

THE MILITANT

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

PHASE 2: Nixon steps up attack on workers' wages

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Oct. 13 rally in New York City's garment district

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: (213) 463-1917.

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10,000 DEMAND "STOP AMCHITKA BOMB TEST"

According to the Canadian revolutionary-socialist newspaper, **Labor Challenge**, published biweekly, more than 10,000 Vancouver, British Columbia, students walked out of classes to demonstrate at the U.S. consulate in that city for two hours Oct. 6 against the scheduled U.S. test of a nuclear "super-bomb" on Amchitka Island in Alaska. The action was the largest so far of a series of demonstrations, in which high school students have played a leading role. The call for school walkouts was initiated by the Young Socialists and by Students Against the War in Vietnam.

VICTORY IN MONTREAL: An important victory for freedom of the press was scored Oct. 4 when a municipal court in Montreal ruled in the case of John Lejdeman, a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere arrested for selling the revolutionary-socialist monthly **Liberation** on the street without a permit, that bylaw 333, under which Lejdeman had been arrested, did not apply to newspaper sales. Bylaw 333 has long been selectively enforced by Montreal cops as a means of harassing radicals and Quebecois nationalists. When Lejdeman appeared in court, LSO member Jean Herivault was arrested under the same law for selling **Liberation** outside, but the cops released him after the verdict in Lejdeman's case.

STUDENT PAPER FIGHTS CENSORSHIP: Terry Hillman reports from the Southern Militant subscription sales team that the first issue of the North Carolina Central University student paper, **The Echo**, provoked school president Albert N. Whiting into cutting off its funds. Whiting's action came in response to **Echo** editor Jae Joyner's refusal to submit articles to the administration for prior censorship. Whiting justified his action by calling the paper's Black nationalist content "racially discriminatory." On Oct. 1, Joyner and the **Echo** staff filed suit against Whiting in federal court, charging a violation of the students' First Amendment right of freedom of the press. NCCU is located in Durham, N.C.

MENTAL PATIENTS REVOLT: Seven inmates of the Connecticut Mental Health Department's security center in Middletown seized and held a portion of the building for about two hours Oct. 11, according to the Oct. 12 New York Times. The Times gave only the center director's version of the incident. Director Abraham Zeichner told the paper that the patients were "apparently under the influence of alcohol" but that alcohol was only one of a "multiple complex of factors" that led to the incident. No indication of what the other factors might be was offered in the Times.

ROUGE INTERVIEWS PULLEY: The Oct. 2 issue of **Rouge**, the weekly revolutionary-socialist publication of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, carried a two-page interview with Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1972. The interview touched on the nature of the current radicalization, the Black and Chicano struggles, the American Communist Party's presidential ticket, the campaign to free Angela Davis, the Nov. 6 antiwar actions, and the effect of the wage freeze on the consciousness of the U.S. working class.

THE POWER OF SUGGESTION: In the clubby atmosphere of the U.S. Senate, the nation's leading legislators sometimes broach truths they leave untouched in public. Thus, in answering Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) during an Oct. 4 debate on Laos, Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) remarked: "The senator asked concerning our relevance and why we are here. I suggest that we do play a role because our being here makes most of the people of the country think we have a role."

GOVERNMENT ATTACK ON NATIVE AMERICAN FISHING RIGHTS:

Last April the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that William Jondreau, a Chippewa arrested with four lake trout in Lake Superior, had been illegally taken into custody because federal treaties take precedence over state laws and an 1854 treaty granted unrestricted fishing rights to Jondreau's nation. Long denied their fishing rights under this and seven other similar treaties, the Chippewa began setting nets in Lake Superior, Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. White conservationists sounded a racist alarm.

Now a county circuit court has issued a restraining order based on the fact that two suits challenging the Chippewa treaties are pending in the courts. The Michigan Department of Natural Resources has begun arrest-

ing the Chippewa who rightfully refuse to recognize the county court ruling, and white racist "sportsmen" have been destroying the nets of Native American fishermen. The law being enforced against the Chippewa was virtually never enforced against the commercial fishing companies that wiped out lake trout and whitefish in the Great Lakes at a profit so that working people could pay with taxes to restock the species. Chippewa spokesman A.B. LeBlanc was reported in the Oct. 3 New York Times to have warned that if "sportsmen" continue destroying Chippewa nets, his people will take up arms to defend their property.

DOWN THE DRAIN: The Sept. 23 Los Angeles Times reported the results of a study based on government figures filed by candidates and trade unions showing that 44 labor-affiliated political organizations flushed more than \$4-million down the twin sewers of the Democratic and Republican parties in the 1970 congressional campaigns. Only about \$150,000 went to Republicans. Top donors were the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (\$635,423), the UAW's Committee for Good Government (\$605,029), the Teamsters' DRIVE (\$346,351), the Steelworkers' Voluntary Political Action Fund (\$262,680), and the Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League (\$259,917).

LEFT-WING PRESS CIRCULATION: Below are the circulation figures for 1970 and 1971 for **The Militant**, **The Guardian**, and the **Daily World**, as reported in the Statements of Ownership, Management and Circulation printed in these papers last year and this month:

	1970	1971
The Militant		
total paid circulation	17,357	19,056
The Guardian		
total paid circulation	24,862	18,105
Daily World		
total paid circulation	20,467	25,045

WHAT'S BUGGING THE NAVY? The Navy's preventive medicine unit says that 90 percent of U.S. warships have one thing in common with apartments in the country's major cities: they are infested with bedbugs, crab lice, cockroaches, and rats. The unit's entomologist, Lt. Lance Sholdt, says, "Cockroaches are the biggest problem."

"LOVE THY NEIGHBOR": The Sept. 30 New York Times reported that the Rev. Louis Holliday, pastor of Soundview Baptist Church in the Bronx, and his secretary, Sarah Cole, both of whom are also employed at the Manida Street juvenile center for girls in the Bronx, have been arrested and charged with soliciting young women at the center to engage in prostitution under the pair's management.

DREAM MACHINE: National Educational Television's "Great American Dream Machine" collided with a pack of retreating liberals from the Public Broadcasting Service this month. "Dream Machine" had scheduled a segment written by Paul Jacobs on the FBI's role in violent provocations aimed at entrapping radicals. J. Edgar Hoover growled at PBS and its president, Hartford Gunn Jr., yelled that Jacobs' allegations must be cut because they might be impeachable.

To its credit, NET protested this censorship. While a revised "Dream Machine" went on the air Oct. 7, Gunn felt compelled the following day to release to PBS' more than 200 outlets a special broadcast on New York's Channel 13/WNET showing the deleted portions. This was followed by a panel discussion in which Jacobs angrily defended his journalism against a group of pompous cowards who commented on the "complex issues" raised in the dispute and smugly congratulated themselves for making a "historic contribution" to the understanding of free speech.

KOREAN STUDENTS BATTLE COPS: An Oct. 11 Associated Press dispatch from Seoul, South Korea, reported: "More than 7,500 students at six universities battled riot policemen here today during a demonstration protesting alleged government corruption and a raid last week on Korea University by the army." An Oct. 8 dispatch had reported the army's invasion of the campus on Oct. 5 and called student battles with cops that day "the second day" of such clashes.

DON'T SHOP AT SAFEWAY! The nationwide boycott of table grapes called for by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee succeeded in forcing an agreement between the Farm Workers and about 15 percent of the nation's growers. Most major chains now stock union grapes, but Safeway is continuing to stock scab grapes and UFWOC has called for a boycott of Safeway stores.

— LEE SMITH

Int'l Socialist Review sales must catch up

By MIKE LUX
The November *International Socialist Review*, a special 72-page issue, presents a "Program for Revolution" that is *must* reading for activists on every front in the battle against the capitalist status quo in America.

Published here for the first time are the major programmatic documents of the twenty-fourth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held Aug. 8-12.

Here the SWP outlines its program for social revolution and shows how the day-to-day tactics it champions in the antiwar, women's liberation, and other movements fit into an overall strategy for abolishing the evils of capitalism once and for all.

Included in this special issue will be "Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization." This resolution takes up the overall political situation, beginning with the international repercussions of U. S. imperialism's war in Vietnam, the prospects for the mass movements in this country, the economic policy of the ruling class, the relationship of forces within the radical movement, and the tasks of the SWP.

"Toward a Mass Feminist Movement" is the first resolution of the Socialist Workers Party in response to the tremendous resurgence of feminism in America.

"The Struggle for Chicano Liberation" assesses the gains that have been made by the Chicano struggle: the development of La Raza Unida parties, the Chicano Moratoriums, and the emergence of Chicanas as a new voice of La Raza.

The *ISR* is one of the most attractive and topical theoretical magazines on the American left and aims to become the largest and most widely read socialist magazine in America. It has

launched a drive for 5,000 new readers by Dec. 1 as an important step toward this goal. *The Militant* is joining the *ISR* in this effort as part of its own subscription campaign for 30,000 new readers. As a special combined offer you can receive 10 weeks of *The Militant* and three months of the *ISR* for only \$2.

With only 781 *ISR* subscriptions to date, this part of the drive is behind schedule. For those *Militant* readers who are participating in the sub campaign, there is an easy formula: if you are selling one *ISR* sub for every six *Militant* subs, the *ISR* should have no trouble going over the top. The Southwest national sub team has set the pace on this so far, getting the one-to-six ratio.

Nat London from the Southern team reports that they had no trouble getting *ISR* subs. "In fact," he says, "after we were conscious of doing it, it was easy. When someone buys a *Militant* sub, just tell them here is a magazine they may be interested in too. At literature tables we made sure to have several back issues out to show the variety and attract different people. When people picked up an *ISR* first, it was easy to sell them a sub."

The November issue will be out in time for the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations and the Nov. 20 march for the repeal of all antiabortion laws. Big sales of the *ISR* are planned at these demonstrations as well as on campuses throughout the country.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER
Three months of the *ISR* for \$1.00

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Militant Scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	20	400.0
Travis A.F.B., Calif.	15	24	160.0
Paterson, N.J.	25	24	96.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	31	77.5
San Antonio, Texas	40	28	70.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	6	60.0
San Diego, Calif.	200	99	49.5
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	492	49.2
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	553	46.1
Austin, Texas	375	153	40.8
Chapel Hill, N.C.	30	12	40.0
Davenport, Iowa	10	4	40.0
Durham, N.H.	40	16	40.0
Erie, Pa.	5	2	40.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	78	39.0
Washington, D.C.	600	233	38.8
Providence, R.I.	200	77	38.5
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	475	38.0
Seattle, Wash.	600	221	36.8
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	440	33.8
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	33	33.0
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	520	32.5
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	32	32.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	64	32.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	361	30.1
Bloomington, Ind.	150	44	29.3
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	356	28.5
Denver, Colo.	700	198	28.3
Connecticut	200	56	28.0
Logan, Utah	100	28	28.0
Boston, Mass.	2,000	550	27.5
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	342	27.4
Nashville, Tenn.	45	12	26.7
Boulder, Colo.	100	26	26.0
Madison, Wis.	300	76	25.3
Long Island, N.Y.	200	44	22.0
Atlanta, Ga.	750	152	20.3
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Marietta, Ohio	10	2	20.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	4	20.0
Wichita, Kansas	20	4	20.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	186	18.6
El Paso, Texas	50	9	18.0
Houston, Texas	600	105	17.5
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	343	17.2
Amherst, Mass.	100	16	16.0
Eugene, Ore.	40	6	15.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	6	15.0
State College, Pa.	20	3	15.0
Portland, Ore.	400	59	14.7
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	212	13.7
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	16	10.7
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	9	9.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	5	8.3
Edinboro, Pa.	25	2	8.0
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	2	8.0
Modesto, Calif.	30	2	6.7
East Lansing, Mich.	80	5	6.3
DeKalb, Ill.	120	6	5.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	40	2	5.0
Kansas City, Mo.	200	9	4.5
Tampa, Fla.	150	3	2.0
New Paltz, N.Y.	200	1	0.5
North Andover, Mass.	20	0	0
Oxford, Ohio	75	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6000	4291	71.5
Southwest	(1,215)		
Mid-Atlantic	(1,124)		
Southern	(1,020)		
Western	(932)		
General	325	235	72.3
TOTAL TO DATE	11,426	38.1	
SHOULD BE	10,908	36.4	
GOAL	30,000	100.0	

Campaign supporters boost Militant sales

By SHARON CABANISS
For the fourth week in a row, *The Militant* sub drive for 30,000 new readers by Dec. 1 is ahead of schedule. However, the total new subs for the week, 2,305, was slightly behind the 2,727 needed each week to stay on time. Two new areas on schedule this week are Pullman, Wash., and Chapel Hill, N. C., which just started a quota.

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley campaigner groups springing up around the country are a potential new source for additional sales people. Andy Bustin, *Militant* sub drive director in Houston, writes, "Involving YSJPer in sales has been very successful and has tremendous potential. A Black high school woman YSJPer sold 22 *Militants* at her high school with some friends."

New YSJP groups should be sure to write in for bundles of *The Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign, to sell and to take sub quotas for the *Militant* drive. There is no better way of organizing new support to the campaign. Some YSJP groups will be mobilizing campaign supporters to sell *Militants* and *ISRs* at the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations.

In Houston, over 60 copies of the paper were sold in one week at the movie *Sweet Sweetback* . . . and there have been high sales at Black high

schools and football games, as well as at plants with large concentrations of Black and Chicano workers. Bustin reports, "We have established that a fair-to-good proportion of any group, any place, will buy *The Militant* in Houston. But Blacks, Chicanos and youth, both women and men, buy the most."

When Austin *Militant* supporters went to sell subs at a United Farm Workers march in San Antonio, it was rained out. So they went through the dorms in the area and sold 30 *Militant* subs and 50 individual copies in about an hour on the Trinity College campus.

One *Militant* supporter on the team wrote that "It was truly a surprise and exciting to get about an 80 percent response from the people we talked to." Although there were few people at their next stop, St. Mary's College, "of the people we talked to, we got a 100 percent response, resulting in 14 more *Militant* subs, 1 *ISR* sub, and about 20 individual *Militants* sold!"

This incident is typical of the response to *The Militant* sub drive around the country. The national sub teams surpassed the 4,000 mark this week, which is over two-thirds of their 6,000 quota. They report they will be making a special effort now to get one *ISR* sub for every six *Militant* subs.

Should a newspaper take sides?

The Militant thinks so.



All newspapers must take a stand. *The Militant* proudly admits that it sides with working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, gay people, women, youth, prisoners and all who are struggling against oppression.

While other papers print lie after lie about liberation movements in this country and around the world, *The Militant* prints the truth week after week. For example, most capitalist papers had to retract their initial reports on what happened in Attica. *The Militant* brought its readers the facts all along.

Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for three months of the *International Socialist Review* and 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- ☐ Send me a full year of *The Militant* for \$6.
- ☐ I'm a GI. Send me six months of *The Militant* for \$1.50.
- ☐ I'm a prisoner. Send me six months of *The Militant* free.

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Women's commission on abortion is formed

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The National Women's Commission for the Study of Abortion held its first planning meeting Oct. 9. Many women have already indicated their desire to be on the commission, including Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schuder, authors of *Abortion Rap*; Myrna Lamb, playwright; Rev. Tilden Norberg; Dr. Jane Hodgson, the St. Paul, Minn., doctor convicted for performing an abortion; Dr. Miriam Kieffer from the *American Woman Psychologist*; Arlene Gilbert from Planned Parenthood; and Dorothy Boulding Ferebbe from the D. C. Commission on the Status of Women.

The commission will investigate the real nature of abortion in this country, and will include testimony from doctors, lawyers, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, high school women who have been denied access to birth-control devices or information, and from those who have set up inexpensive abortion clinics. Women who have suffered the effects of restrictive abortion laws and those who were successful in obtaining abortions will also testify.

On Oct. 7, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition sponsored a successful open house at its new office in Washington, D.C. The open house was to establish WONAAC in Washington and to enable the staff to meet residents of Washington interested in the abortion law repeal movement. Many people who were unable to attend responded by mail with their endorsement of WONAAC and a contribution.

Approximately 100 people attended, including representatives from two major abortion clinics in the city, Preterm and Prebirth. Also attending was Dr. Milan Vuitch, whose case (*U. S. v. Milan Vuitch*) went to the Supreme Court in October 1970 and played an important role in liberalizing the D. C. abortion law.

A sizable number of Black people attended, including a representative from *Muhammad Speaks*. Also attending were women from the National Organization for Women, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the National Association of Social Workers.

Among the press attending were a reporter from the *Los Angeles Times*, a Washington radio station, and the Campus Press Service, which recently carried an excellent article on WONAAC that went out to hundreds of campus newspapers.

The next big public event for WONAAC will be Oct. 14, when a press conference at the Hotel Sonesta will be held featuring Betty Friedan, Dr. Barbara Roberts, Elizabeth Perry from the Welfare Rights Organization, Mary Treadwell from Pride, Inc., and Tina Hobson from Federally Employed Women.

The list of endorsers of the WONAAC national abortion campaign is now 10 pages long and shows the breadth of support that has been generated by the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion law repeal planned for Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Endorsers include women attorneys, women doctors, psychologists, social workers, campus women's liberation groups, high school women, gay women, military women, church women and women from the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Shirley Wheeler, the 23-year-old Florida woman convicted on charges of manslaughter for allegedly having an illegal abortion, faces sentencing Oct. 15 in Daytona Beach, Fla. The sentence could be up to 20 years. WONAAC is distributing petitions to the governor of Florida protesting Wheeler's conviction.

WONAAC has recently heard of a similar case in Tucson, Ariz. A pregnant woman who had polio has been refused the right to have an abortion, while the nine-week-old fetus has been appointed a guardian by the judge. She has, along with Planned Parenthood and 10 doctors, petitioned for an abortion, and so far her rights have been denied.

WONAAC is in the process of gathering information about her case and will do everything possible to aid this woman in obtaining an abortion.

Canadian women plan demonstration for Nov. 20

By JOAN NEWBIGGING

TORONTO — The Ontario Women's Abortion Action Conference held in Toronto Oct. 2 brought together over 180 women from a broad spectrum of different organizations and launched the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition. In its representative character, unity and enthusiasm, the conference marked an enormous advance in the struggle for abortion law repeal in Canada.

The conference overwhelmingly adopted the theme "Abortion: a woman's right to choose," and approved two initial projects to begin the campaign: a mass assembly and demonstration in Ottawa on Nov. 20 and a Canada-wide petition campaign to be continued through the winter.

There was a broad representation at the conference of those forces which have taken a stand for repeal. There were women from the United and Anglican churches, from the New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party, from campuses and high schools across Ontario, socialist feminists, women who have struggled for years for their rights and young women who are new to this movement. Together they laid a firm basis for a powerful campaign that will have a resounding impact on Canadian society.

The breadth of support for this campaign was clearly indicated in the greetings brought to the conference by a number of prominent Canadian women. Eleanor Pelrine, author of *Abortion in Canada*, and Dr. Marion Powell, medical officer for the Scarborough Board of Health, both strongly identified themselves with the aims of the conference. Ruth Evans of the Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws and Chairwoman of the United Church Committee on Abortion, declared her support for the campaign.

The spirit of the conference was captured by Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women, which represents two million Canadian women, when she declared, "I'm sick and tired of the inseminators making the decisions about abortion. . . . Up to now we've been struggling as individuals. Now it's time to get together and work together for one thing: that women get to make their own decisions."

Representatives of abortion repeal coalitions and groups in British Columbia, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Montreal also participated, demonstrating to the conference that we are part of a dynamic, cross-country campaign. A representative of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition reported on the growing movement for repeal in the United States. In addition, women from the New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party, the Toronto Women's Caucus and the Women's Liberation Movement Abortion and Birth Control Collective presented greetings to the conference.

A major discussion at the conference centered around a policy statement calling for formation of a women's coalition around the demand of repeal of the abortion laws. Two amendments were added to this by the conference participants calling for federal legislation to ensure a woman's right to abortion and any other legal safeguards deemed necessary by the coalition's Ontario Coordinating Committee.

The primary motivation behind the amendments was a fear that once the laws were repealed, backward provincial legislatures might step in with new antiabortion laws.

The workshop discussions, which were interspersed throughout the conference, in many ways provided its highlights. There campus and high school activists discussed how to implement the action proposals in their areas. Political activists worked out ways to project the abortion issue into the Ontario election campaign. Women involved in abortion counseling exchanged experiences.

On the same weekend, a parallel conference of 55 women that took place in Vancouver, also approved the same two projects—a province-wide petition campaign for abortion law repeal, and a Nov. 20 march and rally. The conference was preceded by a public meeting on abortion, which was addressed by Phyllis Young, educational director of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, and Gwen Dowding, vice-president of the British Columbia New Democratic Party.

Daily Texan won't print ad for abortion rally

By MARYANNE LUNN

AUSTIN — "Abortion—A Woman's Right" was the theme of a rally held on the University of Texas campus here recently which attracted over 200 people. The rally was sponsored by the Women's Abortion Action Committee.

The day before the rally the committee attempted to place an ad in the student paper, the *Daily Texan*, listing the time and place, the three demands—repeal of restrictive abortion and contraception laws, and no forced sterilization—and a picture of a Black sister holding a sign stating: "Defend Women's Right to Control Their Own Bodies."

The group was told that the ad could not be run—a highly unusual response since the committee is a registered campus group and possesses full rights to campus facilities. After some pressure, the committee was told there is a rule against ads containing the word "abortion," since abortion referral is against the law in Texas.

It was explained that the group was not running a referral ad but an ad for a rally. After further refusal, the committee asked to see the specific written rule about this, and, of course, there was none.

The Women's Abortion Action Committee is going to fight this, and intends to force the *Daily Texan* to print its ads just as they do for every other campus organization. The committee is bringing the issue to public attention and will continue to do so until its democratic right to use of the student paper is recognized.

Scheduled activities of the committee include a city-wide demonstration Oct. 16 for abortion law repeal, and building a statewide abortion conference to be held in Houston Oct. 23.

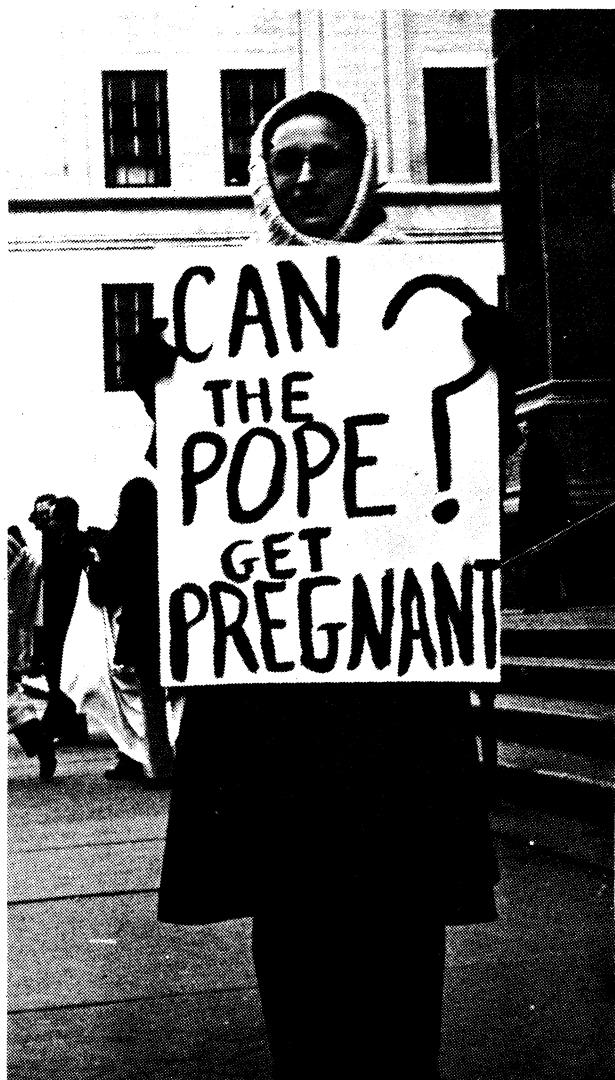


Photo by Debby Woodroffe

A pertinent question

Jenness blasts Nixon plan for 'Phase Two'



Linda Jenness

The following statement was released Oct. 13 by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

On Oct. 7, President Richard Nixon announced his plans for Phase Two of the current attack on the living standards of the working class. The program he projected, which received the immediate backing of Democrats and Republicans alike, further exposed the central purpose of the so-called economic stabilization policy: to prevent the American working class from recouping the economic losses inflicted by war-primed inflation and to lay the ground for further wage cuts.

On Oct. 12, instead of calling for a congress of the American labor movement to chart an independent course of struggle against Nixon's attack, the misleaders of the country's most powerful trade unions announced their intention to loyally collaborate with the government's plans.

While Phase One of the bipartisan program was represented as a temporary freeze on wages, Phase Two will clearly attempt to roll back the meager and long overdue gains won by the powerful industrial unions in the last two years. How well that plan will succeed, of course, is another question. The answer lies in the kind of response given by the American labor movement itself.

Inflation and unemployment are very real and pressing problems for every person who must work for a living. The fears and anxieties created by these problems are played upon by Nixon, Connally and other spokesmen of the ruling class when they appeal to the workers to accept a wage freeze as the way to halt inflation and win full employment.

With pious concern, Nixon bemoans the plight of the working man or woman whose paycheck buys less and less each week. But his actions belie his words. Phase One did not guarantee automatic cost-of-living increases to every wage earner, social security pensioner, and welfare recipient. Far from it! On the contrary, Nixon told the bosses and bankers they need not pay out millions of dollars worth of wages and cost-of-living benefits already won by American workers in independent struggle against the employers.

Higher profits

Nixon talks a lot about the right of every individual to a job and an "honest day's pay." But his real concern is elsewhere. Higher profits, he had the gall to announce, are in the best interests of all Americans! Not higher wages, not higher social security benefits, not free medical care, not full employment, not lower rents, not lower food prices—but higher profits for a handful of robber baron millionaires! Few of us will be able to share Nixon's concern for their plight.

The truth is that Nixon and his bipartisan backers are not trying to solve the pressing international economic problems of American capitalism in a way that meets the needs of those who work for a living. They cannot.

The Democratic and Republican party politicians are incapable of protecting the interests of the working people

of this country because they are not primarily concerned with rising unemployment and the declining standard of living due to inflation and higher taxes. As Nixon frankly states, they are concerned first and foremost with protecting profits. Inflation is a problem for America's rulers only insofar as it hurts their competitive position on a world scale, disrupts the monetary arrangements necessary for trade and foreign investment, and thus cuts into profits. And, of course, both inflation and unemployment become problems when the workers begin to fight back.

The bosses and their political representatives describe the problem as one of "wage inflation" and an "inflationary psychology." They pretend that wage increases *cause* inflation, that inflation would halt if the working class would stop *thinking* that prices are going to continue to rise, and therefore not demand higher wages.

But every worker knows that wages increases never precede inflation—they always lag behind. The fight is always just to try and catch up. Some unions through their independent struggle have won cost-of-living "escalator" clauses which guarantee automatic wage increases as the Consumer Price Index rises. But even there, the wage boost always comes *after* months of paying higher prices.

Inflation is not a figment of someone's imagination nor a function of wage gains. It is endemic to imperialism with its war economy and international economic and military policies. The burst of inflationary price rises during the past few years is first and foremost a result of the billions of dollars spent by the U.S. government to pay for the despised war in Vietnam. And it is the American working class that is being forced to finance that war through inflation.

Since the January 1970 victory of the 14-week-long strike against General Electric, the major industrial unions, including auto, steel, teamsters and others, have one after another won new contracts with cost-of-living clauses and substantial pay hikes averaging more than 10 percent a year. In other words, with growing success the most powerful union forces were partially recouping losses already suffered due to inflation. And that is why the government acted in August—to wipe out those gains already won by the American working class in independent battle against the giant corporations.

Despite all the Nixonese double-talk, it is not some non-existent "peace" that the American working class is now paying for, but the hated and despised bipartisan war policies of the government.

Since mid-August, the bosses have already saved hundreds of millions of dollars in canceled or deferred wage increases in all segments of government and industry. New York City teachers alone, for example, have lost \$15-million in canceled wages. But, as the bosses look at it, the real target is yet to be tackled: those contracts in auto, steel and elsewhere, already signed and scheduled to go into effect in the course of the next two years.

Whatever the result of the coming clashes between Nixon's Pay Board and the workers in the giant industries,

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U.S. escalates war in Laos, Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

The military realities of the Vietnam war are being concealed from the American public to a greater extent than at any time since President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970.

Press, radio and TV report that the war is "winding down." Even critics of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies like the *New York Times* relegate battlefield news to a few summary paragraphs in back-page articles.

Yet there is significant evidence that far from having wound down the war, the Nixon administration has escalated it. But now the main battlegrounds are in Laos, Cambodia and the border regions between North and South Vietnam.

The importance Washington attaches to the war in these arenas was underlined in debates in the U.S. Senate Oct. 4 and Oct. 5 concerning amendments to the military appropriations bill for fiscal year 1972.

On Oct. 4, Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) attempted

to put a \$200-million limit on U.S. financing of the war in Laos, not including money spent bombing the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail.

Symington revealed the continuous escalation of U.S. war spending in Laos, figures that were kept secret until this year.

"Prior to this year the only figure the public knew was the annual economic assistance program, which has been running at about \$52-million a year since the fiscal year 1969. . . . Actually, we have spent over \$1.5-billion in Laos, if we count the bombings of the Ho Chi Minh Trails. . . ." (*Congressional Record*, pp. S15763-65.)

This is nearly 20 times more than when the aid program began nine years ago.

After describing the extent and character of Washington's direction of the war in Laos, Symington stated, "In addition to interdiction operations over the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the U.S. Air Force flies hundreds of combat air missions throughout Laos in close support of Lao regular and irregular ground combat forces. . . . Included in this American air effort are strikes by B-52 bombers in northern Laos, far from the Ho Chi Minh Trail area."

Symington stressed that the U.S. bombing of Laos was often "far closer to the boundary of the People's Republic of China" than the "Ho Chi Minh Trail."

In the course of the debate, which at times became exceptionally bitter, Symington agreed to change the level of his amendment from \$200-million to \$350-million. Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, approved of the higher figure and told Symington that the amendment would not pass at the lower level.

Symington's compromise passed 67-11. In its final wording, the \$350-million "ceiling" did not include any bombing of Laos.

Arch-opponents of the administration's war policy like Senators J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) and Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) voted against the Symington amendment. Fulbright pointed out that the amendment could be used

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In Our Opinion

Double squeeze

President Nixon, with the approval of Congress, has decided to put a double squeeze on the wages of civilian federal employees and at the same time to grant a \$2.4-billion pay increase to military personnel. This move helps expose any notion that Nixon's new economic policies will mean "equality of sacrifice."

On Oct. 7, the Senate voted to uphold Nixon's decision to postpone for six months federal employee pay increases ranging from 5.5 to 6 percent. According to legislation enacted last year, the raises were supposed to go into effect Jan. 1, 1972. The House had approved the postponement earlier the same week.

The military raises provided under the recently approved draft extension law, however, are scheduled to take effect as soon as the freeze expires Nov. 13.

This action did not stem from any concern for the GIs and the miserable pittance they receive but reflected a much deeper worry about the state of the armed forces.

With new reports this week of GIs refusing to obey their officers, with sailors petitioning Congress not to be sent to Vietnam, with the enlistment rate falling and desertions and AWOLs rising, Nixon and Congress no doubt felt an additional monetary incentive might be necessary to enhance the appeal of the armed forces.

Supporting the military—which the ruling class needs to protect its investments, profits and interests around the world—and supporting big business at the expense of the working people is the essence of Nixon's new economic policy.

On top of Nixon's freeze of federal employees' wages until July 1 of next year, the Supreme Court also got its two bits in against the right of federal employees to defend their standard of living. On Oct. 13, the court upheld the constitutionality of the federal law prohibiting strikes by federal employees. The case had been brought to the Supreme Court by the United Federation of Postal Clerks.

Federal employees, who are getting sick of being treated like servants who are supposed to know their place, are beginning to fight back. This was demonstrated by the Oct. 1 rally of 2,000 federal employees in New York City and similar actions in other cities to protest the projected Congressional legislation to extend the freeze on their wages. (See the Oct. 15 *Militant*.)

But the federal employees should not have to fight alone. The entire labor movement should be mobilized against this injustice as part of a massive campaign against the wage freeze.

Testing the wind

A recent incident provided a fresh illustration of the hypocritical, self-seeking and racist mentality of the Democratic and Republican party politicians who run this country.

On Oct. 11, presidential hopeful Senator George McGovern indicated that he would endorse the appointment of conservative Democrat Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia to the Supreme Court. McGovern referred to this racist as "a man of enormous industry and personal pride" who would "bend every effort to become a great Justice."

Senator Byrd is a former Kleagle (otherwise known as an organizer) of the Ku Klux Klan and has a consistent record of opposition to civil rights measures. Byrd claimed to have quit the Klan in 1943, but in 1946 he wrote a letter to the Klan Imperial Wizard saying, "The Klan is needed today as never before and I am anxious to see its rebirth here in West Virginia."

McGovern attempted to explain his support of Byrd by referring to the "club spirit" of the Senate, which he said was "a political fact of life." To McGovern—and apparently the other senators as well—the Congress is an exclusive club operating on the principle of "if you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours."

The very next day McGovern completely reversed his position, saying the appointment of Byrd would be "divisive" and that he could not "accept a man (does he mean a person?) who is mediocre or who is a racist or who is unethical" as a member of the Supreme Court.

Why the sudden turnabout? McGovern's initial reaction was warm praise for this racist, but when he put his wetted finger to the wind and felt the mounting opposition to Byrd's nomination, he jumped right on the bandwagon, piously posing as an opponent of racism.

Usually Democratic and Republican politicians are more skillful at hiding the fact that they have no principles whatsoever—apart from upholding capitalism—and act only according to political expediency and self-promotion. The only limitation on their dishonesty is the fear of getting caught in their lies.

This is another argument for supporting the presidential ticket that doesn't say one thing one day and the opposite the next day. Support candidates who consistently tell the truth: Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Letters

From Leavenworth

I am a prisoner in the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan. Having read *The Militant* for the first time and found it to be very, very informative, I at this time ask the staff of this fine and well put together publication that I be added to its mailing list at no charge, as is offered to people in situations as this.

Thank you for your time and consideration. Please receive a warm embrace of brotherhood.
J. P.

Leavenworth, Kansas

Prison Afro Society

Power to expression for the people! We are in a penal colony within the bowels of a known, rabid, fascist power complex. We represent two members of the Progressive Afro-American Society of Pennsylvania Prisons. We seek the ability to acquire *The Militant* newspaper but have not the access or financial resources to acquire same. If we could become the recipient of it—as we've become of *Ramparts*, *Black Panther*, *Intercommunal News Service* and other socially relevant newspapers and magazines—the members of one of the foremost progressive political expressions in penal history of this so-called "commonwealth" state would welcome same, we assure you.

G. G. and R. T.

State Correctional Institution
Dallas, Pa.

First electrocution

I am oh one of the traveling teams selling subscriptions to *The Militant* full-time as part of the campaign for 30,000 new subscribers by Dec. 1. On our way to Buffalo we passed through Auburn Prison, which is two blocks long and a block wide and has cement walls 20 feet high. In front are two steel signs identifying it as a model prison and with a great rehabilitation program.

The sign went as follows:

Auburn Prison

Erection commenced 1816.

First prisoners 1817 assisted in construction.

First electrocution in the world 1890.

After seeing that I wanted to get the Attica issue of *The Militant* into as many hands as possible.

Sally Moore

New York, N. Y.

Wants 300 Militants

Greetings! It's a funny way to meet you but it's the best I can do at present. That is okay for now I guess. I have been meaning to drop you a line for some time now, but I have been awfully busy with this protest we had here. I was active in a committee for our demands. Things have turned out good so far. We haven't yet gotten all our needs, but they are coming.

I want to bring to your attention *The Militant* paper. It's a down newspaper. I really dig where it's coming from. You do tell the truth. That's what I like, for I feel, as so many others, that it has to come out sometime.

I have been getting copies in the mail from a friend but I understand that prisoners can get a free subscription upon request. I'm the assistant librarian and the fellows here see *The Militant* after I read it. There are parts I want to keep, but I never get the papers back. So I'd like to know if you'd send 300 copies in care of me to the prison

here and I'll see that all the guys who read them will get one.

Right now it's tough to get all the names of the inmates who want *The Militant*, but after the first set I can collect the names as I give them out.

Oh, by the way, I want to thank you for the beautiful write-up. [Sept. 24 *Militant*]. I'll overlook the way the name was spelled (wink!) but I really went for the two full pages. Right on!

Anthony H. Loftis

Massachusetts Correctional Institute
Norfolk, Mass.

Worse off every day

Much has been written about the Steelworkers union and the contract settlement that was made last Aug. 1 in basic steel, but little is said about the declining steel industry, the low wages and the impending layoffs.

I belong to the United Steelworkers of America but do not work in big steel. Our USWA local negotiates our local contract. Although we pay the same dues, the pay scale is lower here.

Our contract ran out the same night the wage freeze went into effect, Aug. 15. We were out two days and then the union leadership said it was best to return to work with a 30-day extension. Last week the extension ran out and we were out two more days. We had a meeting Sept. 19, at which time we were told the results of the money end. No wage raise now. Again we were told to go back to work until the end of the freeze and see what the government would come up with.

Here at Harrison we don't know how long operations will continue. Maybe through the end of the year, maybe a little longer. Very few know and they would be the higher-ups in Studebaker-Worthington.

So our union officials, regardless of all the talk about how bad the wage freeze is, are doing nothing in the steel industry to hold our standard of living. We are getting worse off every day as prices go up. And we are told there is nothing much to do except work and wait.

A. S.

Newark, N. J.

Tax the corporations

Like all states, Ohio faces a monetary crisis. Some school systems are closing down for lack of revenue. Others are cutting back on extra-curricular activities and/or the number of school days.

The labor unions in Ohio have organized a Tax Reform Action Committee (TRAC). Last fall TRAC collected 100,000 valid signatures of voters to place a bill before the legislature that would raise \$505-million annually for Ohio by levying a corporate income tax, eliminating the "direct-use exemption" business enjoys under the sales-tax law, and reforming Ohio's insurance and banking taxes. Ohio is one of the few states in the country that does not have a corporation profit tax.

The latest issue of *Focus*, published monthly by the Ohio AFL-CIO, reviews the history of this bill: "The TRAC bill was introduced in the Ohio House of Representatives in late April and has been virtually ignored. In fact it was only given one brief hearing. . . . Meanwhile, the Ohio House, after months of political sparring, passed the governor's income-tax recommendations but conveniently killed efforts to take the golden egg from the fat business

The Great Society

goose." (Governor John Gilligan was elected with the help of labor.)

Now TRAC is asking union members to collect another 95,000 signatures to place the bill on the ballot Nov. 4.

After spending millions of dollars and thousands of man-hours electing a Democratic governor and Democrats to the legislature in 1970, once again the Ohio labor unions are isolated politically and must depend on their own independent power to get favorable legislation passed. The method proposed by TRAC is the most difficult, cumbersome, expensive and time consuming. Ohio unions are not weak and they are not poor. Yet organized labor in this state has been notoriously unsuccessful in getting progressive legislation passed in Columbus.

The reason for this lamentable record is no secret. Labor's Democratic "friends" in the Ohio legislature always conveniently pass the buck whenever legislation is needed that would be beneficial to the people of the state. Now that Governor Gilligan has been elected, the Democratic Party can blame the Republicans in the state legislature for new tax laws that will be biased toward big business.

Herman Kirsch
Shaker Heights, Ohio

Klute

Every week I look forward to turning to the review page of *The Militant*. It is here everyone becomes their own expert.

I was sorely disappointed in the review of the movie *Klute*. Since I had seen Jane Fonda perform in the antiwar movement, I was not expecting such a powerfully acted and suspense-packed movie as *Klute*, particularly by Fonda herself.

Jane Fonda is a far better actress than a politician and I hope she continues with her action in the future.

By reading the review of *Klute* in *The Militant*, one would never have guessed that the movie happened to be based on a gripping suspense effort to murder Bree Daniels (Fonda). Here we find a wealthy business executive (who happens to lead a "normal" life in the business world and at home) responsible for the murder of three people. Bree is to be his fourth victim to protect his earlier murders. All this is caused by this man's sick, perverted and physically destructive attitude toward women through prostitutes.

Klute (Donald Sutherland) comes across Bree, a high-class call girl, in his attempt to track down a missing friend and becomes aware of the threat to Bree's life, connecting it with his friend's disappearance.

The *Militant* reviewer tries to wring too much out of the movie, draws some ludicrous conclusions, and fails to leave the reader with the most important message: The movie *Klute* is powerfully well acted, especially by Fonda, and grippingly suspenseful. Go see it.
Carol Lipman
Washington, D. C.

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

... as long as you're regular—Those who find constipation a more pressing concern than cancer will be interested to learn that General Cigar has bought out the Ex-Lax company. We can see it now: Laxative-laced coffin nails, with appropriate slogans. Like, "Keep loose with Luckies," or "I'd run a mile for a Camel."

Spiroprint they call it—"The daily papers of Saigon are a mixture of rumors, lewdness, astrology and political attacks but there is little of the substance of truth."—The Los Angeles Times.

It figures—Texas Instruments, which annually sells \$827-million worth of equipment to the major oil companies, has been hired by the Environmental Protection Agency to investigate the oil spills and fires caused by these same companies. Until recently, a director of the lucky sales-investigation company was John (Wage-Freeze) Connally.

Land of opportunity—Dr. Edward MacNichol taps the federal till for \$36,000 a year as director of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases. And there are fringe benefits too. During July and August, the doc does his work at his Cape Cod summer home. While there, he draws \$25 per day for meals and lodgings. Re-

porters who sought to query him about this unusual arrangement were advised by his secretary that he had gone sailing.

Nixon due for raise?—A sign in front of a Los Angeles Presbyterian church advises: "The wages of sin are not frozen."

The march of civilization—A patent has been issued for a bed that makes itself. A canopy that fits over the bed can be raised or lowered by pushing a button. When the canopy is raised, heating and cooling units keep the occupants comfortable without covers. Activists, we presume, are properly warned of the hazards of accidentally pushing the button at the wrong moment.

Things are tough all over—Something has to be done about noise pollution says Senator Alan Cranston of California. The senator's Washington apartment is in the famed, ultra-plush Watergate condominium. He says the noise from planes approaching the nearby National Airport is so bad, "We can't use our patio, our balcony or our swimming pool." And imagine what it gets like when neighbors John and Martha Mitchell are at home.

She didn't take it with her?—It's hard not to be moved by the sentiment surrounding great American fortunes. Like the *Wall Street Journal* account of what happened at the 92-room Grosse Pointe estate of Anna Thompson Dodge, who cashed in at 103. "Two hours after she died," the *Journal* reported, "about a dozen special guards moved into the mansion, and soon thereafter a barbed wire fence was thrown up around the perimeter of her nine-acre estate. Electric eyes were later installed around the property. . . . At night, for security purposes, the three-story limestone residence is bathed in spotlights."

Rebellion in the ranks?—Last month the Los Angeles traffic commission made news by vetoing a proposal by ex-crooner Rudy Vallee that the street he lives on be renamed Rue de Vallee. Now the City Council planning commission has killed a proposed ordinance permitting helicopter landings in designated residential areas. A representative for Mayor Sam Yorty dismissed as "ridiculous" the suggestion that the ordinance had been initiated so the good mayor could land near his home.

Thought for the week—"The biggest barrier to employment is a lack of jobs."—The California Taxpayers Association.
—HARRY RING

The National Picket Line

Since the government wage freeze became effective Aug. 15 the administration has intervened in a variety of strikes on the side of the employers. It tries to hold down wages in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole, but also acts in concert with individual capitalists as required. This has given rise to apparent contradictions in the statements and actions of government officials.

There is considerable evidence that the Labor Department has worked out a policy of prolonging many strikes, bleeding the workers and weakening them in preparation for new attacks upon working conditions and future layoffs.

Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, after meeting with top negotiators of the United Mine Workers union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, expressed "concern over reports that the parties had been unable to reach agreement because of questions involved in the government's wage-stabilization efforts." Hodgson said he told the union and management that "the government didn't consider that an acceptable reason—especially in a key industry such as coal mining," according to the Oct. 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

The implication is that all strikes should be "settled" forthwith and work resumed without delay, wage scales to be reviewed later by a government wage-stabilization board under Phase Two of the wage freeze.

In other strikes, the government position appears to be reversed, showing no concern where the employers seek a free hand to starve the strikers back to work. An example is the 13-week strike of 38,500 New York telephone workers. These are skilled repair and installation workers who have been out since July 14, members of the AFL-CIO Communications Workers.

The New York Telephone Company has reassigned all management personnel with craft skills to make repairs and 1,440 supervisors with similar skills have been brought in from Bell systems in other states to help break the New York strike.

The New York Public Service Commission estimates that "well over 200,000" orders for telephones have not been filled. As yet there has been no outcry from government, business, or "public" sources about the lack of phone service.

The Telephone Company is a public utility, but there is little interest in serving the public when the possibility of breaking a strike still exists.

Our correspondent in Houston, Texas, writes that 700 members of Asbestos Workers Local 22 went back to work Sept. 21, ending an 11-week strike there. They signed a new one-year contract for the same money they were getting before the strike. Local 22 president Earl Herring

said the government wage freeze left them no choice. The new agreement has a clause committing the union and the contractors to seek the highest possible wage increase under Phase Two of the wage freeze.

The Sept. 24 *Guild Reporter* says, "The Newark News this week torpedoed a settlement of the North Jersey Guild's four-month-old strike after announcing last week the sale of its plant and Sunday paper to Newhouse's Newark Star-Ledger for \$20-million." Newhouse is notoriously antiunion.

A Laurel, Miss., news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) says the woodcutters strike that began there Sept. 1 is spreading and more than 250 strikers rallied to hear Charles Evers, Black mayor of Fayette and independent candidate for governor of Mississippi. Evers is trying to get federal food stamps for the strikers, so far denied them.

This strike was provoked by the Masonite Corp. in Laurel and other users of wood when they cut pay 20 to 25 percent. The woodcutters charge that the companies are lowering wages by changing the method of measuring a load of logs. The wage freeze operates only to prevent wage raises, not wage cuts.

An 18-week shutdown of Pittsburgh's two newspapers ended Sept. 20 after all printing trades won wage demands based on the Typographical Union settlement of a \$57.95 weekly raise over two years.

The publishers announced that all agreements that involve retroactivity are subject to approval by the Cost of Living Council under the wage freeze. The settlements are estimated to be worth about \$8-million this year.

The Oct. 8 Muhammad Speaks reports Black Labor Leaders, a division of Operation Bread Basket in Chicago, which is sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), has called "for a general strike by workers in the United States if President Nixon attempts to stall his wage-price freeze over its original 90-day limit."

Charles Hayes, president of the Black Labor Leaders, is also international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL-CIO).

The decision of the Black Labor Leaders was made at a two-day conference in Chicago, where SCLC staff member Jesse Jackson was among the speakers. The Muslim publication reports, "union leaders were not too responsive to Jackson when he spoke of Black labor serving as lackeys for Black businessmen when the workers already understand that a Black boss can be as exploitive as a white one."

—FRANK LOVELL

Trotskyists suffer heavy casualties during Bolivian coup

From Intercontinental Press

[The following statement was issued September 26 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International announces that the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] suffered several dozen casualties in the struggle against the coup led by General Banzer and against the new military regime. Some fell on the field of battle; others were captured by the repressive forces and are in concentration camps. The repression has also fallen heavily on other organizations operating in the name of the working class. Backed by American imperialism and its agents in other Latin American countries, the "gorillas" in power are preparing to organize the most systematic and savage kind of extermination campaign. The Bolivian proletariat has experienced a long series of barbaric mas-

brothers, in the front ranks. Tomás Chambi, leader of the Independent Peasant Federation, fell in La Paz, along with about fifteen of his comrades. In Santa Cruz, where the counterrevolutionary assault was particularly fierce, twenty comrades were killed; and wounded or missing POR members have yet to be accounted for. Comrades have been arrested in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and Oruro. They are now being held, along with all the other victims of the repression, in the prisons and concentration camps in the tropical jungle, including the one at Madidi, where conditions are reported to be particularly revolting. Finally, leading comrades who survived and had begun the task of reorganizing the movement barely escaped capture by taking refuge in the embassy of a Latin American country (after being turned back by several other embassies), and are now in exile.

The POR comrades have written us as follows:



Bolivian popular militia fought right-wing coup.

sacres in its history. Once again this threat hangs over its head, and more than ever it deserves international solidarity.

The POR comrades understood perfectly well that a test of strength was inevitable in the near future. Since they took a realistic view of the relationship of forces, in the military field above all, they had no illusions about the outcome. They made a considerable effort to prepare themselves for the coming test, scoring important gains in every arena. But these exertions could not counterbalance the negative weight of the political and military deficiencies which persisted at the mass level as a consequence of the lack of any real strategy for seizing power and waging armed struggle on the part of most of the organizations claiming to be socialist. At best, these organizations did not go beyond a spontanéist concept of insurrection.

Nonetheless, in face of the rightist coup d'état and the mass mobilization, especially in La Paz and Santa Cruz, our comrades did not hesitate an instant. Their duty was to participate in the struggles with the forces they had at their disposal. And so they marched together with their class

"We are determined to continue our struggle and are in a more promising position than in the past. Our forces have increased in the recent period and new leading cadres have emerged. They are already at work. We are most encouraged by the confidence that vanguard sectors have expressed in us. This does not mean that we do not find ourselves in a difficult position. But revolutionists cannot expect the bourgeoisie to clear the way for them. Now, we must fight and we will fight. We prepared ourselves with such a perspective in mind."

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International pays homage to the hundreds of workers, peasants, and students massacred in the tragic days of August 1971. It pays homage to the Trotskyist militants who fell, in their own words, with their "thoughts on the party and the International." The United Secretariat expresses its fraternal solidarity with all those suffering in the prisons and the concentration camps, who must be snatched from their hangmen by an international campaign against the repression.

Long live the Bolivian working class! Long live the POR! Long live the Fourth International!

CORE convention: no change from reformist course

By TONY THOMAS

NEW YORK, Oct. 18—The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held its thirtieth national convention in Harlem Oct. 14 to 17. Over 2,000 Blacks attended the opening session, where Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) announced her candidacy for the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

The tone of the rally and the whole convention was set by CORE National Director Roy Innis. Innis claimed that the reason for disunity within the African-American movement since the time of slavery was the division between integrationist and assimilationist oriented Blacks on one hand and nationalist and separatist Blacks on the other. His description of how the rulers of America consistently attempted to put down Black nationalists, from Martin Delaney to Malcolm X, won approval from the crowd.

Innis' conclusion, however, was that Black unity will be achieved when nationalists and integrationists cease attacking one another. Specifically he called for Black nationalists to cease opposition to moderate Black organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League.

Following that spirit, James Farmer, founder of CORE and its national director until 1965, addressed and presided over the rally. Farmer, who was Assistant Secretary for Health Education and Welfare in the Nixon administration, was ousted from CORE by supporters of Black power because of his integrationist, reformist and assimilationist views. Farmer's successor Floyd McKissick, who along with Stokely Carmichael was one of the leading exponents of Black Power in the 1966 to 1968 period, did not speak at the rally.

Other "honored podium guests" introduced to the rally included Washington, D.C., Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy; professional boxer George Foreman, who is "owned" by CORE as part of their Black capitalism program; Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher; Jesse Jackson of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Urban League Director Vernon Jordan; Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton; State Senator Sidney Von Luther; and Brigadier General Daniel James. In addition, African diplomats from Kenya, Liberia and Tanzania gave their governments' greetings.

The rally concluded with scheduled addresses by several Democratic and Republican presidential aspirants. When representatives of the Socialist Workers Party asked if SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley could speak, CORE officials said only candidates of the "major" parties could speak.

Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) stated that although she did not think she would be nominated by the Democratic Party, her campaign would enable Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and women to build a bloc of votes at the Democratic convention to press for a series of demands. The only specific demand she mentioned was for two Blacks in the cabinet if a

Democrat is elected president. Chisholm stated she would still remain in the Democratic Party if she lost the nomination.

Presidential hopeful Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) followed Chisholm. He claimed that he supported proposals by Innis and CORE for community-control boards in Black and white communities to prevent "racial outbursts."

Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.), who attended the session until McCloskey spoke, did not speak, claiming that he didn't want to speak to such a small crowd.

The next two days of the convention consisted of closed sessions and two public workshops.

On Oct. 15, a workshop was held at Philip's St. Church in Harlem between African diplomats and members of the Congressional Black Caucus, including Representatives Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), Chisholm, and Charles Rangel (R-N.Y.).

No real solutions to white capitalist domination of Africa or the oppression of African-Americans were projected. While members of the Congressional Black Caucus criticized U.S. aid to Portugal and South Africa, none linked the Democratic Party's support to U.S. imperialism with exploitation in Africa. Actions in the Black community in defense of the African revolution were not even discussed. Only a few hundred people, mostly out-of-town CORE activists attended this and the final session.

The last day was occupied by workshops on several topics, including the family, economics, politics, the military, and communications. Attendance was so sparse that several of these workshops were canceled. Those that took place, such as the military and education workshops, reflected the political ideas of the independent activists there rather than those of CORE leaders.

The military workshop, for instance, discussed the situation of Vietnam veterans and active-duty GIs. It was led by a veteran of the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam. Not only do Black GIs face vicious racism in the armed forces, the psychological torment of being forced to fight a racist war against their Vietnamese brothers, one Vietnam vet said, but they also face limited job opportunities and discrimination in the traditional health and educational benefits offered veterans.

This and the other workshops were hampered by the fact that they were purposely organized by the CORE leaders not to lead to action.

The convention did not represent a change from CORE's longtime support to Democratic and Republican politicians, Black capitalism, and poverty program and corporation-funded reformism. Innis' pleas for unity with integrationists is in reality not a call for unification with integrationists interested in action for Black liberation but a cover for giving nationalist endorsement or at least acquiescence to the reformist politics of organizations like the Urban League and the NAACP.

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Lawyers for the Attica inmates continue to try to wrest from the courts injunctions and decisions that would help end the reign of terror now prevailing at the Attica state prison.

In Buffalo federal court Oct. 6, Judge John T. Curtin, a Kennedy liberal, turned down their requests: "1) that the prison be ordered to stop physical abuse of the inmates; 2) that the prison be ordered to stop destroying inmates' legal materials; 3) that federal monitors be installed at the prison; 4) that Mr. [Robert] Fischer [deputy state attorney general] be or-

was continuing and therefore denied a request to issue an injunction against it. But how does he know? There are no public monitors or bodies that daily inspect the prison. The inmates have no channels by which to communicate with the public.

The fourth demand of the lawyers was very important. Fischer, as deputy attorney general, is trying to wear two hats at the same time. He is heading up the state inquiry into the Attica rebellion for the purposes of criminal prosecution. And on paper, this prosecution could fall on the heads of both inmates and state troopers. But in actual fact, any indictments by the Fischer body will be directed at the inmates.

Henry Williams, the state police cap-

the *New York Times*, Donald Singleton of the *New York Daily News*, Nat Hentoff of the *Village Voice*, and WBAI-FM.

The reporters charged that since Sept. 9, when the rebellion began, guidelines for press interviews have been suspended under what Mancusi called "state of emergency" provisions. Previous guidelines laid down by State Commissioner of Correction Russell G. Oswald July 15 had allowed some interviews. This was only after Schwartz had filed a court suit for a number of reporters last March.

When Mancusi took the stand in the present hearing Oct. 8, he pleaded for one more month before reporters are allowed admission. He contended that a "climate of controlled hostility" existed at Attica, which he said might be inflamed with press interviews. Mancusi, to back up his argument for continued censorship, said stories on the Attica rebellion had been clipped from some newspapers received by inmates.

In other developments concerning Attica, there seems to be no end to the blue-ribbon committees and "impartial" bodies appointed by Rockefeller and his cohorts to "study" the rebellion. There is the nine-member citizens committee selected Sept. 29 by five judges on a request from Rockefeller. It is supposed to conduct a "full and impartial" investigation of the Attica uprising. It is headed by the dean of the New York University School of Law, Robert B. McKay.

Then there is the Select Committee on Correctional Institutions and Programs, composed of seven citizens appointed by Rockefeller and eight state legislators. From this committee is supposed to come the grand design for "prison reform."

On the same day that the nine-member citizens committee was announced, Sept. 30, former New York Senator Charles Goodell announced the formation of the Committee for the Study of Incarceration. It has 14 members, professors in the main. It modestly proclaims to "examine the validity of all our assumptions about prisons—and about prison reform."

Preceding these committees were the Fischer committee, the five-member Goldman committee (selected by State Supreme Court Justice Harry D. Goldman on Rockefeller's request), and the five-man congressional body headed by Representative Claude Pepper (D-Fla.).

The congressional committee, which included Black Representative Charles Rangel (R-N.Y.), visited the Attica prison Sept. 17 and has never been heard from since.

Representative Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.), who was a member of the observers committee formed during the rebellion to present the inmate demands to state authorities, charged Oct. 3 that the Goldman committee had already proven itself ineffective because it has done nothing to protect the constitutional rights of the inmates in the aftermath of the revolt—which was supposed to be the purpose of the committee.

The Goldman committee, to shore up its sagging image, attacked the Fischer investigative body for including Williams, the state police captain, on it. The charge was leveled by Clarence Jones, the Black publisher of the *Amsterdam News* and co-chairman of the committee.

The purpose of all of these committees is to obfuscate and becloud the Attica rebellion and subsequent massacre. They are designed to get the state off the hook and put the onus for the rebellion and massacre on the prisoners. Again, their activity only underlines the need for an independent investigatory commission composed of representatives of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and the actual victims of the penal system, inmates and ex-inmates.

Soledad trial to begin Oct. 18

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, Calif., Oct. 8—Armed with a sub-machine gun, a police sergeant nervously paced the floor of the courtroom today in which pretrial hearings resumed for the Soledad Brothers. Then Judge S. Lee Vavuris overruled objections by the defense and set a date of Oct. 18 to begin the murder trial of San Quentin inmates Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette.

One of the defense counsel, Floyd Silliman, had requested a month's delay because of the prejudicial publicity surrounding the recent killing of one of the defendants, George Jackson, at San Quentin. Silliman maintained in his objections that Drumgo and Cluchette had been unable to confer freely with their lawyers since Jackson's death.

The Soledad Brothers are charged with the murder of a guard while in maximum security at Soledad prison on Jan. 16, 1970. The state has tried to implicate the defendants in a widening web of "conspiracy," which includes the Aug. 7, 1970, courthouse shooting for which Angela Davis is indicted. George Jackson's brother, Jonathan, was killed by police in that incident, which authorities claim was part of a kidnap plot to set the Soledad Brothers free.

In addition, Fleeta Drumgo has been arraigned with six others for murder in the Aug. 21 San Quentin "escape" that resulted in Jackson's death.

Jackson's defense counsel, John Thorne, challenged the dismissal of the Soledad murder charges against Jackson. Thorne demanded that either the case be dismissed with the flat admission that Jackson was innocent, or that Jackson remain a defendant in death with his lawyer present at the trial proceedings. Otherwise, he declared, the gunning down of Jackson would enable the state to avoid exposure in its slim case against him.

Judge Vavuris indicated that he would rule on Thorne's request Oct. 13.

George Jackson's mother, Georgia Jackson, watched Thorne's motion expectantly from behind the bullet-proof glass barrier sealing the spectators' section. She was seated in one of the numbered chairs that were assigned to spectators only after they had been photographed and searched by police.

The deputies did not fail to pry patiently into clothing and the interiors of spectators' ballpoint pens. Several women complained bitterly that they had to remove their under-clothing for police inspection.



George Jackson

Courts refuse to halt brutality at Attica



Window overlooking Attica courtyard shortly after massacre Sept. 13

dered to stop acting simultaneously as investigator and potential prosecutor of both prisoners and of state troopers against whom prisoners may have complaints; and 5) that the prisoners be considered as a group and represented in court as such by Mr. [Herman] Schwartz and other lawyers."

Schwartz, a University of Buffalo law school professor, has been involved in prison reform for some time. He and members of the National Lawyers Guild are representing the inmates in these court battles.

During the hearings, several leaders of the rebellion were able to speak out on the guard brutality and violence against the inmates. These included Frank Lott, Roger Champen (known as "Champ"), and Herbert X. Blyden.

Vincent Mancusi, the warden of Attica, also testified. He related that these prisoners and about 50 or 100 others have been placed in a special section of the prison called Housing Block Z. And the prisoners get special treatment. Champen said prison officials often told him "They were going to kill me." Blyden was told that he was being saved "for the electric chair."

Notwithstanding these accounts of guard brutality, Judge Curtin said there was no evidence that this abuse

tain who directed the assault that crushed the rebellion, is part of the Fischer body. And the body itself was appointed by the man who ordered the assault: Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

But because Fischer claims this dual function, the state does not have to provide any legal aid to the inmates who are now being interrogated by this body. By posing as "investigator," Fischer can use information obtained from the inmates to prosecute them. By refusing to move against the Fischer body, Judge Curtin sanctioned this denial of the inmates' civil liberties.

As this hearing was in progress, the Legal Aid Society of New York asked U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall to stop state interrogations of the inmates unless they have lawyers present. All that Marshall did was refer the matter to the whole court. Meanwhile, the interrogations continue.

News media barred

In another suit filed by Schwartz and being heard before Curtin at the time of this writing, several reporters from major news media are asking that they be allowed into the prison to conduct interviews with the inmates. The reporters include Tom Wicker of

Socialist Campaign '71

Washington D.C.

Keith Jones, SWP candidate for the D.C. school board, spoke along with other candidates to a Sept. 30 meeting of the Washington Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Jones told the meeting no one individual in office could cure the ills of the schools, but that he would use his office if elected to promote the solution that is needed. That solution, Jones, said, and was quoted as saying in the *Washington Post*, lies in the need for "massive numbers of people to organize to stop the war in Vietnam and demand that the money saved be used for free medical and dental care in the schools, to replace racist and sexist textbooks, and for other social needs."

The membership meeting voted overwhelmingly to support the Nov. 3 student strike against the war, the massive Nov. 6 antiwar march, and to observe Oct. 13 as "antiwar day" in D.C. schools.

Jones was the only candidate to speak out against a proposed truancy and curfew law that would prohibit persons below the age of 16 from being on the street after 11 p.m. unless accompanied by an adult. Jones said such a law "would turn D.C. into a virtual police state for young people."

On Sept. 27, Jones spoke at a candidates' forum at Catholic University. He encouraged the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition to set up a table adjacent to his campaign literature table because the group had been kicked off campus a week earlier under a medieval rule forbidding dissemination of abortion information on campus. Jones told the audience, "It is the practice of the SWP to use its election campaigns to help build the women's movement of which the campaign to repeal anti-abortion laws is an important part." The table was set up by the abortion coalition without interference.

The previous day, Sept. 26, Jones debated Ira Mosley, one of the other three at-large candidates for school

board, on "Newswatch," a half-hour TV and radio program. While Jones forced Mosley to agree that school budget needs suffered because of the Vietnam war, Mosley continued to de-emphasize that the war was a relevant issue in the election. Jones stressed the need for massive participation in the fall antiwar offensive culminating with regional mass actions in 16 cities Nov. 6.

Denver

The SWP launched its campaign in Colorado with a banquet at Denver University Oct. 2. The SWP slate in Colorado includes Joan Fulks, who is running for U.S. Senate, and Miguel Pendas and Fern Gapin, both seeking seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Speakers at the banquet, in addition to the candidates, included Skip Ball of the Hotel and Restaurant Em-

ployees union and a leader of the Colorado Peace Action Coalition; Shirley Gellis, a women's liberation activist and broadcast journalist; and Al Baldivia, organizer of the Colorado PAC Chicano Task Force for Nov. 6.

Ball came out strongly for the SWP on the basis of its leadership in the antiwar movement and because, unlike the Democratic and Republican parties, it has a program of opposition to the wage freeze.

Gellis, remarking that she had differences with the SWP, said she was nevertheless an active supporter of the election campaign.

Fulks had spoken the previous evening at the Denver Militant Forum on the need for organized labor to call for a congress of labor that can develop a program of opposition to the government's antilabor policies. Earlier in the week, she addressed a business administration class at the University of Colorado Denver Center on the socialist solution to the economic chaos of capitalism.

Boston socialists expose 'nonpartisan' rally

BOSTON—Socialist Workers Party candidates exposed the character of a so-called "nonpartisan peace rally" in Boston Oct. 8. Sponsored by the "nonpartisan" Massachusetts Voter Registration Coalition (a group concerned with hustling 18- to 20-year-old votes for capitalist politicians), the rally was scheduled to last six hours but the organizers told socialist candidates there was "no time" for them to address the crowd.

Democratic and Republican doves, including such presidential aspirants as Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), spoke to the crowd, which at any given time numbered from 2,500 to 3,000, but which had a continuous turn-over and probably totaled around 10,000 between 12:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m. The rally that had "no time" for socialist or independent speakers started late and ended early. For the first hour and a half, there were no speakers, only music.

At about 12:15 p.m., before the rally began, the SWP set up its own sound equipment adjacent to the main platform and started its own rally.

"We want to inform you that this 'register for peace' rally is really a Democratic and Republican party rally," the SWP speakers began. "Candidates for office who are not Democrats or Republicans were not allowed to speak here." As the crowd of about 2,500 began gathering around the SWP speakers, they explained, "We will not disrupt this rally. We do not believe in disrupting other people's rallies. But we do believe that the Democrats and Republicans are manipulating you by calling it a 'nonpartisan peace rally.' As soon as the official rally begins, we will stop."

The crowd, a mixture of working people out on their lunch hour and students, was sympathetic to the SWP's arguments. Many expressed the sentiment that all views should have a hearing. Joe Miles and Jeanne Lafferty, both candidates for City Council in Cambridge, and Eric Poulos, a candidate for City Council in Worcester, Mass., all of whom had been refused permission to speak at the "nonpartisan" rally, addressed the crowd.

Poulos is being denied ballot status by the Worcester authorities through

selective application of the state attorney general's ruling that students may register where they go to school. He had originally been invited to speak—until the sponsors discovered he was not a Democrat or Republican. Then they found there was "no time" for him.

Some confusion arose during the pro-capitalist parties' rally when one of the "register for peace" leaders discovered that Joe Miles had been one of the Fort Jackson Eight antiwar GIs. On making this discovery—and not realizing that Miles was an SWP candidate—the rally leader invited Miles to speak. However, as Miles approached the platform, he was recognized by Ray Dugan of Mass Pax (a pro-Democratic Party peace group). Dugan stopped Miles from speaking, but in his agitation he neglected to use the polite formulation that there was "no time." Instead, he shouted out: "He's an SWPer! He can't speak!"

One interesting sidelight of the day's two rallies is the fact that somehow the SWP's sound equipment picked up and broadcast the transmissions from the walkie-talkies of cops at the rally site. Just as Poulos had begun to speak, a cop's voice crackled over the SWP sound system, saying, "Get the program going so we can cut off the Socialist Workers rally."

Another sidelight—or sideshow—occurred in the middle of the afternoon when Progressive Labor and SDS led a breakaway march of 19 people from the crowd of 3,000 to march around two concrete pillars 200 feet away.

The SWP candidates and campaign representatives found interest in socialist campaign literature among the listeners at the rally.

Through the demagoguery of the "doves," the true character of the rally came out clearly several times, as when Peter Yarrow of Peter, Paul and Mary chastised the young people present for going on "those stupid marches" instead of getting "into the system."

The next day, the rally organizers declared the event a failure because they had registered only 536 people.

On the evening of Oct. 9, the day following the two rallies, 150 persons attended an SWP Cambridge Cam-

paign Supporters Banquet. The event featured brief speeches by Jeanne Lafferty and recent SWP mayoral candidate John Powers, as well as speeches by Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate

for Senate from Massachusetts, and John Hawkins, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. A collection raised \$1,750 for the SWP campaign.

Open letter to women's caucus



Linda Jenness

An "Open Letter to Supporters of the National Women's Political Caucus from Linda Jenness" has recently been published by the Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee. The letter, which outlines the SWP presidential candidate's position on the newly formed caucus and on the role of the Democratic and Republican parties in the oppression of women, will be nationally distributed to members and supporters of the caucus, published in campus and feminist newspapers, and widely circulated in the student and feminist movements in general.

In the letter, Jenness challenges the course proposed by caucus leaders such as Representatives Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) that feminists work for greater representation for women within the Democratic and

Republican parties as the means to win liberation.

"The Democratic and Republican parties cannot be reoriented to fight for the needs of women. Neither party is structured to allow the majority of people in its decision making. Both parties are controlled from the top, in consultation with the millionaires and billionaires who give them financial backing. The powerful politicians and supporters of these parties have nothing but contempt for our movement and its needs. They are not about to allow equal participation of women in their parties unless it is on their terms, that is, unless we subordinate our demands to support for this capitalist system."

As an alternative to supporting the two parties of war, racism and sexism, Jenness advocates the building of an independent massive movement of women to fight for women's demands, such as the right to abortion, child care and equal pay.

The letter ends with an appeal to women interested in social change to support the campaigns of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president, the only candidates who lend full support to the demands of the feminist movement.

For copies of the "Open Letter," or more information about the SWP '72 Campaign, write to the SWP '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, New York 10003.

Pulley kicked off Ft. Jackson Army base

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Oct. 11—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, and Alice Conner, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia, were physically ejected from Ft. Jackson, S.C., by military authorities Oct. 9.

Pulley and Conner spent 45 minutes distributing literature and discussing their campaign with about 100 GIs at the Fort Jackson bowling alley before Military Police surrounded them and took them to MP headquarters.

"Since Agnew and I are struggling for the same job," Pulley told the authorities, "I would like to point out that you have never stopped Agnew from campaigning on military bases."

At MP headquarters, the candidates were read a base regulation forbidding rallies, demonstrations, petition drives or "similar activities." The candidates pointed out that although the regulation was clearly unconstitutional, it did not apply to anything they were doing. They were simply campaigning and distributing free literature. One Lt. Harris, the officer in charge, replied "Your activities are covered by 'similar activities.'"

Pulley and Conner stated that the U.S. Constitution guarantees full citizenship rights to GIs, including the right to receive literature from any and all candidates for public office. Nevertheless, some of their literature was confiscated. Conner demanded and received from the MPs a receipt for the confiscated literature. The receipt was marked "retained as evidence" and Conner later told the news media, "Evidently they retained it as 'evidence' that they were violating our rights."

The candidates were sent off the base with the warning that they would be arrested if they returned.

After the incident, Andrew Pulley commented, "As an alumnus of this institution, I think I deserve a better welcome than that!" (Pulley was stationed at Fort Jackson in 1969. He was a founder of Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War and was one

of eight soldiers whose right to free speech was successfully defended in the nationally publicized Fort Jackson Eight Case.)

"The GIs I talked to before the MPs came were very receptive. Antiwar sentiment and Black nationalism are even deeper here now than when I was stationed here," Pulley told reporters.

"Those GIs wanted to hear what our campaign has to offer them," Alice Conner stated. "I think a lot of them will vote for us because we are the only candidates calling for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Southeast Asia. They have a right to hear us and the Army can't take that right away. We are going to challenge the Army on this and I think that from a legal viewpoint we have a very clear case. So we'll be back!" Conner intends to campaign at Fort Benning, Fort Gordon, and other bases in the South.

The reception given Pulley and Conner by the GIs was friendly and animated. Within minutes after they walked into the bowling alley, dozens of GIs crowded around to ask them questions about their views on the Vietnam war, the Attica massacre and other political issues, and to buy copies of *The Militant*.

In a related campaign development, prison officials in Georgia seemed as frightened of the ideas of Pulley and Conner as were the Army brass. The two candidates had been given permission to tour the Stone Mountain State Prison.

When they arrived at the prison Oct. 10, however, Warden W.J. Nix said that they could not get in without the permission of the Georgia prison director, who was conveniently unavailable for the next week. Reporters from WQXI-TV, an Atlanta station, were at the Stone Mountain Prison waiting to tour with Pulley and Conner.

Later, Pulley and Conner held a news conference at the Fulton County Jail, where Sheriff LeRoy Stynchcombe refused to permit them to investigate conditions because "The pris-



Photo by Mark Salinoff



Photo by Steve Dash

Andrew Pulley (left), 1972 SWP vice presidential candidate, and Alice Conner, SWP Georgia senatorial candidate, were escorted from Ft. Jackson, S.C., by MPs when they tried to talk to GIs there this month. Pulley, one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, quipped: "As an alumnus of this institution, I think I deserve a better welcome."

ons are not a political issue." In the wake of the Attica rebellion, Fulton County prisoners had been tear-gassed by the sheriff after they demonstrated against inhumane, overcrowded conditions at the jail.

Conner told the media outside the Fulton County Jail, "The overwhelming majority of these prisoners are not convicted felons and therefore will be voting in 1972. They have the right to hear our views."

Pulley promised legal action against both the prison authorities and the military brass to force them to permit

the viewpoints of all candidates, including socialists, to be heard by both GIs and prisoners.

Pulley's two-week campaign tour of the Southeast also took him to many campuses. A highlight of his campaign activities was an assembly at Agnes Scott College, a small women's college near Atlanta, where he received a very enthusiastic reception from 65 women. Also in Atlanta, Pulley spoke before a Black history class at Grady High School, where the entire class stayed after the dismissal bell to finish its discussion with him.

Linda Jenness on whirlwind Midwest tour

By JANICE LYNN

OCT. 11—At one of the most enthusiastic campaign rallies yet, on Oct. 4, 250 people at Wisconsin State University in Oshkosh heard Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness talk about Vietnam and the '72 elections. Over 20 people signed up to work for the SWP '72 campaign and many indicated their intention to join the Young Socialist Alliance. Jenness, who is in the midst of a whirlwind speaking tour of the Midwest, also spoke on a radio show in Oshkosh.

In Waukesha, Wis., the administration of Waukesha High School refused permission for Jenness to speak in the high school. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley then arranged for Jenness to speak at a bookstore in the town. Twenty-five high school students skipped their first and second class periods to come hear the presidential candidate speak.

That same evening, Jenness spoke to a women's liberation group and to a meeting of over 100 at Monmouth College in Monmouth, Ill. Both the president of the campus speakers' bureau and the editor of the campus newspaper signed up to participate in the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP).

Jenness also spoke to audiences at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, at Knox College in Galesburg, Ill., and at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Ill. On Oct. 8, Jenness

spoke to a noon rally of 150 at the South Lobby of the Student Union at the University of Illinois, Campaign-Urbana. Jenness appeared on two five-minute TV spots that evening denouncing Nixon's Phase Two speech.

On Oct. 9, Jenness spoke to 125 people at the weekly rally of the Cairo United Front in St. Louis. Jenness linked the events at Attica with the situation in Cairo, Ill., and pointed out that it is the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties who are responsible for the Attica deaths and for maintaining the system of racial oppression in this country.

That evening Jenness spoke to a spirited crowd of 130 at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale.

On Oct. 11, Jenness held two news conferences, one in Indianapolis and one in Bloomington, Ind., which were widely reported. Jenness attacked Nixon's use of the Taft-Hartley Act against striking longshoremen and emphasized the need for the labor movement to organize an emergency congress of labor to coordinate an independent struggle against Nixon's attack on wages.

Jenness will give the major Moratorium Day address at the Roosevelt University Moratorium rally in Chicago, Oct. 13. The secretary-treasurer of the Roosevelt University Student Senate, who recently endorsed the Jenness-Pulley Campaign, will be a speaker at the Chicago SWP campaign

rally Oct. 15.

Jenness' tour continues in the Ohio region with meetings planned at the College of Wooster, Ohio University in Athens, University of Miami in Oxford and at Case Western Reserve and Cleveland State University in Cleveland.

Meanwhile, Cindy Jaquith, one of the national coordinators of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, has been building support for the SWP campaign on the West Coast. In Portland, Ore., Jaquith spoke at John Adams High School and at Reed College to persons interested in working with the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Campaign supporters attended a meeting at which John Gardner, head of Common Cause, was speaking and distributed materials to the 1,200 persons in the audience. Many of the young people in attendance signed up to work with the YSJP.

In Eugene, Ore., Jaquith held a successful news conference and was interviewed by KZEL and KGN radio. She also met with the United Feminists of the University of Oregon and spoke to a YSJP rally later that evening.

From Oregon, Jaquith traveled to the Bay Area, where she spoke to a meeting of campaign supporters at San Francisco City College and taped a half-hour interview on KCBS-FM radio. The next day she spoke to campaign supporters at San Francis-

co State College and was interviewed by National Public Radio, an educational radio station that broadcasts across the city.

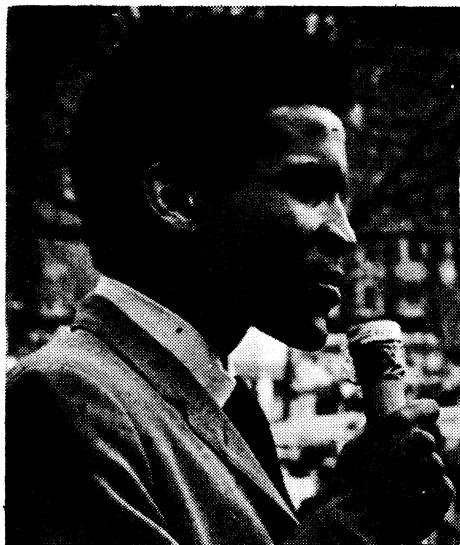
On Oct. 9, Jaquith addressed a Northern California YSA regional meeting attended by young socialist activists, and outlined plans for building chapters of YSJP on campuses and high schools throughout the state of California.

On Oct. 12, Jaquith is scheduled to speak to three classes at Berkeley High School, to a public meeting at Laney Junior College in Oakland, and that evening at the University of California, Berkeley.

On the East Coast, YSJP national coordinator John Hawkins spoke at meetings at New York University, Queens College, Brooklyn College and Harpur College in Binghamton, New York.

On Oct. 11, Hawkins met with two inmates at the Norfolk Correctional Institute in Massachusetts to discuss the Attica massacre and conditions in the prisons today. Both inmates expressed interest and enthusiasm about the SWP '72 campaign and promised to get the word out to their fellow prisoners.

After speaking at a number of campuses in New England, Hawkins flies to Cleveland, where he is the SWP candidate for mayor, to speak at the Oct. 13 Moratorium rally.



John Hawkins (above) and Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes

The following letter was sent Oct. 13 by John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, to Arnold Pinckney. Pinckney, running for mayor as an independent, is supported by the 21st Congressional District Caucus.

On Oct. 6, the Ohio Supreme Court upheld a decision made by the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections that Hawkins be ruled off the ballot. Hawkins, who filed more than the required number of signatures, was knocked off the ballot for not filing a master sheet of signatures. Broad support, including the Cleveland Plain Dealer and nine of the 11 candidates for mayor, backed Hawkins' fight against this arbitrary action.

I would like to thank you for your support of my right to be on the November ballot as a candidate for mayor of Cleveland. The arbitrary ruling Aug. 19 by the Board of Elections and Secretary of State Ted Brown, and upheld Oct. 6 by the Ohio Supreme Court, is a blow not only against my candidacy but also against the rights of Cleveland voters to decide for themselves at the polls. It is also an attack against the right of all independent candidates to run for office, including yourself, as an independent candidate for mayor backed by the 21st Congressional District Caucus and Mayor Carl Stokes.

I would also like to take this opportunity to raise for your consideration what I think are some critical questions facing Cleveland's Black community.

The Cuyahoga County Democratic and Republican parties, as you well know, are not beyond maneuver, trickery and deceit when it comes to maintaining their monopoly of politics in Cleveland. The outright racism of both these parties is on display for all to see: their repeated attacks upon Mayor Stokes for "dividing the city," their attacks on the 21st Congressional District Caucus as "divisive," and their thinly veiled attacks on your own candidacy.

At the Sept. 10 City Club debate between Robert Hughes and Joseph Bartunek, chairmen of the Cuyahoga County Republican and Democratic parties, both men exhibited the depths to which their parties can sink.

Although this staged bout between the two top representatives and defenders of capitalist machine politics in Cleveland rarely descended to the level of the city's problems, some in-

teresting and disturbing questions were raised.

In an effort to discredit Bartunek's claims that the Democratic Party was actually democratic, Hughes pointed to the second-rate treatment given Mayor Carl Stokes and Rep. Louis Stokes (Ohio, 21st C.D.) by the county Democratic Party. He also pointed to the lack of Black representation in the party's decision-making echelons.

Hughes, however, hypocritically neglected to measure his own party by the same standard. It goes without saying that the Republican Party is just as guilty of racism as the Democratic Party—both within its organization and in its policies. However, unlike the Democratic Party, the Republican Party makes little, if any, pretense of representing Black people in this country.

Cleveland's Democratic Party

For the past three decades, the Black vote has been one of the main pillars on which the Democratic Party's success in elections has rested. Since the 1930s when Franklin Roosevelt rode into the White House on his promises of a New Deal, Black people have turned out in often decisive majorities to vote for Democratic Party candidates. The New Deal that Roosevelt promised and that every liberal Democratic candidate for office has promised to fulfill for Blacks since that time has yet to materialize. The fact that out of 535 representatives in Congress only 14 are Black—just over three percent while the total Black population in this country is over 11 percent—testifies to the great lack of Black political representation in the country.

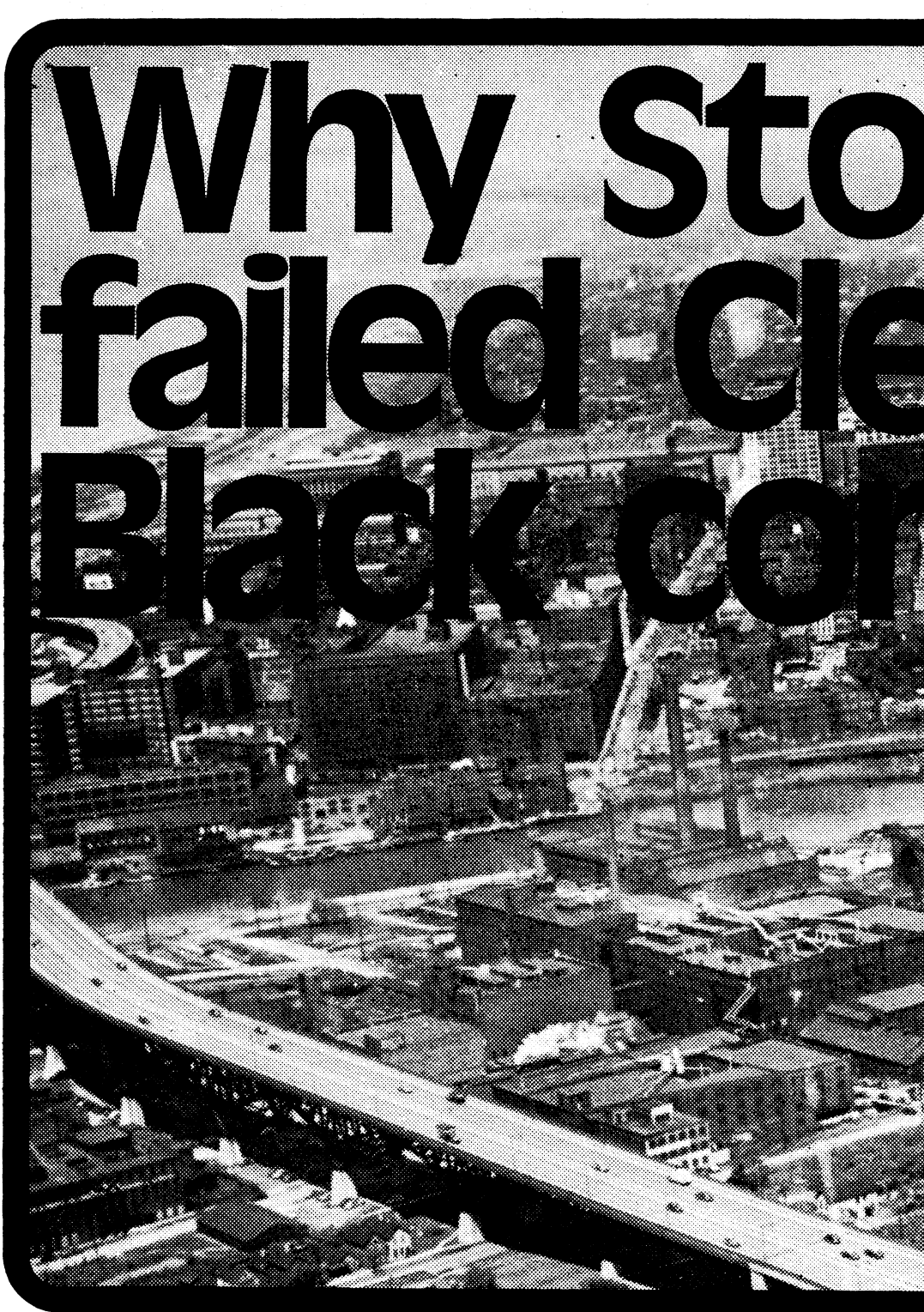
Right here in Cleveland, where Carl Stokes was the first Black person to be elected mayor of a major city in this country, we have witnessed over the past four years the real attitude of the Democratic Party to Black people—including those elected to office under its banner. The City Council, controlled by a Democratic majority, has opposed every effort of Democratic mayor Stokes to institute even the mildest reforms. Under the leadership of Anthony Garofoli, candidate of the Cuyahoga County Democratic organization for mayor in the Sept. 28 primaries, the council sought to mobilize anti-Black sentiment among whites in its fight with Stokes.

Garofoli was not alone among leaders of the Democratic Party in opposing Stokes at every turn. Joseph Bartunek, Democratic Party county chairman, was key in directing the county party's rejection of George Forbes, nominated by Stokes and a major spokesman for Stokes in the council, as vice-chairman of the county party. It was this act on the part of Bartunek and the county central committee that prompted Carl and Louis Stokes in May 1970 to form the 21st Congressional District Caucus along with other Black Democratic Party politicians in order to wage a struggle for leadership of the county party.

In June, at the Ohio state constitutional convention of the Democratic Party, Bartunek was instrumental in excluding Louis Stokes from the list of full delegates to the 1972 presidential nominating convention on the basis of the support given by the 21st Congressional District Caucus to Republican Seth Taft in last year's elections for County commissioner. Since that time Bartunek has sought to exclude both Carl and Louis Stokes from decision-making positions in the Democratic Party as a whole.

Joseph Bartunek speaks for the Democratic Party here in Cuyahoga County. One can assume that his actions are certainly endorsed by those who actually run and control the party.

The fact that no leading member of the county Democratic machine has spoken out in defense of Stokes underscores not only the party's lack of



concern for Black representation in its leadership but also the party's conscious and consistent policy of excluding Blacks from party leadership. In every city, county and state and on every issue affecting the welfare of the Black community, the Democratic Party has acted against our interests.

Disaffection with the most blatant racist policies of the Democratic Party is reflected in the appearance of such formations as the 21st Congressional District Caucus here in Cleveland, of which you are a leader, the Black Congressional Caucus, the Southern Black Caucus and the Southern Election Fund. All these groupings are either all-Black or predominantly Black and are responding to the growing demand among Blacks for more political representation in the nation's legislative bodies and for solutions to the problems confronting the Black community.

I support this struggle for increased Black representation and political power. However, I disagree with the perspective of these Black caucuses that representation and political power that will serve the needs of Black people can be won within the framework of the Democratic Party.

Black communities across the country are suffering from the most severe economic crisis ever. Unemployment rates are as high as 25 percent for adult males and 50 percent for Black youth in major industrial centers in the nation. Unemployment for the population as a whole during the worst year of the Great Depression was never higher than 24.5 percent! Budgets for the construction of housing, schools and hospitals and for relief to the thousands of unemployed Black workers have been cut drastically by the Nixon administration with the backing of the Democratic majority in Congress.

The same Democrats in Congress and the Senate who rush to pass in-

creased appropriations for the war in Southeast Asia and to subsidize such giant corporations as Lockheed Aircraft and Pennsylvania Railroad have continuously turned a deaf ear to the crying needs of our communities.

When Nixon introduced his so-called plan to control inflation—the wage freeze—Democratic Party politicians from the local and state legislatures to the Congress and Senate rushed to endorse the move. These supporters of Nixon were not just the run-of-the-mill racists and hawks but included such dubious friends of labor and Black people as Hubert Humphrey, Edward Kennedy, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie.

In freezing the wages of working people in this country, Nixon also froze the already rock-bottom standard of living of the Black community. While prices continue to rise, those of us fortunate enough to be employed will witness our buying power steadily decreased with no recourse for increasing our wages; those of us who must live on a fixed income will be hit even harder.

The Democratic Party endorses Nixon's wage freeze just as they endorse the denial to Black people of our basic constitutional rights. Angela Davis, Ahmed Evans, George Jackson, the Black Panthers and recently over 30 Black inmates at Attica Prison in New York are victims of justice—Democrat and Republican style—as practiced daily in this country.

The Democratic Party stands in opposition to the struggles going on in our community for control of the institutions that affect our lives. For Black politicians to remain members of the Democratic Party or to entertain the thought of reforming that party, especially at this time, is a grave error of judgment.

At the Sept. 25 candidates' meeting



sponsored by the Southeast Community Forum in Cleveland, you took the floor after I had spoken and expressed agreement with my assessment of the Democratic Party as a racist party owned and controlled by big business. You indicated at that time that the racism of the Democratic Party was one of the key reasons for your seeking office as an independent candidate rather than as a candidate of the Democratic Party. Yet you admitted later in your presentation that you still consider yourself a Democrat.

Stokes' record

The career of Carl Stokes, who supports your candidacy, as Democratic mayor of Cleveland for the past four years is proof of the futility of trying to gain political representation and power for Black people by participating in the Democratic Party. His career is proof of the sacrifices of principles one must make in order to be both a political leader and a Democrat at the same time.

After failing to win the office of mayor in the 1965 elections, when he ran as an independent like yourself, Stokes won in the 1967 elections as the Democratic candidate with the support of President Lyndon Johnson and Cleveland big business.

In 1965 Stokes called for an end to the war in Southeast Asia, then barely underway, and for a value-added tax on corporate profits (undoubtedly to the disgruntlement of Cleveland businessmen). These two planks in his program were scrapped in 1967—compromised in return for support from Johnson and the monied interests in Cleveland. This initial compromise in order to gain the support of the Democrats led to other compromises not only in the verbal and written program of the Stokes administration but also in his administration's policies and practices.

The first act of Mayor Stokes upon assuming office was not to tax corporations in order to help pay for the needed improvements in Cleveland's schools and other social services but to increase taxes on the payrolls of working people and use the added revenue to hire more cops to patrol and terrorize the Black neighborhoods in the city.

In 1968, Stokes compromised again when he ordered the police into the Hough area during the rebellion in protest of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. When Ahmed Evans, who faces the death penalty, was framed up on murder charges stemming from the Glenville police raid, Stokes declared that Evans received, in his opinion, a "fair trial," despite the report of the Eisenhower Commission, which clearly reveals there was no evidence whatsoever to substantiate Evans' guilt.

During the Teamsters strike in April 1970, Stokes added his name to a list of Ohio mayors who called for the use of the National Guard to break the strike and maintain so-called "law and order." After the Attica massacre last month, Stokes also issued a statement absolving the Rockefeller administration of blame.

Most recently, Stokes, who has endorsed your campaign, threw his weight behind James Carney in the Sept. 28 Democratic primary. Carney, a wealthy white real estate shark and a key figure in the county Democratic machine, won the nomination. Stokes thus helped put this Democratic Party hack, who's not even a resident of Cleveland, on the ballot against you in the Nov. 2 elections.

Stokes has compromised so much that there ceases to be any real difference between his policies and practices as a Black Democratic mayor and those that would be carried out by any dyed-in-the-wool anti-Black, anti-labor Dixiecrat mayor.

He has been forced to defend the interests of the Democratic Party and big business against the real interests of the Black community and working people. This is the price that's exacted from every Democrat who holds office—whether he or she holds office in the name of the party or not.

Neither Stokes' compromises nor the formation of the 21st Congressional District Caucus have been able to get more representation or political power for Blacks within the Democratic Party here in Cuyahoga County. Though he bent over backwards and compromised in order to prove himself "responsible" to leading Democrats—the Democratic county machine, led by Bartunek and Garofoli, attacked him every time he even leaned in the direction of reforms that would benefit the Black community.

Black vice-president?

The same situation that prevails here in Cleveland within the Democratic Party is characteristic of the party throughout the state and the country. At the 1968 Democratic Party convention, only three percent of Ohio's delegates were Black, even though the mayor of the state's largest city was Black. And the figure for Ohio is around the average for the nation.

In recent meetings to discuss strategy for the 1972 elections, leading Black Democrats, including such figures as Julian Bond of Georgia, Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, N.Y., John Conyers of Detroit and leaders of the 21st Congressional District Caucus, the idea is being raised of running a Black favorite son or daughter for president in select primaries.

By this maneuver inside the Democratic Party these leaders believe that they will be able to have more influence on the 1972 convention's choice of a presidential candidate and perhaps even nominate a Black vice-presidential candidate.

This whole scheme is totally out of touch with reality. The systems by which delegates will be chosen to the convention has not changed one bit (witness Bartunek's maneuvers here in Ohio). Though a few more Black faces will undoubtedly appear at this convention, the Black community will exercise no control over the decisions made at the convention. Even the front runner for the nomination, Muskie, has arrogantly announced in advance that he doesn't want a Black on his ticket.

The party on a national scale remains under Wall Street's control. Like the local Democratic machine in Cleveland, the national Democratic Party will only go so far in accommodating to the demands of Black people. When our struggles for decent housing, better education, and control over our communities threaten profits or the sanctity of private property, the Democratic Party stands on the side of big business against us.

Black party

At a time when the urgency of the crisis facing Black people demands immediate action and a break from the politics of our oppressors, it is a serious mistake for you and the 21st Congressional District Caucus to maintain ties with the Democratic Party, not to mention the Republicans. The 21st Congressional District Caucus and you could make an important contribution both to the discussion of a Black party and to the actual formation of such a party by striking out on an independent course, breaking all ties with the Democrats and Republicans.

It could establish right here in Cleveland a beachhead for Black political power and representation across the country. Had there been such a party in existence a few months ago, the murderers of Mose Wendell Mitchell would not be going free today.

Such a party would have mobilized the whole Cleveland and East Cleveland Black communities in massive protests to demand that the cops who murdered Mitchell be brought to trial. Such a party would have made sure that the trial brought back the only correct verdict—guilty of murder in the first degree. And such a party would have launched a massive campaign to place the police of Cleveland and East Cleveland under the control of the Black communities in those two cities.

The 21st Congressional District Caucus, like no other Black organization in the city, has a broad base of supporters who are looking for an independent course of political action, and has facilities and staff to give the politics of the Cleveland Black community such a direction. Rather than limiting itself to legislative and electoral work within the framework of the two-party system, the 21st Congressional District Caucus could take the lead in mobilizing the Black community of Cleveland in struggles for control over the schools in our community, for an end to the racist harassment of our youth in the Collinwood and Murray Hill districts, for an end to the cutbacks in construction, health, welfare and other social services, for job training for our youth and jobs upon completion of that training, for an end to the war in Southeast Asia, for the right of Black women to abortions, and for an end to Nixon's wage freeze that means increased poverty and deprivation for us.

The 21st Congressional District Caucus, if it struck out on its own and broke with the Democrats, could run its own candidates for office as a full-fledged party rather than as a pressure group. And as a party it would have control over those candidates and their actions during the election campaign and upon taking office.

In Cleveland, where Black people are 38 percent of the population, such a party would mean the end of the Democratic Party's stranglehold over Cuyahoga County. Without our votes in the bag, they would not be able to win a single election and the careers of the Garofolis, Bartunek, and Carney's would be near a much deserved end.

We, as a united community, would be able to deal from a position of

Continued on page 22

Cleveland Socialist Workers Campaign Banquet

Hear Linda Jenness
SWP CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

John Hawkins
SWP CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF CLEVELAND

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 6 P.M.
CRAWFORD HALL, 10900 EUCLID AVE., CWRU

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 4420 Superior Ave., 391-3039.

Raza Unida builds strong campaign in L.A.

By OLGA RODRIGUEZ

LOS ANGELES—The Raza Unida Party (LRUP) organized in Los Angeles earlier this year is running an energetic campaign for the 48th California State Assembly District seat in a special election Oct. 19. The Raza Unida Party candidate is 29-year-old Raul Ruiz, editor of the well-known Chicano movement magazine *La Raza* and a professor of Chicano studies at San Fernando Valley State College.

Ruiz became widely known throughout the Los Angeles area last year when he testified as a chief witness during the Rubén Salazar inquest. Ruiz presented a series of photographs he had taken in front of the Silver Dollar Cafe, proving conclusively that Chicano newspaperman Rubén Salazar had been murdered by L.A. deputy sheriffs. Ruiz' testimony was instrumental in exposing the whitewash hearings, which concluded only that Salazar had "died at the hands of another."



Photo from *La Raza*

Raul Ruiz places Mexican flag over body of Gustav Montag, murdered by L.A. deputy sheriffs Jan. 31.

Also running in the primary are seven Democrats—three of whom are Mexican-American—one Republican, and one Peace and Freedom Party candidate. One of the Democrats, Richard Alletore, unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade the LRUP from running. If Ruiz is able to win more votes in the Oct. 19 primary than the PFP candidate, he will be on the ballot for a likely run-off Nov. 16.

In a telephone interview, Ruiz commented on the purpose of his campaign. "We want to bring the concept of La Raza Unida Party to more people. The campaign will be a vehicle for building the Raza Unida Party in California. . . . We cannot allow the Democratic Party to abuse our community any longer. The Democratic Party has not done anything for the people. They simply swamp our communities with money for their elections and then leave

"As far as we are concerned," Ruiz continued, "the Democratic Party is totally irrelevant to the Chicano community. They have proven themselves to be unresponsive to the people's needs, especially to Chicanos' needs. We are presenting to the community a clear alternative to the Democratic Party. Our source of power will be the people . . . We don't intend to be elected by an ignorant electorate. We want to educate the community about La Raza Unida Party and about the nature of the Democratic Party."

The Raza Unida Party here is involved in a registration drive in addition to the 48th Assembly District campaign. Ruiz estimates that they have already reached the half-way point in getting the necessary 67,000 LRUP registrations to put the party on the ballot statewide for 1972. Registrations have been collected in Northern California as well, but the most intensive work has been carried out in the Los Angeles area, where

approximately one million Chicanos live. According to an article in the Aug. 30 *Los Angeles Times*, "Spanish-speaking deputy voter registrars are becoming commonplace at shopping centers and churches as well as militant demonstrations."

One of the Raza Unida Party's planks is concerned with the question of representation. A campaign flyer being distributed to voters as part of the registration drive states that according to the size of the Chicano population in California, La Raza should have at least 12 representatives in the State Assembly and six state senators. At the present time, out of a total of 140 legislators there are only two Mexican-Americans:

Locally, there are no Chicanos on the 15-member Los Angeles City Council, and no Chicanos among the five district supervisors. Point two on a basic platform leaflet used by Ruiz in his campaign calls for "An end to the use and abuse of the Chicano vote by the Democratic and Republican parties."

"A) 1951—the Republican Party gerrymandered the barrios.

"B) 1961—the Democratic Party repeated this partitioning of our barrios."

According to Ruiz, the Democratic reapportionment plan would give La Raza only one state senator.

The capitalist power structure in Los Angeles, which is in the hands of the Democratic Party, is not too happy about Chicanos organizing an independent political party. Not long ago, Ruiz and two campaign workers were arrested by Los Angeles police for putting up campaign posters.

"I was pasting up one of my campaign posters on a garbage can on Sunset Boulevard when four squad cars drove up. The policemen told us we were under arrest for 'intent to destroy property.'"

Ruiz argued with police that he was a candidate and that he had never heard of any other candidate stopped for posting. But they were forced to clean the garbage can, taking off the poster and all the glue. They were then handcuffed and taken to police headquarters. Their trial is scheduled for Oct. 12.

The Los Angeles Socialist Worker Party urges voters in the 48th Assembly District to vote for Raul Ruiz, candidate of the Raza Unida Party.

There has been an enthusiastic response to Ruiz' campaign in the various barrios encompassed by the 48th Assembly District, which is about 50 percent Chicano. (Only 30 percent of the registered voters are Raza.)

Typical of the response the Raza Unida campaign has been getting was that reported in the Aug. 30 *Los Angeles Times*:

" . . . a college student carefully approached a husky, middle-aged construction worker.

"'Señor,' he asked in Spanish, 'Have you heard about La Raza Unida?'

"And he proceeded to explain briefly the new Mexican-American political party. The older man gazed at him impassively. When the young man was through, he handed the man a leaflet.

"The man's voice fairly rumbled 'Era tiempo,' he said. ('It's about time.')

The Raza Unida Party is in need of funds to continue getting its message out and particularly to defend Ruiz and the two campaign workers Dolores Hernández and John Orona who were arrested with him.

Donations may be sent to Raul Ruiz Campaign Fund, 3573 City Terrace Los Angeles, Calif. 90063.

¡La Raza en Acción!



LA RAZA WINS LANDMARK VICTORY—A federal judge ordered Oct. 1 that a racist grower, Joseph W. Hassle of Keeler, Mich., pay \$4,500 in damages "for interfering with visits to a family in one of his migrant labor camps," according to the Oct. 3 *New York Times*.

The ruling handed down by U.S. District Judge Noel P. Fox, the first in a Federal court to "establish a constitutional right of access to migrant camps, and . . . to award damages under civil rights legislation," stated: "Property ownership does not vest the owner with dominion over the lives of people living on his property."

"The migrants who travel across the country to work in the grower's property are clothed with their full bundle of rights as citizens and human beings. They may not be held in servitude or peonage, and they are not serfs."

The ruling specifically included union organizers, who have been previously barred from labor camps. This decision could facilitate the organizing of farm workers throughout the country. In addition, it will make possible the bringing of vital information into migrant camps regarding such things as food stamps, free legal aid, day-care centers that permit mothers to work, and schools.

The decision stemmed from a case involving a migrant family in one of grower Hassle's camps. The Gutierrez family found too little work and were not able to buy enough food to eat. They attempted to get food stamps but Hassle refused to sign the necessary papers stating that they worked for him. Their children became ill.

It was under these circumstances that Donald Folgueras and Violadelle Valdez of United Migrants for Opportunity, Inc., went to the Gutierrez cabin to offer emergency food and a ride to a health clinic for the children. They testified later that Hassle called Folgueras a "long-haired do-gooder," and proceeded to beat him, knocking him down and then kicking him while he groped for his glasses. Holding a shotgun over Folgueras, Hassle summoned two deputy sheriffs, who jailed Folgueras on the charge of criminal trespass.

He was later acquitted, but unlike previous victims of similar attacks, Folgueras and the Gutierrez family decided to sue the grower not only for damages—which had never been won previously—but also to raise the constitutionality of the grower's actions. They succeeded on both counts.

Among other complaints against Hassle were the following: Beating John Bowers of United Migrants for Opportunity and then smashing all the windows in his car with a lead pipe; holding a knife to the throat of a local school district employee and threatening another with a shotgun for attempting to

inform migrants about a summer school program for their children; and threatening two nuns with arrest if they attempted to convey a message to one Chicano family as to the health of the mother and son, who were hospitalized.

Hassle, who in reality is not much different from most growers, argued that "do-gooders should leave the migrant people alone; they are happy the way they are."

EAST SAN JOSE RAZA PROTESTS POLICE MURDER—On Oct. 4, over 700 people filled the San José City Council chambers, overflowing into the hallway and cafeteria. This, the second such turnout in two weeks, was in response to the murder of John Henry Smith, a Black IBM research chemist, by San José police. This brought the police murder toll to two Blacks and three Chicanos this year.

The Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens and the Community Alert Patrol demanded: 1) that Police Chief Robert Murphy be fired; 2) that the three officers involved be suspended; and 3) that a community board of inquiry look into the present case.

Angie Martinez demanded that the City Council "let the people control the police." When the council refused to take any action, a member of the audience, which included Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans and Anglos, rose and declared, "The people will come back every Monday until you act, and the people will be your judges."

¡RAZA SI, GUERRA NO!—*Raza Contra La Guerra* has been formed in Northern California to organize a Raza contingent in the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration scheduled to be held in San Francisco, as well as other activities during Peace Action Week, Oct. 25—Nov. 6.

A Chicano Task Force has also been organized in Denver for the march to be held there Nov. 6. Among the Raza endorsers for the Nov. 6 antiwar actions are Carmen Alegria, La Raza Unida Party, Northern California; Representative Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.); Rafael Baerga, Chairman, MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia—Puerto Rican Independence Movement); Elma Barrera, organizer, National Chicana Conference; Rev. Richard Fernández, Clergy and Laymen Concerned; Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Denver Crusade for Justice; José Angel Gutierrez, founder, La Raza Unida Party, Crystal City, Texas; and Jesús A. Santiago, SEEK Program, Queens College, New York City. For further information, contact: *Raza Contra La Guerra*, 50 Oak St., Suite 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102 or Chicano Task Force, 831 14th St., Room 400, Denver, Colo. 80204.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO

General strikes shake Argentine regime

From Intercontinental Press

The Lanusse government was rocked on September 28 and 29 by twenty-four-hour strikes involving nearly all of Argentina's 5,500,000 workers.

On September 28, more than 300,000 teachers shut down the bulk of Argentina's public elementary and secondary schools, as well as a sector of the private schools, after contract negotiations with the Ministry of Education became stalemated. A second, forty-eight-hour walkout was scheduled for October 6 and 7 unless the teachers' demands for educational reform and salary increases were met, according to an Associated Press report in the September 29 New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario*.

On September 29, nearly all of the country's industry and commerce was paralyzed by a general strike called by the Confederación General del Trabajo [CGT—General Confederation of Labor] to demand wage increases and the freeing of all political and trade-union prisoners, and to protest the government's inadequate economic measures against inflation.

The government labeled the strike "illegal" on September 28, twelve days after it had been called by CGT General Secretary José Rucci, who is a leader of the Peronist movement's "moderate" wing.

Labor Minister Rubens San Sebastián had previously (in a September 24 statement) attacked the strike for having "political" aims. When the CGT stoppage went off as scheduled, with 90 percent of all workers taking part, the Lanusse regime immediately announced reprisals against the labor federation. These consisted chiefly of confiscation of funds held by the CGT and individual unions.

Although the government ordered massive concentrations of police and troops onto the streets of Buenos Aires and other industrial centers on September 29, there were only "sporadic" incidents of violence, according to a United Press International dispatch published in the September 30 *El Diario*. In one instance, UPI reported, "Four passenger buses, which were operating despite the participation of transport workers in the strike, were burned."

New Zealand socialist seeks office

From Intercontinental Press

The Socialist Action League has announced the candidacy of Mike Goodger for mayor of Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, in elections to be held this month. Goodger, a 22-year-old antiwar and socialist activist, is secretary of the Auckland Mobilization Committee, the broadly based coalition which organized the huge Auckland demonstrations in the New

Zealand antiwar mobilizations April 30 and July 30 of this year. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 24, p. 467; September 6, p. 744.)

The announcement of the socialist campaign gained national radio coverage, as well as coverage by local press and television.

Goodger's entry into the mayoralty race was prompted by the failure of the Labour party to put up its own candidate. Despite running for all other council positions, Labour is supporting the incumbent mayor, Sir Dove-Myer Robinson. Robinson, a



Mike Goodger

prominent Auckland businessman, is also supported by the Citizens and Ratepayers Association, a business group.

The September 10 issue of the revolutionary-socialist biweekly, *Socialist Action*, reported:

"I think it is a great pity and a serious mistake that the Labour Party is not running a candidate," said Goodger in an initial statement launching the campaign August 27. Labour's running for Mayor 'would complete the slate (for the City Council) and provide a focus for the Labour campaign,' he said, stressing that should Labour decide to put up a candidate, he would withdraw."

The Auckland University Young Socialist Club, a group of high school and university student activists, is supporting the campaign. With their help more than 15,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters will be distributed during the election campaign.

U.S.S.R. confines dissidents in mental hospitals

From Intercontinental Press

The internment of Soviet dissidents in psychiatric institutions has increased markedly over the past two years; the Ninth World Congress of Amnesty International was told September 26.

According to the September 27 *Los Angeles Times*, "Peter Reddaway, lecturer in political science at the London School of Economics, told a conference working group on Eastern Europe that the number of known detainees was now nearly 40, while the true figure was probably nearer 200. This compared with only one or two such cases known in 1969.

"Most of these people have been arrested for political offenses like distributing political pamphlets or organizing protests against political trials, and all the evidence we have suggests that they are not ill," he said."

The article continued: "Reddaway said dissenters feared internment in a psychiatric hospital much more than being sent to a labor camp, since inmates were put among genuinely deranged and sometimes violent pa-

tients, and often subjected to forced injections."

The most recent case of a dissident being interned reported in the Western press is that of Annasoltan Kekilova, a young woman poet from the Turkmen Republic in Central Soviet Asia. Theodore Shabad, in a September 27 Moscow dispatch to the *New York Times*, cited reports that the poet was forcibly taken by ambulance from her home in a suburb of the Turkmen capital of Ashkabad on August 26.

The internment became known after a petition from her mother to the Communist party's Central Committee in Moscow, vouching for her daughter's sanity, was made available to Western reporters.

In her petition, the mother said that Kekilova, "unable to reconcile herself to the shortcomings in our republic, criticized them directly and openly in a letter to the Central Committee and in a second letter to the party's 24th Congress," which met in April.

Following these protests to the Moscow bureaucrats, the poet began to be persecuted by local party officials: "She was forced to quit her job," the mother wrote, "even though she had me, her old mother, and a young child as her dependents. She then devoted herself entirely to her poetry. But another blow struck. The Turkmen Central Committee's propaganda department ordered her latest collection of verse removed from the printer."

It was at this point, having been hounded out of her job and prevented from earning anything from her poems, that Kekilova applied for permission to leave the Soviet Union. This was considered proof of insanity by the authorities, who then dispatched an ambulance to take her to Ashkabad's psychiatric hospital.

CPUSA slanders Ceylon's rebel youth

By TONY THOMAS

In the Sept. 23 issue of the Communist Party's *Daily World*, a column entitled "U.S. at Midweek" by Conrad Komorowski includes an attack and slander against the young revolutionists who have been struggling against the Ceylonese popular-front government.

The attack appears as part of an attack on Maoist China's alleged "deviations." Since China's policy of peaceful coexistence differs only in style and rhetoric from that of the Soviet bureaucracy to which the American CP is unflaggingly loyal, Komorowski's column is inconsistent, to say the least.

For instance, he attacks China for supporting Yahya Khan's Pakistani government, not from the standpoint that it is wrong to support any capitalist government, but because that government is allied against the Indian capitalist regime with which the Soviet Union is allied. During the border war between China and India in 1962, the Soviet Union went so far as to provide fighters and other arms for the Indian war against the Chinese workers state. Thus Komorowski's criticisms are hypocritical when he later claims that China, unlike the Soviet Union, has abandoned "fidelity to proletarian internationalism."

In relation to Ceylon, Komorowski distorts the facts. He states the following as one of China's crimes: "In Ceylon, the Left and the government

have charged that the April disturbances were carried out by 'Left' Trotskyites who were encouraged by agents of the Maoists and whose views were modeled on Maoist dogma."

The CP's attempt to attack the youthful revolutionists who have been subjected to a brutal government repression since late March 1971 and who have responded with armed struggle shows how far away from revolutionary internationalism it is.

Komorowski might also add that the "Left" he speaks of, the Ceylonese Communist Party, is also in the Ceylonese capitalist government. In that capacity, along with the reformist ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Prime Minister Bandaranaike, the Ceylonese CP has participated in the banning of all civil liberties, including the right to strike; the detention and imprisonment of thousands of workers, peasants and youth, and the arrest and murder of tens of thousands of youth.

The JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna — People's Liberation Front), rather than being a group of Maoists as Komorowski claims, was founded by youth who broke with the Maoist's reformist politics. Its leader, Rohan Wijeweera, broke with Ceylon's pro-Maoist party in 1966.

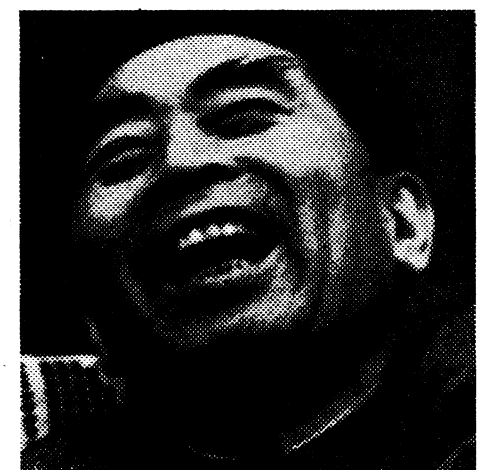
Rather than Maoist, the JVP calls itself Castroist or Guevarist. It includes many ex-members of the youth of the LSSP and the Ceylonese CP. Though it supported Bandaranaike's "United Front" slate in the May 1970 elections, the JVP met violent repression when it began to demand that the government implement the "socialist" program espoused during the elections instead of defending Ceylonese capitalist and imperialist interests.

While the JVP is not known to call itself Trotskyist, the Ceylonese Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) (LSSP-R) have wholeheartedly called for its defense against the repression, and before the uprising carried out united-front actions with the JVP on many issues.

Komorowski's claim that the JVP is Maoist falls flat on its face when viewed in light of the Maoist regime's real attitude toward the Ceylonese events. The Chinese Maoists support the Bandaranaike government despite the fact that leaders of the Ceylonese Maoist party (who also did not support the JVP uprising) were arrested as soon as the repression started.

On May 27, in the midst of the slaughter, China granted a \$30-million interest-free loan to help the Ceylonese capitalists finance the repression.

Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai sent a letter to Bandaranaike shortly after, which was published in the June 3 *Ceylon News*. It said in part: "We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control."



Chou En-lai was glad to hear China's \$30-million helped "bring the chaotic situation under control" in Ceylon.

The Real Ruchell Magee

The author, a Los Angeles teacher, is an active supporter of the Ruchell Magee Defense Committee.

By JEFF COOPER

On Aug. 7, 1970, three Black San Quentin prisoners attempted to escape to freedom from the Marin County Courthouse. Four people died in the action that followed. Two of them—William Christmas and James McClain—were prisoners. The third was Jonathan Jackson, 17-year-old brother of recently slain George Jackson. The fourth to die was Judge Harold Haley, who was held as hostage in the escape attempt.

The surviving prisoner involved was Ruchell Magee.

Now Magee faces trial, along with Angela Davis who is charged with "complicity" in the escape attempt.

Since the case began, the capitalist press and even much of the left media have kept the spotlight on Angela Davis while Magee has received almost no publicity.

Furthermore, there is a sharp contrast between the image the media projects of Angela and that of Ruchell.

We see Angela pictured as the educated, cultured, beautiful Black woman who believes in communism.

Ruchell is pictured as an illiterate, ill-mannered, hardened criminal—an unmerciful killer.

Little mention is made of the fact that Ruchell spent the past eight years teaching himself state and federal law, and that he has used this knowledge to help other prisoners.

As Pat Gallyot of the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter* notes: "In truth Ruchell Magee represents the average Black man who has been the victim of one racist assault after another upon his person, his manhood, his legal and human rights. Ruchell is a symbol of revolt against a decadent society that systematically incarcerates poor, oppressed, non-white peoples in the 'slave camps' of America."

Ruchell Magee was born and grew up in Louisiana. He is now 32 and has been in prison for almost all of the past 16 years.

At 16, he allegedly raped a white woman and was convicted and sent to prison. He was released in 1962 and came to Los Angeles.

Seven months later, March 22, 1963, Magee and his cousin, Leroy Stewart, bought some marijuana from a Mr. Ben Brown. The latter then agreed to drive the two and a woman friend to a place nearby.

A scuffle ensued between Magee and Brown. Brown summoned police and had Magee and Stewart arrested for allegedly robbing him of \$10 and for "kidnapping" him. Magee, who denied the charges, was beaten so severely by the arresting officers that he spent the next five days in the Los Angeles County General Hospital.

What followed was a mockery of justice: a closed-door preliminary hearing; perjured testimony; a tortured confession; suppression of evidence and testimony favorable to the defendants; a racist, court-appointed public defender who told the jury Stewart and Magee pled guilty to the charges.

Ruchell, who flatly denied guilt, tried vainly to defend himself. The jury found him and his cousin guilty and sentenced them to life for kidnapping.

Magee has been fighting this fraudulent conviction for the past eight years and charges the state and the court with conspiracy to "enslave and murder" him. When first convicted, he immediately filed a notice of appeal, which was denied. He continually sought copies of his trial records but was denied access to them. In prison, he was beaten by officials, his mail was stopped and, for periods, he was held incommunicado.

In 1965, the court ordered a second trial and appointed another racist attorney to represent him. When Magee tried to make himself heard, he was beaten by bailiffs in the presence of the judge and courtroom spectators.

His "defense" attorney entered a plea of "guilty." Ruchell strenuously objected and told the jurors it was a "kangaroo court." The judge then ordered him bound and gagged. He was again found guilty and again sentenced to life imprisonment.

Now Magee is on trial for murder, kidnapping and conspiracy. As a previously convicted felon, if convicted on these new charges he faces a mandatory death sentence.

The prosecution says Magee murdered the hostage, Judge Haley. But who are the real murderers at Marin? The district attorney admits the first shots were fired into the escaping van by San Quentin guards. Is there any evidence that the escapees even fired back? If Judge Haley's body is exhumed, as the defense is seeking, will it show—as Magee maintains—that he was also the victim of a system that has absolutely no regard for human life? The Marin massacre is one more ex-

ample of how the ruling class, structurally and of necessity, used its news media to transfer the blame for initiating violence onto the victims.

The actions and thinking of Ruchell Magee are extremely important for the Black liberation movement. Over the past eight years, Magee has, on his own, researched, prepared and filed more than 1,000 valid writs and petitions on his own behalf and on the behalf of other prisoners. Many times he has won.

Conducts own defense

In the present court action—the so-called Marin conspiracy—he has been successfully defending himself. He has gotten six judges disqualified, won a temporary suspension of pretrial hearings and has exposed the racism and blatant violations of federal law on the part of state and federal judges who have persistently denied him his constitutional right to file documents and defend himself.

Magee has challenged the legal system on its own terms and succeeded. He has done more for himself than any court-appointed or fee-motivated lawyer could or would do for him.

Magee's actions show that a person without formal training is capable of learning the law and applying it successfully in court.

And what he has accomplished exposes the racist absurdity of testimony by prison officials that he is "illiterate" and/or a "moron."

Magee's actions have also brought out how the judicial process systematically discriminates against the poor, and especially against people of color. How then does this reflect on the American judicial system? Ruchell has made it clear that there is no equality before the law in America.

He is using his case to dramatize the conspiracy between the courts and prison system to silence the convicts who appeal to the law to protect their constitutional rights and who—when they can't get any redress of their grievances that way—are driven to acts of desperation, as for example, the Marin County Courthouse rebellion.

Magee is also important because his actions will have far-reaching effects for prisoners. He is raising legal and *political* issues. These include:

Does this judicial system, which discriminates against and sanctifies violence against the oppressed classes, have the right to try Ruchell, or any oppressed person?

Does Ruchell, or any prisoner who is illegally and fraudulently convicted and imprisoned, have the right to attempt to escape? If he does, the authorities would have no right to try him for his escape attempt at Marin.

Does a slave (Magee considers himself and other nonwhite prisoners as slaves) have the right to rise up and rebel? And, in responding to the cold-blooded murderers who seek to drown such rebellions in blood, does a slave have the right to kill? Ruchell is here fighting for a principle which, as he points out, has a precedent in U. S. history. He is referring to the important Supreme Court decision of 1841 in the Joseph Cinque case, where the court held that a slave has the right to use any means, including the taking of lives, to regain his lost freedom.

By petitioning to have his case removed to the federal courts, where he will presumably receive a fair trial, Magee is seeking to establish a de facto precedent so that other prisoners can use the same means to expose how judges, district attorneys, court-appointed lawyers, and grand juries have conspired against them in individual convictions.

Ruchell is asking: Why do prisons exist in contemporary society? He is challenging the widely accepted idea that it is in society's interest, as well as the convicts, to entrust the management of their lives to so-called professionals—psychologists, lawyers, prison administrators, etc.—none of whom have any personal stake in the prisoners' final fate, or any real comprehension of their social condition.

Ruchell is fighting to crack the public's image of convicts as a special breed of subhumans who should not be allowed to assert and defend their constitutional rights in the courts.

He is raising the issue of the inhuman treatment of prisoners and the public's tacit approval of this. It is this kind of passive attitude by society (largely the product of lack of information or media-spread misinformation) that enables prison authorities to continually commit atrocities against inmates and which enables them to murder countless prisoners without being punished. Ruchell is calling for the public to respond to these atrocities.

Finally, he believes that anyone who is serious about the oppression in this country must take a look at the people who are poor and forgotten—people like Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, the average Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and

Continued on page 22

Child-care bill is victory, but insufficient

By CAROLINE LUND

On Sept. 30 the House of Representatives approved a bill providing for a national system of day-care centers that will include health, educational and nutritional services for both preschool children and for school-age children after school. The Senate had approved a similar bill Sept. 9 authorizing expenditure of \$2.1-billion on the centers during 1972 and 1973.

The Senate bill would make the centers free to families with incomes of less than \$6,900, and open to others on an ability-to-pay basis. The House version specifies that the centers will be free only to families with incomes under \$4,320 per year. These and other differences between the Senate and House versions will now be worked out in conference.

According to the Senate bill, the centers would be run by local councils, with 51 percent of the members to be parents of children using the centers and the rest of the council to be made up of "public representatives" and "child-development specialists" to be appointed by the chief executive officer of the community.

Passage of this bill is a significant concession that testifies to the complete justice of the demand of the women's movement for free, community-controlled child-care centers, open 24 hours and available to all.

However, the limited nature of the approved system of day-care centers means that we still have a long way to go to achieve quality care for all children and freedom for women to obtain jobs and pursue careers other than caring for their children.

First of all, the \$2.1-billion authorized in the Senate bill to finance the system of day-care centers will provide quality care for only a fraction of the children in need of such care.

The following figures, cited by Rep. Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) in the Sept. 30 *Congressional Record*, indicate the token nature of the \$2.1-billion allocation. In families with incomes below \$7,000, there are 6.8 million children under five eligible to participate in the preschool day-care center program, and 11.9 million children aged six to 14 eligible for the after-school program. In families with incomes below \$4,320, there are 3.6 million eligible for the preschool program and 6.3 million for the after-school program.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates the annual cost per child of day care to be \$1,300 for part-day, preschool care and \$700 for after-school care—which Representative Reid says is too low a cost for anything but custodial care.

But even at this cost, the money authorized by the Senate for the day-care system would be sufficient to cover only 12 percent of preschool and school-age children from families with incomes under \$4,320, or only 7 percent of children from families with incomes under \$7,000.

A system of day care for all preschool children who need it is estimated to cost between \$20- and \$23-billion. As Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.)

stated during discussion of the child-care bill in the House Sept. 30, "We spend over \$20-billion a year in an illegal, immoral war this nation, but not Congress or the White House, rejects and we shudder at the thought that the cost of total coverage of all 18 million children under five in the population as a whole could come to the same figure."

Abzug voiced her criticism that the House version of the bill would limit federal support of day-care centers to cities with populations of 100,000 or more, and that the bill would allow federal money to go to profit-making organizations sponsoring day-care centers.

Discussion in Congress on this bill illustrated the changes occurring in people's thinking about the family. Even politicians like vote-watcher Hubert Humphrey speak of the "revolution" that is taking place in terms of women wanting to get jobs, and of the need for society to assume some responsibility for assuring good care for poor children.

A national system of day-care centers was one of the recommendations of the 1970 White House Conference on Youth. Other recommendations, which demonstrate further the change in thinking about the family, included: 1) legal recognition of communes, unmarried-parent-and-child families, unmarried-couple-and-child families and homosexual-couple-and-child families; 2) an increase in "child power" through establishment of institutions and programs designed to give children more control over their lives; and 3) the right of children to freedom of expression in school.

Attacking both the child-care bill and the conference recommendations, Rep. John Rarick (D-La.) warned in the House that they "would lead to chaos and confusion and would turn this country into a totally socialistic society. Promotion of child power is intended to place the child in conflict with parent, teacher, law enforcement officer and his own peers."

He is right that one characteristic of a socialist society would be that society would assure the best care for all children and would assure children the right to control their own lives. But Rarick notwithstanding, such a society would not lead to greater "chaos" and "conflict" for children, but to far less than exists in capitalist society.



Photo by Alan Mercer

Women: The Insurgent Majority

A federal court in Montgomery, Ala., ruled Sept. 29 that a woman does not have the constitutional right to get a driver's license in her maiden name if she is married. The court cited "administrative inconvenience and cost" to the state of Alabama as their justification, said the Sept. 30 *New York Times*. The woman who brought the suit was Wendy Forbush of Anniston, Ala. Offsetting this defeat, there was a victory in Rhode Island, where the attorney general ruled Oct. 3 that women have the right to tend a bar in that state if they desire. He said, according to the Oct. 3 *New York Times*, that the old state law banning women from being bartenders was invalidated by a state fair employment practices act passed this year.

A statement by Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), printed in the July 12, 1971, *Congressional Record*, notes the enormous implications of the underutilization of the creative potential of women through discrimination on the job, lack of child care so that women are confined to the home, and other factors. She cited a study by David Deitch, a financial reporter, which found that the Swedish national income would be 25 percent higher if women's labor potential were fully utilized, and that the standard of living in France would rise 35 percent if women were present in all professions to the same extent men are.

Concepts of gay liberation—and in particular, gay women's liberation—have spread to New Zealand. A column called "Women's Liberation Notes" in the New Zealand newspaper *Socialist Action* (Box 1663, Wellington, N.Z.), reported that a gay woman is running for vice-president of Auckland University student government. And not only is Ngahuia Volkerling a gay person and a woman, she is also a Maori. Maoris are Polynesians who inhabited New Zealand before the British came there, and are now severely discriminated against and oppressed as a nationality.

Ngahuia Volkerling wrote an article on lesbianism for the student newspaper in which she asks, "Why should we be invisible?" There are no laws against active lesbianism in New Zealand, only social pressure. Volkerling writes, "Queen Victoria may have graciously denied that such an unspeakable indulgence would occur between women; consequently refraining to legislate." She describes the loneliness that gay women are forced into in New Zealand because of the pressure to "be invisible."

On Oct. 6 debate began in the House of Representatives on the Equal Rights Amendment, which was earlier amended by Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-Calif.)

to continue the exemption of women from the draft and to allow any laws "which reasonably promote the health and safety of the people." The Oct. 7 *New York Times* reported that Rep. Shirley Chisholm spoke against the Wiggins amendment, saying it would permit continued discrimination against women in the name of their "health." Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) argued that most women did not want the equal rights amendment, saying, "Many women want a strong man. Is it not strange that women have had the vote for over half a century and have used it not to elect women but to elect men?" It's not strange at all, given the fact that women have been confined to household drudgery and child care, and given the fact that men like Celler have considered women inferior and would not vote for a woman even if she succeeded in escaping the usual fate of her sisters.

A 12-year-old young woman from St. Paul, Minn., has filed a complaint of sex discrimination with the Human Rights Department because she was barred from being on her school swimming team for the second year in a row. The Oct. 6 *New York Post* said Kathryn Stiebel, who attends Murray High School, was appealing on the basis of a new city ordinance banning sex discrimination in education, employment, housing and public accommodations.

The New York Board of Education is sponsoring a series of classes on "Consciousness-Raising: Women's Liberation" to be taught by members of the National Organization for Women. The course is for city school teachers, who get extra credits toward promotions by taking the course. As described in the Oct. 6 *New York Post*, the course will be "a critical evaluation of classroom practices and materials of instruction as they relate to sex-role stereotyping."

Even traditional, conservative magazines are beginning to take women's liberation seriously. In a column called "Creative Woman's World" in the October *Family Circle*, Beatrice Buckler notes that the expression "separating the men from the boys" never applies to women. Concerning "women" and "girls," she points out: "Ever notice how many men who usually refer to women of any age as 'girls' will suddenly switch to 'women' when they're referring to a group that is protesting or demanding something? A man describing 20 housewives demonstrating for a traffic light at a dangerous street crossing used by children, for example, will most likely say, 'A bunch of women want a traffic light.' When 'girls' are a force to be reckoned with, they usually turn into women, even in the words of ardent chauvinists."

— CAROLINE LUND

U.S. companies impose freeze in Canada

By FRANK LOVELL

Big U.S. corporations with tentacles extending into other countries have been quick to seize upon the wage freeze in this country as an excuse to freeze wages throughout their private empires regardless of laws and regulations beyond U.S. borders.

Examples of this occurred in Canada where Chrysler Canada Ltd. in Windsor notified supervisory and administrative employees that they would not receive a promised wage boost, and the Malton-based Douglas Aircraft of Canada Ltd. flatly refused to make a wage offer in current negotiations with union representatives of the Canadian region of the United Auto Workers.

In both instances corporation spokesmen explained that they were guided by the wage freeze imposed by the U.S. government Aug. 15.

According to a report in the Sept. 10 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, the Chrysler corporation mailed notices to its supervisory personnel in Canada that a 5-percent increase promised for Sept. 6 had been deferred because of "competitive pricing action."

In the case of the Douglas aircraft workers, "a senior official from McDonnell Douglas in the United States" informed UAW representatives

that "Douglas deals with 26 unions and is not going to make an offer to any of them, including the UAW in Canada, until the situation is clarified in the United States," the *Globe and Mail* reported.

The Canadian Douglas plant makes wings for U.S.-produced planes. Company negotiators argued that the Canadian dollar has a higher value than the U.S. dollar, that the 10 percent surcharge on U.S. imports, the additional 5.5 percent duty on aircraft parts, and high transportation charges all combine to raise the final delivery costs of Canadian-produced aircraft wings to \$1 per hour more than it costs to build the wings elsewhere.

The position of the company appeared to offer the union the choice of accepting lower wages or facing a shutdown of the Canadian facilities and mass layoffs.

If Chrysler and Douglas are able to carry out the wage policy they have initiated, the U.S. wage freeze will thus affect 1,365 Chrysler workers in Canada and 5,600 employees of Douglas there.

The supervisory employees at Chrysler who are immediately affected by the company wage-freeze policy are not members of the UAW, consequent-

ly have less protection than union members.

Herbert Kelly, UAW representative negotiating for the Douglas workers, was quoted by the Sept. 10 Toronto *Globe and Mail* as saying, "We are just not going to allow President Nixon to legislate our members out of wage increases." Kelly added, however, "We don't know what will happen in the U.S. after Nov. 13." He said, "We have to guess what's ahead. Suppose President Nixon established wage guidelines. Douglas will take the position they apply to Canada as well, on the basis of their statements."

The UAW has taken a strike vote at the Canadian Douglas plant and is waiting for the report of the Canadian conciliation officer, which was expected at the end of September or early October.

Dennis McDermott, director of the UAW Canadian district, stated at the outset of the Douglas negotiations last July that "job security" was high on the union list of demands.

The Canadian minister of external affairs, Mitchell Sharp, announced for his government, "We expect Canadian companies to obey Canadian laws, not American. If they don't," he said, "they would be breaking Canadian laws."

It is unlikely that the Canadian employing class will object strenuously to any development that will drive down wages in Canada. Like their U.S. cousins, they are anxious to take advantage of cheap labor.

The New Democratic Party of Canada, the Canadian labor party, in concert with the union movement may shortly have an opportunity to nationalize the idle Douglas facilities, as well as other U.S.-owned war plants in Canada, and convert them to peacetime production under workers control.

The UAW in Canada is deeply involved in the Ontario provincial elections, supporting NDP candidates. Dennis McDermott says the NDP has a good chance of coming to power in these elections.

The revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*, declares (Sept. 27): "An NDP triumph Oct. 21 would be a tremendous victory for the working people, the students and the farmers of Ontario—the best possible reply we could give to the arrogant attempts by the big business governments of the Liberals in Ottawa and the Tories in Toronto to make us bear the cost of capitalist crisis through layoffs, antilabor legislation and cutbacks in social services."

By Any Means Necessary

Pvt. Billy Dean Smith is in the process of being legally lynched by the U.S. Army. At present the African-American GI is going through pretrial hearings at Fort Ord, Calif., on trumped-up charges of murder, attempted murder, and assault. These charges arise out of an incident March 15, 1971, when a fragmentation grenade exploded in the officers' barracks at Bien Hoa, Vietnam, killing two lieutenants and wounding a third.

There is no evidence connecting Smith with the grenade assault. According to the Sept. 25 *Black Panther*, "The so-called evidence to prove that he threw the grenade is one grenade pin, supposedly found in his jacket pocket. It continues to be evidence, even though it was sent to a laboratory to be compared with the grenade found near the incident, and was found to be completely different."

The real reason underlying the Army's action against Smith lies in their assessment of his attitude. Officers found him to be "uppity," "incorrigible," and "unenthusiastic about the war." In fact, two of his officers who left the barracks just prior to the "fragging" thought themselves to be the intended victims. So they informed CID (Criminal Investigation Division) and had Smith arrested.

The military prosecutor is asking the death penalty in the case of the 23-year-old GI. And the jury, far from being his peers, will be made up of career officers, not draftees.

Defense attorneys Luke McKissack and Ken Cloke are preparing no ordinary case. According to the Oct. 7 *Jet* magazine, they will attempt to establish several precedents: "1) to question the legality of the Vietnam war, based on the Pentagon Papers, 2) that no GI should be charged with military crimes when the military continues to treat him like a second-class citizen, and 3) that the system of military justice is unfair and also unconstitutional."

The defense has requested that Smith be taken out of solitary confinement and released from prison on bail. They are also seeking to go to Vietnam at the military's expense in order to gather material in behalf of the defense.

Mindful of the Calley precedent, the two lawyers sent a petition to President Nixon stating, "By virtue of your powers . . . as commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, it is within your legal power to order the release of Billy Dean Smith. . . . Your action in behalf of Lt. Calley established clear precedent for similar action in this case of Private Smith. If the action . . . is not clear precedent for the release of Private Smith . . . it can only represent clear favoritism of officers over enlisted men, of whites over Blacks, of convicted murderers of Vietnamese over presumably innocent GIs accused on flimsy evidence of the murder of their officers."

GI protests reached new heights when 236 Black, Chicano, Native American, and white GIs of the 173rd Airborne Brigade signed an open letter to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird accusing the armed forces of racial discrimination. They signed it after returning from Southeast Asia to Fort Campbell on the Tennessee-Kentucky border, which is where Laird greeted them for "services rendered."

Although the base commander refused to allow the open letter to be presented, Laird was asked about it at a press conference. And with his head buried in the sand, he brazenly asserted, "We have made more progress in this area than any administration in American history." He based this assertion on information from a famed ghetto fire fighter—Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Wilkins philosophy is "Tell massa' so to make it so."

After Laird departed, the GIs staged a demonstration outside the base.

Joseph Waller, national chairman of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO), was found guilty of grand larceny in a St. Petersburg, Fla., courtroom Aug. 30. The bizarre case stretches over five years, beginning in 1966 when Waller and a group of other Blacks removed an eight-by-four-foot mural from the wall of the St. Petersburg city hall. Waller and the others, then members of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, were staging a demonstration protesting the mural, which depicted racist stereotypes of two Black men entertaining a white woman.

The mural was torn beyond repair when police subsequently scuffled with the demonstrators. Six were arrested and Waller was charged with inciting to riot, destruction of public property, disturbing the peace, resisting arrest with violence, and grand larceny.

He was tried and sentenced to a total of six months on two of the charges—destruction of public property and disturbing the peace. Then the state tried Waller a second time, in this case on the charge of grand larceny, and sentenced him to five years on the Florida chain gang.

He served 18 months before he was released on an appeal bond of \$2,500. In early 1970, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the conviction and sent the case back to the state appellate court, which in turn sent it back to the local court, charging it to determine whether double-jeopardy had occurred.

The decision of the local court was to try Waller again—this time without a jury since the court alleged that guilt or innocence was a technical matter, not a question of evidence. This trial resulted in the Aug. 30 decision.

While Waller awaits sentencing, his lawyer is appealing again on the grounds of double-jeopardy. More information can be obtained by writing: Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO), P.O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33733.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Racist mural torn from St. Petersburg city hall by Joseph Waller.

By DICK ROBERTS

Six weeks after President Nixon's Aug. 15 announcement of a "New Economic Policy" for the United States, the international monetary system is still in a state of crisis. An increase in the dollar price of gold and a fixing of new exchange rates for the major world currencies may soon bring the present impasse to an end. But these monetary readjustments can in no way resolve the fundamental contradictions of the world economy that brought about Nixon's Aug. 15 decisions.

The significance of the international monetary crisis was underlined by an editorial in the Sept. 25 *Business Week*. "Unless the great trading nations can agree on a way to rebuild the international monetary system," the influential New York magazine declared, "the situation will degenerate into an open trade war. In such a trade war, major industries would be wrecked, billions of dollars worth of investments destroyed, and the whole fabric of peaceful, profitable commercial relations built up in the past 25 years torn to shreds. . . ."

The growing contradictions between the continued expansion of world trade and an international monetary system based on the dollar have long been emphasized by revolutionary socialists. It is worthwhile to reexamine the fundamental questions.

The Marxist view

In his introduction to *Fifty Years of World Revolution*, written in February 1968, the noted Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel wrote: "The sine qua non for neocapitalism's relative stability is constant, rapid, economic expansion, making it possible to maintain both a high level of employment and a high rate of increase in productivity. In these conditions, and in these conditions only, real wages can increase regularly without threatening the rate of profit. . . ."

"The trade of the imperialist countries among themselves, their national incomes, and their industrial product underwent a sensational and unprecedented boom in countries like Japan, Italy and West Germany, and a notable rise in France, in the small Western European countries, in Canada, and in the United States. . . ."

"[Nevertheless] the real dilemma confronting neocapitalism is a choice between inflation and stagnation. The inflation in the United States is undermining the dollar's function as an international reserve currency [a currency used by governments to balance financial transactions between countries—D.R.], thereby shaking the whole money system; it threatens in the long run to provoke an extremely acute financial crisis which would have profound repercussions on international trade."

World finance is consequently torn between the necessity on one side of a continually expanding world trade and the necessity on the other side of individual capitalist nations using their currencies to "regulate" their own economies. The first—expanded world trade—requires a stable currency that can be depended on by world business to conduct its international transactions over long periods of time.

The second—state intervention in the economy—requires a flexible currency—above all, a currency which can continually inflate. The huge military expenditures of the United States government, financed to an increasing extent by budget deficits, while tending to prevent deep downturns in the U.S. economy, have produced a continuous inflation of the dollar. This inflation, greatly intensified by the Vietnam war, has seriously eroded the dollar as a stable means of payment in international finance.

Business Week's view

In the same issue that contained the editorial already cited, *Business Week* included a special 16-page supplement entitled "The deadlock over the dol-

lar." The key points were summarized as follows:

In order to overcome the present impasse in world finance, *Business Week* stated, "the trading nations of the world will have two major decisions to make:

"● They must find something other than gold and the dollar to serve as the basis of international money.

"● They must devise ways to keep international capital flows from overwhelming national economic policies.

"The first problem arises because there is not enough gold in the free world to finance the huge volume of trade that has built up in the post-war years. . . ."

"The other problem involves a fundamental conflict between two major forces at work everywhere in the free world: the trend towards internationalism and the doctrine that national governments are responsible for main-

decimated the biggest capitalist economies outside of the United States—those of Europe and Japan—opening up major postwar markets for investment and development. The rebuilding of Europe and Japan, the boom in world trade that followed, was largely financed by dollars.

Foreign banks and governments had little objection to holding dollars while the U.S. maintained its big gold reserves and while the U.S. economy itself was expanding at a rapid rate. The Bretton Woods system facilitated the long postwar capitalist expansion and the global spread of U.S. investment and military might that accompanied this expansion. Dollars flooded world markets.

But over the past 15 years, inflation of the dollar and the growing economic strength of Western Europe and Japan relative to the U.S. undermined the monetary system established at

THE ROOTS OF THE WORLD MONETARY CRISIS



taining a rapid pace of expansion in production and employment."

But the very problems *Business Week* pinpoints are insurmountable within the framework of capitalism. Neither gold nor the dollar can be sufficiently displaced from international finance to stabilize it over a long period. And the contradiction between the international expansion of capital and the underlying restrictions of the nation state—the very essence of Lenin's theory of imperialism—cannot disappear. The whole process of trade and financial "negotiation" Nixon opened with his Aug. 15 declaration has seen a stronger, not weaker, emphasis on the narrow national interests of each competing capitalist power.

End of Bretton Woods

According to the agreements, mainly dictated by the United States, at Bretton Woods, N.H., in 1944, the dollar alone would be redeemable in gold and all other currencies would be "pegged" to the dollar at fixed exchange rates. The dollar, being "as good as gold," could then serve as a reserve currency, supplementing gold as a means of balancing international transactions.

This system accorded well with the needs of U.S. imperialism 27 years ago. At the time of the Bretton Woods conference, most of the world's gold reserves, more than \$20-billion worth, were piled up in the United States. At the same time, World War II had

Bretton Woods. In the late fifties, gold began to flow out of the U.S., bringing U.S. holdings down from \$22.9-billion in 1957 to \$17.8-billion in 1960 and \$13.8-billion in 1965. Since 1960, the potential claims on gold by foreign holders of dollars has exceeded the shrinking U.S. gold supply by an ever increasing amount.

The immense outlays for the Vietnam war—already well over \$150-billion—brought this whole process to a critical point this past spring. [See *The Militant*, May 21.] The massive international flight from the dollar that ensued finally forced adoption by the U.S. government of the drastic measures announced by Nixon Aug. 15.

The old monetary system is dead. Nixon put the finishing touches on it when he announced that Washington would no longer exchange gold for the dollars held by foreign central banks. By suspending the convertibility of dollars for gold, Nixon placed a giant question mark over the value of the dollar. This greatly accelerated the dumping of dollars as multinational corporations and currency speculators traded them for the strongest foreign currencies, particularly the mark and the yen.

In fact, this dumping of dollars threatened to become so massive—over \$4-billion worth in Tokyo in a matter of a few days—that foreign central banks were forced to "unpeg" their currencies. Now the dollar is "floating" in world money markets,

meaning that the exchange rates between currencies are no longer fixed but are fluctuating in accordance with supply and demand.

It is a far cry from Bretton Woods! With currencies changing in value from day to day, many traders are holding off on signing import and export contracts and this has drastically slowed world trade. Trade between the U.S. and Japan has fallen off by 90 percent, according to the Sept. 25 *Business Week*. Although this decline is no doubt temporary, it helps to explain why many industry spokesmen, on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, have stressed the urgency of an early agreement on new exchange rates.

Three 'sticking points'

There are three main "sticking points" in the present series of negotiations between world bankers over the future of the international monetary system: the dollar price of gold; the new exchange rates between the dollar and other currencies; and the 10-percent import surcharge Nixon imposed Aug. 15.

From an initial position of disarray six weeks ago, the central bankers abroad have come to agreement on one point: the necessity of Nixon's raising the dollar price of gold before new exchange rates can be fixed.

The issue is fundamentally one of the role of the dollar versus that of gold in world finance. A rise in the dollar price of gold will automatically increase the proportion of world monetary reserves accounted for by gold in relation to the dollar. Foreign insistence on this move illustrates how fanciful are notions that the world monetary system can get away from gold, which now accounts for roughly 35 percent of world reserves.

Washington hypocritically argues that raising the gold price will "restore" gold to prominence, when central bankers should be thinking of how to get away from the "regime of gold." But Nixon announced his world economic offensive precisely when U.S. gold holdings threatened to fall below the \$10-billion level.

Nixon unilaterally imposed the 10-percent surcharge on imports for two reasons. First, by making foreign goods more expensive, it will slow the growth of imports into the U.S., thus providing short-term relief for the dollar. Second, it represents bargaining leverage for the U.S. in getting countries like Germany and Japan to revalue their currencies sufficiently to eliminate the net outflow of dollars. (The higher the upward revaluation of other nation's currencies vis-à-vis the dollar, the more expensive foreign imports will be in the U.S. market and the cheaper U.S. products will be in foreign markets.)

The U.S. has made its position clear: If the mark and yen are not revalued to a level deemed desirable by Washington, the surcharge stays on. But the governments of Japan and Germany as well as other countries have placed a ceiling on the revaluation of their currencies by imposing controls on capital movements and by buying up huge quantities of dollars, thereby strengthening their own bargaining positions. Their demand has also been made clear: The mark and yen will not be unilaterally revalued until the U.S. drops the import surcharge. The result: impasse.

These moves hardly indicate a spirit of friendly cooperation among "free world" countries in solving the monetary crisis. On the contrary, they reveal the intensified competition in world trade that lies behind the crisis.

In London, Sept. 15, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally reportedly shocked the assembled bankers of the Group of Ten (major imperialist powers) when he informed them that Washington wanted their cooperation in reversing the U.S. balance of payments by a sum of \$13-billion—bringing the expected \$11-billion deficit for 1971 to a \$2-billion sur-

Continued on page 22

In Review

Pyotr Yakir on the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union today

The Chronicle of Current Events. Issue 19, dated April 30, 1971.

For three full years now, and going well into the fourth, the most broadly representative publication of the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, has continued to come out every second month. The nineteenth issue, dated April 30, 1971, has only now become available to us: unfortunately, clandestine conditions seem to make the four-month delay a not unusual occurrence. The appearance of a twentieth issue, dated June 30, 1971, has also been reported, but we have not yet seen copies of it.

The regularity and continuity of this *samizdat* publication, the continued appearance of oppositional organizations of various hues, the ongoing struggles of oppressed national minorities (a *Chronicle* is now coming out in the Ukraine, and another one dealing solely with the struggle of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate to Israel—a reaction to the denial of national and cultural rights by the Great Russian Kremlin bureaucracy)—all these are a sure sign that the protest movement in the USSR continues to rise.

The Kremlin bosses and their police apparatus do not feel it is safe now to resort to the kind of mass arrests used under Stalin. Thus they are unable to root out and expunge the movement as a whole. Instead they pick off outstanding individuals and particular groups. Such victimizations, however, tend in turn to arouse further protests, while admittedly having an intimidating effect on weaker or more timid elements around the oppositional movement.

The hardened caste of officials and administrators who have usurped power and privilege in the Soviet workers state are obviously unsure of themselves in the face of the growing politicalization of important sections of the population. They display a peculiar inconsistency, a half-surlly hesitancy. It is as though they sense a growing resentment over their bullying tactics but are determined to brazen through nevertheless.

An interesting assessment of the current stage of the movement for socialist democracy is given in the following excerpts from Pyotr Yakir's Open Letter of March 27, 1971, to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. These excerpts appeared in the listing of "New Samizdat Works" in the recently received issue No. 19 of the *Chronicle*. The translation, by *Intercontinental Press*, has omitted only the last excerpt—a paragraph in which Yakir lists eighteen prominent political prisoners (including many in psychiatric prison-hospitals) and refers to "the many, many others." His own freedom of the moment he describes as a "drop of good fortune" in this sea of unhappy cases.

The reason the KGB has not acted against him in more decisive fashion is, of course, that he is the son of General Ion Yakir, one of the top Red

Army generals secretly tried and shot by Stalin on the eve of World War II. Steps against another Yakir in 1971 might revive too many memories of the 1937 purge to be useful to the heirs of Stalin.

... In recent years a dangerous tendency has made itself felt in the internal life of our country—toward a revival of Stalinist methods of rule and, in art and literature and in the writing of history and personal memoirs, toward a rehabilitation of Stalin himself, one of the greatest criminals of the twentieth century. It is understandable that such a development suits the revenge-



seeking Stalinists perfectly well. But isn't it also understandable and natural that it arouses the protests of those who warmly welcomed the "liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult"? Isn't the alarm understandable that is felt by the many thousands over whom the shadow of that gloomy and cruel fanatic rears itself once again? Such alarm is felt by a very large part, if not the overwhelming majority, of our creative, scientific, and technical intelligentsia, by thousands of members of national minorities whose rights were trampled upon under Stalin and who still have not had them restored, and by many, many

other citizens of the Soviet Union for whom the fate of the nation is not a matter of indifference.

In the second half of the 1960s a flood of letters, appeals, and declarations—individual and collective, on particular questions and on matters in general—poured into the offices of various party and government bodies. The critical content of these documents was in the great majority of cases absolutely loyal. One would naturally have expected that the leadership, which has proclaimed to all the world the complete and total "liquidation of the consequences" [of Stalin's cult], would explain reasonably and politely to its fellow citizens in what respects their criticisms were justified or unjustified.

Why, then, has the reply to criticism been, in the best of cases, silence; and at worst—legal prosecution and extrajudicial repression?

... Political prisoners have reappeared in the camps. In psychiatric prison-hospitals once again we find the "mentally incompetent," for whom the chief proof of "being cured" is the abandonment of their beliefs and convictions. Public confessions are once again demanded, and those who refuse to recant (and sometimes even those who do recant) are reduced in rank, or discharged from their work, or expelled from educational institutions.

The selectiveness, the "discrimination" employed, in exercising repression (for one and the same "crime," one person is given a reprimand at work, another is not bothered at all, and a third gets several years in a prison camp) only underscores the arbitrariness and illegality of the repressive measures.

What kind of method is it to reply to criticism with persecution? Whom does it serve? Is this the way to demonstrate your correctness to your fellow citizens and to the world? *Will a monolithic ideological unity in our society really be achieved in this way?* Why, this will only enlarge the number of the discontented, with no regard to how that discontent is to express itself.

Samizdat has appeared and stubbornly persists. Is this not a sign that the spiritual needs of the society are not being properly met? And is imprisonment for possession or production of *samizdat* materials really going to quench this intellectual thirst?

Why is it that the Soviet film *Andrei Rublyov* can be shown in France but not in the Soviet Union? Why is it that foreign Communists can read and admire Solzhenitsyn, while in the Soviet Union one can read only vicious articles about him?

... Who would think of writing to the UN or appealing to world public opinion if our own leadership had offered convincing answers to serious questions bothering serious people?

One is forced to conclude that *political and philosophical dissent, even if it is loyal, is regarded as a crime in our country, though it is not so stated.*

— FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Magazines New French quarterly

Critiques de l'Economie Politique (Critiques of Political Economy), Editions F. Maspero, 1 Place Paul Painlevé, Paris 5, France.

From *Intercontinental Press*

French revolutionary Marxism has scored a new success over both Stalinist revisionism and what Marx called the "vulgarity" of bourgeois pseudo-science. A quarterly theoretical magazine devoted to political economy, launched at the end of last year, has moved to the forefront of publications of this kind.

The first issue of *Critiques de l'Economie Politique* (September-December 1970) took up the subject of inflation, the second dealt with the crisis of the international monetary system, and the third with the structure of underdevelopment.

The first two numbers were, of course, of exceptional timeliness. They were greeted not only by specialists in the field but also by hundreds of students, teachers, and workers who have become

"sensitized" on economics.

As the reception given to the pocketbook edition of Ernest Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* had already shown, a considerable public exists for something better than the drivel put out by the Stalinists on the evildoings of the big monopolies. (The French Communist party has issued two volumes of a "Manual of Political Economy," summarizing in a rather clever way the "best background" articles written by the Stalinist economists in the past period on "state monopoly capitalism.")

The editor of *Critiques de l'Economie Politique* is Jacques Vallier of the University of Nanterre. The editorial board includes various members of the Ligue Communiste (the French section of the Fourth International). It is published by Maspero.

Single copies are listed at 8.70 francs (about \$1.57). A one-year subscription can be obtained by sending 34 francs (about \$6.12) to Editions F. Maspero, 1 Place Paul Painlevé, Paris 5, France.

— JEAN RAVEL

...Jenness

Continued from page 5

the employers figure they have everything to gain. First, they hope that the mere existence of the wage review board will "moderate" labor's demands.

Second, anything the unions actually win in struggle can be reconsidered and scaled down by the special government board. And if, after all that, the wage hikes still cut into increased profits, the president or his Cost of Living Council can step in and say the wage increases won are "inflationary."

Even if the bosses can't knock annual wage increases down to the 6 percent level they consider to be "noninflationary," they figure they are bound to gain something, and every percentage point means a few billion more dollars in profits. For example, a similar wage board imposed earlier this year in the construction industry has succeeded in reducing annual wage gains from 17 or 18 percent to 10 or 11 percent.

It's in this context that the actions of top labor bureaucrats like Meany, Woodcock and Abel are so criminal. Instead of standing up and fighting for what is in the interests of the American working class, both organized and unorganized, they pretend they have no choice but to play on Nixon's field, with Nixon's ball.

Sham battle

The short-lived dispute over the "autonomy" of the Pay Board from the Cost of Living Council was nothing but a sham battle. The real question is not the autonomy of the board but its very existence. Without the active collaboration of his labor lieutenants, Nixon's entire plan would have to be redrawn. Their participation only adds cover to the myth that business, labor and "the public" have joined hands in a battle against inflation—while the reality is that business has launched an all-out assault on the living standard of the American workers.

The setting up of the board with the endorsement and participation of the trade-union bureaucrats automatically tends to demobilize the working class. It tends to convince workers they need not organize for independent struggle or rely solely on their own strength and unity in action to protect their interests.

On the fundamental question of the existence of the Pay Board, the labor bureaucrats not only failed to fight, but long before Phase One began they were among the first to call on the bosses to set up this mechanism for curbing the wage gains of the American workers. And as long as they remain tied to the political apron strings of the capitalist class, as long as they fail to strike out on a course of independent political action designed to defend the interests of the working class, they will remain incapable of developing any alternative to the government's course.

The labor bureaucrats were also among the first to demand a "tripartite" board that includes members representing the so-called "public." But even those workers inclined to give the government the benefit of the doubt begin to get the real score when the "public" members are named. Appointment number one went to William G. Caples, president of Kenyon College and, just incidentally, former vice-president for industrial relations of the Inland Steel Company. Hardly a man whose background would make him inclined to place the needs of the average working woman or man ahead of corporate profits.

A few more such appointments will only help more and more people to see that neither the government which appoints them, nor the "public" members of the boards are neutral. The "public" they represent is the "public" of the Rockefellers, duPonts, Mellons and Fords.

With the establishment of the machinery to implement Phase Two of the Nixon wage-reduction plan, a process has been set in motion. Every decision of the Pay Board, every clash between it and the men and women fighting to preserve their standard of living, will open the eyes of a few more people about the real intentions of the government. It will become clearer and clearer that the target is not simply inflation but prevailing wage levels and expectations.

How successful Phase Two of Nixon's economic assault on the working class will be depends first and foremost on the nature and strength of the resistance.

Congress of labor

Instead of calling a special session of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to discuss the terms on which they would agree to collaborate with the bosses in enforcing wage controls, Meany, Woodcock and the rest of their lot should have been following an opposite course. They should have organized a genuine emergency national congress of labor where representatives of every segment of the American working class could get together to begin working out labor's alternative program to combat inflation and unemployment.

Such a program would not be based on frozen wages and enlarged profits—what United Electrical Workers President Albert Fitzgerald described as "fattening the pigs while shearing the sheep" and making "profits the highest form of patriotism."

Labor's program for combating inflation and unemployment, on the contrary, would be based on two fundamental concepts: 1) for every rise in the cost of living index, wages, social security benefits, pensions, and welfare payments would automatically increase by the same amount; and 2) with every rise in unemployment, the length of the average work day would be automatically shortened with no reduction in pay, thus spreading the work among all those seeking employment.

To pay for such a program of full employment and inflation-protection, labor would demand an immediate end to the Vietnam war. The billions of tax dollars spent to finance that war effort, and past and future ones like it, would easily cover the costs of the social programs labor would begin to implement in its struggle against inflation and unemployment.

Such an independent course of struggle against the employers, their political parties, and their government would of necessity lead in the direction of the independent political organization of the workers. They would need their own instrument, a labor party, to fight for economic and social policies in the interests of all working people, all national minorities, all the oppressed and exploited in this society.

Only through the mobilization of the power of the massive industrial trade unions in independent struggle against the Nixon economic policies can such an alternative labor program be realized. That is the path labor must follow. And as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party I will help mobilize the labor movement and its allies for the necessary struggle.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 5

by the administration like the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, as a blank check for continuing to escalate the war in Laos. Presidential aspirants Kennedy, McGovern and Muskie voted for the Symington amendment. Senator Fred Harris (D-Okla.) did not vote.

A second and in some ways more revealing vote occurred the following day. Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) proposed an amendment that would immediately stop all bombing in Indochina except that which is "necessary to provide for the safety of U.S. Armed Forces during their withdrawal from Indochina."

Gravel defended his amendment by attacking the hypocrisy of Nixon's phony withdrawal while escalating the bombing. "The bombing has continued at 100 tons an hour, 2,400 tons a day. The rate of civilian casualties and refugee generation, indicative of the overall level of violence, has if anything increased during the last two years," Gravel said.

"The bombing of North Vietnam has been resumed. As recently as Sept. 21 an armada of 250 U.S. planes attacked targets in the North, and this raid was followed on successive days by two more so-called protective reaction strikes. At present the bombing of North Vietnam has reached an average rate of once every four days, and according to North Vietnamese reports, 106 villages, in addition to missile sites, have been struck. The Meatgrinder in Vietnam, which has taken 325,000 civilian lives and wounded more than a million since 1965, is still whirling." (*Congressional Record*, pp. S15874-81.)

Stennis was put on the defensive by the amendment's escape clause. Since the amendment allowed for bombing that was supposed to protect U.S. withdrawals, why didn't the Nixon administration support it?

"It was brought out in debate yesterday," Stennis stressed, "that most of the fighting in northern Laos is what we call bombing. *A great deal of it in northern Laos is air cover for the men fighting on the ground. It is really not bombing in the ordinary sense.* . . .

"If we withdraw our weapons they can continue their actions unless we are going to have an abject surrender," Stennis declared. (Emphasis added.)

In other words, military victory remains the goal in Washington. You can't crush the revolution if you let up on the bombing. Senator Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) told Gravel: "The Communists took this war to Vietnam. The Communists took this war to Laos. The Communists have been penetrating Thailand. Therefore, when they see fit to carry this war to other countries, we have to go where the fighting is, in order to protect our own men and to protect our national interest."

The Gravel amendment was defeated by a vote of 64 to 19. Siding with Gravel were Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Hartke (D-Ind.). Opposed were Senators Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Muskie (D-Maine). Senators Harris and McGovern (D-S.D.) did not vote.

The final Senate vote on the military appropriations bill took place Oct. 6. This includes the funding of the war through June 30, 1972, and is the most important piece of legislation relating to the war. The vote for the bill was 82-4 with Senators Fulbright, Gravel, Mansfield and Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) casting the negative votes. Humphrey and Kennedy voted for it; Harris, McGovern and Muskie did not vote.

Polish regime frees Kuron, Modzelewski

From Intercontinental Press

On October 5 *Le Monde* reported a rumor that Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, leaders of the University of Warsaw student movement, had been freed from prison September 17. They were serving three-and-one-half-year sentences. Three days later the Paris daily confirmed the news.

The two revolutionary Marxists were due to be released in 1972 (Kuron in August, Modzelewski in October). They had been sentenced in January 1969, after being tried on witch-hunt charges in the aftermath of the March 1968 student struggles that had helped trigger the "Prague spring" in Czechoslovakia. It was not the first time that they had been tried by the Polish bureaucracy for their political views.

Both of them were sons of Polish Communist party bureaucrats. (Modzelewski's father was the first minister of foreign affairs in the government of the Polish People's Republic.) They were expelled from the Young Socialists in November 1964, after writing a document critical of the Gomulka regime's curtailment of intellectual freedom.

In response to their expulsion, they distributed a statement of their views, "Open Letter to Members of the University of Warsaw Sections of the United Polish Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists." The document was the first revolutionary Marxist critique of the Stalinist bureaucracy to be produced by the new generation of rebel youth in the workers states.*

The Gomulka regime arrested the two students. In July 1965 Kuron was sentenced to three years in prison and Modzelewski to three-and-one-half years. Kuron was released in May 1967, and Modzelewski in October of the same year, approximately one year before their sentences were due to expire.

In March 1968 they were both arrested again and charged with having "taken part in a movement—founded on a political program drafted by them and hostile to the Polish People's Republic—which sought to foment public demonstrations against the state." They were also accused of having received a duplicating machine from the Fourth International and of having used Modzelewski's home as an organizing center for planning demonstrations.

On January 15, 1969, after dropping the charge of association with the Fourth International, the regime sentenced each of them to another three-and-one-half-year stretch in prison. The ten months they had been held before trial was deducted from the sentence, but the time that had been subtracted from the earlier one was added. This meant that Kuron had to serve another three years and eight months, Modzelewski three years and ten months.

At their trial, they refused to recant their views and denounced the anti-Semitic hysteria fostered by the regime as a means of dividing the workers and students.

According to *Le Monde's* October 8 report, other Polish dissenters, such as Jakub Karpinski, have been released, and all of the intellectuals imprisoned for having participated in the March 1968 events are now free.

* The text of the "Open Letter" is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014, in a pamphlet entitled *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*, 96 pp., \$1.25.

Calendar

BOSTON

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Joe Miles, just returned from a fact-finding trip, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge City Council. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. You are invited!

CHICAGO

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN: A panel will discuss rape, forced sterilization, and prostitution. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m., at 180 N. Wacker (Great Lakes Building). Donation: \$1, students 75c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE GREAT PAYROLL ROBBERY: NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE. Speaker Milt Alvin, veteran trade unionist and socialist activist. Fri., Oct. 22, 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 463-1966 or 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FALL EDUCATIONAL SERIES: "The place and function of the Transitional Program," the second of two lectures by George Novack, noted Marxist author and scholar, has been rescheduled for Tues., Oct. 19, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Admission: 50c. Aup. Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call 260-0976.

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION. A series of three lectures by Caroline Lund, staff writer for *The Militant*. First lecture: "The international character of the current radicalization." Sun., Oct. 24, 1 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Admission: 50c. Aup. Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call 260-0976.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE GREAT TENANT ROBBERY. Speaker Will Reissner, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., Oct. 22, 8:30 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Aup. West Side Militant Forum.

PORTLAND, ORE.

OREGON SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF AND OPENING OF CAMPAIGN HEAD-QUARTERS. Featured speakers: Ruth Getts, women's liberationist and 1972 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Oregon; John Linder, high school activist and socialist candidate for Portland School District Board of Education Post No. 1. Special guest: Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. at 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201. Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students and unemployed 75c. Aup. Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For further information, call 226-2715 or 223-0453.

SEATTLE

THE REVOLT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Sean Kenney, joint general secretary of the Sinn Fein and official representative of the Irish Republican Army to the United States and Canada. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. at 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. Dinner served at 6 p.m., \$1.50 (Dinner and forum combo—\$2.25). For further information, call 523-2555.

Antiwar GI gets early discharge

By LEE SMITH

On Oct. 5, in a record time of four hours, the U. S. Army gave Pvt. John Singleterry, a socialist and antiwar GI at Ft. Sill, Okla., an honorable discharge from active duty and escorted him from the post.

On Oct. 4, Singleterry and three other GIs presented a petition to the base Provost Marshal, a Colonel Nelson, requesting permission to circulate on post a petition endorsing the Nov. 6 regional antiwar demonstrations. Just hours after receiving the petition, Nelson called Singleterry to his office and attempted to persuade him not to circulate the petition by telling him about alleged "Viet Cong atrocities."

Singleterry politely reaffirmed to Nelson the request made on the form itself that "no delaying tactics be employed" in processing the petition. Nelson then assured Singleterry that the base commander, Maj. General Roderick Weatherill, would have the request on his desk the following morning.

"The general must have gotten it before noon," Singleterry told *The Militant* in a telephone interview, "because at 12:30 I got a phone call at the barracks and was told: 'You are to report to central personnel immediately. You will ETS and be off the fort by the end of the day.'"

The entire personnel office was mobilized to finish processing the antiwar private in four hours—something that normally takes about one week.

Singleterry was scheduled to be discharged at the regular end of his enlistment on Oct. 22, only 17 days later, but General Weatherill was not content to wait. "All afternoon the general kept calling on the phone, asking, 'Is he out yet? Where is he?' and telling them to 'move it faster,'" Singleterry said.

After processing, Singleterry was escorted to his barracks where he packed, had the base stickers shaved from his car, and then was followed off the post by a captain in an army car.

Singleterry was informed that the Army would seek to discharge him from the Army Reserves under the same regulation used to justify his

early discharge from active duty—Army Regulation 604-10, dealing with "national security." (See Oct. 8 *Militant*.) Since the alleged "threat" posed to national security by Singleterry is based on his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, an open and legal organization, Singleterry has filed a request for a field board of inquiry into the attempt to discharge him from the reserves. He mailed his formal request to the Adjutant General's office at the Pentagon Oct. 8.

...Cleve.

Continued from page 13

strength with all other forces and choose our allies on the basis of equality rather than on the basis of subordinating our needs to theirs.

Such a step on the part of Black people in Cleveland would stimulate others to consider doing the same—especially the labor movement, which also still remains tied to the Democrats. With an independent Black party and an independent labor party based on the trade unions an alliance could be made to sweep the Democrats and Republicans out of the city and force Standard Oil, Jones and Laughlin, Cleveland Trust and Ford and General Motors to answer to us.

Many so-called Black Democratic leaders, including Carl Stokes, are laboring under the illusion that it is impossible to form such a party and succeed. However, Chicanos, who are only 5 percent of the population of this country nationwide, have begun to form their own parties, La Raza Unida parties, in a number of cities.

In Crystal City, Texas, where La Raza Unida Party, backed by the majority of the Chicano community, has won a majority of the seats on the school board and the City Council, many of the needs of the Chicano community are being met for the first time. Rather than racist history being taught in the schools, the real history of their people is being taught. School children receive free breakfast and lunch in the schools. And in order to raise revenue for the city, the City Council has moved to annex the land where Del Monte's giant spinach plant stands. The plant employs hundreds of the city's citizens.

Crystal City has a population of only 10,000. The impact of a similar development in Cleveland would be much greater.

The central question facing Black people is charting a course toward our complete and total liberation. I feel that we as a community must go beyond the limits imposed upon your-

self and the Caucus by your ties to the Democratic Party. I would very much like to join with you in a public and open discussion of this question at the most convenient date.

...money

Continued from page 19

plus. A mere \$13-billion—two-thirds of the gross national product of Belgium.

The front page of Britain's *Manchester Guardian* declared Sept. 25, "The ministerial meeting of the Group of Ten has proved a severe setback in the world monetary crisis. . . . For this deplorable situation the Americans are almost entirely to blame. . . ."

"A transformation of \$13,000-millions in the U.S. trade account—a sum equivalent to an overnight cut of more than 50 percent in British imports, for example—would cause widespread disruption and unemployment."

These figures indicate the magnitude of world business tied up in trade and consequently dependent on stable international finance. The fact that Nixon's New Economic Policy combines a massive wage-freeze attack on American workers with aggressive steps in world trade and finance—with serious repercussions for workers in foreign countries—underlines the deepgoing social implications of the world monetary crisis.

This crisis and the intensified competition of capitalist monopolies for world markets that causes it make inevitable the sharpening of the class struggle within the competing capitalist nations. There can be no solution to this inexorable process short of liquidating its origin: the quest for profits under the regime of capitalism.

...Magee

Continued from page 16

poor white who are at this moment suffering in prisons and jails across the country, people who no one knows about and who will remain anonymous until the masses awake to their needs.

Fortunately, Angela Davis has adequate funds for her defense and a nation-wide defense committee working in her behalf. Ruchell is going it almost alone. He has virtually no public financial support. The Ruchell Magee Defense Committee for Black Prisoners in Los Angeles desperately needs help. Send contributions, inquiries or requests for literature to P.O. Box 62200, Los Angeles, Calif. 90047. Phone (213) 758-6701. Please, do it today.

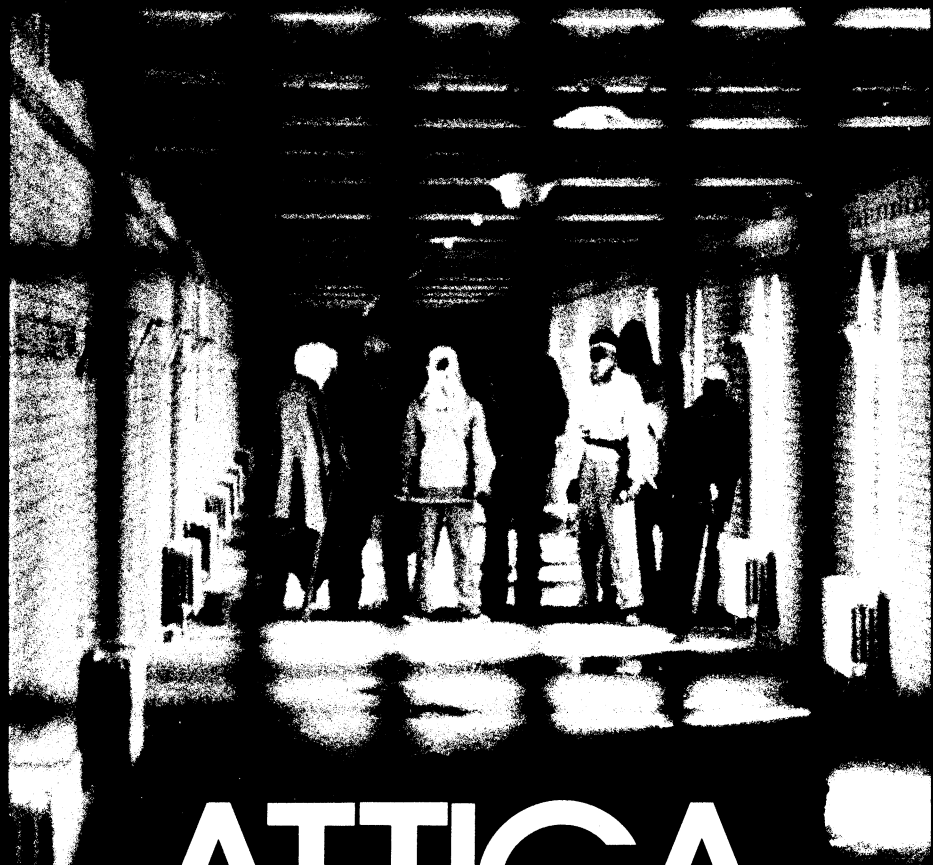
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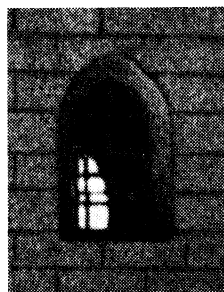
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THE MILITANT

Oct. 13 actions build Nov. 6

By LEE SMITH

OCT. 13—Thousands of people were mobilized today on campuses and in cities across the country in a variety of antiwar moratorium activities geared toward publicizing and building the massive Nov. 6 regional antiwar demonstrations scheduled in 17 cities. The hundreds of high school and college campus actions also pointed toward the target date of Nov. 3 for a national student strike to demand the U. S. get its troops out of Indochina now.

Many of the moratorium actions reflected the unity of the antiwar movement and the wide range of new forces involved, especially from the oppressed national minorities, GIs and the organized labor movement.

- In New York City, a labor rally sponsored by officers of 25 trade unions and endorsed by both the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, drew 3,000 people in the Garment District. Among the speakers were Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, and Mayor John V. Lindsay.

Tens of thousands of NPAC and Student Mobilization Committee stickers and leaflets for Nov. 3 and Nov. 6 were distributed at the rally. SMC rallies were held at Brooklyn College, New York University, Columbia University, Queens College and many other campuses and high schools.

- More than 500 people attended a rally in New Haven, Conn., sponsored by Connecticut PAC, Vietnam Veterans Against the War and a broad range of other groups.

- Nearly 1,500 people took part in three separate noon rallies in Boston—1,000 in downtown Boston; more than 300 in East Boston; and more than 100 at a Meat Cutters union-sponsored rally in the meat-packing New Market District. An evening labor rally in Lynn, Mass., just north of Boston, was joined by 300 workers. At MIT in the evening, 2,000 people came to hear antiwar speeches by Daniel Ellsberg and Noam Chomsky.

- A downtown rally in Providence, R. I., sponsored by PCPJ, Rhode Island PAC, SMC and VVAW attracted 300, and 150 came to an SMC rally at Brown University in Providence.

- A noon rally of 500 at the Embarcadero Plaza in downtown San Francisco heard journalist Richard Boyle, who was just returned from Vietnam, relate a message from Bravo Company at Firebase Pace in the war zone. The entire company, refusing to fight anymore, wants all the GIs in Vietnam brought home immediately, Boyle told the crowd.

A slightly smaller rally at the same site in San Francisco at 5 p.m. was addressed by a delegation of antiwar sailors from the 4,500-man crew of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Coral Sea*, more than 1,000 of whom have petitioned Congress to stop the ship from sailing for Vietnam Nov. 12.

An all-day literature distribution for Nov. 6 was organized from the plaza, and SMC-sponsored rallies occurred at San Francisco State College, San Francisco City College, and the College of Marin, as well as many other campuses and high schools.

The PCPJ in San Francisco held a noon rally for Angela Davis at the federal building that drew 150.

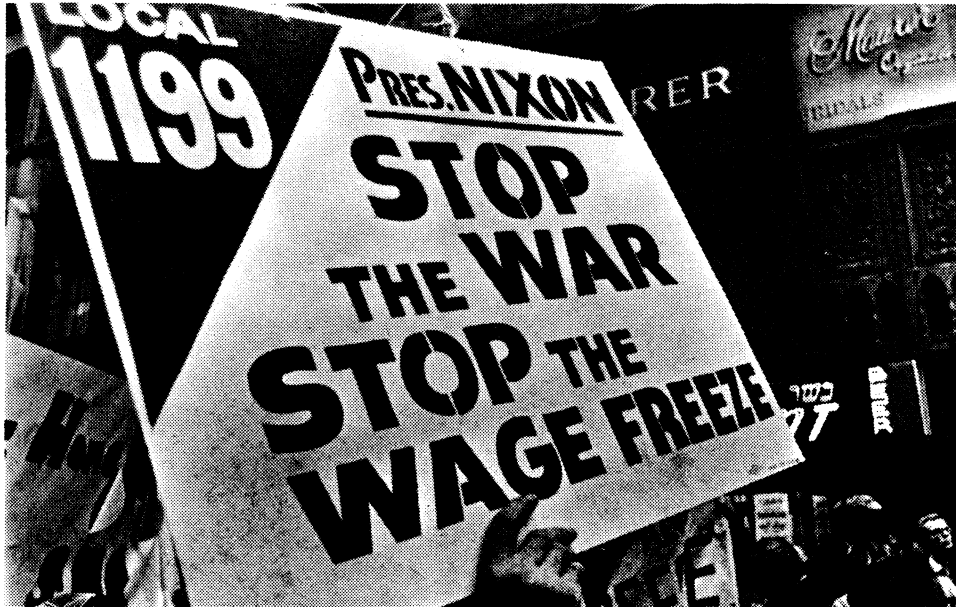


Photo by Mark Reynoles

Sign of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers union at rally in New York garment center Oct. 13.

- Across the bay in Berkeley, a crowd of more than 250, mainly high school students, gathered at Provo Park for a 5 p.m. rally. A rally of about the same size was held on the Cal campus in Berkeley at noon.

- More than 700 students came to a rally at Los Angeles City College to demand that charges be dropped against three students recently arrested on the campus for attempting to block a Marine recruiter. Speakers at the rally included Dalton Trumbo, author of *Johnny Got His Gun*; John T. Williams, NPAC coordinator; Eugene Hernandez of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan); Jude Coren of the SMC; and others.

Virtually the entire student body at L. A.'s Daniel Murphy High School wore armbands to express their solidarity with the demand to drop charges against the three antiwar L. A. City College students.

- High school participation in the moratorium in Michigan included attendance at a voluntary antiwar assembly at Huron High School in Ann Arbor by 700 students and attendance at another voluntary assembly at predominantly Black Central High School in Detroit by 1,500 students. The Central High students cheered Lillie Noble of the Black Moratorium Committee and a VVAW spokesman when they debated American Legion and ROTC pro-war speakers, who got boos and hisses from the students.

A noon march from the University of Michigan campus to the Ann Arbor city hall brought out 500 students. Mayor Robert Harris, an endorser of Nov. 6, spoke to the crowd. Afternoon workshops on the campus were attended by 1,000 students and 300 came to hear NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon and other speakers at U of M's Hill Auditorium in the evening.

Militant staff writer Derrick Morrison was among the speakers at two rallies in Detroit that each drew 400 students, one at Wayne State University, called by the SMC, and another at Highland Park College, called by the Black Moratorium Committee. Both actions were sponsored by a wide spectrum of other organizations. A BMC rally was held at Highland Park High School, SMC rallies at other schools, and antiwar classes were held in all of Detroit's public schools on the initiative of the Michigan Federation of Teachers.

- Members of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers Local 59 in Minneapolis also held antiwar classes, and distributed antiwar primers to their students. A march downtown of 500 led by Vietnam veterans was preceded by a rally of 1,000 on the University of Minnesota campus at noon.

Speaking at the rally was Lt. Governor Rudy Perpich who called for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam and urged students to march Nov. 6. Governor Wendell Anderson has also endorsed Nov. 6.

- Somewhat behind Minnesota's state executives is Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, who told a 5-person delegation from the Atlanta PAC today that he "would consider" their request to declare Nov. 6 Peace Action Day in Georgia.

The Selling of the Pentagon was shown by the SMC at both Emory University and Georgia State University in Atlanta, and high school students across the city wore armbands and joined in a mass leaflet distribution for the Nov. 3 and Nov. 6 actions.

A strike rally of 250 at the University of Georgia in Athens was followed by the circulation of an antiwar petition and the distribution of Nov. 6 literature downtown.

- In Seattle, Wash., where Mayor Wes Uhlman recently declared Nov. 6 Peace Action Day for the city, a downtown noon rally of 1,000, jointly sponsored by Seattle PAC, SMC and PCPJ, heard from Colleen Grant, a high school leader of the Oct. 6 demonstration of more than 10,000 students in Vancouver, B. C., against the Amchitka bomb test. A representative of the Alaskan Federation of Natives also spoke.

- Among the many meetings, teach-ins and literature distributions that occurred in Denver was an assembly of 1,300 at Eastern High School that heard a debate between pro-war and antiwar speakers.

A march to the courthouse in Boulder, Colo., of more than 100, about half of whom were high school students, followed an all-day teach-in at the University of Colorado there.

- A noon rally in Chicago's Civic Center Plaza, jointly sponsored by Chicago PAC and the Chicago Peace Council, was attended by about 1,000 people. Co-chairing the rally were Barry David of CPAC and Sylvia Kush-

ner of CPC. Peace Council spokesman Sid Lens joined Ninure Saunders of CPAC Black Task Force in calling for immediate withdrawal and a massive Nov. 6 turnout. Other speakers included Egbal Ahmad of the Harrisburg "conspiracy" case and Neal Bratcher of District Council 19 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness spoke at a meeting at Roosevelt University.

- John Yates, president of UAW Local 1045, and Richard Niebur, president of United Electrical Workers District 7, were among the speakers at a 4:30 p.m. rally on the downtown mall in Cleveland. Other speakers included Democratic Party candidate for mayor James Carney and SWP candidate John Hawkins, as well as Mindy Bruno of Cleveland Junior High School Women's Liberation.

SMC rallies took place at Case Western Reserve University, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland State University, and at a number of high schools in the city.

- NPAC and SMC organized a massive all-day leafleting campaign in Philadelphia and sponsored a rally at Temple University in which 400 people participated.

- About 600 people came to a broadly sponsored labor rally against the war in the capital across the street from the White House in Lafayette Park. Among the speakers was Victor Reuther of the UAW. Following the rally, a rank-and-file delegation from more than a dozen AFL-CIO union locals marched to the national AFL-CIO headquarters with a petition to George Meany, asking him to take a stand against the war in accordance with the overwhelming majority sentiment of the ranks.

Well-attended Nov. 3 student strike planning meetings occurred at George Washington University, many high schools, the University of Maryland and other campuses in the Washington area.

Close to 175 people attended a PCPJ rally on the capitol steps that heard Congressman Ron Dellums and other speakers.

- All over Texas, high school students played a leading role in leafleting for Nov. 3 and Nov. 6. An evening march in San Antonio was joined by between 800 and 1,000 people. The march included the state's first antiwar trade-union contingent, with unions marching under their own banners, as well as Chicano, GI, women's and gay contingents.

SWP 1972 vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley spoke at two rallies in Houston, one of 1,000 at noon at the University of Houston Center and another city-wide rally of 500 at 5 p.m. Pulley told both audiences that the GIs and working people joining the antiwar movement today have the power to force an end to the war.

In Austin, where the SMC distributed 20,000 leaflets to fans at a University of Texas-Oregon football game Oct. 2 and set up a rally outside the stadium afterward, 1,000 students rallied at noon today, and actions occurred at many high schools.

All of the actions received widespread and generally favorable TV news coverage, informing millions of Americans that Nov. 6 is the day for a massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment.