Riccardo Cucciolla give remarkable performances as Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco. Vanzetti is throughout composed and dignified. When a woman comments on the encouraging progress of the trial, he replies, "It would be going well had we done the robbery."

Sacco is more naive. He depends

on the defense attorney's skill and the witnesses' contradictory testimony to win the trial. His moving description of their politics is so appealing that it makes us wonder why there is such obstinate resistance to an equitable distribution of the wealth and to an end to war, and why any rational person could endorse hunger and destitution.

But Sacco and Vanzetti and the forces arrayed in their defense could never have won the case simply on the merits of their arguments. Judge Thayer, District Attorney Katzman, and Massachusetts Governor Fuller were so determined to execute Sacco and Vanzetti that they stole and destroyed evidence from the court's archives that implicated a band of outlaws, the Morelli gang, as the real culprits in the South Braintree robbery and murder. These men were intent on execution because Sacco and Vanzetti and the movement they symbolized posed a real threat to the status quo.

An important weakness of *Sacco and Vanzetti* is that it does not adequately deal with the activities of the International Labor Defense (ILD), which organized the massive protest campaign on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. This weakness stems from Montaldo's selection of the trial itself as the focus of his film.

The Boston Committee to Defend Sacco and Vanzetti is portrayed as an assortment of well-meaning friends, seven or eight bumblers, an insolent lawyer with an Irish temper and a competent lawyer with an English surname. Although it is true that the Boston Committee did not always act



The following is the text of the speech by James P. Cannon to a mass meeting in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti in Chicago on May 13, 1927. Cannon was the national secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD), which organized the nationwide protest movement that sought to save the two victims of capitalist "justice."

Cannon was a founder of the American Communist movement. He was expelled as a Trotskyist in 1928 and is currently the national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

This speech was first published in the June 1927 issue of *Labor Defender*, the ILD's newsletter. It, along with other articles by Cannon during the Sacco and Vanzetti defense campaign, are available in a collection of his writings entitled *Notebook of an Agitator* (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N. Y., N. Y. 10014, \$2.95).

The Sacco-Vanzetti case has been a part of American labor history in the making. It is seven years now since Sacco and Vanzetti have been in the shadow of the electric chair. I do not believe that history knows of a similar case. I do not believe that we could find anywhere a case of such prolonged torture as the holding of the sentence of death over the heads of men for seven years. At the end of that time we come together for a meeting and do not know yet whether that sentence is to be executed or not.

The cause of Sacco and Vanzetti demands of us, of the entire labor movement, militant, unhesitating and united support. We may have different opinions on many problems; but there is one thing we have become sure of in these seven years in which we have said our word for Sacco and Vanzetti. We have become absolutely convinced that the case of Sacco and

Vanzetti, the case of these two Italian workers in Massachusetts, is not the case of two hold-up men or bandits. We have become convinced that it is the working class against the capitalists. We have become convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti are not only innocent of this specific crime which they are charged with, but that they are innocent of any crime except that of being rebels against capitalist exploitation of the masses.

Their case has gone so far that we do not need to discuss it any longer from a legal standpoint. But for those who are interested, it has been set forth by Mr. Holly. And we can say for others, that recently a book was published by Professor Felix Frankfurter in which he comes to the conclusion that there is no legal case against Sacco and Vanzetti.

But the case of Sacco and Vanzetti has a far bigger significance than any legal procedure. Sacco and Vanzetti began in this case as two employees, obscure fighters of the working class. But they have grown in these years until their personalities have made their impression not only in Massachusetts, not only in the United States, but all over Europe and America.

Sacco and Vanzetti have grown as the great symbols of the whole labor movement. They stand for the upward struggle against oppression and exploitation, for that fearless defiance of the enemies of labor with which the best representatives of the working class are instinct.

Everyone today knows why the Bourbons of Massachusetts arrested, imprisoned and tried Sacco and Vanzetti. Had they not been scrupulously loyal to the cause of the working class, they would not now be faced with the grim march to the death chair. Had they remained silent while their broth-



in harmony with the ILD, this is hardly an accurate portrait.

There is little attempt, beyond some valuable film clips of the actual demonstrations, to depict the activities of the International Labor Defense.

It is made clear in the movie that Vanzetti repudiated a mere legal victory, acquittal or pardon. He tells Sacco: "We have a responsibility to the movement" to conduct a political defense. What is not made clear, how-

ever, is that movement's sense of responsibility to them.

We are shown demonstrators chanting "Freedom for Nick and Bart." But we do not learn that the demonstrators were in large part rank-and-file workers who had been organized through the ILD in spite of the indifference and sometimes opposition of the labor bureaucrats. We do not know that the demand for "freedom" was deliberately counterposed to the

demand for commutation of their death sentence to life imprisonment, which, in the eyes of the ILD, would have meant collaborating with the state to punish Sacco and Vanzetti for a crime they did not commit.

"The need of the hour is an organized united movement of protest and solidarity on a national and international scale," wrote James P. Cannon, national secretary of the ILD, in the May 1927 issue of the ILD's

ers and comrades around them suffered persecution and oppression, had they not made the ideal of the liberation of the working class their own ideal, there would not today be a Sacco-Vanzetti case. Had they, in court, begged for mercy and renounced their cause and their past, they would have been freed to achieve obloquy.

But they did none of this. Despite the hundreds of interminable nights and days of imprisonment, with the ghastly thought of execution constantly in their minds, they have remained as simply true to the workers' cause as they were before this infamous frame-up was conceived in the minds of the Massachusetts reaction. Yes, their persecution has even steeled their convictions, and has already bound them inseparably with the history of the American labor movement.

After seven years they came to court for sentence. I wish every worker in America could read the speech that Vanzetti made there. After seven years of torture, with the death sentence hanging over him, this man stood up in court, not as one guilty, not as one afraid. He turned to the judge and said to him:

"You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking with fear, because you are the one that is guilty of attempt to murder."

Vanzetti called his witnesses there, and not merely legal witnesses. He marshaled before Judge Thayer's attention the thousands who have decided to hold mass meetings such as ours; and public men of our period like Anatole France, Maxim Gorki, Bernard Shaw, Henri Barbusse, Albert Einstein. He pointed to the many millions who have protested against the frame-up.

He turned to Eugene Victor Debs

and other men in America. Let us not forget that we should measure guilt and innocence not by formal evidence in court alone, but by higher values than that. Let us not forget that the last thing that Eugene Debs wrote publicly was an appeal to the workers of America for Sacco and Vanzetti, an appeal whose stirring language aroused with renewed vigor the protest of hundreds of thousands in this country, and brought again the million-voiced demand for life and freedom for these two valiant fighters, and condemnation of their persecutors.

It is hard to speak with restraint. I, like Comrade Chaplin, also had the honor of talking with Vanzetti. Everyone that has seen and talked with him comes away with the feeling that he has stood in the presence of one of the greatest spirits of our time.

It is hard to speak with restraint when one is pressed by the thought that the vengeful executioners of Massachusetts are consummating their hideous plan to press the switch that will forever remove from our ranks the persons of these two men who we feel are so much a part of labor and its cause. Our impassioned determination to mobilize all of our strength and power to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti from their blood-lusting jailers must be communicated throughout the land, if we are to save them from the fate that has been prepared for them.

While I agree with the statements of Fitzpatrick that our meeting should dissociate itself from irresponsible people, let us not forget the year 1915 when Joe Hill was killed in Utah. We must remember that when the wave of working-class protest began to rise in protection of Joe Hill, gangs of

detectives began to fake threatening letters. After the heart of Joe Hill had been pierced by the bullets of the death squad, it was exposed that frame-up letters had been used. This must be a lesson for us and for those who are the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti.

There is no need to threaten the governor or anyone else because the protection of Sacco and Vanzetti is far stronger than any personal act. The protection of Sacco and Vanzetti is the job of the working class of the world, which is knocking on the door, not with the hands of irresponsible individuals, but with the titanic fist of the workers of the wide world, because they believe in the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. We say to you, our friends and our chairman, before they turn on the switch, that the real aim is not only to burn Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair but to burn the labor movement in America.

If the workers of America and the workers of the world are determined enough and encouraged enough, we can yet save Sacco and Vanzetti. And it is in that spirit that we meet here tonight. We do not meet here to resign ourselves to their fate. We meet as another stage in the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti. We believe that the workers assembled here will go back to their organizations and their jobs and raise again the battle cry for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Let us demand not only the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti. Let us demand also the impeachment of the monstrous judge who tried and sentenced them. Let us consider ways and means of making our protest more effective. From this great movement, from the words of Sacco and Vanzetti, let us draw inspiration.

We have hope, and we have faith in

newsletter *Labor Defender*. "The great worldwide movement which has stayed the hands of the executioners up till now must be revived and infused with new strength and militancy. In this movement, unity must be the watchword. All partisan aims, all differences of opinion and all controversial questions must be put aside. All forces must be united without delay on the broadest possible basis for the struggle to free Sacco and Vanzetti."

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial is part of a history of political frame-ups in the United States: IWW leader Bill Haywood in 1906; Joe Hill in 1915; the Scottsboro case in the thirties; James P. Cannon and other trade union and Trotskyist leaders under the Smith Act in the forties; the Rosenbergs in the fifties; and today Angela Davis, among others.

Sacco and Vanzetti did not appear in a vacuum. It appears at a time when the current radicalization has generated a growing awareness of radical history. Montaldo, however, in attempting to make clear the relevance of the Sacco-Vanzetti case chose not to make an explicit connection with current cases, like that of Angela Davis. Instead, he has Joan Baez limp into the film with a syrupy solo of "The Ballad of Sacco and Vanzetti," the lyrics of which were for the most part mercifully unintelligible. Since Montaldo avoids melodrama throughout the rest of the film, Baez' doltish intrusion is a disappointment.

Despite its flaws, however, *Sacco and Vanzetti* goes a long way toward restoring the word "propaganda" to its original dignity.

— CLAIRES MORIARTY

the workers of America, and in the workers of the rest of the world, who have so often and readily responded to the calls for solidarity and aid for Sacco and Vanzetti. Every worker in the land must be made to realize the monstrosity and significance to the whole labor movement of this crime. Every worker must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brothers to build a solid wall of defense for the victims of the Massachusetts Bourbons who are bent on their bestial revenge. Only the great and inspiring solidarity of the whole working class will succeed in snatching Sacco and Vanzetti from the chair of death.

BOOKS BY CANNON

Revolutionary agitator and educator since his Wobbly days, Cannon was among the first to be indicted and convicted under the Smith Act during World War II.

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Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN DINNER. Speakers: Alice Conner, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia; Sid Finehirsh, Southeastern Student Mobilization Committee coordinator and member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. Donation: \$1.25. Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Phone: 523-0610.

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN ABORTION SPEAK-OUT. Speakers: Renee Babel, managing editor of the Pratt Institute *Prattier*, on "Black Women and Abortion;" Marilyn Vogt, Socialist Workers Party; a representative from Brooklyn College Women's Liberation; a high school woman from the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m., at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

CLEVELAND

OHIO SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri. and Sat., Nov. 12-13 at Case Western Reserve University. Fri., 8 p.m.: "Is Biology Women's Destiny?" Speaker: Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist. Place: Wade Commons, CWRU. Sat., 1 p.m.: "Labor, the Wage Freeze and the War." Speaker: Herman Kirsch. Sat., 2:15 p.m.: Panel discussion on the 1972 elections. Sat., 3 p.m.: "Black Nationalism and the 1972 Elections." Speaker: Cecil Lampkin. All afternoon sessions in ballroom of Thwing Hall, CWRU. Sat., 5:30 p.m.: Dinner. Sat., 7:30 p.m.: 1972 Ohio Socialist Workers Party Campaign Kick-off Rally—"The Crisis in American Politics." Speaker: Carol Loeb. For tickets and further information, contact Ohio Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 4420 Superior Ave. Telephone: 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

REVOLUTIONARY CHICANO YOUTH AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Mirta Vidal, Young Socialist Alliance national director of Chicano and Latino work. 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.

L.A. WOMEN'S ABORTION ACTION COMMITTEE MEETING. Wed., Nov. 10, 8 p.m., at 2936 W. 8th St., Third Floor. All women welcome. Join us in the struggle to win control over our own bodies—join the abortion law repeal campaign. Help build the Nov. 20 demonstration in San Francisco to repeal all abortion laws, end forced sterilization, and repeal all restrictive contraception laws. For bus tickets to demonstration and further information, call 487-7696.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY. Sun., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m., at Steitler Hall B-6, University of Pennsylvania. Featured speaker: 1972 SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness on "America's Political Crisis." Representatives from Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will also speak. Admission free.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., Nov. 26, 8 p.m.: "The Wage Freeze and the American Labor Movement." Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*. 9 p.m.: "How Students Can Fight the Wage Freeze." Speaker: Rose Ogden. Sat., Nov. 27, 10:30 a.m.: Donuts and coffee, 35 cents. 11 a.m.: A panel on "Crimes Against Women," focusing on abortion restrictions, forced sterilization, rape, prostitution, and women prisoners. 1:30 p.m.: Lunch, 75 cents. 2:15 p.m.: A panel on "Nationalism, Internationalism and Self-Determination." Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*, will speak on Black nationalism; a

representative of the Puerto Rican liberation movement will speak on Puerto Rican nationalism; and Nancy Strebe will speak on oppressed nation states. 4:30 p.m.: Dinner, \$1.25. 7 p.m.: Presidential Campaign Rally. 9 p.m.: Party. All conference sessions will be held at 1004 Filbert Street (one block north of Market). Registration for the entire conference is \$3, h.s. students \$1.50. (Registration fee includes a three-month introductory subscription to the *International Socialist Review*.) Admission to single sessions \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. *International Socialist Review* and Young Socialist Alliance. For further information, call WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Sat., Nov. 13, 5 p.m. at Cafe du Nord, 2170 Market St. Featured speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate; Nat Weinstein, 1972 SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco. Cocktails served at 5 p.m., followed by Swedish smorgasbord. Tickets \$5. For reservations and further information, call 626-9958 or write SWP Campaign, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114.

NOV. 20 MARCH ON SAN FRANCISCO FOR REPEAL OF ALL ABORTION LAWS. Important dates: Thurs., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m.: Monitors Training Meeting at Women's National Abortion Action Coalition office, 115 10th St. Sisters only. Call (415) 864-2060 for further information.

Fri., Nov. 12, 6-8 p.m. Picket the "Pro-Life" convention at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, 1 Knob Hill (corner of California and Mason Sts.) Picket sponsored by WONAAC West. Everyone urged to participate.

Sat., Nov. 13, 12 noon: Western States WONAAC Working Committee Meeting at the Unitarian Church, corner of Franklin and Geary. Monitors Training Meeting afterward. Sisters only. Telephone: (415) 864-0500.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:30 a.m. every Monday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

TWIN CITIES SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., Nov. 26 and Sat., Nov. 27. Fri., 7 p.m.: Dinner: 8 p.m.: Campaign Rally—Minnesota Socialist Workers Party candidates for 1972: 9:30 p.m.: Cabaret. Sat., 1 p.m.: "Is Chile Going Socialist?" 3 p.m.: "The Roots of Women's Oppression." 5:30 p.m.: Dinner. 7 p.m.: "Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s." 8:30 p.m.: Party. Advance price for entire weekend, \$5. Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Telephone: 332-7781.

... Black

Continued from page 12

having great difficulty in uniting themselves, let alone uniting the masses of Black people.

However, even if the Black bloc Bond desires is formed, the demands he suggests be met in return for backing the Democratic Party's nominee for president are very limited. His requests boil down primarily to obtaining more Black jobs and positions in the federal government—hardly a demand covering the gamut of problems and dilemmas facing the African-American mass.

What about bringing the brothers home from Southeast Asia now; freeing Angela Davis, incarcerated Black

Panthers, and other Black political prisoners; implementing the demands for prison reform drawn up by the Attica inmates; investigation and prosecution of those responsible for assassinating George Jackson at San Quentin and the 32 inmates at Attica; taxing of the rich corporations and banks in order to release funds to deal with the urban crisis and aid the movement for Black control of the Black community; ending the wage freeze; cutting the workweek to 30 hours with no cut in pay in order to create more jobs; setting up community councils through which Black people could exercise control over the institutions in their community; free abortion on demand and no forced sterilization; ending government assistance to all oppressive and racist regimes from South Africa to South Vietnam and dismantling all foreign military bases; ending the draft; autonomous Black studies departments; and support to Black workers in their struggles against racism on the job?

These are just a few of the demands that should be incorporated into any meaningful program for change in the Black community. And these are the demands upon which struggles are being or have been conducted throughout the country. Yet, one searches in vain for an expression of these demands in the programs to be pushed at the Democratic Party convention by Bond, Stokes, Richard Hatcher, Gibson or Evers.

Neither have these Black Democrats lifted a finger to help organize the Black community around these issues. They may pay lip service on occasion, but because they choose to work in the Democratic Party, they tailor their programs, projects and actions to the needs of that party, not to the needs of the masses.

In this way, the Black Democrats serve as a barrier to the independent organization and action of the Black community, a brake on the development of Black political power.

The burning task of the hour is to break down the wall that now exists between the demands that Black people have raised and are moving on in the streets and the demands made at the ballot box. The instrument necessary to break down this wall and achieve a unified struggle in all arenas is an independent Black political party, which will be beholden to no one or no force but Black people.

The continuing motion by brothers and sisters behind the prison walls, in uniform, on the campus, in the high schools, and on the job points up the futility of Black people cling-

ing to the Democratic Party as a solution. The Democrats are just as responsible as the Republicans for the continued existence of those walls, uniforms, unemployment, racism, inflation and other evils against which Black people are fighting. It is out of these recurring struggles and the programs generated by them that the basis will be laid for a mass, independent, Black political party.

... GIs

Continued from page 3

The 29 GIs enlisted the legal assistance of a seven-member team of ACLU and NAACP attorneys, headed by ACLU legal director Melvin Wulf, but only two of the seven had arrived when the Oct. 4 proceedings opened in the Funari Barracks trial center. The two were Melvin Boulden of the NAACP and Thomas Culver of the ACLU. (An Air Force legal officer for six years, Captain Culver opened an ACLU office in England to work with GIs after he was discharged recently. Last summer, he successfully fought his own court-martial, initiated by the brass after he led a May 30 march of U.S. military personnel to the U.S. Embassy to present an anti-war petition.)

The judge, a Captain Green, tried to refuse the GIs the right to replace their appointed defense counsel with Boulden and Culver and seemed inclined to deny a motion for postponement made to allow the rest of the defense team to arrive and prepare their case.

Green's belligerence disappeared after a brief recess, suggesting that his superiors were more sensitive than he to the type of conduct that should be displayed before the world press. He granted a continuance until Oct. 26.

Another trial that was to have begun Oct. 7 in Frankfurt with four more of the 29 was speedily and courteously granted a continuance by the judge, a Major Hunt.

Then, on Oct. 22, all charges were dropped. A tentative move by the brass to give the GIs punitive transfers to Vietnam was blocked by quick defense action. Instead, the GIs have been transferred to other bases in Germany. Before they departed, one of them said: "It started as the Darmstadt 53, but now there will be 53 Darmstadts. Wherever they send us, we will explain to other soldiers how to stick together and organize to win against the Army."

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.

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COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

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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.

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

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

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

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

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

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

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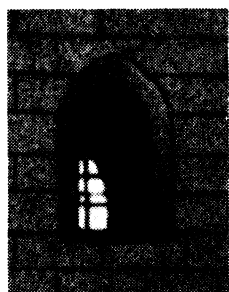
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THE MILITANT

L.A. Raza Unida Party rallies support for Nov. 16 elections

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—"People are beginning to take us seriously." This was the overwhelming sentiment at La Raza Unida Party headquarters after their success in the Oct. 19 primary in Los Angeles' 48th Assembly District. RUP candidate Raul Ruiz won a place on the Nov. 16 ballot. Activists in the party explained in a *Militant* interview what their short- and long-term goals were for La Raza Unida Party.

Rosalio Muñoz of the Chicano Moratorium explained that the short-term goal was to get Raul Ruiz elected, but that the main goal was to begin to lay the basis for future independent political action by Chicanos. They have taken Mexican-American Democrat Richard Alatorre head-on by leafletting and going door-to-door explaining that the Democrats are running a Mexican-American who is controlled by interests outside of the Chicano community and who does not have the community's interests at heart. Damaging to Alatorre has been his attempt to pass himself off as an Italian to the Italian community. According to Raza Unida supporters, literature from his office has listed all the Italian support and never mentions that he is a Mexican-American.

Raza supporters are redoubling their efforts to build for the Nov. 16 elections. Gilbert Cano of the Chicano Moratorium said, "We thought that this was so important that we dropped everything else we were doing to be-

gin to work full-time to build La Raza Unida Party."

Supporters feel that the community is responsive to the idea of building La Raza Unida Party. The problem, they said, was that they were not able to reach all the people who would be sympathetic. Campaign workers in the office said they consider both parties to be the same: The Republican Party is just more outwardly racist, while the Democrats operate more behind the scenes.

Rosalio Muñoz, who is working full-time for La Raza Unida Party, explained that Alatorre has made efforts to discredit the party and has clearly distinguished himself from it. None of the workers in the office believe that they should support a Mexican-American within the Democratic Party.

A MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlán—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán) member from Los Angeles City College stated, "This campaign is beginning to show what the Democrats really are."

Besides door-to-door campaigning, the headquarters is planning a rally for Nov. 14 and plans to confront national presidential hopefuls who have announced plans to visit the Chicano community. They see this as an attempt by liberal Democrats to get Chicanos to vote Democrat and for Alatorre.

Ruiz has endorsed the Nov. 6 anti-war demonstration in Los Angeles. Both he and Muñoz will be speaking.



Photo by John Gray

Los Angeles, Aug. 29, 1970

Campaign supporters at the office stated that they were in complete agreement with a statement that appeared in the *Cal State Times*: "This party is a party that will work 365 days a year for Chicanos."

The Raza Unida Party has three offices in Los Angeles and hopes to open more.

Firsthand report on British terror campaign in N. Ireland

By GERRY FOLEY

DUBLIN—After the mass arrests and internment of suspected Irish republicans touched off a virtual insurrection in the Catholic areas throughout Northern Ireland in the early morning of August 9, the British army resorted to a sustained campaign of terror to intimidate and wear down the nationalist population. Any man or boy found on the streets in the early morning hours in the nationalist districts is liable to immediate arrest and is almost certain to be badly beaten before finally being turned over to the prison authorities. The arrests seem sometimes to be made almost at random, without even a close look at those arrested. For example, a youngster about twelve who was guiding me through the maze of housing developments on the Upper Falls Road in Belfast told of being picked up by the soldiers and released only after complaining, "I'm a wee girl."

Patrols repeatedly break into homes in the nationalist areas, smashing doors and furniture and dragging off whatever men they find at home. These men can be held indefinitely without charge or trial and days may elapse before their relatives and friends can even find out where they are being held. Many of these missing men, moreover, finally turn up seriously injured in the "military" wards of hospitals. This was the case, for example, of Seamus Lynch, whose father made a statement on October

18 to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association about his son's treatment. The statement is printed below. During the time I was in Belfast October 20-22, the Civil Rights Office was filled continually with parents seeking help in finding out what the military had done with their sons.

The father of Seamus Lynch, a 26-year-old docker from the New Lodge Road area of Belfast, today discovered his son in the Royal Victoria Hospital, suffering from a dislocated shoulder and numerous bruises on his back and other parts of his body.

Seamus Lynch told his father and mother today that he had been arrested by the Army in Carrickfergus on Sunday 17th October at 9.30 p.m. and taken to the local police station with eight other of his friends who had also been arrested with him. From there he was taken in a military convoy to Belfast to the Military Barracks at Girdwood Park. En route to Belfast in the armoured car, the soldiers beat and kicked him so severely that his shoulder was dislocated. On arrival at Girdwood he was dragged over the rough ground bodily and his clothes were ripped to shreds.

The soldiers attempted to put Mr. Lynch through the usual torture routine, of being spread-eagled up against the wall—but the pain of his shoulder

was so severe that he collapsed and when he was lying on the ground he was kicked by the military-booted soldiers in the stomach, pelvis, and the lumbar region of his back. A military doctor was then called and upon examination the doctor recommended that Seamus Lynch be taken immediately to the Casualty Department of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Before he was removed to the hospital, Mr. Lynch was physically forced to sign a statement that his injuries were sustained whilst he "accidentally fell out of a lorry!" When his parents saw him this morning he was in agony and had bruises on his face. In full view of his parents he was lifted and half-carried, half-dragged from his bed in the hospital to a waiting car, driven by a special branch policeman with a military escort, and his parents were told he was being taken to the Military Wing of the Musgrave Park Hospital. When his parents inquired there they were told initially that Seamus was not there and then the authorities admitted that he was there and was in fine health and not injured at all. One would wonder in that case why he was there at all.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association demands that Mr. Faulkner [the Northern Ireland Prime minister] retract his lying statement over the weekend that the allegations of brutality were unfounded and we challenge Mr. Faulkner to disprove these undisputable facts.

Angela Davis trial moved to San Jose

By NORTON SANDLER

and MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, Calif., Nov. 2—Judge Richard E. Arnason today denied a defense motion to suppress illegally seized evidence in the Angela Davis trial but granted the motion for changing the site of the trial. The judge moved the trial to San Jose, in Santa Clara County.

During yesterday's hearing on the motions, Howard Moore, chief defense counsel for Davis, pointed out that although Davis was indicted by a California grand jury, federal agents conducted five of the six searches that led to the seizure of Davis' possessions. These searches were illegal, Moore charged. None of the items confiscated—though submitted to the grand jury and used as the basis for the original warrant for Davis' arrest—demonstrated motivation or intent to commit a crime.

One illegal search was executed on the night of July 30, 1970, by customs agents at the Mexican border near San Diego.

Davis and Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson's brother, were stopped while crossing the border, because, officials stated, "They had no apparent motive for a trip south of the border."

In Los Angeles, police and the FBI ransacked Davis' apartment after the Aug. 7, 1970, Marin County shootout. The materials stolen demonstrate the ethereal nature of the evidence upon which the state is building a case of conspiracy to murder and kidnap.

It includes posters advocating freedom for the Soledad Brothers, notes for a speech, the pamphlet *Problems of Women's Liberation*, *A Marxist Approach* by Evelyn Reed, and other materials. FBI agents shuffled through the wastebaskets, closets, and drawers of the apartment and obtained an unidentified photograph, a pair of men's shoes, a camera, a passport, and other "criminal evidence."

The deputy prosecutor arguing the state's case typified in his summary speech the depths to which the FBI and state officials will sink in their zealous effort to convict Davis. He offered as evidence of conspiracy a box of Davis' personal letters, including correspondence with George Jackson, and memoirs seized from the apartment. He quoted one passage addressed "To George," which was dated June 2: "My love, your love reinforces my fighting instincts that instruct me to go to war."

The deputy prosecutor stated that although such quotes may presently seem irrelevant, after the trial begins "This letter to George may turn out to be the principal item of conspiracy."

In rebuttal, Moore concluded, "How can the love that Angela Davis felt for George Jackson and her people be considered a crime, unless one believes that such affection in itself is a crime? How can a spirited political conscience be considered a crime, unless one says to Black people that intellect and learning is criminal?"