

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34—No. 39

Friday, Oct. 23, 1970

Price 15c

Special 4-page feature:

Sisterhood is powerful

—see pages 9-12—

Nixon talks 'peace',



presses war drive

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 15—President Richard Nixon's Oct. 7 "peace" proposal in no way signals a shift in Washington's military or political objectives in Southeast Asia.

It arrogantly asserts Washington's "right" to militarily occupy and dictate the terms of government to the nations and peoples of Indochina. This is a "right" Washington has won solely by force of arms. It flies in the face of the most elementary conception of justice—the right of the people of Indochina to determine their own way of life without outside interference.

In Hanoi, Oct. 14, the North Vietnamese government declared that Nixon's proposal "only serves the scheme to prolong and expand [Washington's] aggressive war in Indochina" and is intended to hide "the fact that the U.S. is obdurately maintaining its aggressive stand against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia."

Nixon's proposal is designed first and foremost to deceive the American people and to give the appearance of an attempt to end the war. The reality is that this administration, like the one before it, is continuing to seek a military victory on the Southeast Asian battlefields.

The near-unanimous support for Nixon's offer from the newspapers and Democratic and Republican party politicians supposedly critical of administration policies all the more emphasizes the importance of massive turnouts for the Oct. 31 demonstrations to de-

mand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from all of Indochina.

These demonstrations will show that the forces of the antiwar movement refuse to be deceived by administration double-talk. They will point to the only real solution to the years of bloodletting in Indochina.

The first question that should be raised about Nixon's proposal is: Just how different is this plan from Nixon's previous ones? The answer is, not very.

The Oct. 8 *New York Times*, despite its praise for Nixon's offer, admitted that "The only really new elements . . . were the standstill cease-fire and the proposal for expanded peace talks."

But even the cease-fire proposal is not "really new." Elsewhere in the same issue, the *New York Times* gave this breakdown of past and present proposals:

"NIXON TODAY—Immediate negotiations for cease-fire in place throughout Indochina to be internationally supervised. . . .

"NIXON 1969—International body acceptable to both sides to supervise cease-fires (presumably local), plus a cessation of combat after a year of troop withdrawals."

Intercontinental Press correspondent Allen Myers commented: "Thus the *Times* saw progress in 'Nixon 1969' moving from an international body supervising a cease-fire to 'Nixon today' favoring a cease-fire internationally supervised."!!!!

One of the "dove" endorsers of Nixon's proposal, Sen. John Sherman Cooper, declared Oct. 8:

"[President Nixon's] call for a cease-fire, the end of all forms of warfare, terror, and killing, and for the immediate exchange of prisoners of war is humane, and should not be refused by North Vietnam and the Vietcong. It provides a means for political settlement. . . ."

The Democratic-Republican display of unanimity behind this particular "peace" offer is not new in the history of the war. It is the rule.

One should remember that at the time of Nixon's election, the "doves" agreed to a "moratorium" on criticism in order to determine the success of Nixon's "secret peace plan."

After Lyndon B. Johnson's resignation address in 1968 and his proposal to open the Paris "peace talks," the "doves" were outspoken in support of the plan. Former Senator Robert F. Kennedy had a "face-to-face" meeting with LBJ "to discuss how we might work together in the interest of national unity during the coming months."

These requests for "national unity" behind one after another phony peace offering underscore the fundamental agreement shared by all the capitalist politicians on U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. This policy has not basically changed since 1961, when the Vietnam "police action" was launched by John F. Kennedy.

Washington's central aim is and has been to crush a popular revolution in Vietnam, (Continued on page 20)

Stop the war!

All out Oct. 31!

U.S. women's struggle has int'l impact

Aug. 26 changes mind
of New Zealander

Wellington, New Zealand
Enclosed is a clipping from *The Dominion*, one of New Zealand's leading dailies, that shows very clearly the international impact of the demands raised in the recent activities of the U.S. women's liberation movement.

[The clipping is a letter to the editor from a Wellington bus driver in which he explains why he no longer opposes the hiring of women bus drivers. "I have now changed my mind completely on this matter," he states, "largely due to news reports of the women's liberation movement in the United States. . . . I now feel that the right to work is inviolable."—Editor]

Your demands came through loud and clear in every local press report of the August women's strike and this clipping is testimony to their effectiveness.

The New Zealand movement is creating widespread interest and we in the Socialist Action League are having to move quickly to keep up with the demands for speakers, literature and all the other needs of a fast-growing movement. Our resources are very small, but we have been able to provide some literature, women's liberation buttons, and articles in *Socialist Action*.

We find *The Militant*, *Intercontinental Press*, and the *International Socialist Review* are invaluable in keeping us informed of developments in the U.S. and in helping us guide the movement here in the right direction.

Kay Fyson

You Can't Always Get What You Want...

... but if you want to join the nation's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization, a revolutionary socialist organization that supports and helps to build the antiwar movement, the self-determination struggles of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nations, and the growing movement for women's liberation, then you can get what you want.



Join the YSA!

— I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
— I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
— ENCLOSED IS .75 FOR "INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE"

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ PHONE _____
CLIP AND MAIL TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER
STATION, NY, NY 10003

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

From a Chicano prisoner

San Luis Obispo, Calif.
I am a political prisoner in the California Men's Colony in San Luis Obispo. Have been in prison for 13 years and recently read an issue of *The Militant* and enjoyed the news immensely.

I need this reading material for a better awareness of social knowledge now! This will be shared with my Brown and Black and white and Red brothers in the struggle for freedom.

All power to the people!

B. D.
de La Raza Chicano

Quebec socialists launch subscription drive

Montreal, Quebec
Enclosed is my sub renewal for the coming year. I notice that the sub base for *The Militant* is widening substantially with each new sub drive. This is a qualitative as well as a quantitative improvement for the vanguard forces of the American left.

We, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, here in Quebec are launching the coming year of *Jeune Garde* [Young Guard] with a sub drive too.

Jeune Garde will be a thematic bi-monthly written in French which will touch the Quebecois student milieu. Upcoming themes are: a Quebecois program for the national and student struggle, women's liberation in oppressed nations, the war in Vietnam, and Palestine.

Subscriptions are 50 cents a year and can be ordered from *Jeune Garde*, 226 Ste. Catherine St. E., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Victor Raymond

Tampa antiwar coalition fights police harassment

Tampa, Fla.
On Sept. 27 the Tampa Area Peace Action Coalition (TAPAC) was denied use of the Zion Lutheran Church for a meeting despite reservations made two weeks in advance. Rev. Robert Eledge, pastor of the church, made public a conversation between Alex Taylor of the police department's Criminal Intelligence Unit and Adrian Kelly, Lutheran circuit counselor, that resulted in Kelly's action preventing the meeting.

According to the Sept. 28 *Tampa Times*, Rev. Kelly confirmed that Taylor had contacted him and "told me who some of the leaders of [TAPAC] were." Because he was told that the group was "a threat to the community," Kelly canceled the reservation. Eledge, however, called the police action "interference" and a "violation of constitutional rights."

The TAPAC meeting, shifted to the

Chapel Fellowship of the University of South Florida, took up the question of defense of the antiwar movement from police harassment and decided that a petition be circulated. It states: "We, the undersigned, strongly and publicly protest this unjustifiable interference by the Tampa Police Department with the constitutionally guaranteed rights of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Although we do not necessarily agree with all of the aims and purposes of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Tampa Area Peace Action Coalition, we support their right to freedom of assembly and freedom of speech." The petition is to be turned in to the mayor's office.

Letters of protest, addressed to Mayor Greco of Tampa, can be sent to TAPAC, Box 8377, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

Frank Lord

What happened?

Greenvale, New York
What happened to *The Militant*? The Oct 9 edition was missing "The Great Society" column, "Women's Liberation Notes," and "In Brief" by Randy Furst.

Also I wish you hadn't switched to the new kind of paper. This might sound like a silly complaint, but in terms of selling *The Militant*, a lot of people bought it just because it looked more impressive than ordinary news paper.

Elaine Feuerstein

[Harry Ring is on vacation. He and his "Great Society" column will return shortly. Other features like "Women's Liberation Notes," "In passing," etc. are not necessarily run every week.

[As for the quality of the paper on which we print, we have little choice if we want a bigger newspaper and wider circulation—which we are all working for!—Editor]

A displaced nation

Brookings, S. D.
Congratulations on your excellent coverage of the Mideast situation. Yours is the only magazine or newspaper I've seen that presents the Palestinians as a displaced nation, a distinct group of Arabs who have a right to their homeland. Mostly they are presented as a trouble-making resistance group that wants to crush the "courageous" nation of Israel, hijacks airlines, and holds innocent hostages.

It had seemed like no one, especially "liberal" politicians and magazines, would stand up for the Palestinians. Thank you for telling the truth.

B. F.

Sex discrimination cited at New York hearings

New York, N. Y.
New York City's Commission on Human Rights held open hearings on sex discrimination for five full days, Sept. 21-25. Numerous experts, representatives of organizations, government agencies, and corporations, and many other individuals, predominantly women (except the corporation representatives), testified. Among them were Florynce Kennedy, Margaret Mead, Beulah Sanders, and Kate Millett.

The hearings became a forum at which women delivered facts, ideas, and first-hand experiences exposing the myriad forms of sex discrimination.

Discrimination, one witness after another stated, is subtle, overt, legal and illegal. It is rampant in the arts, in psychology, at work and out of work,

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-9600. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$15.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34

Number 39

Friday, Oct. 23, 1970

Closing news date—Oct. 14

in government, in education, in crime and punishment, in more ways and occupations than you can imagine.

For example, the New York Corrections Code allows longer prison sentences for women than men for the same crime in cases of vagrancy, petty larceny and prostitution.

Omission, not commission, however, is the rule when it comes to provision of social services that are important to women and children. Abortions are still expensive and difficult to obtain; research on fertility and reproduction is limited; day-care centers are available in New York to only 3 percent of children under the age of six.

On laws concerning employment: some of the state protective laws (now in the process of being changed piecemeal) have been used to keep women back and, at the same time, exceptions have been made for the benefit of the employers.

Instances of violation of laws, even the minimum wage law, were given in restaurant work. Here as elsewhere the higher paid jobs go to men (waiters), an employer preference accommodated by the union.

Domestic workers are the most exploited. In domestic work, there are no standards, social legislation, labor laws, city, state or federal. A former domestic worker, now a para-professional in the school system, told of her own experience. She came to New York from North Carolina 10 years ago in answer to an ad promising \$50 with private room and TV. She arrived to the slave market of domestic workers which exists unchanged today.

This was the first official survey on sex discrimination by the city. It's hoped that the effect of the hearings will be considerable pressure to end discriminatory practices based on sex.

Sarah Lovell

What's good for GM. . .

New York, N. Y.
In his article on General Motors appearing in your issue dated Oct. 9, Dick Roberts quotes the late Charles E. Wilson as having stated in 1953 that "What's good for General Motors is good for the country."

For all I know, he may have said exactly that, in public, following his appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee when it was considering his appointment as defense secretary; but the original remark—and possibly the only one—which started the hassle was: "I have always felt that what is good for the country is good for General Motors, and vice versa."

It amounts to the same, but the words you quote are almost certainly secondhand.

A. G.

200 attend Phila. meeting of NPAC steering committee

PHILADELPHIA—The steering committee of the National Peace Action Coalition met here Oct. 11 to finalize plans for demonstrations against the Vietnam war in more than 30 cities Oct. 31. The meeting, attended by 200 steering committee members and observers, also laid out plans for a national antiwar convention Dec. 4-6.

An analysis of Nixon's televised "peace" plan was made by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon. He noted that all the Senate "doves" commented favorably on the plan despite the fact that it is "completely phony, adds nothing new, and undoubtedly is intended to lay the basis for future military moves." This, he said, emphasized the need for an antiwar movement independent of the political parties and staying in the streets in the fight for immediate withdrawal from Indochina.

Speaking on behalf of UAW secre-

tary-treasurer Emil Mazey, Mort Furay, president of Detroit Local 705 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, proposed to the steering committee that "at least in Detroit" the Oct. 31 demonstration be postponed to Nov. 11. In an earlier letter, Mazey had expressed concern that any disruption Oct. 31 would reflect against candidates critical of the war in the Nov. 3 election.

After full discussion, the steering committee voted nearly unanimously to continue with the slated Oct. 31 action.

James Lafferty, NPAC coordinator and cochairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War, said discussions would continue with Mazey and that unionists had been invited to assist with marshaling to assure the peaceful character of the Oct. 31 action.

The following were added to the NPAC steering committee:

Rev. Richard Fernandez, director of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam; Sid Lens, Chicago antiwar leader; Stewart Kemp, director of the National Council to Repeal the Draft; Grady Glenn, president of the Frame Unit of UAW Ford Local 600 in Dearborn; Ted Wernitz of Computer People for Peace; Dr. Anthony Sterret of the New York Coordinating Committee of the Health Professions for Peace; Spec. 4 Paul Dix of Ft. Hamilton GIs United; Ashley King, New York Neighbors for Peace; Ernie Weiss, assistant educational director of New York District 37, State, County and Municipal workers; Reed Walcott, New York West Side Peace Committee; Cappy Kidd, Tampa Area Peace Action Coalition; and Clara DeMia, Jeanette Rankin Rank and File Brigade.

The NPAC steering committee now numbers 94 persons.

Statewide parley creates Florida antiwar coalition

By FRANK LORD

TAMPA—The Florida Peace Action Coalition was formed at a statewide antiwar conference which met in Tampa at the U of South Florida on Oct. 3.

Unanimously adopted by nearly 100 individuals and representatives present was a proposal presented by the Tampa Area Peace Action Coalition calling for a mass, peaceful and legal march against the war to be held in Tampa on Oct. 31. Antiwar organizations including People for Peace of St. Petersburg, Tampa Area Peace Action Coalition, Veterans for Peace in Gainesville, the Student Mobilization Committee at Florida State U together with activists from Pensacola, Jacksonville, Clearwater, Largo, Orlando and Ft. Lauderdale, sent representatives to the conference.

Expressing the feelings of the Malcolm X Liberation Front, Brett Merkey of Tallahassee delivered a message from Raleigh Jugger giving full support to the decisions of the conference.

The conference adopted the proposal that endorsement be given to all forms of building actions, including marches and teach-ins throughout the state and the three-day peace exhibition to be held in Tampa Oct. 28-30.

A women's workshop at the conference decided to build a women's contingent in the Oct. 31 mass march as well as to have an information booth at the peace exhibition. The workshop on the Mideast agreed to hold teach-ins throughout the state to get out the facts behind Nixon's threat of military intervention.

Rocky Mountain antiwar activists meet in Denver

By JOE JOHNSON

DENVER—A regional antiwar conference held at the U of Colorado, Boulder campus, voted overwhelmingly Oct. 4 to build a mass demonstration against the Indochina war in Denver Oct. 31.

The 200 conference participants included representatives of antiwar groups, high schools, colleges, unions, as well as individual antiwar activists from Colorado, Utah, South Dakota and Wyoming.

The morning plenary session was chaired by Ben Stone, president of the Denver Independent Drivers Union. There were welcoming remarks from the U of Colorado Student Association and the campus SMC chapter. The two groups co-hosted the conference.

There was extensive debate in the plenary and workshops on both the character and date of the proposed action. When the debate concluded, the proposal of the Rocky Mountain Peace Action Council for a massive Oct. 31 demonstration focused on the theme of immediate U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia was supported by the overwhelming majority of the conference. Proposals for a multi-issue action and a proposal that the demonstration be postponed until after the Nov. 3 elections received only a scattering of votes.

Southern conference votes for mass action

By JACK WHITE

ATLANTA—More than 175 antiwar activists from eight southern states and more than 25 high schools and colleges attended the Southeastern Regional Antiwar Conference at Emory U Oct. 3-4 in preparation for the Oct. 31 demonstrations.

Don Gurewitz, executive secretary of SMC, gave a keynote address outlining national plans and perspectives for Oct. 31.

A few spokesmen for Progressive Labor and SDS attacked the concept of a single-issue antiwar demonstration, but after discussion the great majority of participants voted in favor of mass, nonexclusionary demonstrations pressing for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

THE STUDENT MOBILIZER

5c

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 9, OCTOBER 10, 1970



When Nixon speaks of peace, the people fear more war is coming.

DEMONSTRATE TO BRING ALL THE G.I.S HOME NOW!



OCT. 31st

Large nat'l SMC gathering maps plans for Oct. 31

By LEE SMITH

PHILADELPHIA—The Student Mobilization Committee will put its maximum energy behind a final push to build the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations during the critical two weeks remaining before the actions are scheduled to take place in more than 30 cities around the country. This was the decision of the 300 antiwar activists who gathered here Oct. 10 at the U of Pennsylvania for an expanded meeting of the SMC national steering committee.

The session opened with a sharp attack on Nixon's phony "peace" plan by attorney Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. After a series of workshops, the full meeting reconvened to hear reports from the Mideast, labor, women against the war, and high school workshops, as well as reports from the national staff on membership, publicity, *The Student Mobilizer* and finances.

The body voted to approve a Mideast workshop report which outlined the SMC's position of opposing the sending of U.S. troops to the Middle East under the banner of "No More Vietnams!" The report and discussion emphasized that the SMC's main focus of activity is still the war in Indochina where American GIs are already fighting and dying. The purpose of adopting the position on the Mideast is to prepare for the mobilization of mass opposition whenever the intervention of U.S. troops becomes an immediate threat in the Middle East or anywhere else in the world.

The labor workshop report approved by the body calls for support to the UAW strike against General Motors for its objectively antiwar character and outlines a program of support activities on the campuses, including opposition to GM recruiters and

school boycotts of GM products during the strike. SMCers from Detroit and other areas said some strikers were helping to build the Oct. 31 demonstrations.

The women-against-the-war report spelled out plans for involving women's liberation groups and other women's organizations in the Oct. 31 actions and in the antiwar movement. The reporter emphasized that women's liberation groups have their own struggle to organize and lead but pointed out that SMC has an important role to play in encouraging women's liberation organizations to help build and participate in antiwar actions as part of their other activity.

One of the most exciting ideas to come from the workshop was the proposal to organize a delegation of American women to visit North Vietnam.

The high school workshop report, unanimously approved by the high school students in attendance, was also approved by the steering committee. It calls for SMC establishing East and West Coast coordinators for national high school antiwar and high school rights activity. The publication of a new SMC pamphlet on the High School Bill of Rights was also projected.

The national staff reported on plans to increase SMC membership. A dues-paying membership structure was initiated this fall and the aim is to increase the initial membership figure of 1,000 tenfold.

Plans were also mapped to increase the effectiveness of *The Student Mobilizer* by expanding it into a larger and more regular publication.

A goal was set of raising \$50,000 by Oct. 31 to finance the organization of the demonstrations and related projects.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

Various Black publications around the country are beginning to take notice of candidates running on Socialist Workers Party slates.

The Oct. 3 *Sun-Reporter*, San Francisco's Black weekly, did a piece on the campaign of Herman Fagg, SWP nominee for governor of California, reporting that "'A campaign of action' is the byword of the campaign. . . ."

The *Michigan Chronicle*, the motor state's leading Black publication, did an interview Oct. 3 with Jacqueline Rice, SWP candidate for Congress in the first district in Detroit. The interviewer wrote that Rice's role in the campaign "points to the boundless self-confidence she radiates."

The Florida SWP campaign for governor and U.S. senator was covered by the biweekly Black paper, the *Florida Sentinel*, in an article entitled "Florida's Fourth Political Party Headquartered in Tampa."

Young Socialist candidates are running in campus elections at Wayne State U in Detroit and Georgia State U in Atlanta. At Wayne State the Young Socialist Campaign is running nine candidates for the Faculty-Student Council and has published an eight-page flyer describing its program for the campus.

Jeff Berchenko is running for freshman class president at Georgia State as a Young Socialist. The flyer for his campaign is written in question-and-answer form.

Niagara U's Black Student Union led a successful fight against an administration ruling banning Kipp Dawson, SWP senatorial candidate in New York, from speaking on that campus. When the BSU let it be known that they were going to organize an open meeting of their group, publicized to the whole school, at which Dawson would speak, the administration backed down and rescinded the ban against her. As a result, where one meeting had originally been scheduled at the school, three were held. Dawson was well received. Thirty students signed up as campaign supporters or as interested in the campaign,



Photo by Robert Horn

CRADLE OF LIBERTY. Peter Camejo, Mass. SWP senatorial candidate is hustled off by Boston cops Oct. 8 on trespass charge while addressing outdoor audience at Northeastern University. School officials complained he wasn't invited. Camejo's staff had previously checked out legality of such meetings with cops and are planning false arrest suit. Describing audience response to arrest, the Oct. 8 *Boston Globe* commented: "Watching the instant radicalization of several hundred young students is perhaps one course that should be mandatory for college administrators this fall."

and six asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Niagara meetings were among five held at three schools during a two-day tour of the Buffalo-Niagara Falls area of Upstate New York.

The campaign for Daniel Fein, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Rhode Island, is generating considerable publicity. When Providence cops arrested Fein and four supporters Oct. 5 for pasting up campaign stickers, the *Providence Bulletin* carried a front-page story describing the incident. It was also picked up on several radio and television stations. No charges

were made and the campaigners were released after two hours.

On the same day, another article appeared in the *Bulletin* describing Fein's campaign and that of David Fenton, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for senator in Rhode Island.

The *Brown Daily Herald*, student newspaper at Brown University in Providence, carried an Oct. 2 front-page story on Fein's senatorial campaign.

The Rhode Island Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has published their election program in an attractive 10-cent pamphlet entitled "Human Rights . . . Not Property Rights." Copies can be obtained by writing to them at Box 117 Annex Station, Providence, R. I. 02901.

"An organizer of the National Women's Day activities in Public Square last month, Miss Sweetenham sees the liberation movement as a force for change throughout society." This description of Marcia Sweetenham, SWP candidate for governor of Ohio, appeared in a sympathetic article in the Oct. 1 *Sun Press*, a weekly published in Cleveland Heights and serving many of Cleveland's suburbs.

After James Lauderdale, SWP candidate for governor of Colorado, spoke at Colorado College in Colorado Springs, a group of students decided to form a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. A campaign supporter group was also set up.

Another supporter group was formed at Western State College in Gunnison, Colorado, after Lauderdale spoke to an audience of 150 there.

Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party candidates were denied official ballot status by a three-judge federal court Sept. 18. The candidates filed suit against the exorbitant number of sig-

natures required on nominating petitions and asked for "injunctive relief" until the constitutionality of this requirement could be decided. They were denied relief on the grounds that the suit was filed too near to the elections.

The court did indicate, however, that in light of previous Supreme Court decisions, "it is quite possible that some of the legislative conditions needed to qualify new parties to appear on the Massachusetts ballot . . . will be held constitutionally overburdensome."

The Kennedy Dynasty, an SWP campaign pamphlet explaining the history and role of the Kennedy clan as representatives of the U.S. ruling class, is available from the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 305, Boston, Mass. 02115. The cost is 50 cents a copy.

An Oct. 8 UPI dispatch from Philadelphia stated: "Mark Zola, 26 years old, civilian editor of an underground newspaper at Fort Dix, N.J., entered the armed forces induction center yesterday and went inside to report for duty. Mr. Zola, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, passed but was not inducted. The Army, according to its policy, declined to say why." Maybe the reason was that 50 campaign supporters gathered in front of the induction center and held a rally in support of Zola's constitutional rights in the Army.

"Socialists Would End Capitalism, Not Reform It, Candidate Says Here," was the banner headline in the *Racquet*, the student newspaper at Wisconsin State U in LaCrosse. The article gave considerable coverage to a talk given on campus by Sam Hunt, SWP candidate for governor of Wisconsin.

It also referred to the other SWP candidates in the race: Peter Kohlenberg, lt. governor; Martha Quinn, U.S. senator; and two candidates for representative to the state assembly, Patrick Quinn from Madison and Peter Monti from the east side of Milwaukee County.

The *Houston Chronicle* picked up on the SWP news conference last month at which Barbara Cigainero, president of the U of Houston Young Democrats, appeared with Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Texas, and announced she was supporting Hernandez and that her club's executive committee was recommending to their membership that they do so as well.

Later, Hernandez traveled 750 miles through the Rio Grande Valley, an area often called "Texas Ranger Country" because of its traditionally reactionary character. She discovered that there is considerable radical activity in the region, especially among Chicanos, and found favorable support for both the Sept. 25-27 Austin Women's Liberation Conference and the Oct. 31 statewide antiwar demonstration to be held in Austin.

When the Political Science Forum at Georgia State U set up a meeting for candidates for Congress from Georgia's fourth district, they excluded SWP candidate Joe Cole. Cole, however, went to the meeting and stood up from the audience and asked to speak. At first the Forum sponsors refused. But they backed down when several cries of "Unfair" and "Let him speak" came from the student audience of about 200.

According to the Oct. 8 *Georgia State Signal*, the Forum's original policy of not permitting official write-in candidates to appear on its platform has been changed and Frank Grinnon, SWP candidate for Congress from the fifth district, will appear with the Democratic and Republican candidates on Oct. 14.

— DOUG JENNESS

Ohio SWP candidates file

By JEAN TUSSEY

CLEVELAND, Oct. 4—Five candidates of the Socialist Workers Party of Ohio last week filed and were certified as write-in candidates, qualifying for equal-time status with their Democratic and Republican opponents on radio and television.

Interviews, spot announcements and debates were scheduled within a few days in Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Canton, Dayton, Akron and Steubenville.

"And that's only the beginning," said Marcia Sweetenham, who heads the SWP ticket as candidate for governor.

"As soon as our supporters on college campuses and in smaller communities throughout the state begin monitoring local broadcasts and requesting equal time, this socialist campaign will reach out to thousands of people—in the great tradition of Eugene V. Debs."

In addition to Sweetenham, the Socialist Workers Party slate of write-in candidates includes James Harris for U.S. senator, Sydney Stapleton for U.S. congressman (22nd district), Herman Kirsch for lieutenant governor, and Al Budka for state attorney general. All have been active in the antiwar movement.

In a statement attacking the record of the Democrats and Republicans, the SWP gubernatorial candidate urged Ohioans who want more information about the campaign to write or call the Ohio Socialist Campaign, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, 44115. Phone: (216) 861-3862.

A Sunday evening theater party at The Play House showing of *Three Penny Opera* Oct. 25 in Cleveland will be held to raise funds. For ticket information and reservation call the campaign headquarters or 751-2722.

Black resistance in Cairo, Illinois reported at forum

By LINDA SHEPPARD

CHICAGO—On Oct. 2 the Militant Labor Forum here was addressed by Leon Page, coordinator of the Cairo United Front. The United Front is a Black organization formed to counter white terrorist attacks against the Cairo, Ill., Black community.

Page described how the United Front has gone about mobilizing the Black community to defend itself and to stop the attacks. He pointed to the importance of the mass meetings held every Saturday in the Black community as an effective tool in organizing the community solidly behind the demands of the Front. All proposals by the leadership are submitted to the mass meetings for discussion and approval. Through this method of organizing, Page commented, the leadership in Cairo has avoided the isolation and victimization that the Black Panther Party now faces.

Page also stressed the important role that legal defense had played in winning many key victories for the Front, such as making it possible for Blacks to file charges against whites, and the inclusion of Black people on previously all-white juries.

He then went on to explain how it had become necessary for the Black community to begin to police itself. After the United Front had made it clear that they would not tolerate armed attacks on their community, the police department withdrew completely from the community. In that situation the United Front assumed the responsibility for disciplining social offenders. Communal trials were organized where offenders were judged by their peers.

In his talk, Page announced plans for a United Front for Survival conference to be held at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Ill., Oct. 24 and 25.

The forum was chaired by Willy Petty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for sheriff of Cook County, who left Chicago the following day to address the Saturday United Front mass meeting in Cairo. Petty has begun a statewide speaking tour during which he will bring the truth about the struggle in Cairo to Illinois voters and urge support to the Cairo United Front.

Contributions may be sent to the United Front of Cairo, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914. Write to the same address for subscriptions to the *United Front News*, which costs \$3.60 for 6 months or \$7 for one year.

Now in Paperback

Marxist Economic Theory

by Ernest Mandel

The most important work on Marxist economics written in this generation, it is the best and most up-to-date introduction to the economic ideas of Marx and their application to contemporary problems. "... can only command attention and admiration ... masterful re-presentation of Marxism ... as welcome as it will be indispensable." *The New York Review of Books*.

Two Volumes

380 pages each

\$7.90 per set

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.

873 Broadway, New York 10003

N.Y. SWP wins Supreme Court case

Another major victory has been scored in the fight against the complex system of undemocratic, restrictive requirements imposed on small parties trying to get on the ballot in different states. On Oct. 12, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision of a lower court declaring two sections of the New York State election law unconstitutional.

The discriminatory sections invalidated by the Supreme Court were: one requiring a minimum of 50 valid signatures on nominating petitions from each of the state's 62 counties; and another prohibiting a voter from signing such a peti-

tion unless he or she was registered at the time of the preceding general election.

Following a series of court decisions along the same line, this victory solidly confirms the basic concept of "one person, one vote." Any requirement that a certain number of signatures come from each county gives a weightier hand to people from smaller counties in determining whether a party should be on the ballot.

The current fight of the Socialist Workers Party to challenge discriminatory ballot requirements achieved its first victory in Michigan last year. In October 1969, the Michigan SWP won a suit in a federal court to declare the Michigan "distribution" requirement (a requirement to gather signatures from a specified number of counties in the state) unconstitutional.

The Michigan judge based his decision on another U.S. Supreme Court decision, made a few months earlier, which overturned a similar distribution requirement in Illinois.

The Illinois ruling (*Moore vs. Ogilvie*) and the successful Michigan suit gave impetus to a nationwide campaign by the SWP to challenge distribution requirements and other highly restrictive regulations which exist in numerous states.

Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for governor of New York, stated that the Supreme Court decision on the New York election law represented "a major step forward in the civil liberties struggle for free speech through the electoral process. This decision means that from now

on independent Black, Puerto Rican, poor and socialist candidates and parties will be able to present their ideas on a more equal basis to the voters of this state. Despite the opposition of the major party politicians, notably Gov. Rockefeller and Attorney General Lefkowitz, the people of New York have won a great victory."



Clifton DeBerry



Dawson files petitions

Ga. TV yields on time denial to Jenness

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—Linda Jenness won the right to appear on a statewide television hookup Oct. 9 along with other candidates for governor of Georgia. Earlier in the campaign, before the major-party primaries, Jenness had appeared on a similar broadcast with 12 other candidates. Now the field has been narrowed to Jenness and four others—Republican nominee Hal Suit, Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter, and two write-in candidates, Rev. Clennon King and Ken Krautter.

The statewide TV hookup, arranged by the Georgia Association of Broadcasters, was originally planned as a debate between the Democratic and Republican nominees. But on Sept. 29, Linda Jenness filed as a formal write-in candidate, although a suit against Georgia's election laws is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court, which could still put her on the ballot. At a well-attended press conference in Georgia secretary of state Ben Fortson's office on the day she filed, she demanded to be included in the Oct. 9 statewide TV debate.

Following this announcement the broadcasters considered cancelling the debate, but finally yielded to her demands.

A few days before the debate, Hal Suit expressed displeasure at having to share TV time with write-in candidates. According to the *Atlanta Journal*, "Republican candidate for governor, Hal Suit, Monday offered to pay for the television time for a debate with his Democratic opponent since their initial confrontation will apparently not be a simple head-to-head session. ... Mrs. Linda Jenness, who

demanding equal time on television for her write-in candidacy, and other write-in candidates will participate in the debate, Suit said. ... Federal Communications Commission rulings apparently will require that the write-in candidates get equal free time on television. However, Suit said FCC provisions would not cover debates in which the air time was purchased, just as in any other political advertising."

Carter, the Democratic nominee, smelling a campaign issue, rejected Suit's offer and said that "the write-in

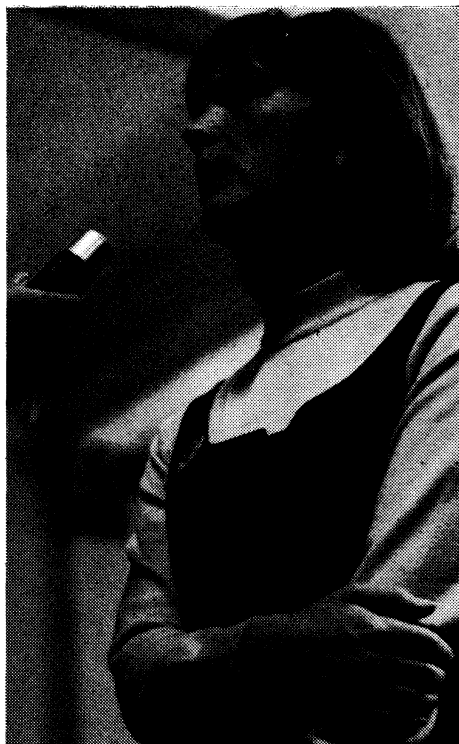
candidates have a perfect right to be heard also."

The actual TV debate, however, proved to be something less than "equal time." The panel of newsmen interviewing candidates directed only one question to Jenness, King, and Krautter while devoting almost the entire program to Suit and Carter.

The Socialist Workers candidate has vowed to continue her fight for equal time. "My campaign staff went over the tapes of the broadcast with a stopwatch," Jenness said Saturday. "Suit was on the air 18 minutes, Carter for 15 minutes, and I was on for four minutes. Also, whereas they were allowed to complete their statements, the interviewers kept interrupting while I was talking."

"If they think they can call that equal time and get away with it, they're mistaken. We're going to demand a minimum of 14 minutes of prime time on every one of those TV and radio stations throughout the state which carried the debate."

In spite of the limitations of the television debate, Jenness was able to clearly differentiate her views from those of her Democratic and Republican opponents. Near the end of the broadcast she pointed out that they had both spent their time discussing trivial matters and hadn't once mentioned the war in Southeast Asia or the problems facing the Black community, women, or working people in Georgia.



Linda Jenness

A SUGGESTION: If you are published with it, why not give the copy on to a friend?

Strike against GM enters the second month

By FRANK LOVELL

As the General Motors strike grinds into its second month, it approaches a turning point. The UAW negotiators have been conducting the strike as if the only thing involved is a routine rerun of the 1967 Ford strike, but it may not be so simple. A few things have changed in the last three years.

Since the strike began Sept. 14, GM has taken the initiative in every move. It was the corporation spokesmen who made it clear by attitude and word that no settlement would be reached without a strike. They further dictated that no serious negotiations would be undertaken at the outset over base wages and the vital cost-of-living escalator clause governing wages. They insisted that first a start be made on the 40-thousand "local issues," that mountainous backlog of in-plant grievances having to do with working conditions, speed-up, the grievance procedure, and "management's right to manage."

The UAW representatives agreed to and participated in this strike pattern. They took no initiative to disrupt the plans of their adversary; they made no determined effort to force a speedy settlement of all issues.

Instead of advancing the cause of the 350,000 striking UAW members, the union leadership reports "progress" in the plans of their enemy which they take to be their own.

The course of the strike throughout the first weeks has served to strengthen the bargaining position of the corporation. Its strategy is designed to bleed the strikers and their union. The hope of the corporation strategists is that the union's strike fund of \$120-million will be depleted at the end of two months. By that time most strikers are expected to be in a mood to return to work under terms originally offered. And GM negotiators will then move into the "final negotiations" prepared to dictate conditions which place a ceiling on wages and insure company-imposed discipline in the auto plants.

The directors of this largest manufacturing corporation in the world sit complacently behind their bags of gold, confident that their resources will

outlast those of the strikers. They draw reassurance from all sectors of the capitalist class, including the government in Washington, which uses all the resources at its command to regulate the national economy in the overall interest of capitalism.

The "hands-off" policy of the Nixon administration is the sign that GM strike strategy is government-endorsed and in line with broader economic aims.

In all essentials the GM strike of 1970 appears to be a rerun of the 1967 Ford strike. The UAW officialdom behind the leadership of Leonard Woodcock is still firmly committed to its shortsighted one-at-a-time strike strategy and calmly proceeds as if this were another strike game to be played out according to the rules of a "gentlemen's agreement," with only slightly higher stakes. The auto industry continues to produce for the market, just as it did in 1967, watching and measuring the effect of the strike upon the UAW. The Nixon administration, just as the Johnson administration before it, stands by to help the auto barons with "impartial" recommendations for a settlement in case the union does not weaken.

In 1967 the UAW weakened. It made a major concession in the wage settlement by agreeing to limit the cost-of-living escalator clause, a concession that gained millions for the corporations and cost every UAW member an estimated \$1,000 over the three-year life of the contract. The union was not measurably hurt. The morale of UAW members in the auto plants did not suffer. They worked for three years knowing that they were being robbed and waiting for the chance to recover their lost wages.

And therein lies one of the important differences between the present strike against GM and the one three years ago against Ford. This time the social and economic conditions of the country are more unsettled. The political future is more uncertain. The conflict between capital and labor is sharper. Consequently, there is less room for the two sides to maneuver than in the 1967 auto negotiations.

Those in charge of GM battle strategy act as if this changed situation

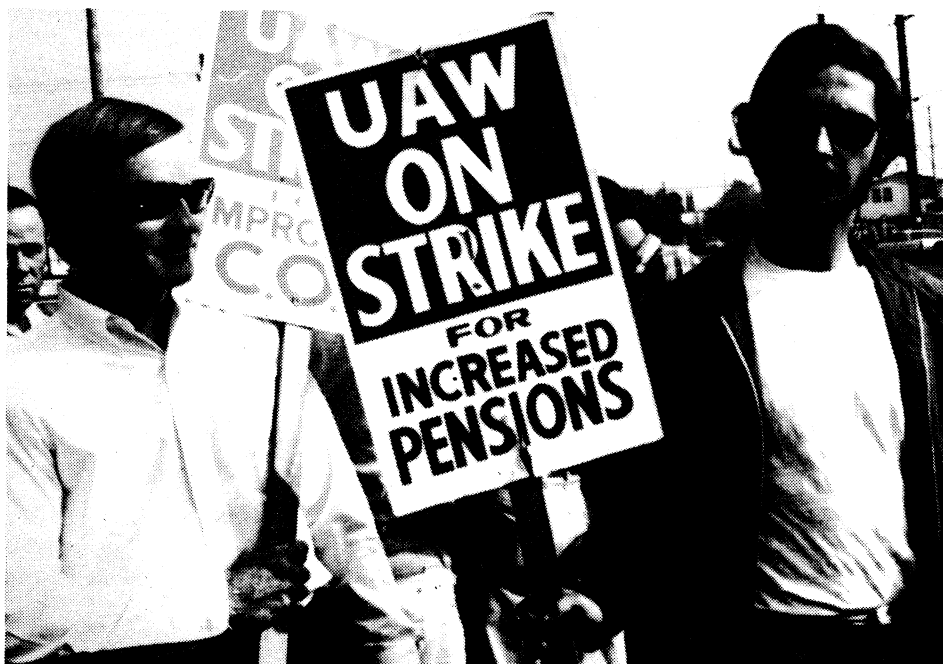


Photo by John Gray

Striking GM workers in Los Angeles

is all in their favor, but the outcome can be a big surprise for the GM wise men.

There is much in the present situation that can work to the advantage of the UAW. It has the sympathy and support of working men and women everywhere, not only its own membership, because GM is one of the symbols of Big Business and represents all that workers distrust and despise. High prices, low wages, and unemployment are more directly identified with GM today than three years ago.

The union leadership in the other big industrial unions, such as the Steelworkers union, are now looking to the UAW to establish the basic union wage formula. They have adopted the UAW cost-of-living escalator, which gears wages to rising prices, as their key demand to ward off the disaster of inflation. They are more willing now to come to the aid of the UAW than three years ago.

On the other side, the powerful General Motors is not so secure in its own position as it would like others to believe. All the experts it hires are not able to calculate exactly the effects of the strike on the national econ-

omy, and its social effects are beyond their comprehension.

The present leadership of the UAW remains too narrow in its outlook to take advantage of the social forces that favor the union. These habit-bound officeholders are incapable at this stage of the strike of recognizing in the present struggle anything other than a routine strike between GM and the UAW. Their conduct to date has kept the strike isolated and has served in this way to obscure the basic issues of the strike and block the sources of support that are available to the union.

This strike enlists the resources of the ruling class on the side of General Motors, and the UAW to win must explain and expose this and enlist on its side all the resources of the organized labor movement and of the working class. This means forcing an early showdown with GM and its supporters in Washington.

There are few people in this country who will not benefit by a victory of the UAW, but to enlist the active support of the vast majority, the union must launch an offensive against General Motors. This entails a big campaign to open the books of this corrupt corporation, to expose its ties with the munitions industry, and to close immediately all its facilities—as the beginning of a broader offensive.

Florida State fight on suspension moves

TALLAHASSEE—Students at Florida State U here are currently engaged in a battle with the administration, which is attempting to suspend four students for their participation in an antiwar demonstration called by the Student Mobilization Committee. On Sept. 28, about 50 students tried to peacefully converse with Marine recruiters as to the right of the military to be on campus.

The purpose of the demonstration was to halt any attempt by the FSU administration to take back the concrete gains that were won in last spring's student strike, when recruiters were told by the administration to stay off campus.

Acting vice-president of student affairs Robert Kimmel told the 50 students they had two minutes to leave the room. When they complied, he then told them they had two minutes to leave the hallway of the building. The students lined up single-file on both sides, and later on one side of the hall, waiting to see the recruiter. Kimmel said they had two minutes to leave, or face suspension.

While one of the students was talking

to the recruiters, the others were told they would be suspended.

The administration then singled out 13 of the students for actual suspension. Almost every one of them was a known campus activist in SMC, Students for a Democratic Society, or the Young Socialist Alliance.

Later, the number of students singled out for special attack was narrowed to four: one member of YSA, one from SDS and two from SMC.

The response by the students has been quick. The student legislature and the president of the student body, Chuck Sherman, have condemned the administration's actions. Two rallies of 400 and 300 were held immediately to map out plans for further action. Over 2,000 signatures were gathered in three days calling for a dismissal of the charges and an end to the suspensions.

On Oct. 7, a protest rally of several hundred students took place during which 120 students "turned themselves in" to the administration, in solidarity with the victimized students, saying that they too had participated in the original SMC demonstration. The administration responded by saying that

these students would only be prosecuted if they could prove their participation in the demonstration by means of photographs! Otherwise, the administration said, only the four selected leaders would be prosecuted. This action clearly exposed the fact that the administration is applying its regulations selectively in order to get rid of campus activists.

The students will come to trial in a "student honor court" on Oct. 28. They have nine charges against them, including a charge of conspiracy to incite to riot. The administration has the prerogative of overruling the decision of this court. If the four students lose within the university "court" system, they can appeal their suspension through the regular courts.

National SMC has asked campus SMCs around the country to send telegrams of protest. Already protests have been received from a number of areas. They should be sent to Dr. Stanley Marshal, office of the president, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301. Copies of the telegrams should be sent to Jack Lieberman, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Peter Buch on the Mideast

**Zionism
and the Arab Revolution:
The Myth of Progressive
Israel**
30¢

**Burning Issues
of the
Mideast Crisis**
40¢

**Leon Trotsky
On the Jewish Question**
with an introduction by Peter Buch
50¢

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Administration opens campaign to silence campus dissent



May 9, 1970, antiwar rally in Los Angeles. The massive post-Cambodia student strike lies behind recent wave of administration moves to silence campus dissent.

By LARRY SEIGLE

NEW YORK — The Nixon administration has launched a campaign to de-politicize U.S. campuses. In an attempt to gag the overwhelmingly anti-Nixon student population and to roll back the gains won by the students last May, a set of political "guidelines" has been sent to colleges across the country, outlining severe restrictions on political activity and political organizations.

On a whole series of campuses during the post-Cambodian strikes, students took control of a variety of campus facilities — office space, phones, publishing equipment, broadcasting stations, etc. — and used them to advance the strike aims. This posed for the first time on a significant scale in this country the question: For what social purpose shall university facilities be used? The Nixon administration is determined, of course, that they shall continue to be used to advance the interests of the capitalist class.

The guidelines from Washington to accomplish this are set forth in a statement from the American Council on Education (ACE), which counts as member institutions virtually all major colleges and universities in the country. The statement was prepared after a May 26 meeting between ACE, the United States commissioner of internal revenue, and the Justice Department.

The guidelines are based on Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, which governs institutions run for "religious, charitable or educational purposes."

ACE advises its members that they are in danger of losing their tax-exempt status if they fail to put

the clamps on political activity by students, faculty and staff. According to the statement, academic recesses for political reasons (such as the "Princeton Plan" for a two-week break prior to the elections) would be forbidden unless the time was made up during some other vacation period. The same rule could, apparently, be applied to the closing of schools for student strikes.

But the heart of the new regulations is the provision that campus organizations which "intervene in or campaign on behalf of candidates for public office, or permit nonmembers of the university community to avail themselves of university facilities or services" should no longer be allowed the use of campus facilities unless they pay for them at commercial rates. In addition, the ACE warns, "extraordinary or prolonged use of facilities, particularly by nonmembers of the university community, even with reimbursement, might raise questions."

The universities and colleges are told, in effect, to police themselves, with the threat of a loss of tax exemption if they fail to do so to the satisfaction of Internal Revenue. The ACE document has led some campus administrations to issue local versions of the restrictions.

At Columbia University, a sweeping set of restrictions was announced Sept. 17 by President William McGill. These rules declare that activities of campus organizations "aimed off campus toward support of legislation or support of, or opposition to, any candidate for public office" may not be conducted on the Columbia campus. Moreover, any campus group that does engage in this proscribed political activity, even though it does so off campus, will then be billed for *any* campus activities it engages in, including those of a "non-political" nature!

One of the most ominous aspects of the guidelines is the fact that they open the door to censorship of student newspapers and radio stations. Several college editors in the New York area have been told that they cannot endorse candidates in the November elections.

These guidelines are a direct response by the Nixon administration to last May's student strike. They are part and parcel of Nixon's plan to bludgeon, threaten and intimidate the campuses into quiet acceptance of his policies. The directives aim at the very heart of the struggle for the antiwar university and the Black and Brown university.

They do so by attacking the right of students to use the university facilities on the side of the movements for social progress and to use the campuses as a base from which to organize non-student sectors of the population in action around these struggles.

The form which the Nixon offensive has taken is carefully calculated. Using the tax laws strikes at the vitals of college administrators, whose insti-

tutions can survive only by virtue of tax-exempt donations and government aid. In this way, college administrators can "explain" to their students that they have no choice but to comply with the edict and that it is not they but the IRS which is responsible for the crackdown. This restriction of rights is accomplished without a single piece of new legislation or even an administrative hearing.

The guidelines constitute an attempt by the government to extend its control over colleges and universities, to secure for Washington the right to decide what will and will not be tolerated on America's campuses. While a loud chorus of voices is raised to denounce student activists for placing politics ahead of "scholarly" functions, the real attack on the university's sacrosanct "independence" comes from the Nixon administration.

Whether or not these guidelines can

be enforced, however, is a question that will be decided by the response of the student movement. Any attempt by university administrations to police campus activities is likely to lead to massive student struggles.

At Columbia, for example, a Young Socialist Campaign Committee held an initial organizing meeting on Oct. 8. The meeting decided to build support for the SWP candidates both on campus and in the surrounding community. This partisan political activity is in direct conflict with the IRS decree. The Young Socialist Campaign Committee is planning to organize a fight around the basic rights of students to engage in political activity. If the university makes any move to enforce its guidelines, it is quite possible that a lawsuit will be filed seeking to have the IRS guidelines declared unconstitutional and the university enjoined from enforcing them.

National survey reveals extent of May upsurge

"No episode or series of episodes had a higher impact in all of our history than the events of last April and May," Dr. Clark Kerr told an October 2 news conference in Boulder, Colorado. He was reporting the results of a study of the campus rebellion that swept the United States after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent killing of students by Ohio national guardsmen and Mississippi police.

Dr. Kerr, former president of the University of California, was speaking as chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education which ordered the "Survey of University Presidents." Presidents of all 2,551 U.S. colleges and universities were sent questionnaires concerning the reactions on their campuses. The answers showed some form of protest on 57% of all campuses, with much higher figures for the larger independent and public universities.

(There were demonstrations at 89% of all independent universities, and 41% of these institutions were on strike one day or longer. Figures for public universities were 76% and 28%.)

The October 3 *New York Times* summarized Dr. Kerr's conclusions:

"Those responses, Dr. Kerr said, indicated to him that reaction on campuses was greater than the impact of the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, women's suffrage or the Depression of the nineteen-thirties.

"Normal academic activities were shut down at 21 per cent of the universities, he said, adding, 'We have had nothing like that ever before.'"

Kerr seemed most disturbed at the

implications of the takeover of many universities by students and faculty last May for use as antiwar and revolutionary centers:

"In some universities, instructors reconstituted their courses last spring, feeling their academic lectures were irrelevant in view of the war. They switched to talking about the war and politics, Dr. Kerr said.

"Such a switch raises serious questions of whether normal academic subjects can be revived this fall, he said."

Intercontinental Press

New from Pathfinder

A MERIT PAMPHLET
25¢

THE TRUTH ABOUT ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

by Nathan Weinstock
and Jon Rothschild

Pathfinder Press
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

"Reminiscent of Eldridge
Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*."

Verne Woodson, San Francisco *Sun Reporter*

Black Voices From Prison

by Etheridge Knight

192 pp. cloth \$5.95 paper \$2.45

Black Voices from Prison is more than just a collection of rhetorical testimonies or penal poetics written by a gaggle of antisocial misfits. It is an anthology of iron-forged rage, quenched in tears of frustration; mentally insightful, subliminally reminiscent of Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*. This group of brief interviews, poems and social critiques serves not only as interesting reading about those who are behind 'the gray walls,' but as well, functions as an indictment assailing the existing social pressures and inequities that result in the imprisonment of many, too many black men. . . .

Verne Woodson, San Francisco

Sun Reporter

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.
(formerly Merit Publishers)
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

42% of subs sold with 5 weeks to go

OCT. 13—There's a new political ingredient—some old-timers here call it historic—that has been added to *The Militant* campaign this fall to gain 15,000 new readers. The drive will push the circulation close to 30,000.

The ingredient is the response from areas where there are no Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance locals.

The Militant is picking up readers at the fastest rate since the 1940s,

with a concerted effort to reach the 15,000 goal by Nov. 15.

Twenty-two areas where SWP or YSA groups are not yet organized, have so far set quotas for themselves and volunteered to sell subscriptions.

A total of 420 new subscriptions have been pledged by *Militant* readers who are members of neither the party or the youth organization.

With five weeks left in the subscrip-

tion campaign, there were 8,737 subs still to be sold. A total of 1,202 subscriptions were turned in the week of Oct. 7-13.

"Thank you for sending the bundle of 25 copies of *The Militant*, as I requested," wrote a reader from Santa Cruz who this week climbed to the top of the scoreboard. "The subscriptions have gone well, with 35 sold in Santa Cruz to date—most of them at the university. . . . With as many

students reading your fine newspaper as there will be, I feel that establishment of a local of the YSA is just a matter of time and circumstance."

A Baltimore subscription seller asked this week for more sample copies of *The Militant* and promised to go after some of his teachers. "Your paper is one of the best I've yet read and a truly refreshing experience as compared to the bourgeois press," he wrote.

Lenin on the circulation of the Bolshevik press

By RANDY FURST

Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, paid a great deal of attention to the circulation of the revolutionary press.

"Marxists are glad of an increase in circulation," the Russian socialist wrote the editor of *Pravda* in the spring of 1913, "when it is increased by Marxist articles." He urged that *Pravda* launch a "long and stubborn battle for 100,000 readers."

The drive to increase the circulation of the Bolshevik press was an unending one. "We must go wide and deep into the masses," Lenin wrote.

He advised his comrades not to keep circulation figures or objectives a secret. "Dear Colleagues," Lenin wrote the editors of *Put Pravdy* in 1914, "I welcome your paper in every way and particularly its obvious improvement. At last the literary side is beginning to be well organized! The next job is the *business* side. You must not leave the question of subscribers 'unpublished' either: You should announce their number, otherwise you cannot rise from the small circle level to full-scale organization. . . ."

"If we can't find some cash to expand and strengthen *Pravda*, it will perish," Lenin warned in a letter to Maxim Gorky in Capris in 1913. "The deficit is now 50-60 rubles a day. We have to increase the circulation, reduce costs, expand the paper." Later that year, he advised *Pravda's* editorial board that there be "a competition between the factories for the largest number of subscribers to *Prav-*

da." He continued: "A victory of Party principles is a victory for *Pravda* and vice versa. We should start this kind of campaign: to increase the circulation of *Pravda* from 30,000 to 50,000-60,000, and the number of subscribers from 5,000 to 20,000, and proceed unflinchingly in this direction. Then we shall extend and improve *Pravda*."

The resolutions in the summer of 1913 by the joint conference of the central committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and party officials reaffirmed the primacy of circulation and subscriptions along with other crucial areas of party work. "This conference points to the vast importance of the legal press for Social-Democratic agitation and organization," Lenin wrote in his draft resolution, "and therefore calls upon Party bodies and upon all class-conscious workers to increase their assistance to the legal press by securing for it the widest possible circulation and by organizing mass collective subscriptions and regular collections of contributions."

"The politically conscious friends of *Pravda*," Lenin noted a year earlier in *Pravda*, "do not limit themselves to subscribing to the paper but pass it on or send it to others as a sample, to make it known at other factories, in neighboring flats or houses, in the countryside and so on."

Subscription			scoreboard	
City	Quota	New Subs		
Berkeley, Calif.	600	191		
Santa Cruz, Calif.	5	26		
Northampton, Mass.	20	31		
Baltimore, Md.	10	10		
Middletown, N.Y.	5	5		
Austin, Texas	300	262		
Philadelphia, Pa.	500	431		
Oxford, Ohio	50	39		
Houston, Texas	200	151		
Portland, Ore.	100	69		
Long Island, N.Y.	75	43		
Twin Cities, Minn.	600	387		
Worcester, Mass.	100	63		
Boston, Mass.	1,000	559		
North Boston	(250)	(192)		
Cambridge	(250)	(150)		
South Boston	(250)	(122)		
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	11		
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	11		
Detroit, Mich.	700	384		
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	26		
Seattle, Wash.	400	206		
Cleveland, Ohio	600	308		
Logan, Utah	50	23		
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	34		
Providence, R.I.	150	68		
San Francisco, Calif.	750	339		
Mansfield, Pa.	50	21		
Newark, N.J.	75	31		
Kansas City, Mo.	100	41		
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	2		
La Crosse, Wis.	50	20		
Atlanta, Ga.	500	195		
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	19		
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	375		
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	561		
New York, N.Y.	2,000	701		
Washington, D.C.	300	101		
Hayward, Calif.	40	13		
Berkeley, Calif.	600	191		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	30		
El Paso, Texas	75	21		
Tallahassee, Fla.	50	14		
Binghamton, N.Y.	150	41		
Stanford, Calif.	30	7		
DeKalb, Ill.	150	33		
Grinnell, Iowa	5	1		
Kingsville, Texas	5	1		
Portage, Mich.	10	2		
Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2		
St. Louis, Mo.	50	9		
San Diego, Calif.	150	21		
Tampa, Fla.	100	14		
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235	32		
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	19		
Bloomington, Ind.	100	11		
Madison, Wis.	300	30		
New Haven, Conn.	60	6		
Youngstown, Ohio	10	1		
Bellingham, Wash.	40	3		
Kent, Ohio	45	3		
Riverside, Calif.	150	10		
Oshkosh, Wis.	50	3		
Cincinnati, Ohio	60	3		
Yellow Springs, Ohio	125	6		
San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50	2		
Paterson, N.J.	60	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	50	1		
Red Hook, N.Y.	50	1		
East Lansing, Mich.	25	0		
East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	0		
Eugene, Ore.	10	0		
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	30	0		
Grosse Pt., Mich.	20	0		
Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0		
Nacogdoches, Texas	10	0		
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	0		
General	400	177		
GOAL	15,000	6,263		

Want to sell subs?

Just fill out the coupon

The Militant will send you a complete subscription kit, including coupons, posters, etc. Your area will be added to the scoreboard if you wish.

I would like to sell subscriptions to The Militant this fall.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50

☐ List the above quota in The Militant's weekly scoreboard.

☐ Do not publish my quota.

Name (please print) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School _____

The deepening struggle for Black liberation

... keep up with it in The Militant.

For consistent coverage of the Black nationalist movement as well as regular news and analysis on women's liberation, the antiwar movement, the war, the economy and the revolutionary socialist movement, don't miss a single issue. A 10-week subscription is only \$1.

Clip and mail

10 issues for \$1

— Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of THE MILITANT.

— Enclosed is \$2 for 3 months of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and 10 weeks of THE MILITANT.

— Send me a full year of THE MILITANT for \$6.

— I'm a GI. Send me 6 months of THE MILITANT for \$1.


NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make all checks payable to THE MILITANT, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003



March 1, 1965

A strong supporter of Malcolm X, The Militant reported many of his speeches during his life. Since his murder, The Militant continues fighting for the ideals for which Malcolm stood.

Sisterhood is powerful: key issues for women's liberation today

By ELIZABETH BARNES

The following are major excerpts from a report on the women's liberation movement given by Elizabeth Barnes to the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. Held at Oberlin College in Ohio, Aug. 9-16, the conference drew approximately 700 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from around the country. The week's activities included lectures, panel discussions and workshops dealing with every aspect of the revolutionary movement today. In addition to this central report, there were several other sessions which dealt with the theoretical, political and organizational questions of key importance to the women's liberation movement.

In the opening remarks to this conference, it was pointed out that Oberlin was one of the key stations on the underground railroad during the struggle for the abolition of slavery. There is another chapter in Oberlin history that makes it appropriate to have our conference here. Oberlin was the first men's college to open its doors to women who were demanding the right to an education.

Oberlin graduated its first female students in 1841. And two years later, in 1843, a woman who was to become one of the best-known leaders in the women's rights movement came to this campus—Lucy Stone. As a student, Lucy Stone was an active abolitionist and crusaded for the right of Oberlin women to take the same courses as men and to speak in public.

She made her final protest here at her graduation, after she and several other women were selected by their classmates to give graduation speeches. It was the tradition that when a woman was chosen she had to sit by silently while the male rhetoric teacher read her speech. In protest, Lucy Stone refused to write a speech, as did all of the other women selected.

So it's especially appropriate to be speaking here about the women's liberation movement, that is, about the resurgence of this movement after 50 years of dormancy.

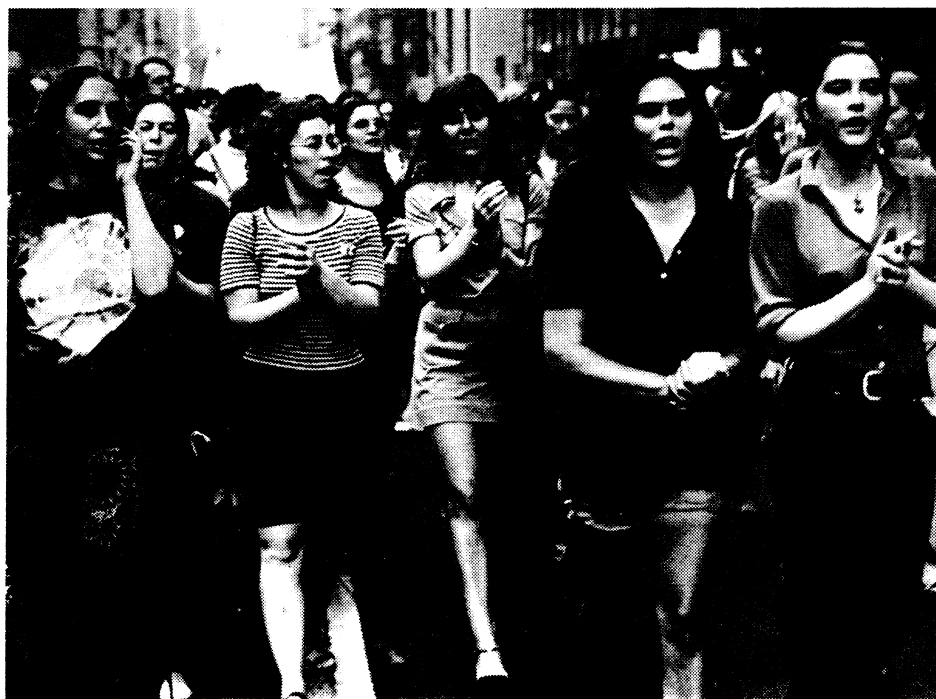
The rise of the women's liberation movement has been one of the most sudden and dramatic of all the radical changes taking place in this country today. As recently as two years ago, most people in this country hadn't even heard of women's liberation. Now, especially in the past five or six months, women's liberation groups have sprung up all over—on the campuses, in the high schools, small groups in the communities, Black women's liberation groups, older women's groups, and women's caucuses in professional organizations, churches and unions. And I am told that in the Bay Area there is now even a grade school female liberation group, made up of sixth graders.

Example of Black liberation struggle

For us to have an accurate evaluation of the potential of this movement, we must understand clearly the conditions and changes which have brought it into being and which have infused it with such militancy.

We should understand first of all that the women's liberation movement is a product of the broader radicalization taking place in the U.S. today.

The Black liberation movement in particular, with its concepts of Black power, all-Black organization and Black consciousness, helped to create a climate conducive to the rise of fem-



New York, Aug. 26 women's strike

inist consciousness. If it had not been for the pioneering role of the Black movement, women would have had to fight much, much harder for the right to form their own groups composed of women only. They would have been charged much more often with being "men-haters," just as Black nationalists were first charged with being simply anti-white.

The slogan "Sisterhood is powerful" reflects the self-identity, pride and feeling of group consciousness that has been so important in the struggle for Black liberation also. This sense of group identity and common oppression represents a giant step forward for women, who have traditionally been the most divided, dispersed and brainwashed of all the oppressed groups in our society. Women have not only been isolated from each other in individual households, but we have been pitted against each other in competition for men. This competitive struggle has in many cases completely alienated women from each other as friends and human beings.

An example of the way capitalism exploits this division was reflected in a recent ad for Orbach's department store in New York. At the top of the ad was the question: "Do you hate your best friend?" And then below, it said: "You're smarter than she is. And just as pretty. But when you go away on weekends together, men ski down the slope with you. And sit by the fire with her." Orbach's has a solution to the problem: "Come on into Orbach's yourself. And start your best friend hating you."

At this conference, we have talked a great deal about how under capitalism people are conditioned to internalize problems which are really problems of society as a whole. Again, women are the greatest victims of this type of self-blame. Of all the oppressed groups it is women who have been most completely convinced that if we fail to find happiness through marriage and the family, then something is basically wrong with us. We have failed as women. We have committed the ultimate crime of not living up to the standard of femininity.

And what is this femininity? It is the sum total of all the traits which have been traditionally characteristic of a slave mentality. It means such things as dependence, stupidity, help-

lessness, obsequiousness. It means you are always there when your master needs you. And any time we have attempted to step outside of this stereotype—to be aggressive, to think for ourselves, to try to live as independent, whole human beings—we have been pushed back into line with charges that we are "unfeminine," or "a bunch of frustrated women," or lesbians.

But now, the consciousness of broad layers of women is changing and such charges are losing their effect. Women for the first time are beginning to do what they please, dress as they please, and act as they please.

The rise of Black nationalism, with its questioning of every aspect of society, was key in setting a political climate where such deep prejudices about women could be unmasked. But, in addition to this, the women's liberation movement is arising because of specific contradictions faced by women today.

Growing contradictions

One of the most obvious of these is the contradiction between increased female education and the fact that when women enter the job market they are still discriminated against, still channeled into the most tedious, low-paying jobs. (In 1967, the number of women enrolled in college was six times that of 1950.)

There is also an unprecedented number of women entering the job market. The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that from 44 to 48 percent of American women are either employed or actively looking for jobs. This is qualitatively higher than any previous period, including World War II. It is a jump from the early 1960s, when the figure was 38 percent, and from the middle 1950s, when it was down to 35. With the rising cost of living and increased unemployment, this percentage of women trying to enter the labor force continues to climb.

Most women are taking jobs out of economic necessity, and the second paycheck they bring home is often vital to maintaining the family above the poverty level. Also, a large number of women are heads of households or are living alone, so that their pay is the only money coming in.

Thus, a significant number of women occupy different economic positions today than they did during the 1950s; when the "feminine mystique"

was in full sway. And the old conception that the wages of women are peripheral to the family income—which was always a false conception—is being further undermined.

Another contradiction women face today is the dichotomy between the potential which they see for controlling their own bodies and on the other hand the reactionary abortion laws and the lack of safe, easily available contraception, which deny women this control. The development of the pill, despite its limitations, gave women for the first time a feeling that they can and should take control over their own futures. The pill was also an impetus to the sexual revolution in that it allowed women a larger degree of sexual freedom.

But at the same time the sexual revolution opened the way for an even cruder exploitation of women as sex objects, as reflected in such things as the topless mania, pornographic art films, and more exploitative advertising. The increased sexual freedom made women even more conscious of the inequalities between men and women in personal and sexual relationships.

The family

The sexual revolution has also been partly responsible for the growing crisis in the one institution that has been most responsible for keeping women down—the family. Huge changes are taking place in the sexual mores of this country, changes which are undermining the traditional "sanctity" of marriage and which are reflected in such things as the rising divorce rate and the continuing trend toward more people living together without being married. Another aspect of the breakdown of the family system has been the undermining of the authority of parents and the development of what is commonly known as the generation gap.

The profound changes in the economic functioning of the family in this country have been even more fundamental to its breakdown than either the sexual revolution or the generation gap. The family institution, which was once a basic productive unit of society, has been steadily, throughout the whole past century, losing its productive functions and becoming more and more a unit of consumption. This means that while most families used to grow their own food, bake their own bread, make their clothes, and churn their butter—these things are now mass produced, cooperatively, outside the home. Along with this process, what used to be family farms and family businesses have been displaced by gigantic industrial complexes.

This trend reached its most advanced stage in the past few decades with the development of modern appliances, packaged foods, cleaning aids, and other conveniences which have narrowed the role of the housewife to such functions as care of the very young and old and janitorial and cooking tasks around the house. This, coupled with the fact that the average American woman is having fewer children, has meant that for a greater period of each woman's life, her role consists only of caring for her and her husband's personal needs.

On the other hand, if a housewife decides to go to work outside the home, she suffers double exploitation: on the job she gets less pay and has more limited job opportunity than her husband.

(Continued on page 10)

... sisterhood is powerful

(Continued from page 9)

band; and at home she faces another major job maintaining the house. For working women with small children — a growing category — this double burden is especially oppressive.

These contradictions are the basis for such women's liberation demands as free child-care centers, free food preparation and distribution facilities, free laundry facilities and cleaning services. And this is one of the most revolutionary aspects of the women's liberation movement. Women are beginning to put forward demands whose logic is the replacement of the family as an *economic* unit, by creating alternatives to it.

Such demands as free child care and free medical care give impetus to the revolutionary concept that this society, the wealthiest society in the world, should use its resources to provide for all its members equally. For when you say that society should be responsible for education of the very young, for the care of the sick, for food and clothing and care of the aged, what you are really talking about is socialism. You are talking about measures which would spell the end of class society, about ending the class differences in the kind of education, medical care, food and clothing and opportunities for advancement available to different individuals.

One of the reasons why the women's liberation movement is projecting such a radical reordering of society, including the socialization of the economic functions forced upon the family, is that the whole expansion of wealth and technology has made alternatives to the family seem more possible and reasonable. Even a decade ago such things as free food, free child care, free laundries, free medical care would have seemed completely utopian to most. But now, with billions being poured into the war in Southeast Asia and trips to the moon, and with the growing recognition of the wastefulness of capitalist society, such things seem quite within the realm of reason.

The questioning of the family as an economic unit and the realization that there are alternatives to it has been most responsible for the radicalism and confidence expressed by the feminist movement today. This is because the family system is the basic institution which perpetuates the oppression women experience as women. The role of women in the home is the key rationalization for discrimination on the job, in education and every other area of society. It is through the family that we are taught from infancy the concept that women are the child-raisers and dishwashers of society, while men are the achievers, builders, artists, scientists, athletes, politicians and architects.

This does not mean that we raise as a *slogan* of the movement: "Down with the family!" We understand that the family will exist so long as no better institutions for companionship and care of human beings come into existence. At the same time, because it is impossible for women to fully un-

derstand the nature of their oppression without understanding the family system, it is very important for the women's liberation movement to educate on this question.

We must explain that the family is most fundamentally an economic institution. The ruling class always tries to hide the economic basis by equating the family with "love." They try to imply that if you take away the family, love and companionship will disappear.

We have to point out the hypocrisy of this. We have to show how the family *destroys* all possibility of genuinely human relationships, because in this society these family relationships are based on economic compulsion. Millions of women and children in this society are living with men or parents they dislike — and the feeling is often mutual — because women and children and old people are economically dependent on a man and feel they have no real alternative. What women's liberation wants to do is to end such compulsory relationships.

This growing understanding of the family is partially responsible for the fact that the women's liberation movement has gone beyond the position taken by some of the more conservative women in the movement whose approach has been that of bringing women into what they call the "mainstream" of American society. Right from the beginning, the women's liberation movement has been founded on a principle similar to that articulated by Black nationalists, that is, we don't want to be integrated into the mainstream of this rotten, decadent society. Nor do we want to be like men, or trade places with men. Instead, we want to end all traditional roles and divisions of labor based on sex, and create a new way of life where each person can determine for herself or himself how they want to spend their lives. What we are talking about is a revolution so deep-going in its implications that it is hard for those of us living in capitalist society to totally grasp what it would be like.

Feminism

The ideology of present day feminism represents a step forward for the struggle of women equal in importance to the step taken by the Black movement when it went from civil rights to nationalism. And the implications for the American revolution are just as important. Not only is the feminist movement radical, but it is also potentially a very powerful movement — one which can involve millions of women, including working women, Third World women, older women, as well as the younger women who have been most important in sparking it.

Although most women are not yet familiar with or in agreement with all the basic ideas of the women's liberation movement, there is hardly a woman alive who does not already support one or another of the basic demands of the movement.

An indication of this is the issue of abortion. For years now, abortion

reformers have been trying to get more humane abortion policies in this country with very little success. Only with the rise of the women's liberation movement, which demanded for the first time the basic right of women to control their own bodies, do we see gains being made. This would not be happening if the masses of women in this country did not support the right of abortion.

Equal pay and job opportunity are also demands that masses of women support. One indication of this is the number of individual women who on their own have filed complaints against sex discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. In the past year, 25 percent of the 17,000 complaints filed were against discrimination on the basis of sex. The struggles around the equal pay bill in England also show the potential in this area. In 1968 there was a major strike by English Ford factory seamstresses demanding equal pay for doing the same work as men.

All the demands raised by the women's liberation movement — free 24-hour child care, equal pay, the right of a woman to control her own body, free medical care, paid maternity leaves, equal education — all these demands deal concretely with problems faced by masses of women, most particularly working and Third World women. And these are demands which have very radical implications because they challenge the basic premises of the private property system.

The women's liberation movement is a new movement which is unlike any other movement we have seen and which has a revolutionary dynamic all its own. It is not like the union movement, or the antiwar movement, or the Black movement, or the women's rights movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries. At the same time, there are certain lessons which we can learn from the experiences of building other movements which can be applied to the feminist movement.

Mass action

From the antiwar movement we can learn the power of mass action and the importance of making the movement visible through actions and demonstrations which unite as many women as possible around such demands as child care, abortion and equal pay.

Such mass action is key to building the feminist movement into a mass movement. It is the best way to express the power of the movement and it is essential to the process of bringing into the movement large numbers of new women who may be radicalizing over one or another of the women's liberation demands.

But there are also big differences between the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement. The antiwar movement is built around a single issue: the war in Vietnam. The feminist movement is much broader in scope because it involves not just one issue but the oppression of an entire sex. Women are 51 percent of the population, and there is very little

that goes on that doesn't concern us in some way. Thus, we must work toward developing a program and an approach which deals with all the various questions and issues which concern women — questions such as Black nationalism, the war, the struggle for better working conditions, better medical facilities, and so forth. In other words, as the women's liberation movement grows, it will be dealing with all the types of oppression women experience — as workers, as Black women, as Chicanas, as students, as youth, as housewives.

Nationalism

At the Third World women's panel this week, we discussed how the women's liberation movement, if it is to relate to Third World women, must gain some understanding of nationalism. We discussed the fact that while Black and white women will be able to unite together in building mass actions around specific demands Black women will need their own separate women's liberation organizations because the overall oppression they experience is different.

There is a lot of education that has to be done within the women's liberation movement on the question of nationalism. There were some women in the New York women's center, for example, who at first did not understand the necessity for building a separate Black women's movement and who took the position that the Third World Women's Alliance shouldn't be allowed to meet at the center because the group excluded white women. We have to explain that there are good reasons why they exclude white women, just as there are good reasons for excluding men from feminist groups.

Another difference between the antiwar and feminist movements is expressed in the differences between the ways in which they developed. When the antiwar movement came on the scene in 1965, it first expressed itself through action: the teach-ins and the SDS march on Washington. The women's liberation movement started in a different way. For two years it functioned pretty much in what might be called an underground manner.

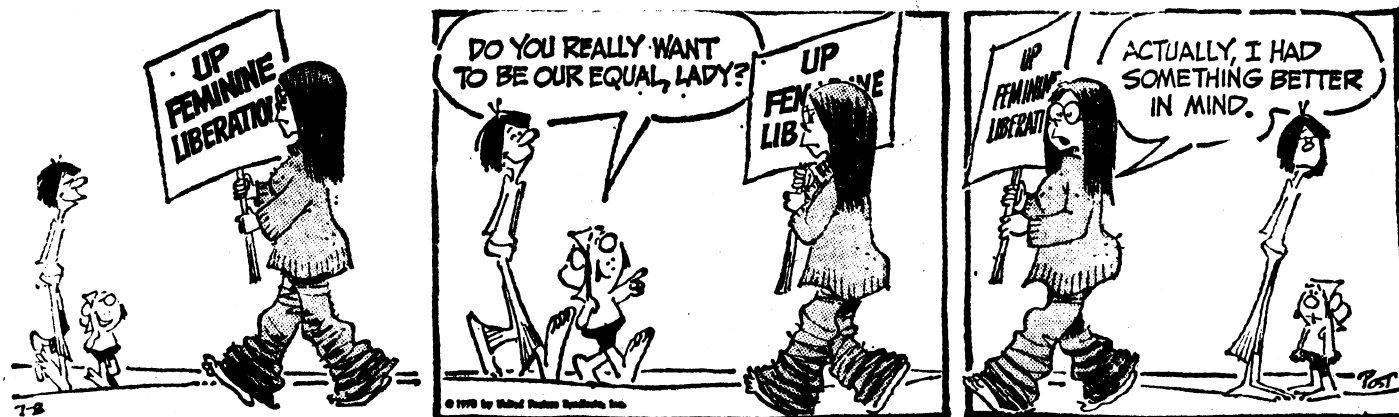
Consciousness-raising

Although there were occasional, small symbolic actions, the participants spent most of the time in simply getting together to discuss the oppression they felt as women. And this was a prerequisite to launching the movement because the ideas being put forward were so new and so controversial that it was necessary for women to first discuss them and gain confidence in their correctness. For this reason, one of the most characteristic forms the women's liberation movement has taken so far has been the small, consciousness-raising group.

On such questions as consciousness-raising, instead of looking for guides from the antiwar movement, we can learn more from the rise of Black nationalism. Women, like Black people, are discriminated against on the basis of their physical characteristics. Both are said to be innately inferior — less intelligent, more emotional, dependent, etc. And in both cases, there is a need to establish confidence and group solidarity, and to understand that the source of the oppression lies with the system and not with any innate failings.

The process of consciousness-raising the feminist movement is going through today is much like the process the Black movement went through with the rise of nationalism and Malcolm X. In a certain sense Malcolm X was the original consciousness-raiser. In his speeches, he educated masses of people about all the ways in which this system is stacked against Black people, and how Black people are divided and their dignity attacked. He spoke of the psychological as well as the political and economic aspects of Black oppression.

Through consciousness-raising groups, women come to grips with the psychological as well as the economic



aspects of female oppression. We analyze all the various indignities that women suffer every day—from the ogling on the streets, to the high heels that cripple our feet, to the fact that we are supposed to take our husband's name and cannot develop any real identity of our own. Feminist consciousness-raising is something which all women—and also men—can learn from and benefit from, just as we all can learn from the nationalist consciousness-raising of Malcolm X.

Independent organization

From the Black liberation struggle, the feminist movement has also learned the necessity of building independent, all-women's organizations. The women's liberation movement is different from the struggle for Black liberation in that women are not a national minority or a people occupying a separate territory. We are not fighting for national self-determination. But we do have the same need as Blacks for developing our own movement and our independent power. Since our struggle is against a form of oppression which only women experience, it is women who must determine how the struggle will be carried out.

Campus struggle

Still another area where we can learn from the experience of both the antiwar and Black movements is the importance of campus struggles in spurring forward the movement as a whole. The experiences of building the "Black university" and the "antiwar university" help us to see more clearly the potential of the "women's liberation university." That is, the campus can become an organizing center for women's liberation and the facilities of the university can be used to meet the needs of women, both on campus and in the community.

Many of the demands of the campus women's movement have been inspired by the struggles of Black students. For example, in response to the agitation of women students, there is now a bill before the California state legislature which would require that the percentage of women in state universities reflect the percentage of women in the population as a whole. Other aspects of the women's university include the demand for day-care centers, birth-control and abortion clinics, the ending of any university beauty contests or other insults to the dignity of women, women's studies programs, and calls for the hiring of more women professors, and no discrimination against female campus workers.

The role of campus struggles is especially important because it is easier to mobilize support on campus. Victories for the movement on campus can be used as an example for the more difficult struggles in the community as a whole. The winning of free day-care on campus, for example, can help set a precedent for broader struggles for day care.

In the struggle to build a strong, autonomous women's liberation movement, many of the same questions are being raised which were debated in the Black and antiwar movements, including such questions as elitism, how to reach the working class, democracy within the movement, and counter-institutions and utopianism. One of the most important of these questions is that of how to build the feminist movement into a powerful mass movement, attracting to its ranks masses of women, including working women and Third World women.

Mobilization of women as women

One of the most common and fundamental mistakes made in dealing with this question is the approach which says that it is impossible for the masses of working and Third World women to actually be won to the women's liberation movement on the basis of their oppression as women. According to this view, which is shared by many ex-SDS women in the movement, working women and Black women will radicalize mainly around the fight against their oppres-



New York, Aug. 26 women's strike

sion as workers and Blacks. Thus, in order to involve them in the women's liberation movement, you must put less emphasis on purely feminist issues.

Such a concept is basically an elitist one because it assumes that working women and Black women are not capable of radicalizing around the same types of fundamental feminist issues which affect middle-class women. It is similar to an elitist conception which was commonly expressed in the early days of the antiwar movement by SDSers who used to argue that the war in Vietnam was far too sophisticated and "abstract" an issue to interest workers. Workers, they thought, were only interested in such things as "more meat on the table," or issues such as rats and garbage collection. These SDSers often abandoned the antiwar struggle completely and went off to do community organizing around such "nitty gritty" issues. They had yet to learn that workers and Third World people are also human beings, capable of radicalizing and reacting to the same political issues as anybody else.

The ex-new-left women often berate the women's liberation movement for not relating to working and Third World women, and continually raise the question at meetings, "Why aren't there more Black women here?" At the same time, they have little conception of how to build the women's liberation movement in a way which will inspire masses of working and Third World women.

They don't understand Black nationalism, that is, they don't understand the simple fact that white women cannot organize and lead Black women and that Black women will organize independently. They do not see that the women's liberation movement cannot substitute itself for the Black liberation movement or determine the demands of this movement. Nor do they understand that the main area where Black women, Chicanas, students, middle-class women, and working women can unite is around concrete demands which affect all women—that is, in action around such things as child care, the right of women to control their own bodies, and equal job opportunity.

The truth is Third World women and working women suffer the most from every form of female oppression. They are most economically dependent on their husbands (the alternative is often welfare), they most often suffer the double exploitation of having to hold two jobs—one in the home and one out of the home—they suffer most from the fact that abortions are not available and from discrimination in education and employment. It is working women who also suffer the most from being made into sex objects because they are compelled to take jobs such as waitressing and secretarial work, where a premium is placed on their sexuality.

The stand taken by the Communist

Party and some ex-SDSers against the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is another reflection of a lack of understanding of the potential power of working women organized as women to fight for equal rights. It shows that we still must struggle to assert the full legitimacy of the feminist movement. In no other struggle would it even be suggested that a people should give up their basic constitutional right to legal equality because the ruling class will—of course—try to distort the meaning of such rights. Instead, the tricks and distortions of the ruling class (in this case its assertion that women must take either equal rights or job benefits and protective laws) should be exposed.

Job conditions and working hours are crucial questions for working women and the worst mistake the feminist movement could make would be to go along with any idea that the struggle for such things is contradictory to the struggle for equality on the job. In fact, the only way we will win either decent job conditions or equal rights on the job is by combining the two struggles.

Another issue of debate that has come up concerns the slogan: "Fight male chauvinism." This slogan is raised mainly by Progressive Labor in counterposition to the basic demands of the women's liberation

movement. Here, there is an exact parallel with PL's attitude toward the Black movement, where they put forward the slogan "Fight racism" to hide the fact that they do not support the basic demands of the movement—that is, such nationalist demands as Black control of the Black community and the building of an independent Black party.

The best way to fight male chauvinism is to build a mass independent women's liberation movement that has real power to change society. Changes in the attitudes of masses of men will come only through the mobilization of this power. There is no reason to counterpose fighting male chauvinism to building a mass women's movement.

Another debate within the movement which relates to our ability to involve masses of women in struggle concerns the question of "counter-institutions." At the Socialist Scholars Conference last spring, Roxanne Dunbar suggested that the movement work to set up our own abortion clinics, food cooperatives and child-care centers, and she counterposed this to the perspective of mass struggle to demand that the government provide resources for these things.

There are many different types of "counter-institutions" in the movement (Continued on page 12)

IN THE OCTOBER

International Socialist review

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE PAST/ by George Breitman. An examination of the prospects for the revolutionary movement in the 1970s.

Other articles include THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM/ BY EUGENE V. DEBS

LENINISM, STALINISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM

THE FAMILY: OPPRESSOR OF WOMEN OR REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. SUBSCRIBE NOW.

CLIP AND MAIL TO:
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW
873 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NY 10003

☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER
☐ ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

...sisterhood

(Continued from page 11)
such as collectives, abortion counseling services, and movement child-care facilities. These often play the role of bringing women together in a way which can build trust and help women survive on a day-to-day level. But while such activities are a natural outgrowth of the movement, they have very definite limits. They cannot and should not substitute for our main struggle to unite masses of women in making demands on the system as a whole.

The women's liberation movement does not have the resources to provide abortions and day-care centers for the millions of women in this country who need them. Women's liberation does not control the jobs which could provide equal employment and equal pay. The ruling class controls these things. And the demands of the women's liberation movement must be directed against the ruling class, must be directed toward regaining these resources, which are being stolen from the vast majority of people who could benefit from them.

Another debate that has come up concerns the organizational questions of democracy, structure and leadership. One position in the movement has been that any democratically chosen leadership or structure for meetings constitutes "elitism." Ironically, it is often those women who are most vocal in their opposition to any democratic structure or procedure and who claim to be against "elitism," who end up as the worst kinds of bureaucrats, trying to enforce their will on others, or making decisions behind the backs of others.

One of the best examples of this was at the second Congress to Unite Women in New York, where a minority of women succeeded in completely breaking up the conference by insisting that the whole Congress discuss only the points they were interested in and nothing else. They insisted that voting on a chairwoman, voting on an agenda, or taking votes at all were all "male forms of organization" and therefore unacceptable.

When attempts were made to decide the questions democratically, the women in this group simply disrupted with shouting and screaming—which was presumably not a "male" form of dom-

ination. What became clear at this conference was that it was the minority who shouted the loudest who ended up making the decisions.

Whether men, women, or both are responsible for democratic norms is irrelevant. The fact is that democracy is the best way a movement can make decisions. Already, as a result of such experiences as the Congress to Unite Women, the taking of votes, the structuring of organizations, and the election of chairwomen has become standard procedure in most areas of the country. Women are beginning to realize that it is a fact of life that disagreements are going to arise in the movement and that the only way questions can be solved democratically is through a structure that will insure majority rule.

Another question which is being debated concerns the role which socialists can play in building the feminist movement. One view is that the movement must be socialist if it is to be effective. This opinion was expressed

at the Second Congress to Unite Women by some of the women from the International Socialists (IS). They argued that the whole congress should adopt socialism as its goal.

What these women did not see was that large gatherings such as the Congress to Unite Women or actions such as Aug. 26 are needed to unite as many women as possible around concrete demands we can all agree on. If such activities are organized on the basis of support for socialism, this would exclude the masses of new women who are just becoming aware of their oppression as women.

Confusion on this question stems from a lack of understanding that different types of organizations are needed to serve different functions. Independent women's organizations are needed to mobilize and unite masses of women in an uncompromising fight for women's liberation, and a revolutionary-socialist party is needed to fight along with such organizations, helping to win them to a revolutionary perspective, and working at the same time to coordinate, unite, and give leadership to all the independent anti-capitalist movements which are developing within our society. Only such a party will be capable of leading decisive struggles against the capital-

ist system—struggles which are necessary if the goals of women's liberation are to be realized.

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are working to build both a mass independent women's liberation movement and at the same time a revolutionary-socialist movement which includes both men and women and people of all nationalities.

We see these tasks as separate, yet totally interrelated. The things we have learned as socialists, as builders of the antiwar, Black, Chicano, student and other movements, have equipped us to be better builders of the feminist movement. At the same time, we recognize that it is by actively participating in mass movements like these that people become convinced of the need for socialism.

We believe that the independent women's liberation movement is a powerful revolutionary force in and of itself. It is an inspiring and exciting movement precisely because, in a unique way, it gets to the root of what is wrong with this society. When masses of women, who represent 51 percent of the population, become conscious of their oppression and begin to move against it, it will shake this system to its roots.

Third world liberation notes

N.Y. Black cops denounce 'panther squad'

The Oct. 3 Baltimore *Afro-American* reported that the New York Society of Afro-American Policemen (SAAP) has denounced the New York Police Department's "Panther Squad." The "Panther Squad" is part of the Special Services Division and its function is to collect intelligence on Black militants by infiltrating groups like the Black Panther Party. According to the article, Leonard Weir, president of SAAP, said that all members of the "Panther Squad" have been purged from the organization.

But the same article pointed out that New York police sergeant William Perry, president of one of the oldest Black policemen's organizations, the Guardian Association, was of another opinion. "Such an intelligence branch," he said, "is absolutely necessary for the purpose of saving lives of all people concerned."

The following editorial appeared in the Vol. 2, No. 10 issue of *La Voz Chicana*, a monthly Chicano newspaper published in San Juan, Texas. It was written in response to the historic July 29 victory of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, in the Delano grape strike. Subscriptions to *La Voz Chicana* (P.O. Box 907, San Juan, Texas 78589) are \$2.50 for six months or \$4.50 for one year.

"Mass action—this is what makes institutions, governments and nations bend. Mass involvement, organization, in simple terms, people getting together and changing what they feel is wrong.

"Masses made this country into a democratic nation. Masses brought on Mexico's revolution, masses keep the Ky-Thieu regime from succeeding in Vietnam, and masses won the grape strike in California.

"The theory is very simple and easy to understand: If enough people are being hurt and have determination enough to change the social strata, they're going to change it.

"The Superman concept of man changing institutions by himself or 'working from the inside' has always and will always fail. The reason for this is that the laws and the rules are made by those in power, and one gets caught in all the red tape and, sometimes, even gets co-opted if he tries to change them from with-

in their system. To prove this, let's ask ourselves: What will change our schools, if they need changing—an individual making threatening phone calls or burning the school down, or mass involvement stemming from political involvement, directed at economic or political pressure?

"There are plenty of people who are dissatisfied with the way things are being run; but to try to solve them individually is suicide. The only way to change things is by affecting the people, mobilizing the dissatisfied masses into the same sort of action. And again, let us ask ourselves: Would there be a war if everyone refused to fight?"

Last month, Fannie Clark, mother of Illinois Black Panther Party leader Mark Clark, filed a civil rights suit in Chicago federal district court. According to the Sept. 28 *Chicago Daily Defender*, the suit is asking for \$3-million in damages on the grounds that her son's constitutional rights, namely the right to live, have been violated. Clark was assassinated along with Panther leader Fred Hampton in the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid on

an apartment where he and others were sleeping.

Fannie Clark says the suit is on behalf of her remaining 15 children, as well as herself. Attorney in the case is Cornelius Toole, legal counsel for the Chicago metropolitan office of the NAACP. The Hampton family has another, similar suit in the same court.

Native Americans in upstate New York are demanding the return of lost territories. Much of their land, negotiated in treaties during the 18th century, has been whittled away by the government and private industry. Or in some cases, an Indian nation may be the owner of valuable property, but gets very little in terms of rent. For example, the Seneca nation, numbering over 4,400, is in negotiations right now with the city of Salamanca, N.Y., which is situated on tribal lands. The land was leased to the city in 1892 for 99 years. Rent amounts to a trifling \$17,000 a year. In the present negotiations, the Senecas are demanding 10 times that amount.

—DERRICK MORRISON

from Pathfinder



On Women's Liberation

Problems of Women's Liberation: a Marxist Approach, by Evelyn Reed	95
Pioneers of Women's Liberation by Joyce Cowley	25
In Defense of the Women's Movement articles by Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters and Evelyn Reed	25
The Politics of Women's Liberation Today by Mary-Alice Waters	25
Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation By George Novack	25

Order from:
PATHFINDER PRESS, 873 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

Mass action: Chicano lettuce strikers in Center, Colorado

In case Hussein faltered

U.S.-Israel plans for Jordan invasion

By ROBERT LANGSTON

From Sept. 21 to 23, Washington and Jerusalem were prepared at any moment to invade Jordan and save King Hussein's throne. The aggression was to take place under the pretext that the Hashemite monarch was a victim of "foreign" intervention.

The invasion was called off after the armored units of the Palestine Liberation Army that had crossed the Syrian border into Jordan were forced to withdraw due to lack of air cover, and the fedayeen, facing Hussein's Pattons, Phantoms and howitzers with neither armor, air force, nor artillery, were unable to win a clear military victory.

This was disclosed in an article by Benjamin Welles in the Oct. 8 *New York Times*. "The United States and Israel," Welles wrote, "were preparing to take coordinated military action in the recent Jordanian crisis, according to American and Israeli sources."

"This plan envisioned an Israeli attack on the Syrian tank forces [capitalist journalese for the PLA armored units stationed in Syria] that had entered Jordan if it appeared that King Hussein's army was incapable of stopping them. In this event, the United States would have used Sixth Fleet and other units to safeguard Israel's rear and flanks from Egyptian or Soviet attacks from the Suez Canal area."

Welles outlined the operational plan of the U.S. side of the action: "Had a decision to actually intervene been reached, one of the two airborne battalions of the United States Eighth Infantry Division on alert in Mainz, West Germany, would have parachuted into the Amman airport to establish perimeter defenses. The other would have landed soon after in transport planes, guarded by Sixth Fleet fighters, with vehicles, weapons and materiel. This would have been primarily a holding operation until reinforcements from the Sixth Fleet, from West Germany, or from the United States could arrive."

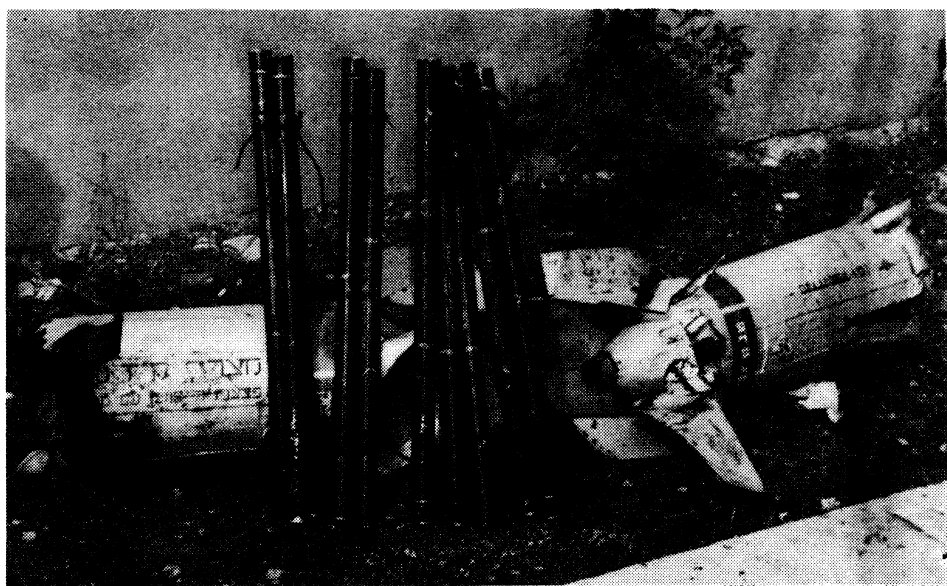
This plan makes clear that the purpose of the U.S. action could not have been to "safeguard Israel's rear and flanks from Egyptian or Soviet attacks from the Suez Canal area." Even assuming that an Egyptian troop movement across the canal with Soviet air cover were militarily possible, there would not be much tactical sense in trying to counter it by landing troops in Amman instead of in the Sinai, which is under Israeli military control. The purpose of the planned U.S. operation could only have been to participate directly in crushing the Palestinians.

Likewise, Welles' account makes clear that "foreign intervention" would be merely a pretext to carry out the invasion. "Within 24 hours," he writes, "of her 'invasion' Syria had begun extricating her crippled or damaged tanks from Jordan. The remaining tanks in Jordan never resumed moving south." That was on Sept. 21, and from that moment on, it was clear that Syrian support to the fedayeen had been withdrawn. But, Welles reports, it was not until two days later that "Washington was confident that King Hussein had won" and the alert called off. In short, the U.S.-Israeli action was aimed simply at shoring up the feudal-capitalist regime of Hussein when it was threatened by a defensive struggle of a majority of his subjects, aimed at defeating his at-

tempt to crush their national liberation movement.

Welles gives an indication of the role of Soviet pressure in stripping the fedayeen of their armor. On the evening of Sept. 21—the day the PLA armor advance to the south stopped and the withdrawal to the Syrian border began—Welles reports that "there was the first glimmer of Soviet cooperation. [Soviet charge d'affaires in Washington] Vorontsov called on [Assistant Secretary of State] Sisco to repeat Soviet warnings against 'all' outside interference, to disclose that the Soviet Union was in touch with Syria [emphasis added] and to urge the United States to restrain Israel from intervening."

U.S.-Israeli invasion plans were no secret even during those crucial days in September. Nixon himself informed reporters of plans under consideration. But as time passes, more and more of the truth about the role of U.S. imperialism during those crucial days of fighting between the Jordanian rulers and the Palestinian people will become known. The facts confirm once again the readiness of the U.S. government to intervene anywhere in the world anytime it can get away with it in order to crush any rising liberation movement. It is clear to all that the U.S. government stands first and foremost as the bulwark of every reactionary regime in the world, Jordan and Israel included.



Israeli weapons captured by the Palestinian commandos

Washington pumping vast military aid into Israel

Perhaps one of the most devastating exposures of the myth of a "progressive" Israel is the copious military aid being lavished upon it by a U.S. government whose preference for the most reactionary regimes is now quite well established.

The Nixon administration, with full support from the Democrats, has made virtually unprecedented lethal aid available to the Israelis.

On Sept. 28, Congress approved a bill authorizing for Israel what Tad Szulc in the Sept. 29 *New York Times* called, "probably the most open-ended arms-buying program in the world." The new law authorizes Nixon to transfer to the Zionist state as much aircraft and "ground weapons such as missiles, tanks, howitzers, armed personnel carriers, ordnance, etc." as may be necessary to counter "past,

present or future" Soviet military assistance to the Arab countries.

Under the law, Israel will have an open line of credit to buy the weapons. The administration is already preparing to refinance the Israeli debt from earlier weapons purchases, and as an opener, administration sources disclosed Sept. 17 that Washington is considering making \$500-million worth of new weapons available.

Official Washington leaks indicate that Israel is already scheduled to receive between 24 and 32 new Phantom jets, more electronic jamming equipment to aid penetration of the Egyptian missile air-defense along the Suez Canal, and, for the first time, Shrike missiles which will "ride" the Egyptian missiles' radar guidance beams back to the missile sites and destroy them.

National unemployment at six-year high

National unemployment climbed to a six-year high of 5.5 percent in September, the U.S. Dept. of Labor announced Oct. 2. It meant that approximately 4,292,000 persons were looking for jobs, in addition to uncounted hundreds of thousands of other persons who have simply given up the search.

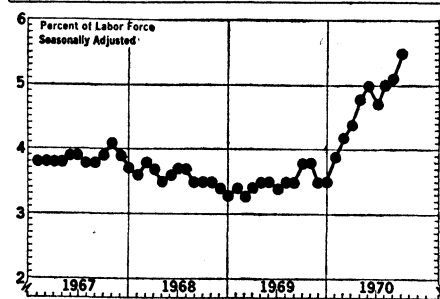
These significant figures were released by the Labor Dept.: Unemployment for all white civilian workers rose from 4.8 percent in August to 5.1 percent in September; unemployment for Black workers rose from 8.4 percent to 9.0 percent; teen-age unemployment for males rose from 15.8 to 16.7 percent; for females, from 16.0 to 16.9 percent (separate figures for Black male and female teen-age unemployment were not released); unemployment for blue-collar workers at 7.5 percent in September towered over unemployment for white-collar workers at 2.8 percent.

Meanwhile the length of the average workweek continued to decline, from 39.8 hours to 39.4 hours; average weekly overtime decreased from 3 to 2.7 hours.

All these figures spell out a gloomy situation for workers that is getting worse. Shorter hours mean smaller paychecks. They also mean that if an economic upturn is about to begin, as some politicians are predicting, unemployment will still remain high.

This is because employers will lengthen the hours of those workers who do have jobs to meet an increasing demand for goods before new workers are hired. The consensus of opinion in New York financial circles is that unemployment will rise

Unemployment Rate Up



UNEMPLOYMENT rose in September to a seasonally adjusted rate of 5.5% of the labor force from 5.1% reported the previous month, the Labor Department reports.

to at least 6 percent next year before leveling off.

In the "logic" of two-party capitalist politics, the September unemployment figures were welcomed in the Democratic Party camp as a possible vote-catcher. These are the last figures that will be released by the Labor Dept. before election day, Nov. 3.

Republican administration economist Paul W. McCracken retorted that the September unemployment figure "is essentially a statistical aberration." McCracken predicted that the economy would grow at a "fairly moderate pace." Interestingly, McCracken promised a return to "full employment"—by which he means 4 percent unemployment—in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, that is, by the next presidential elections.

But these pronouncements by politicians and economic experts in both parties really underline more than anything else the lack of control and

lack of knowledge the capitalist spokesmen have about the capitalist economic system.

The question of 4 or 5 or 6 percent unemployment is not at all a matter of indifference to the 700,000 or 1,400,000 or 2,100,000 persons who would lose jobs as the unemployment rate fluctuated between these percentage points.

Yet no one can predict with any degree of certainty which of these figures, 4, 5 or 6 percent, the unemployment rate in 1972 will be closest to. The capitalist economy is driven by forces of its own over which neither the capitalist government nor any business has meaningful control.

Business Week magazine, in its Oct. 3 report on the economic outlook, gave a figure that is well worth pondering. Looking ahead to 1971, the financial weekly speculated that the gap "between what the economy can produce at full employment and what it is producing" will widen to "about \$100 billion." (Emphasis added.)

One hundred billion dollars is more than the annual gross national product—the total economic output—of Italy. Thus, this capitalist magazine declares in an offhand way that the difference between what the U.S. could produce with full employment in 1971, and what it will produce, would support a nation with the population and income levels of Italy!

This will happen in a world where hundreds of millions of people must exist in starvation, deprivation and poverty, not to speak of the crying needs of all the major cities of the United States for adequate hospitals, housing and schools.

Who rules General Motors?

By DICK ROBERTS

Who rules General Motors? Who makes the key decisions for this giant multinational corporation? Who profits from the labor of the 375,000 GM workers in this country—and over 700,000 GM workers, if taken on a world scale?

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to examine certain myths about the capitalist system. One myth that is cultivated in schools, from first grade on up into graduate schools of economics, is that the capitalist ruling class no longer exists. It goes something like this:

"Once upon a time there were 'capitalists' in this country. They were the 'robber barons' who really did exploit workers and built the industrial empires of the 19th century.

"But some time in the 20th century, as a result of 'antitrust legislation' and other things, they disappeared. Now, corporations are owned by millions of stockholders, possibly including your own family. And they are ruled by managers."

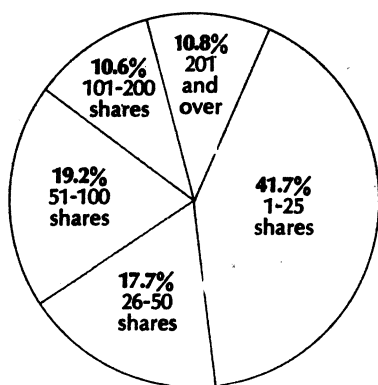
In the language of the prestigious Columbia University economist, Adolf A. Berle Jr., "Management control" is a phrase meaning merely that no large concentrated stockholding exists which maintains a close working relationship with the management or is capable of challenging it, so that the board of directors may regularly expect a majority, composed of small and scattered holdings, to follow their lead."

Paul Sweezy and the late Paul Baran repeated similar conceptions in their *Monopoly Capital*: "The domineering founders of family fortunes were dying off, leaving their stockholdings to numerous heirs, foundations, charities, trust funds, and the like, so that the ownership unit which once exercised absolute control over many enterprises became increasingly amorphous and leaderless. Thus the larger corporations gradually won more and more independence from both bankers and dominant stockholders. . . ."

But these ideas are erroneous and misleading. They are also illogical. A closer look at General Motors, the biggest of all industrial corporations, shows that it remains as from the beginning under the control of a few ruling-class families, their banks, and their representatives on the corporate board.

Let us begin with the conception of millions of people owning stock in GM and consequently the capitalist rulers no longer owning a controlling interest. In its 1969 *Annual Report*, GM notes that it has 1,363,000 stockholders, and the report gives this pie chart of their holdings:

Common and Preferred Stockholders by Size of Holdings



But what this chart really shows is that most owners of GM shares, 89.2 percent, do not own very many shares. The most sizable and consequently the controlling interests are held by 10.8 percent of the owners.

Most GM shareholders have less than 100 shares. At its present stock-market price of about \$72 a share, this would still cost \$7,200, which is more than most Americans can afford. In fact, \$7,200 is higher than the average yearly income of the majority of American workers.

But owning 100 shares of GM stock would not bring anyone near to the locus of decision making in this corporation and it is miniscule com-

pared to the stockholdings of the capitalist families who are the big GM shareholders.

What about the board of directors? According to the Securities and Exchange Commission files that were available in early October when this article was written, the 24 directors of GM in 1969 held a total of 571,922 shares, worth over \$41-million! That comes to an average of more than 20,000 shares per director. (The GM directors in 1969 and the shareholdings of those directors with over 1,000 shares are listed below.)

These directors include members and easily identifiable representatives of the most powerful ruling-class families.

Until his death on June 3, 1970, one of the directors of GM was Richard King Mellon. Along with the Ford, Rockefeller, Morgan and du Pont families, the Mellon family is one of the dominant American ruling-class interest groups.

In the *New York Times* obituary of Richard King Mellon, besides labeling him a "philanthropist," it was noted that the Mellon family holdings include "more than 50 million shares of Gulf Oil, a fourth of the corporation's equity; more than seven million shares of Alcoa, 30 percent of the equity; the Mellon bank, perhaps worth \$200-million; and controlling interests in the Koppers Company, the Carborundum Company, and the General Reinsurance Company. An individual Richard Mellon holding was \$20-million in General Motors Corporation."

In the SEC files in October 1970 it was reported that Richard Mellon owned 240,250 GM shares; 528,440 shares of Alcoa (worth about \$26.5-million); and 3,322,573 shares of Gulf Oil (worth about \$93-million). Mellon's holdings in GM are not the source but an extension of his wealth and power.

Other members of the 1969 board of directors of GM include the notorious multimillionaire Midwest financier of ultraright political groupings, Charles S. Mott; top officials of the Morgan bank, and other dominant banking groups; longtime past and present members of the central GM management; the typical university administrator; and a smattering of other chairmen of corporation boards.

The tens of thousands of small GM holders, let alone the masses of American people, are not represented in this select grouping.

There are several fallacies in the reasoning of those who deny the commanding position of the ruling-class families in the U.S. economy.

The spread of stock ownership among many small owners in no sense diminishes the power of the capitalist rulers. *On the one hand it concentrates more capital under their control; on the other hand it enables them to rule more corporations with smaller personal holdings.*

If one were to purchase \$1,000 worth of a new issue of GM stock, for instance, he would be putting that \$1,000 at the disposal of GM and its rulers. For this service he would be paid a dividend. He would not gain any influence in the executive offices of General Motors' headquarters, which tower over New York's Fifth Ave.

More than 50 years ago, Lenin pointed out in his book, *Imperialism*: "The 'democratization' of the ownership of shares, from which the bourgeois sophists and opportunist 'would-be' Social Democrats expect (or declare they expect) the 'democratization of capital,' the strengthening of the role and significance of small-scale production, etc., is, in fact, one of the ways of increasing the power of

the financial oligarchy.

"Incidentally, this is why, in the more advanced, or in the older and more 'experienced' capitalist countries, the law allows the issue of shares of very small denominations."

There is perhaps an even more fundamental flaw in the reasoning of those who deny the existence and power of the ruling class.

If it is accepted, as can hardly be denied, that a tiny stratum of immensely wealthy and powerful capitalist families emerged in the 19th century as rulers of industrial and financial world networks—what happened to them?

The conditions which gave these capitalists their wealth and power in the first place, that is, the industrial revolution and the first mighty expansion of capitalism in the 19th century, did not disappear in the 20th century.

On the contrary, the 20th century has seen new waves of technological revolution, mountainous strides in the production of machinery, steel, aluminum, chemicals, motor vehicles, aircraft, oil, electrical and telecommunications equipment. Even more it has seen two horrendous world wars plus numerous others which whipped up the production of the most profitable of capitalist goods, those which supply the machinery of war, to historical peaks.

It stands to reason that the capitalist owners of all this wealth grew richer and more powerful in the 20th century, not the reverse.

And this is certainly the case with that ruling-class family which is most closely associated with General Motors, which is the biggest holder of GM shares, which in addition owns international chemical and rubber combines, and which gained its inestimable wealth above all in the first and second world wars—the du Pont family of Delaware and Florida.

No members of the du Pont family sit on the GM board of directors, nor do any of them individually own 10 percent or more of the outstanding GM stock. This exempts them from laws requiring revelation of their stockholdings.

Nevertheless, Ferdinand Lundberg, in *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, has made conservative estimates of the du Pont family holdings based on available information. He gives the following figures for the size and value of the du Pont interests in the two central bastions of their financial power:

- 44 percent family interest in 49,994,520 shares of E. I. du Pont, market value Dec. 31, 1964, \$4,892,433,792.

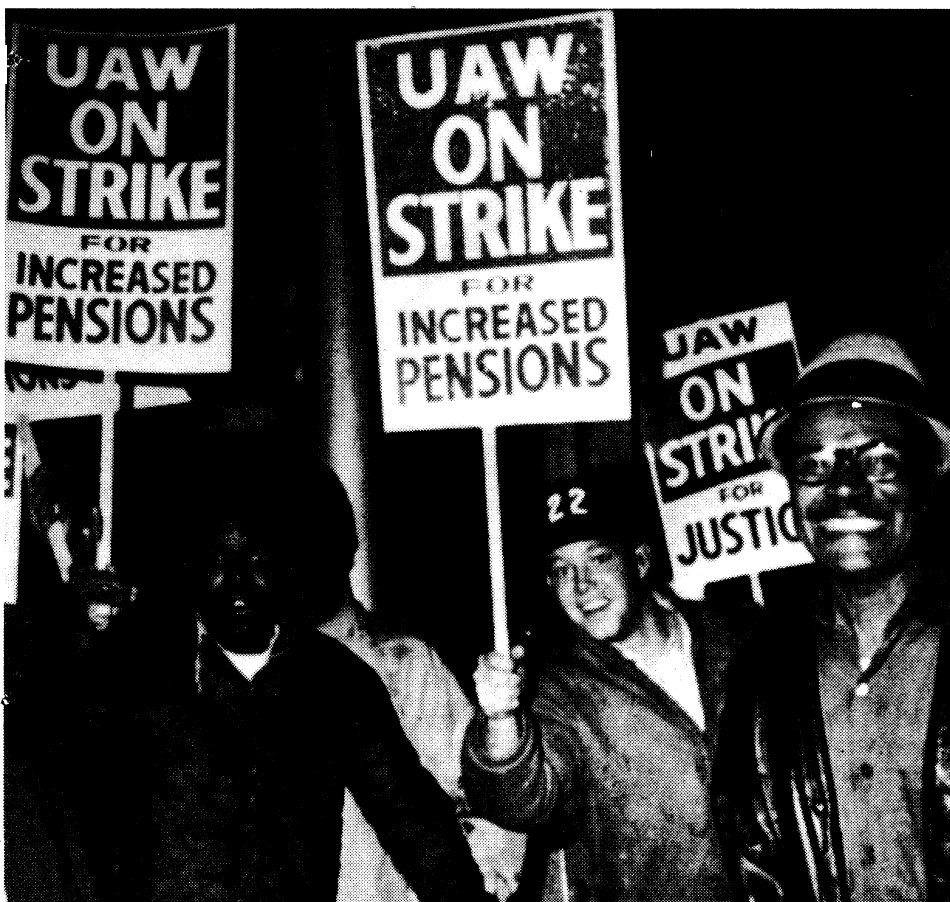
- 44 percent family interest in 63 million General Motors shares divested by E. I. du Pont at 1964 closing price, \$2,716,560,000. (Individual du Pont holdings of GM before the divestiture are not included; the divestiture process is described below.)

Accordingly, just in E. I. du Pont stock and GM stock held by the E. I. du Pont corporation prior to divestment, the value of du Pont family holdings reached above \$7.5-billion.

Lundberg estimates that about 250 members of the du Pont family partake of these holdings. That averages to \$30-million a member.

But these estimates are made tentative and incomplete by the fact that the du Pont family control of General Motors was the target of one of the longest and possibly the most highly advertised antitrust suits in U.S. history. It is interesting to take a closer look at this action of the U.S. government supposedly on behalf of the voting public.

The antitrust suit was filed by the



STRIKE OPENS. Workers at Detroit GM plant midnight, Sept. 14. Main issues are protection against inflated prices and the right to retire after 30 years of labor at a pension of \$500 a month. GM workers are pitted against one of the wealthiest and most powerful sectors of the ruling class—the du Pont family—with its vast network of financial and industrial interests, its lackeys on corporate boards, on semigovernmental decision-making agencies, and throughout the capitalist government itself.

ed the government, the E. I. du Pont company's holding of GM stock gave it an "unfair" advantage in sales to GM. The suit was finally settled 13 years later in 1962 after going through all the courts and several congressional committees. Certain aspects of the suit have not been completely resolved to this day.

In essence, what happened is this: The E. I. du Pont corporation was forced to distribute the GM stock it held to owners of the E. I. du Pont corporation. Since this included members of the du Pont family and holding companies which the du Ponts controlled, the government further stipulated that certain du Ponts would have to sell the GM shares which they would accrue through the divestment of these shares by E. I. du Pont.

The catch in the whole process, the loophole in the final resolution of the suit which allowed the du Pont family to maintain a significant share of control of GM, was simply this: The ruling against the du Ponts stipulated that *only 40 members and holding companies of the du Pont family* were required to sell GM shares which they received through divestiture.

This left the duPonts with the GM shares they individually owned before the suit: the shares of those members of the family not on the list of 40 plus the shares which the 40 du Pont family members who were on the list sold to the other du Pont family members who were not on the list!

The loophole was dutifully noted by *New York Times* reporter Austin C. Wehrwein, March 2, 1962, when the final settlement came down. "This marked the end of the biggest anti-trust case in history," Wehrwein declared at the outset of his article.

But "The government position was that the du Pont family was a cohesive group of at least 75 persons and affiliated financial organizations, and that they would still retain large holdings of GM stock. . . ."

"Some lawyers who have followed the case closely," said Wehrwein, "suggested that although neither party won a clear-cut victory, the du Pont side had the edge." There was one month for the government to appeal the decision limited to 40 du Pont members and holding companies. Robert F. Kennedy was attorney general at the time.

"Du Pont Decision Accepted by U. S.," read the headline on the front of the financial section in the April 27, 1962, *New York Times*. "Att'y General Robert F. Kennedy said that . . . the settlement achieved 'the basic ends of the important litigation' and was a landmark antitrust enforcement."

The same article noted, "since the settlement was along lines proposed by du Pont lawyers, there had been some indication the government would appeal."

GM directors

Following is a list of the 1969 directors of GM and some of their key positions. Richard Mellon, who is discussed in the article, is omitted from the list.

STEPHEN D. BECHTEL Jr., head of various big construction firms on the West Coast, director of Hanna Mining, Southern Pacific, Tenneco and the Crocker-Citizens National Bank. He holds 2,000 shares of GM worth \$144,000.

Bechtel is a partner with John McCone (Bechtel-McCone Corp.), former head of the CIA. Bechtel is a member of the Business Council (BC), trustee of the National Industrial Conference Board (NICB) and trustee of the Calif. Institute of Technology.

EUGENE N. BEESLEY, chairman of the board of Eli Lilly, from which he draws a salary of \$308,793. He owns \$9-million worth of Eli Lilly stock, is a director of Proctor and Gamble, member of the BC, board member of the NICB, and trustee of Wabash College.

LLOYD D. BRACE, former chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Boston, director of USM Corp., Gillette, John Hancock Mutual Life, Stone and Webster, and American Telephone and Telegraph.

ALBERT BRADLEY, former chairman of the board of General Motors. A GM director since 1933, member of the executive committee of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, trustee emeritus of Dartmouth College, trustee of the Sloan-Kettering Institution, 1953-61. Owns 81,000 shares of GM worth \$5.8-million.

(The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, named after the former chairman of the GM board and close working associate of the late Pierre S. du Pont, is essentially a du Pont holding company.)

HARLEE BRANCH Jr., chairman of the board of Southern Co., director of U. S. Steel, General Reinsurance Corp. (a Mellon company) and North Star Reinsurance. BC member, trustee of United Student Aid Funds, Emory U, Davidson College and the Atlanta Arts Alliance.

EDWARD N. COLE, president of General Motors. Salary, \$225,000, owns 20,828 shares of GM worth \$1.5-million, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$367,000.

JOHN T. CONNOR, chairman of the board of Allied Chemical, director of General Foods, Chase Manhattan Corp. Served as special assistant to the secretary of the U. S. Navy, 1945-47, and as U. S. secretary of commerce, 1965-67. Member of the BC, Committee on Economic Development, Council on Foreign Relations, N. J.



DU PONT STYLE OF LIVING. Mansion in Miami's swanky Coconut Grove suburb on Biscayne Bay under construction in 1964. William Harrington du Pont, age 27, had the 44-room house built for his wife, "the former Maren K. de Amezola, daughter of an aristocratic family in Bilbao, Spain." With 10 bedrooms, 17 baths, an observatory, sun-deck, swimming pool, servants' wing, seven-car garage, yacht basin, etc., "Mr. du Pont visualized his home as a miniature copy of the family estate . . ." according to the May 31, 1964, *New York Times*.

Board of Higher Education, trustee of Syracuse U.

FREDERIC G. DONNER, former chairman of General Motors and longtime GM management man, GM director since 1942. Owns 50,000 shares of GM worth \$3.6-million. Chairman of the board of trustees of Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

RICHARD C. GERSTENBERG, vice-chairman of General Motors board of directors. Salary, \$181,250, owns 9,052 shares of GM worth \$650,000, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$341,250.

JOHN F. GORDON, former General Motors president. Owns 19,680 shares of GM worth \$1.5-million. Director of the National Bank of Detroit, Consumers Power Co.

JAMES R. KILLIAN Jr., chairman of the corporation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, director of AT&T, Cabot Corp., Polaroid. Chairman of the U. S. President's Board Conference on Foreign Intelligence Activities, 1956-58, chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, 1961-63. Trustee of Mount Holyoke college, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Institute of Defense Analysis.

ROGER M. KYES, executive vice-president of General Motors. Salary, \$200,000, owns 4,355 shares of GM worth \$315,000, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$313,758.

JOHN A. MAYER, chairman of the board of Mellon National Bank and Trust and associated with Mellon interests for a long time. Director of Aluminum Co. of America, in which he holds 300,300 shares worth \$15-million, H. J. Heinz, Armco Steel, and Bank of London and South America.

Mayer is a trustee of the Carnegie-Mellon U, Carnegie Institution, and U of Pennsylvania.

J. WESLEY McAFEE, chairman of the board of Union Electrical, director of General American Life, Anheuser-Busch, St. Louis Union Trust Co. and Universal Match.

W. EARLE McLAUGHLIN, powerful Canadian banker, chairman and president of Royal Bank of Canada, Guildhall Insurance, Montreal Trust, director of Ralston-Purina, Standard

Brands, Metropolitan Life, Algoma Steel, Power Corp. of Canada and Gemstar Ltd. Trustee of Queen's University.

HOWARD J. MORGENS, president and director of Proctor and Gamble, in which is holds 60,090 shares of stock worth \$3.2-million. Salary, \$425,000. A director of J. P. Morgan and Co., Owens-Corning Fiberglass, Clorox Co., Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Morgan Guaranty Trust.

CHARLES S. MOTT, honorary chairman, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Director of Midwest Utilities, U. S. Sugar, National Can, Michigan Life, Wayne Oakland Bank, Bendix and many other corporations. Holds 89,896 shares of GM worth \$6.5-million.

THOMAS L. PERKINS, chairman of the board of American Cyanamid. A longtime representative of Morgan interests, director of J. P. Morgan and Co., Morgan Guaranty Trust, Pennsylvania Co., Penn Central, Discount Corp. of New York and Duke Power Co. Trustee of the New York Public Library, Phillips Andover Academy and Duke U.

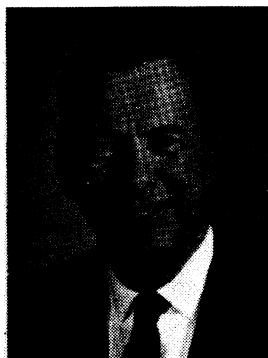
JAMES M. ROCHE, chairman of the board of General Motors. Salary, \$250,000, owns 16,781 shares of GM worth \$1.2-million, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$405,000.

GEORGE RUSSELL, vice-chairman of the board of General Motors. Salary, \$225,000, owns 22,707 shares of GM worth \$1.65-million, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$490,000.

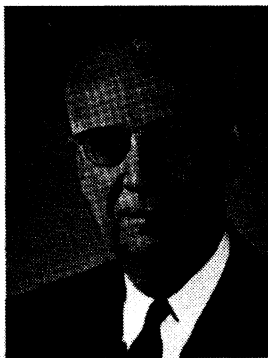
GERALD A. SIVAGE, president of Marshall Field and Co. Director of First National Bank of Chicago, Metropolitan Life and Sivyer Steel Casting Co.

HAROLD G. WARNER, executive vice-president of General Motors. Salary, \$180,000, owns 10,131 shares of GM worth \$740,000, is entitled to retirement bonus of \$330,000.

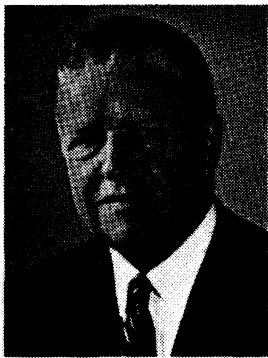
ALBERT L. WILLIAMS, chairman of the executive committee of IBM, (resigned from the board of directors of GM in 1970). Salary at IBM, \$227,500, owns 16,939 shares of IBM worth \$5-million. Director of General Foods, Mobil Oil, First National City Bank.



EDWARD N. COLE
President;
chief operating officer
Service—39 Years
Director—8 Years



JAMES M. ROCHE
Chairman of the
Board of Directors;
chief executive officer
Service—42 Years
Director—7 Years



GEORGE RUSSELL
Vice Chairman
of the Board of Directors
Service—42 Years
Director—14 Years

GM TOP MANAGEMENT. The three highest GM officials average \$230,000 a year in salaries. Further, each of the three owns about \$1.5-million worth of GM stock—from which each of them receives a yearly dividend of about \$90,000. Between salaries and dividends, the managers average 45 times the yearly \$7,200 wage of the GM production worker. In one year, the managers rake in more than most GM workers earn in their entire lifetimes. On top of this, the GM management is entitled to bonuses of roughly \$420,000 each on retirement. GM workers are fighting for a yearly retirement pension of \$500 a month.

Los Angeles tribute to Eleanor Broady

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES — About 95 comrades, family members and friends of Eleanor Letha Carey Broady filled the Socialist Workers Party hall here Oct. 4 to commemorate the life of this longtime revolutionary fighter who died Sept. 22. She was 67.

Eleanor Broady was an organizer for the Steelworkers union during the growth of the CIO, joined the Communist Party in 1932, broke with that organization after the Khrushchev revelations in 1956, and then joined the Socialist Workers Party.

George Novack, who helped recruit Eleanor to the SWP, spoke on the significance of her life and political development. Some of his remarks are printed on this page.

George Davis, a comrade and friend who worked with her in the Black community, described her activities in support of independent Black political action and in building the Alexander Defense Committee, an organization

working for the release of imprisoned South African revolutionists.

Jack Sheppard, a steelworker who worked with Eleanor's husband, Otto, noted the difficulties that all radicals faced during the 1950s because of McCarthyism. "It's a tribute to Eleanor and Otto that they could get their bearings after the Khrushchev revelations and continue their work."

Sheavy Geldman, a comrade and friend, told the memorial meeting that the women's liberation movement came too late for Eleanor's participation but that she was a living example of an independent woman.

"She was a leading member of the Communist Party and was in a struggle with the leadership of that party over the rights of women," Geldman said.

Others who spoke were a longtime friend Vannoy Thompson and Eleanor's nephew Abd Al Hakimu Ibn Albalimat.



Eleanor Letha Carey Broady

Photos by John Gray

'She identified with the cause of the liberation of humanity'

The following excerpts are from the speech given by George Novack at the Oct. 4 memorial meeting for Eleanor Letha Carey Broady.

In her own sphere and her own measure, Eleanor Broady was what Emerson called a representative figure. That is to say, the prime features of her life's activity were common to the experiences of many others of her generation in the United States but she managed to exemplify and express them in an especially clear, conscious and consistent manner.

Thus, in order to do justice to the essential meaning of her life and its accomplishments, it is necessary to bring out those more general aspects of her biography that went beyond her individuality. These can be classified under five broad categories: her being as an Afro-American, as a female, as a member of the working class, as part of the radicalization of the 1930s, and, above all, as a revolutionary Marxist. Let me treat these in that order.

Eleanor was born Black in a white supremacist nation that takes second place in racism only to South Africa. I'm sure it didn't take her much longer than any other young Black person to discover the grim truth of this condition, because the racist stench of what one Black writer has called "The Great American Outhouse" was as powerful in Chicago, where she grew up, as the smells from the stockyards. She set out quite early to seek the most effective ways and means to defy, combat and change that situation, not simply on her own account but for her entire people.

Biology shaped her destiny in still another respect. She was born a woman in a world where men have ruled the roost for thousands of years. But she did not permit the restrictive responsibilities that a working-class family imposed upon her to grind her down or prevent her from entering upon a broad sphere of activities as union organizer, party worker, or leader in the struggles of the Black community.

Like most Afro-Americans, Eleanor

came from a working-class family. Over the decades she worked as a skilled fur worker, a waitress, a stenographer, a welder during the war, and a bookkeeper after it.

The fourth big factor that determined the course of her life was the Great Depression of the 1930s. She was a product of that world-shaking collapse of the capitalist system.

Eleanor was appalled and angered by the unemployment, suffering and misery that the Depression inflicted upon the ghetto population, which was visible all around her in Chicago. Through the Unemployed Councils, she joined the jobless and the poor in their demonstrations in the streets and at city hall, at the relief stations and welfare offices.

When the CIO started moving in 1935, she became an organizer for the Steelworkers union. She was not only one of the few women involved in its unionizing drives in that key steel area; she was the first Black to be a delegate to the Cook County Federation of Labor. She met her lifelong companion Otto during this period.

The 1930s witnessed not only the hunger marches of the unemployed and the organization of the industrial workers. It was also a time of the most extensive political radicalization. Along with thousands of like-minded men and women, Black and white, young and not so young, who were revolted by capitalism and revolting against its evils, she joined the Communist Party in 1932.

The CP had by then become the largest, most attractive and influential of all the parties on the left. Its predominance is easily explained. It purported to represent the October 1917 revolution in Russia; the Soviet Union, the country of the five-year plan which had eliminated unemployment; the Third International, which Lenin had founded.

Eleanor played an active role in and through the CP when it was ascendant in the CIO and in radical and even left liberal circles during the second Roosevelt administration and the Second World War and when it had

a large following in the Black urban communities where she lived. She helped recruit Claude Lightfoot and other Black leaders of the CP in the Midwest and was prominent in the National Negro Council, headed by A. Philip Randolph.

She did not swerve an iota from her allegiance to the party during the cold war when the witch-hunt persecutions beat down upon it. In the early fifties the CP's misleaders, judging that a new world war and fascism were imminent, decided to prepare for that eventuality by going underground and she was ordered to be part of its secret reserve apparatus. For over a year she lived on the run under an assumed identity to throw off the FBI agents who were on her trail.

The decisive turning point in her later life occurred in 1956 after Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes and Otto's initiative to bring her along in his break with the CP. The shocks of the Khrushchev report at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP and the Polish and Hungarian revolts that autumn convulsed the world Communist movement. For almost 30 years, Stalin had been revered as an omniscient and infallible godlike figure. All of a sudden, his successors and closest associates asserted that he was a monster, a dictator, a criminal.

Thousands quit the CP in disgust and disillusionment. The most outspoken critics in the leadership, headed by John Gates, after failing to reform the party, swung to the right. If they did not relapse into political numbness, the bulk of them began to more openly espouse the reformism they had been accustomed to practice within the CP.

Eleanor and Otto took a different course. Despite Stalin and Stalinism, they refused to renounce their revolutionary convictions. Instead, they looked around for another political grouping, another set of comrades with whom they could continue to work for socialism. Through Otto's

contact with Jack Sheppard in the Consolidated Steel shop, they turned toward the SWP on the quite logical and correct premise that if Stalin had been the real betrayer of Bolshevism then his foremost opponent, Trotsky, must have been correct.

Eleanor and Otto gathered together a group of other dissidents to carry forward a campaign for truth, clarity and correction within the CP of Southern California. I need hardly say they did not succeed in transforming that bankrupt party but were soon expelled for their pains. Eleanor and Otto, along with others, publicly announced their adherence to the SWP and made useful contributions to this branch, even though regrettably not all of these comrades have remained active in our ranks.

Eleanor's integration in our party coincided with the beginnings of the upsurge in the civil rights movement. She participated in the Woolworth boycott, the Freedom Now Party, and the defense of Robert Williams; she supported Malcolm X and was in the midst of the Watts uprisings, where she lived; and she worked to defend the Black Panthers and many other victims of racist repression.

That brings me to the fifth and final category. Eleanor was above all a revolutionary Marxist. She fully identified with the cause of the liberation of humanity through the world socialist revolution and she stayed on that course to the day of her death. She was a party person, who was at one time an alternate member of the SWP National Committee and held several important posts in the Los Angeles branch of the party.

That was the example Eleanor Broady set for the younger generation who will challenge and change this rotten racist imperialist society. Remember her for that—and, if you do, her work will not have ended but will live on through the party to which she devoted years of her intellectual and political career.

The two-party system and capitalist rule

By FRANK LOVELL

The following is the third in a series of articles dealing with the two-party electoral system in this country—the role it plays, how it functions, and the relationship of the labor movement to it. The first two articles appeared in the issues of Sept. 25 and Oct. 2.

The unique two-party system of electoral politics in this country is one of the key institutions of class rule. It is a historically tested and carefully maintained system through which the most powerful capitalist interests exercise monopoly control of government.

Each of the two parties has its own history and tradition; each has had more than a hundred years of political struggle and government manipulation. Each has survived every challenge to its continued existence, and each has outlived numerous coalitions of voters which have supported it for different reasons and different periods of time.

The Republican Party, launched in 1854, was the product of social ferment and deep class antagonism. At its inception, it represented a coalition of northern industrialists and western freehold farmers, and won support from the urban middle class and some of the working class. Its original aim was to replace the southern slaveholders who were then dominant in the federal government.

After the Civil War this original coalition around the Republican Party split apart, but the controlling core of the party remained and developed into one of the most useful political tools of Big Business.

The Democratic Party pre-dates its twin rival in the ruling-class political

constellation. It was the party of the *ante bellum* slavocracy. The defeated and discredited Democrats fell upon bad times following the Civil War but, again, the party survived. It was skillfully used by a wing of the ruling class as a rallying center for new coalitions of diverse social forces seeking to curb and dislodge from government the Republican servitors of the railroads, banks and big industry.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have traditionally cultivated "progressive" and "conservative" wings, and they find complete compatibility in bipartisan policy when their capitalist owners require and order it.

No prominent politician (including all U.S. presidents since the Civil War), no matter how popular with the voters or influential within the inner circles of the capitalist parties, ever had the authority to individually decide or change basic policy or even to completely control the political strategy of either party.

A good example of this occurred at the 1940 convention of the Republican Party. Robert Taft, son of a former president, himself a U.S. senator, a wealthy and highly respected member of the ruling class, an astute and principled politician, later to be crowned "Mr. Republican," sought the nomination of his party for the presidency of the United States. World War II had already begun in Europe, and Taft was known to have "isolationist" sympathies, to harbor misgivings about U.S. entry into the war. He wanted to make this an issue in the 1940 presidential election campaign. The Republican Party convention put Taft aside and nominated as its banner bearer a political unknown, Wendell Willkie, whose position on the war was identical with that of President Roosevelt, the Democratic Party candidate.

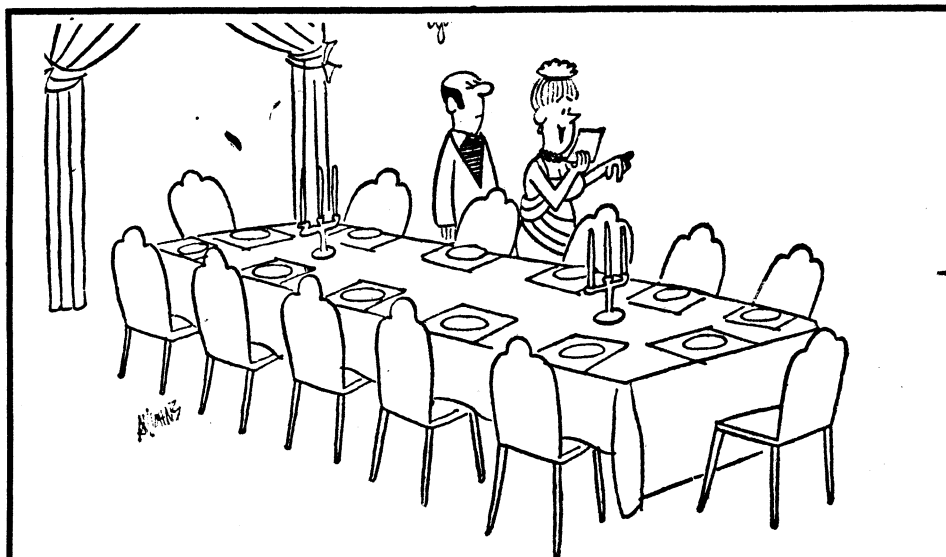
This does not mean that there are no differences between the Republican and Democratic parties. There are, but it does illustrate how at certain moments in history when the ruling class must make a critical decision it can use the two-party system to enforce its majority opinion and minimize further discussion beyond the restricted circles of its top councils.

Sharp conflicts within the ruling class do occur. They account for the unceasing struggle within the two-party system. And such conflicts have shaped both parties and stamped upon them their distinguishing marks.

Role of "third parties"

On some occasions the divisions and disputes within the ruling class have sought expression through a "third party," as happened in the presidential elections of 1912, 1924, 1948, and 1968. But all these "third party" break-aways in the electoral arena remained hitched to the two-party system and proved to be little more than pressure moves to force the dominant section of the ruling class to alter its political course. In each case, the "third party movement" subsequently receded and its proponents found some degree of accommodation in the two major parties.

The "third party" of George Wallace is a good example. It is a self-proclaimed pressure group attempting to maneuver between the Republicans and Democrats to force the ruling class to adopt a more reactionary and repressive strategy to curb the growing Black liberation struggle, especially in the South. It seeks nothing beyond what it hopes will be won from the major parties and when it either wins some concessions, or fails to, the Dixiecrat "third party" of George Wallace will accommodate either to the Democrats or Republicans, just as its



"Liberal . . . conservative . . . liberal
conservative . . . liberal . . ."

predecessor, the Dixiecrat party of Strom Thurmond, became part of the Republican Party.

Political agents

The successful operation of the two-party system depends in the first place upon the vast wealth of the ruling class, upon its political skills and self-confidence in the art of government, and upon the demagogues of all kinds who inhabit the broad political arena and create the impression that crucial battles between Democrats and Republicans are being fought there. But in addition to all this, the mass of voters must be led to the voting places and made to believe that they have a stake in the outcome of elections. This part is not so easy. The ruling class alone cannot accomplish it.

Those who own and control the two-party system must depend upon political promotion agents (who are often different from the professional politicians and office-seekers) to round up

the voters and convince them that an electoral system which keeps the employing class always in power offers some advantages, or at least some hope, to the vast majority who are poor and who are workers when they can find employment.

These political agents, indispensable to the two-party operation, forge the links to the trade unions and broader sectors of the working class. The conservative trade union officialdom has traditionally performed this service. In addition, after the rise of the CIO and the formation of the labor-Democratic coalition in 1936, the social democrats of the Socialist Party variety and the Stalinists, who operate officially as the Communist Party, U.S.A., volunteered to help promote the two-party shell game.

The role of such agents for the two-party system and how they operate will be the subject of the next article.

U.S. supplying arms to Pakistan despite embargo

The United States is supplying arms to Pakistan, the *New York Times* reported from New Delhi, India, Oct. 11. "Reliable sources," according to the *New York Times*, "said the arms included twin-jet B-57 Canberra bombers, F-104 jet fighters and armored personnel carriers."

The Nixon administration move breaks another supposed embargo on arms shipments. The Johnson administration had proclaimed an arms embargo on Pakistan and India after the three-week war between them in 1965.

(On Sept. 22, the Nixon administration announced that it would supply arms to Greece, ending the embargo that had supposedly been imposed in 1967 when the military regime came to power.)

Pakistan and India have been major recipients of U.S. "aid" since World War II. The March 24, 1970, *Congressional Record*, p. H 2357, gave these figures for "economic and military grants and loans" from 1946 to 1968: India, \$7,806,100,000; Pakistan, \$3,603,900,000.

The June 10, 1970, *Congressional Record*, p. E 5401, listed 1969 weapons shipments to India at only \$2,000,000. But the same source listed weapons shipments to Pakistan as "classified" by the Pentagon. Three other nations were on the Pentagon's list of "classified" arms recipients: Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Weekly Calendar

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

IN DEFENSE OF THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Zionism and the Arab Revolution* and member of SWP. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph. Tel: 654-9728. Donation: \$1. A usp. East Bay Socialist Forum.

BOSTON

MIDEAST DEBATE: HOW CAN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS LIVE TOGETHER PEACEFULLY? Speakers: Michael Walzer, Harvard professor of government and recent visitor to the Mideast; and Jon Rothschild, popular speaker in defense of the Palestinian revolution. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. Boston U School of Public Communications Auditorium, 640 Commonwealth Ave. A usp. BU YSA and Militant Labor Forum. For further information call Judy Kleinberg, 536-6981 or 731-3895.

CHICAGO

THE LESSONS OF MAY AND CAMPUS REPRESSION. Speakers: Mark Ugolini, SWP candidate for U of Illinois trustee, and other student leaders. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Tel: 641-0147. Contrib: \$1, students 75c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

Jean Y. Tussey, editor of *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, discusses the book. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Debs Hall Forum.

BENEFIT FOR OHIO SWP CAMPAIGN—OCT 25. Open House 4 p.m. Followed by theater party at Cleveland Playhouse (Brecht's *Three Penny Opera*) 7:30 p.m. Ticket for both \$5. For further information call 861-3862 or 751-2722.

NEW YORK

EXPOSE OF CON ED'S ROLE IN NEW YORK POLLUTION CRISIS. Speaker: Martin Schneider, specialist in

environmental studies who recently debated representatives of Con Ed on nationwide television. Slide show accompanied by commentary will identify the city's worst polluters. Fri., Oct. 23, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information call 982-6051.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON RADIO-TV.

Oct. 17: Kipp Dawson, for U.S. senator. 3:30 p.m. WCBS-TV (Ch. 2). . . . Oct. 18: Kipp Dawson on WABC-AM (770), 9 a.m. . . . Oct. 21: Kipp DAWSON on WNYC-AM (830), 10 p.m., and WOR-AM (710), 1:15 p.m. . . . Oct. 24: Jon Rothschild, for lt. governor. 4 p.m. WCBS-TV (Ch. 2). . . . Oct. 27: Paul Boutelle, for U.S. Congress from 18th C.D. 9 p.m. WNYC-AM (830). . . . Oct. 28: Jon Rothschild on WNYC-AM (830), 2:30 p.m. . . . Oct. 30: WNYC-AM (830). Miguel Padilla, for att'y general. 8:30 p.m.; Ruthann Miller, for comptroller. 8:40 p.m.; Clifton DeBerry, for governor, 9 p.m. . . . Oct. 31: Clifton DeBerry on WCBS-TV (Ch. 2), 3:30 p.m.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON TV: Nancy Strebe, for U.S. Senate, Sun., Oct. 25, 5-5:25 p.m. WTCN-TV (Ch. 11). . . . Derrel Myers, for Congress from 5th C.D., Sun., Oct. 25, 6:15-6:30 p.m. WTCN-TV (Ch. 11).

POLLUTION: WHAT CAN BE DONE? Speakers: Karim Ahmed, environment activist who recently attended government-business environment conference; Dan McLeod, Minnesota Environment Action Center; and Jan Garrett, author *Socialist Workers Campaign "Red Paper"* on the destruction of the environment. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall. 1 University Ave., N.E. Donation: \$1, students 50c. For further information call 332-7781. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

In Brief

FREE RAJA ANWAR: Nearly two years ago Raja Anwar helped lead the mass demonstrations which brought down the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan in Pakistan. Last month the revolutionary student leader was in jail, imprisoned by the Pakistani military regime of General Yahya Khan. The Red Mole, a British socialist newspaper, reports that Anwar, who is known in Pakistan as a supporter of the Fourth International, was arrested for a speech considered "inflammatory" by authorities. The Red Mole has called on all individuals and groups who support democratic rights to demand Anwar's immediate release. Messages of protest can be sent to Pakistani embassies and to General Yahya Khan, Chief Martial Law Administrator, Rawalpindi, West Pakistan. Copies of the protests should be sent to The Red Mole, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N. 1, England. . . . **THE NIXON NEST EGG:** President Nixon is working behind the scenes, columnist Jack Anderson reported Oct. 6, to have the presidential pension raised from \$25,000 to \$60,000 annually. The bill still must pass a House vote and survive a Senate-House conference.

RADIO TRANSMITTER BOMBED: A bomb explosion wrecked the transmitter of KPFT Radio in Houston, Texas, Oct. 6. "Right-wing terrorists did it," says station manager Larry Lee by phone. "Beyond that, I couldn't be precise who it was." The bombing has kept KPFT off the air ever since. Says Lee, "A real pro did it this time." The Pacifica radio station has aired radical and antiwar views and has been a target of rightist politicians as well as bombers. After a bomb knocked out the KPFT transmitter in May, an anonymous phone caller told the station, "Don't bother building it back. I'll blow up the next one." Now, Lee says, there are enormous expenses. The station is \$45,000 in the red and, says Lee, the FCC won't let KPFT back on the air until it produces a clean ledger sheet. Contributions to aid the station can be sent to KPFT, 618 Prairie, Houston, Texas 77002. . . . **MAIN PROBLEMS:** When the Federal Commission on Obscenity and Pornography issued its report this month, urging the lifting of some restrictions on pornography, it also released the results of a public opinion survey. Its pollsters found, said the commission, that individuals asked to list "the two or three most serious problems facing the country today" named the Vietnam war (54 percent of the time), racial conflict and civil rights (36 percent), and inflation, taxes and unemployment (32 percent). Only 2 percent mentioned erotic materials.

PLO OFFICE BOMBED: The New York offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization were bombed Oct. 6 causing extensive damage. No one was injured in the blast. An unidentified man entered the office building at 101 Park Ave., Mike Sola of the PLO said, and left a briefcase outside the office. "The briefcase exploded, damaging our outer door, several inner walls and some of our office equipment," Sola said, "and also causing damage to other offices on the floor." The PLO office was attacked by Zionists in May. "We are hoping authorities, federal, state and city, will take some action," said Sola. "Within the office itself, we are taking some precautions." . . . **FALL OFFENSIVE:** Nixon's, that is. The President wants 1,000 more FBI agents on campus doing government spy work, part of an omnibus crime bill now before the House Judiciary Committee, chaired by Emanuel Celler.

YSA EXPANSION: Six new YSA locals have been chartered in the last two weeks around the U.S.: East Lansing, Mich.; Chapel Hill, N.C.; Amherst, Mass.; Colorado Springs, Colo.; and Albany and Niagara Falls, N.Y. To apply for membership, see coupon on page two of this issue. . . . **OFFICER OPPOSITION:** The Concerned Officers Movement continues to spread. Maj. Albert Braverman of Washington, D.C., informs us that membership in the antiwar group now exceeds 300. "I think if you take any group of 23 year olds," says Braverman, "even among commissioned officers, you'll find terrific antiwar sentiment." Officers are available to speak at community groups and antiwar rallies. For details call (202) 387-7156 and (703) 549-2522. . . . **FACT:** Every eight minutes, someone, somewhere in the U.S. is buying a subscription to The Militant. . . . **HUNGER STRIKE:** Between 20 and 25 student body presidents participated in an antiwar hunger strike Oct. 3-13. The strike was sponsored by the National Student Association.

MEMORIAL SERVICES were held at Kent State Sept. 28 for the four slain Kent students. One of the speakers was Dean Kahler, wounded when the Guard opened fire. Kahler came to the services in a wheelchair, permanently paralyzed from the waist down. . . . **SPIRO PROTESTED:** Police arrested 35 persons in Pittsburgh Oct. 6, mostly on disorderly conduct during a demonstration of some 500 outside a hotel where Spiro Agnew was speaking. The ACLU is considering filing a suit against the police for over-reaction. . . . **CONSULATE GETS APPEAL:** More than 150 political prisoners are in jail in Mexico, held without trial for more than two years. A group of 15 clergymen and leaders of the American antiwar and Chicano movements and civil liberties spokesmen went to the consulate in New York Oct. 2 to protest the detention. . . . **IN CASE YOU FORGOT** which side the President is on, note the following item from U.S. News and World Report, Oct. 5: "Richard Nixon, like many other Americans, is now wearing a small U.S. flag in his lapel. White House police are selling such emblems for 50 cents each to members of the executive staff. The proceeds go into the police welfare fund."

REED TOUR GETS BIG RESPONSE: Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman Evelyn Reed, now on an East Coast women's liberation tour, is getting a big reception. An overflow crowd of 350 at Boston University heard her discuss the history and social function of the family institution. She spoke to 200 at Clark University, 200 at Amherst, 100 at Emmanuel College, 150 at Simmons, 150 at Brown and Pembroke, and 150 at the University of Rhode Island in Kingston. The tour will take her through New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, D.C., and Georgia,



MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST: This, unfortunately, is the president of the United States. Here, he stacks souvenir pens before signing a bill. President Nixon hopes to (circle one) (A) sign a bill into law to increase FBI agents on campus; (B) sign a bill to proclaim National Clown Week; (C) sign a bill to increase his pension by \$35,000; (D) has a pen fetish; (E) all of the above. For most of the answers, see this page.

3 Blacks shot in Tenn. sit-in

Three Black college students participating in a sit-in were shot in Morristown, Tenn., Oct. 9. One student, Jarrie Jay, 18, lay in critical condition with a chest wound as this newspaper went to press. A campus security officer, Lieut. Charles Hawkins has admitted firing the gun. He has not been arrested. Hawkins alleges that he was responding to sniper fire. Also hospitalized were Ozzie Jones, 18, and Benny Derrico, 18, both in serious condition.

The three were part of a contingent of 200 Black students occupying the administration building at Morristown Junior College. "I heard one gunshot," David Lee, a 20-year-old sophomore and president of the student body, said by telephone. "Then I heard somebody yell, 'Jay's been shot.' There was pandemonium." Most of the students at the predominantly Black college had occupied the building the morning of Oct. 8 with a series of 30 demands, said Lee, that included extending curfew hours for men and women, extending library hours, and better food in the cafeteria. "The students were also saying they wanted more of a challenge in their academic work," Lee said.

winding up Nov. 18 in Florida. For details on tour stops, write the national tour director, Judy White, SWP, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. . . . **NEW BOOK:** Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music by Frank Kofsky is the newest book published by Pathfinder Press. Publisher's Weekly gave it a rave review Sept. 28. . . . **BOSTON H.S. ACTION:** Some 70 high school students from 18 Boston schools unanimously voted to call a demonstration Nov. 20 to demand a high school bill of rights. Site of the protest is the Boston School Committee office. It will focus on the right to freedom of political activity. The student meeting, sponsored by the High Schools Rights Committee, endorsed the Oct. 26 abortion law repeal demonstration in Boston and the Oct. 31 antiwar march.

LOS SIETE: The murder trial of six Latinos accused of killing a San Francisco cop is in its fourth month. "There should be an acquittal," says defense attorney Charles Garry by telephone. He expects the trial to be concluded in three weeks. The six maintain the cop was shot by his partner. . . . **DEKALB CURFEW:** A host of organizations including the SMC, YSA, ACLU and the American Federation of Teachers Local 673 have denounced an ordinance passed by the Dekalb, Ill., city council that gives the mayor the option to impose a curfew anytime he wants. A series of mass meetings at Northern Illinois University have condemned the ordinance. . . .

BLESSED BE THYSELF: Not content to have his picture plastered on every available wall, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung has had himself declared Supreme Commander of the Whole Nation and the Whole Army (his capitals, not ours), it was announced Oct. 1. Mao's comrade Lin Piao was designated Deputy Supreme Commander of the Whole, etc., etc. . . . **WHITE CAPITALISM:** Any doubts that Black capitalism is anything other than pure hokum ought to be erased after a study by the Race Relations Center in Nashville last month. "We contacted the top 50 corporations on Fortune's annual listing of the 500 largest corporations," says Bob Campbell, the center's executive director, in an interview. "They had assets combined of over \$420-billion and they employ more than six and a half million people. We asked them how many of their top executive officers were Black and how many of their senior officers were Black." Results: There are three Blacks among the top 3,182 corporation officers.

FITTING: The House of Representatives without objection voted Sept. 30 to designate the week of Aug. 1-7 "National Clown Week." Clown Week was already passed by the Senate. The chief clown is expected to sign the resolution into law.

Contributors to this week's report include Liberation News Service, N.Y.; Bob Cahalane, Boston; and Ellen Williams, Kent.

— RANDY FURST

Black GIs in W. Germany fight against Army racism

By DICK ROBERTS

Black GIs in West Germany have apparently made enough of an impact in their fight against Army racism and for an end to the war to warrant an investigation by the Pentagon.

The scanty news coverage of their struggle is very likely further evidence that they are making gains.

On July 4, a meeting of over 1,000 GIs from a number of Black protest groups on bases throughout West Germany was held in Heidelberg. (See *The Militant*, July 31.)

The Pentagon sent a team that was supposed to meet with representatives of the groups in Heidelberg Sept. 29. But leaders of the Black organizations refused to talk to the Pentagon crew because the Army insisted that officers from the bases be present at the interviews. This would obviously endanger the GI spokesmen.

New York Times reporter Thomas

A. Johnson talked in Heidelberg, Sept. 27, to representatives of the Black Action Group, Stuttgart; Black United Soldiers, Karlsruhe; and Unsatisfied Black Soldiers, Heidelberg.

"The rhetoric of the soldier activists and their reasons for forming their groups parallel those of community activist groups in the U.S. . . . They talked . . . of lingering patterns of discrimination in the military world; double standards for promotions and punishments, continued poverty and discrimination against Blacks in the U.S., as well as some discrimination by Germans in public accommodation against Black soldiers here.

"They said this was brought here and encouraged by white Americans."

Jet magazine, Oct. 1, listed demands that have been put forward by the Usareur (U.S. Army Europe) Defense Committee, representing all the bases, to U.S. commander-in-chief in Europe Gen. James H. Polk: "The demands included investigating the abnormal-



Black GIs protesting Klan-style cross found on Army base in W. Germany.

ly high percentage of Blacks in the stockade (estimated 30-40 percent), establishing a review board to eliminate discriminatory policies, hiring more Black GIs in civilian jobs, and providing equal and adequate housing for Black GIs. . . ."

Time magazine, Sept. 21, noted that in addition to the defense organizations, Black study groups have appeared on some 25 Army posts in West Germany. "The members used

such textbooks as Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* and Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land*."

According to *Time*, "Army officers seem puzzled about how to handle the militants. At Augsburg, one general tried a program of 'midnight flights' — hustling supposed troublemakers back to the U.S. as soon as they could be identified. *Stars* and *Stripes* reporters have been ordered to play down racial incidents."

How to organize in the Army against the war

GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR. By Fred Halstead. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 128 pp. \$1.75. 1970.

March 13, 1969, may have seen one of the most unusual programs in the history of American television. A news film recorded that night showed scenes that to most viewers must have seemed impossible: soldiers at the army base at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, holding an open, public meeting on post to protest the war in Vietnam.

The group of antiwar GIs, organized under the name "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," reflected a profound mood within the U.S. military, as events soon proved. The transfer of a leading member to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, resulted in the establishment of a second organization rather than the demise of the first.

When the Pentagon then moved to destroy the Fort Jackson GIs United by arresting eight of its leaders on frame-up charges, the civilian antiwar movement responded with a defense campaign which made the "Fort Jackson Eight" the subject of almost daily articles in the *New York Times* and the source of tremendous embarrassment to the U.S. government.

This book tells the story of GIs United at Fort Jackson and Fort Bragg in the words of the participants themselves. It consists of a series of interviews, conducted immediately after the events they describe, by Fred Halstead. Those interviewed include four of the Fort Jackson Eight—Andrew Pulley, Joe Cole, Jose Rudder and Tommie Woodfin—plus Robert Mall, a Vietnam veteran and paratrooper who was one of the first members of GIs United at Fort Bragg, and Joe Miles, the black militant and revolutionary socialist who more than anyone else was responsible for the existence of the organizations.

It is interesting to note that GIs United began as a black nationalist group under the influence of Malcolm X. As Andrew Pulley explains it:

"It started when Joe Miles suggested to some of us in the barracks . . . that we listen to some Malcolm X tapes. It started as all black and Puerto Ri-

can just listening to the tapes and talking about it afterward. . . .

"And listening to the Malcolm X tapes we took it this way: that not only were the black people oppressed but so were the Puerto Ricans, so were the poor whites, so were the Indians. . . . And by realizing this we suggested that the meetings would be open to any person who dug what we dug.

"We explained to the white GIs that if they wanted to come they had to

accept black power, the demolishing of racism. They had to believe in equality and self-determination for all people. . . . And the majority of the people in the barracks, they agreed."

That was how GIs United began. Where the movement will end is a story yet to be written, for GI antiwar organizations continue to spring up all over the world. There are, to take just one indication of the activity, more than sixty antiwar papers being pro-

duced by GIs today.

GIs Speak Out Against the War is indispensable to anyone who wants to understand this movement and where it is going. In addition to the interviews, the book contains an introduction by Michael Smith, one of the lawyers for the Fort Jackson Eight. He explains the background of the case and how it was won.

— ALLEN MYERS
Intercontinental Press

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

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

Fullerton: YSA c/o K.W. Jeter, 1324 W. Valencia, #F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

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

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, Andrew Jackson Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415, Denver, Colo. 80218. Tel: (303) 744-6578.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Jacksonville: YSA, c/o Neill Wade, Box 8409 Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 238-4655.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullane, 830 E. Berry, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46803.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

South Boston: YSA, 88 Myrtle St., Waltham, Mass. 02154. Tel: (617) 891-7852.

Cambridge: YSA, 14 Howard St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 354-6687.

Worcester: YSA, Box 410, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd. Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 217 Spruce St., Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, P.O. Box 19004, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45219. Tel: (513) 241-9048.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Carol Kershner, 2635 S.W. Hume St., Portland, Ore. 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

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

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8641, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 39196, Houston, Texas 77039.

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

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Ingrid Johansen, Rt. 2, Box 109, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA c/o 431 N. 9th St., LaCrosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 1603 Elmwood Ave., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

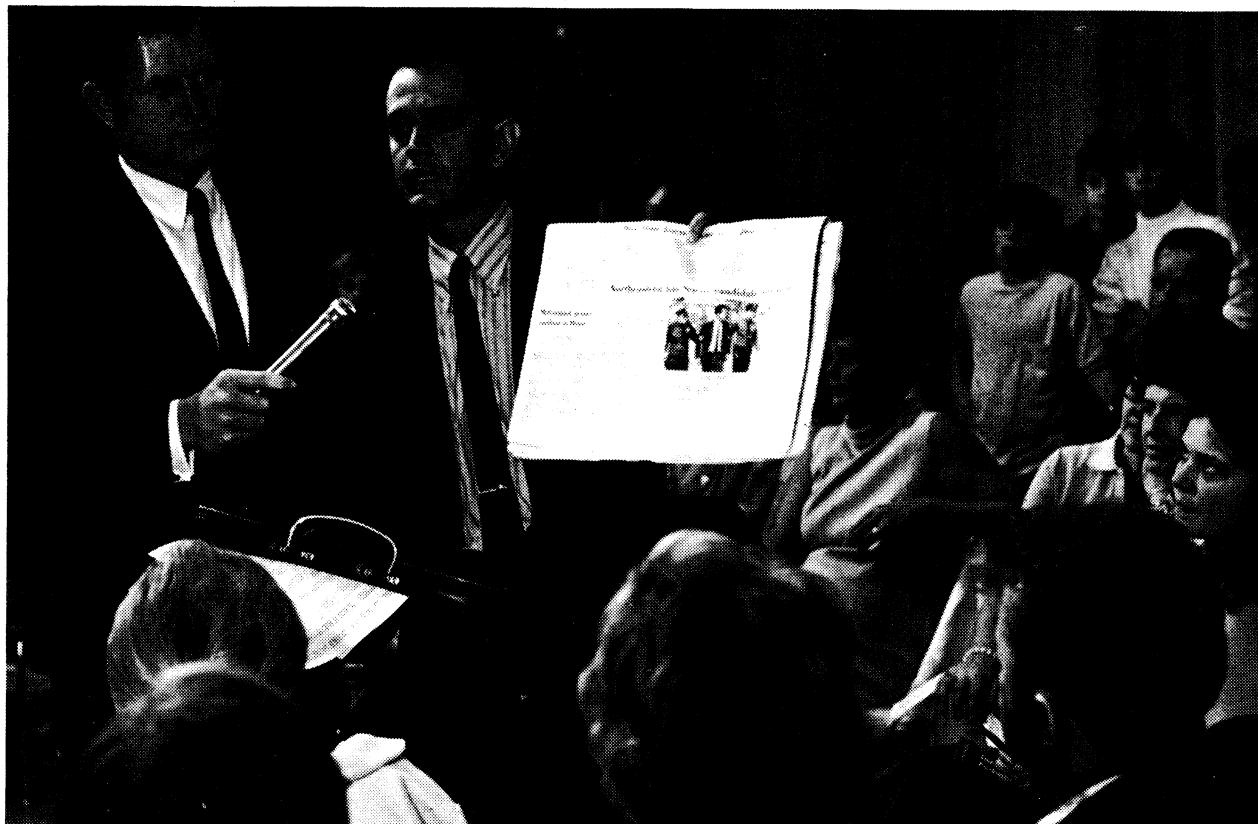


Photo by Robert Horn

A Kennedy-Camejo meeting

BOSTON—Senator Edward Kennedy (left) Massachusetts Democratic incumbent took a dim view of points made by his Socialist Workers opponent Peter Camejo at Oct. 9 meeting in Boston suburb of Natick. Kennedy offered Camejo the floor on suggestion from members of audience. Here Camejo displays Boston Globe account of his arrest the previous day (see page 4). A rapid-fire speaker, Camejo used seven minutes at Natick meeting to indicate socialist view on war, women's liberation, inflation, unemployment, pollution and racism. Predominantly middle-class, middle-aged, white audience gave Camejo a courteous hearing and applauded his call for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Kennedy took about 25 minutes rebutting his "worthy opponent," using most of the time to defend his opposition to legalized abortion. His stand clearly lost him audience support. The encounter was covered by press and TV.

Mass upsurge shakes Bolivia

By CAROLINE LUND

OCT. 13—An attempted coup by a right-wing general in Bolivia touched off a vast mobilization of the Bolivian people last week. Workers and students poured into the streets to block a take-over by rightist officers led by General Rogelio Miranda.

According to the Oct. 8 issue of *Le Monde*, students built barricades in the streets of the capital to prevent troop movements by the rightists. The article went on to say that the Bolivian Workers Federation had issued a call for a general strike throughout the country.

The Oct. 9 *New York Times* reported: "With the urging of student organizers, workers at two daily newspapers in La Paz, *El Diario* and *Hoy*, have now seized the publications. . . .

"At sunset today, armed students took over the headquarters of the criminal division of the national police. Apparently unopposed, they were reportedly looting the offices and destroying the files. . . ." Thousands of armed peasants came into the cities to support the workers and students. The Oct. 11 *New York Times*, commented that Bolivia "was on the brink

of civil war."

The regime of former president Alfredo Ovando Candia, who came to power a year ago claiming to be a left nationalist, had moved progressively to the right. In July, he began firing members of his government who were to the left of him, including a retired general, Juan Jose Torres. Massive student and worker demonstrations began Sept. 21 against Ovando, and specifically against his deportation of five radical clerics.

On Oct. 4, the head of the armed forces, General Miranda, took over in a coup. In the face of massive popular protests, the new government lasted only a couple of days. General Torres declared his opposition to the right-wing junta, and was able to win enough support from the workers and students to take over as president of Bolivia on Oct. 7. His government, he said, would rest on four pillars—the peasants, the workers, the students and the armed forces.

It cannot yet be excluded that a section of the military decided to push Torres forward because they saw the masses getting out of hand. As a result of his ouster from the govern-

ment, Torres was perhaps the only top officer who retained some credibility as a "leftist."

American papers have implied that the unions, the students, and armed detachments of peasants were being led by the dissident General Torres. But *Le Monde* reported Oct. 8 that "the Bolivian Workers Federation and some student leaders have given 'conditional' support to General Torres."

The Paris daily continued: "The miners federation called for arms 'to defend our social gains' and posed as conditions for their support 'the establishment of democratic liberties and release of the political prisoners, repeal of the anti-strike decrees, nationalization of the foreign banks and all American interests, expulsion of all imperialist bodies, and the establishment of a people's government.'"

Also, some of the popular forces did not wait for Torres' permission to begin making some changes. "Armed civilians freed leftist prisoners from jail, among them Julio Dagnino Pacheco, a member of the guerrilla band led by Ernesto Che Guevara," said the Oct. 8 *Washington Post*.

And the *New York Times* of the

same date reported: "Ebullient Torres supporters, including students and workers, raced through the streets of the capital sacking the homes of military men and civilians suspected of rightist sympathies and occupied the buildings of three leading newspapers. They vowed to convert the three into 'cooperative newspapers in defense of popular aspirations.' . . . In Cochabamba, Torres supporters attacked the offices of the United States Information Center and destroyed or carried away most of its contents. . . . Reports from the provinces also said jubilant tin miners had seized police stations and announced they would ask the new government for quick wage increases."

The Oct. 11 *New York Times* concluded its analysis by saying, "There were fears that a period of anarchy and violence lay ahead in Bolivia, and fears too that the nation might end up as a Marxist state." It remains to be seen whether General Torres will be able to retain the "conditional" support of the Bolivian people. Over the past two decades they have seen a succession of demagogic strongmen who have betrayed their promises to the people.

...Nixon's fraudulent Vietnam 'peace' proposal

(Continued from page 1)

to stabilize a pro-imperialist regime in Saigon, and to maintain a U.S. military foothold in South Vietnam.

The problem for the imperialists is how to achieve their military goals when the revolutionary forces in Southeast Asia have heroically refused to be crushed by U.S. firepower and when the masses of Americans have become ever more deeply opposed to the military effort.

It is this twin opposition of the liberation fighters in Indochina and the antiwar forces in this country that has dictated the step-by-step, peace-plan-by-peace-plan character of Washington's maneuvers throughout the war.

The political and military concoctions of the White House are governed by one overriding principle: *buying time*. They are cooked up periodically to gull the American people into allowing the Pentagon a little more time to continue its attempt to crush the revolution in Vietnam by military force.

In an Oct. 11 analysis of Nixon's

latest proposal, *New York Times* Washington correspondent Max Frankel gave this estimate: "[Nixon's] domestic critics are now disarmed, at least for the rest of this political session, and some of them even acknowledge that, whether wise or not, the Cambodian move had bought time on the battlefield. . . .

"Even officials who continue to doubt the ability of Saigon to withstand a long guerrilla war believe that its position for the time being, especially in the most populated southern portions of South Vietnam, has been made reasonably secure. . . .

"As always before in this war, therefore, the strategy of each side turns on its calculation of whose side time is really on." (Emphasis added.)

Need it be pointed out that when Washington believes time is on its side it means more American casualties—not to speak of the casualties of the Indochinese masses? Here is one tabulation of the war effort that the capitalist politicians did not mention when they united behind the latest administration maneuver:

Since mid-March 1970 when Nixon escalated the U.S. attack on Cambodia, 2,621 GIs have been killed in combat.

Since Nixon's first troop withdrawal and "Vietnamization" began, 7,175 GIs have been killed in combat.

Since Nixon's inauguration with a "secret peace plan," 12,189 GIs have been killed in combat.

Since Johnson opened the Paris "peace talks" in 1968, 18,875 GIs have been killed in combat.

Since Kennedy initiated the Vietnam "police action" in 1961, 43,568 American GIs have been killed in combat.

Each "peace" ploy brings with it the deaths of thousands of GIs, tens and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian people.

There has been increasing talk about the U.S. military gains that are supposed to have been made through the "pacification" program in South Vietnam. It is well to remember what "pacification" really means: at best, military occupation of the villages by the puppet troops of the Saigon dictatorship; at worst, the bomb-

ing of villages to decimation.

The millions of refugees in poverty-stricken shantytowns that surround South Vietnamese cities have been "pacified"—supposedly. But even on this level, which exposes to the extreme the barbarity of Washington's actual military policies, one should not jump to conclusions.

The discontent that is seething in the cities, above all in Saigon, is being fueled by the refugee masses who have begun to take steps to improve their wretched conditions. When Thieu ordered his police to mow down the hovels which veterans of his own army have been forced to live in, it served to illustrate what kind of government Nixon has in mind when he talks about "democratic" and "peace-loving" peoples.

So long as U.S. military forces remain in Southeast Asia the bloodshed and destruction will continue. There is no alternative to the slaughter but the complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops. That has got to be the central message of the national demonstrations against the war Oct. 31.