

# THE MILITANT

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



## The war--not wages --causes inflation

When President Nixon delivered his Aug. 15 edict freezing wages, he attempted to create the impression that the Vietnam war is over and now is the time to move toward a new peacetime prosperity.

This is a blatant lie. The war in Indochina continues. It not only continues but the bombing and shelling of the demilitarized zone have been stepped up in the last two weeks. Over 230,000 GIs are still in South Vietnam, fighting and dying for the so-called "democratic" regime of Nguyen Van Thieu.

Democratic hopefuls for the 1972 presidential nomination are also playing down the war issue. Most noteworthy was the Aug. 24 statement by liberal "peace" candidate George McGovern in which he declared, "I will have very little public comment on the war from here on out. I am a political realist and believe the state of the economy is more decisive politically." Without blinking an eyelid, he talks as if the economy and the war have no relationship to each other.

It is precisely because the war in Indochina has had a profound effect on the economy—principally

in intensifying inflation, helping to produce rising unemployment, and forcing budget cutbacks on social welfare expenditures—that Nixon, McGovern and other capitalist politicians want to shove the war issue under the rug. In order to justify the attack on the wages and living standards of America's working people, they are attempting to pin the blame for skyrocketing prices on the victims of inflation. They charge that wage increases workers have won in the past few years—increases which have lagged behind the cost of living both in time and in amount—are the cause of inflation.

This is a monstrous lie. According to government figures, prices have gone up 23 percent between 1965 and 1970. Corporate dividend and interest payouts increased steadily and substantially over the same period. But the real wages of workers—that is, what the dollar can buy—have actually been frozen during the entire war. Nixon's edict doesn't freeze real wages. It is an attempt to drive them down.

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Above—three GIs of the 1st cavalry division; Below—antiwar march, Washington, D. C., Nov. 15, 1969.

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## THE MILITANT

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**FREE CHARLES KOEN!** Supporters of the Cairo, Ill., Black United Front are holding weekly rallies in St. Louis demanding the release of the United Front's national chairman, Rev. Charles Koen, who has been in jail there since July 19 on trumped-up charges of assault stemming from his organizing activity in St. Louis in 1968. He has been on a water fast since before going to jail, and his doctor reports he is in a seriously weakened condition. Among the speakers at an Aug. 21 rally were Dick Gregory and the Rev. C. T. Vivian. Speakers at an Aug. 28 rally included Ossie Davis; Rev. Irv Jones of the Commission for Racial Justice; Nat Mosley, chairman of a St. Louis UAW caucus; Matt Eubanks of the Progressive Black Workers Party; and representatives from the Black United Fronts of Chicago and East St. Louis. The Black United Front urges all supporters of the Cairo struggle to contact them to find out how they can help in the campaign to free Rev. Koen; write to Black United Front, 5323 Easton Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63112 or phone (314) 361-2142.

**MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY:** Marches and rallies in Denver and other cities in Aztlan on Sept. 16 will mark Mexican Independence Day. In Denver, the Sixteenth of September Committee and the Crusade for Justice plan a march through the business district and a rally at the state capitol. Rally speakers will include Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales and leaders of the Partido de la Raza Unida.

**PUERTO RICAN REFERENDUM:** The Aug. 22 *New York Times* reported that the president and legislature of Puerto Rico are planning a December referendum to find out whether they should ask Congress for the right to vote in the presidential elections next year. Governor Luis A. Ferre's New Progressive Party views the right to vote in presidential elections as a step toward statehood, but the right to vote could prove to be a weapon in the fight for an independent Puerto Rico—which is why Congress is likely to reject the request even if the referendum shows a majority in favor.

**CIVIL RIGHT-TO-KILL?** One hundred members of the so-called Italian-American Civil Rights League staged a demonstration outside the Bronx Supreme Court Aug. 26, declaring that the Bronx district attorney was anti-Italian and demanding "Free Mike Falco!" Falco was being held on the charge of beating a Black man to death on Aug. 4.

**MAYDAY CHARGES DROPPED:** The federal government presented a motion Aug. 26 to dismiss the dual charges of trespass and unlawful assembly against more than 800 of those who were arrested on the steps of the national capitol last May. Several hundred charges remain on the books, but so far there have been less than 200 convictions among the more than 12,000 Mayday arrests.

**MAYDAY FREAKOUT:** The "Gathering of the Mayday Tribes" in Atlanta Aug. 10-17 focused on personal soul-searching at the expense of politics, according to our correspondent. She reports that "gropey-feely sessions" and other activity intended to purge participants of their sexism and racism took the place of political discussion. In spite of the organizational chaos, on the final day, those who were left of the original 250 participants did vote for some proposals—with such names as the "Give the Man a Heart Attack Proposal" and the "Off the Wall Proposal." Mayday leaders Rennie Davis, John Froines and Mike Lerner were not present at the gathering. Those who adopted the freaky-named proposals, calling for civil disobedience focused on Wall Street in early November, did not seem prepared to carry them out.

**PRISON "REFORM":** The claims of New York's Department of Corrections that great strides have been taken toward better conditions and less crowding since the revolts at the Tombs last year were disputed by Tombs inmate Ricardo de Leon in the Aug. 26 *Village Voice*. Writing in the *Voice's* open-forum feature, "The Press of Freedom," de Leon says that while there is less crowding at the Tombs, it is still operating at more than 180 percent of its intended capacity. Moreover, he charges, crowding has not been lessened by speeding the handling of cases of inmates awaiting trial, but by playing "musical chairs" with prisoners—"The overcrowding of the Tombs is relieved by crowding jails out of the Manhattan area that are less visible" through the arbitrary transfer of prisoners "whenever the count in the Tombs reaches a critical number." A majority of prisoners on the eighth floor where he is confined, de Leon reports, have been waiting over six months to be tried for the offenses on which they are being held.

**GREAT JESUS!** According to a recent item in the *Washington Post*, the Mexican government is planning, as a gift to the U.S. on the 200th anniversary of the first American revolution in 1776, to erect on the Texas coast, overlooking Corpus Christi Bay, a gigantic steel and marble statue of Christ. Similar to the statue of liberty, the structure would be hollow inside and contain a stairway leading to an observation tower in the crown of thorns.

**GAY PROTEST:** Three busloads of demonstrators picketed in a drenching rain outside the offices of Suffolk County Executive H. Lee Dennison in Riverhead, Long Island, Aug. 27, while several others occupied the office with a sit-in. The action was organized by the Gay Activists Alliance, New York and Long Island chapters, and followed a series of incidents beginning with the arrest of a man on Fire Island Aug. 8 for sodomy. An Aug. 22 protest of the man's arrest in Hauppauge, Long Island, was attacked by cops after a hostile bystander shoved Charles Burch, one of the demonstrators. Cops smashed Burch's head against the pavement and then arrested him for "resisting arrest" and "harassment." The demands of the Aug. 27 protest were an end to the selective and capricious enforcement of the sodomy law and other police harassment of gays, repeal of the sodomy law, the dropping of charges in the Fire Island case, action against the cops who attacked Burch and the dropping of charges against Burch.

**MOSCOW JOURNAL PUTS DOWN BACHELORS:** The Aug. 22 *Washington Post* quotes from an article in the *Soviet Literary Gazette* that berates bachelors for taking up housing space and salaries that "ought to be shared with a wife and children." The writer, Zory Shokhin, rejects the notion that economic motives have anything to do with the fact that the average man in the USSR does not marry until he is 29—because "economic reasons . . . play a role only in bourgeois societies." "Socialist" Shokhin blames the problem on bachelors' refusal to take seriously something he apparently believes should not be restricted to bourgeois societies: that "marriage (is) necessary for continuing the species."

**TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S RACISM:** A footnote to *The Militant* interview that appeared in our July 16 issue, "Interview with a Native-American activist": Gus Grey Mountain and the others charged with a felony for dumping red paint on a statue of Theodore Roosevelt had charges dropped and paid the Museum of Natural History \$489 July 30 "for damages." In the Aug. 26 *Village Voice*, reporting on the episode, *Voice* writer Suzan Shown includes the following Roosevelt quote: "The most ultimately righteous of all wars is a war with savages. . . . I don't go so far as to think the only good Indians are dead Indians, but I believe nine out of every 10 are, and I shouldn't inquire too closely into the case of the 10th."

**ISRAELI PANTHERS:** According to the Aug. 25 *Le Monde*, 3,000 demonstrators who supported the Israeli Panthers were attacked by cops in Israel Aug. 23. The action was protesting discrimination against Jews of Afro-Asian origin in jobs, education, housing and social services. The cops dispersed the group with clubs and water cannon, arresting more than 35 militants.

**NEW YORK JACKALS:** After pleading guilty to still another offense Aug. 30—this time "unlawful assembly"—Jewish Defense League leader Meir Kahane again walked from court unleashed. That evening he told a cheering audience of 1,500 at Samuel Tilden High School in Brooklyn that organized and armed "defense" was the answer to real estate "block-busting" and the increase in muggings. While he agitated the crowd with his thinly veiled racist demagoguery, his followers passed out gun permit applications and order forms for rifles and shotguns. After two of his JDL thugs were arrested at the rally, Kahane led the crowd in a protest march to the Canarsie police station about a mile away.

**FRIENDS OF HAITI:** We learned from Liberation News Service that an organization has been formed to "keep the American people constantly aware of the U.S. government's role" in the affairs of Haiti. LNS quotes the new group: "The mass media has cultivated a myth about Haiti. Stories are built around stereotyped words like voodoo . . . We want to bring the other picture to light, not the superficial, the spectacular, the unreal, the mythical, but the true image of the complex problems that Haiti faces." The group offers a pamphlet on "Haiti and the U.S." and subscriptions to a newsletter, *Voice of Haiti*, both available from the Friends of Haiti, P.O. Box 365, Hopewell Jct., N.Y. 12533.

—LEE SMITH

# THE MILITANT's moving across the country...



One of the goals of *The Militant's* fall subscription campaign is to bring the paper into every corner of the country. To accomplish this, four teams of four persons each will be covering the South, the Southwest, and the Mid-Atlantic states by car throughout the entire 11 weeks of the campaign. They will be covering the country with a paper that covers the questions that affect people in every

part of the country.

To make sure you keep up with *The Militant's* coverage of these issues, take advantage now of our special subscription offer of 10 issues for \$1.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Nat'l teams sell subs

By BAXTER SMITH

*The Militant* is launching an ambitious effort on Sept. 15 to obtain 30,000 new readers by Dec. 1.

Spearheading the drive will be four teams of full-time sub sellers. Not since the subscription drive of 1945, when over 22,000 new readers of *The Militant* were obtained, have national sub teams been organized on this scale.

These teams will play a vital role in getting *The Militant* to areas and cities where there are currently few or no subscribers. This will both broaden the geographical spread and influence of the paper and lay a basis for building the fall actions *The Militant* supports.

The teams will be going to the Mid-Atlantic area, the South, and two teams will concentrate their efforts in the Southwest. The states covered will

range from Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, to Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and up to Pennsylvania and upstate New York. It is expected that these teams will be able to obtain approximately 6,000 subscriptions during the drive.

Along with obtaining individual subscribers, the teams will also sell subscriptions to and obtain weekly bundle orders from newsstands, bookstores, and libraries.

The sub teams will play a part in telling people about the fall campaigns around the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations and the Nov. 20 abortion repeal actions. Activists who subscribe to *The Militant* will be the best informed about local plans and developments for these actions.

The teams will also lay the basis for the Socialist Workers Party to ob-

tain ballot status for its 1972 presidential ticket in these areas. In states such as Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia, where the SWP was not able to obtain ballot status in 1968, the new subscribers will be encouraged to help put the socialist ticket on the ballot.

Increasing the regular weekly sales of *The Militant* is another aspect of the fall expansion. This was given a big boost last week when areas upped their weekly orders by a total of almost 10,000 for the issue containing the statement by SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness on Nixon's wage freeze and other articles on his new economic moves. Special efforts were made to get this issue into the hands of workers at plant gates, union halls, and shopping centers.

## YOU CAN HELP

The success of this fall's drive for 30,000 new subscribers will depend upon the readers of *The Militant*. One reader in West Brattleboro, Vt., has taken a quota of 20 subs already. You can help by taking a quota -- whatever you feel you can sell in the 11 weeks of the campaign. Just fill in the coupon below and we will send you a complete subscription kit including sub blanks, poster strips, buttons and sample copies.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50  
( ) List the above quota in *The Militant's* scoreboard.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Nat'l abortion repeal meeting held in D.C.

By DELFINE WELCH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On Saturday, Aug. 28, about 90 women met here for the first meeting of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). WONAAC is building a national campaign for repeal of antiabortion laws and anti-contraception laws and no-forced sterilization, to culminate in massive demonstrations on Nov. 20 in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco.

The National Coordinating Committee consists of one representative from each national and local organization which supports the aims of WONAAC.

Women were present from San Francisco; Atlanta; Washington, D. C.; New York City; Chicago; Philadelphia; Boston; Pittsburgh; Baltimore; and Michigan. In addition to abortion coalitions, such groups as Columbia University Women's Liberation, the Michigan Women's Abortion Suit, and the Abortion Justice Association from Pittsburgh were represented. An organizer from the National Committee on Household Employment was also present.

Women from each area gave informative reports on the growth of the abortion campaign in their area and their plans for building local abortion action coalitions.

The area reports indicated that the abortion campaign is already building up momentum in most parts of the country. Only one woman was present from Illinois, because on Aug. 28, a regional conference of Illinois women was meeting to plan the abortion campaign. A Western states conference is planned for San Francisco in October, and statewide conferences are planned to take place in Atlanta and Houston, also in October.

Local coalitions have already received a large amount of support from women in their areas, and wide response from the media. Philadelphia women reported that they had been on the radio more than 15 times this summer, speaking on the right to abortion. The Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition has a one-hour TV program lined up. In San Francisco, a wealthy woman who supports the abortion campaign has paid six months' rent on a new office for the coalition. And in Atlanta, the public library is considering hosting a debate between the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition and the Right to Life Committee.

Another sign of mounting support is new endorsements of the action program of WONAAC. The Detroit National Organization for Women, Westchester NOW, San Francisco NOW,

and D.C.-Maryland NOW have all endorsed the campaign. Another recent endorser is the Washington, D. C., YWCA.

Several major decisions were made at the meeting. The national office of WONAAC will be moved to Washington, D. C., to better coordinate the building of the demonstrations on Nov. 20.

In recognition that the struggle for abortion law repeal goes beyond the boundaries of countries and languages, an international call for demonstrations against restrictive abortion laws around the world on Nov. 20 was approved unanimously by the gathering.

The meeting elected three project directors for the Nov. 20 demonstrations: Dr. Barbara Roberts and Joan Gombos, who were two of the originators of the national abortion law repeal campaign and formerly organizers of the suit against the Connecticut abortion law, *Women vs. Connecticut*; and Carol Lipman, a member of the Socialist Workers Party on the staff of WONAAC.

Plans for the Nov. 20 demonstration in D. C. as well as many different ideas for publicity, winning support, and raising funds were discussed. There was favorable response to the idea of planning a national abortion hearing for the week before the dem-

onstration, which could attract major publicity for the Nov. 20 action and also dramatize the need for abortion law repeal. Women judges and lawyers would preside, and testimony would be heard from women doctors, prominent women, and women from all sectors of society about the misery created by abortion laws. On the basis of the evidence, the hearing could come out with an indictment of the government for its crimes against women through abortion laws.

Plans for many new materials — posters, buttons, brochures — are being prepared, including a special button and brochure for Third World women. Marsha Coleman of the WONAAC staff and Third World Women United for Abortion Law Repeal raised the idea of having a rally of Third World women in D. C. before the main demonstration. Also suggested were contingents in the demonstrations of military women, high school women, women in the arts, church women and gay women.

The next meeting of the NCC is planned for late September, hopefully somewhere in the Midwest. Details will be sent out in the WONAAC newsletter. To be added to the WONAAC mailing list, send your name, preferably with a \$2 contribution, to: WONAAC, Box 685, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

This is the fourth in a series of articles on the top-secret Pentagon papers revealed by the New York Times. The series is reviewing the history of the Indochina war and The Militant's coverage of the war.

By DICK ROBERTS

In 1964 the Johnson administration planned to escalate the U. S. attack on Vietnam into a major ground and air war which would include the massive bombing of North Vietnam.

A "scenario" had been prepared by Pentagon officials which would "justify" the bombing attack by the allegation of "North Vietnamese aggression" against South Vietnam. The Johnson administration "intensified the covert warfare against North Vietnam and began planning in the spring of 1964 to wage overt war, a full year before it publicly revealed the depth of its involvement . . .," states the *New York Times* summary of the Pentagon papers.

It was this secret U. S. aggression against North Vietnam, initiated by the Eisenhower administration during the Geneva conference a decade earlier and subsequently escalated by the Kennedy administration, which set the stage for the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident.

Unknown to almost the entire American population was the fact that when the North Vietnamese fired on U. S. naval ships off their coast in the Tonkin Bay, they were merely responding to one more provocation in a decade of secret U. S. warfare against them.

But this was the incident that fit Johnson's scenario. Orders went out for a "retaliatory" air strike against North Vietnam. A resolution—also previously prepared by the administration—was rushed through Congress, giving Johnson a free hand to carry out his escalation plans. And at a White House strategy meeting on Sept. 7, 1964, these plans, calling for full-scale bombing of North Vietnam, were given a final stamp of administration approval.

In the same months of August and September, however, Johnson was publicly campaigning as the "peace candidate" for U. S. president against "escalator" Barry Goldwater. Johnson lied over and over again, posing himself as the man who "would not do the job that Asian boys should do." Johnson's landslide victory over Goldwater confirmed the vote-catching accuracy of this cynical appeal to the peace sentiment of Americans.

Once reelected, Johnson immediately carried out his plans to escalate the war. When South Vietnamese guerrillas attacked a U. S. military compound in Pleiku, South Vietnam, in February 1965, Johnson answered with the massive bombing of North Vietnam.

### Why Johnson escalated

President Kennedy had continuously ordered more and more American GIs into combat in South Vietnam to support the Saigon regime against indigenous revolution. But it was Johnson who escalated this "police action" into a major war. The Pentagon papers reveal the main reasons for this crucial turn—and these reasons have as little to do with the personalities of the decision makers as the effects of bombs have to do with the personalities of the bombardiers.

In the last weeks of the Kennedy administration, the Pentagon papers show, the White House was convinced of imminent U. S. victory in South Vietnam and had even considered withdrawing some of the U. S. troops from Vietnam. Kennedy's main concern at that time was to get rid of Diem, and Kennedy's advisers assured him that with Diem out of the way, the road to stabilization of the Saigon dictatorship was clear. Within a few months of Kennedy's death, however, optimism about easily crushing the Vietnamese revolution had disappeared.

"The impelling force behind the [Johnson] administration's desire to step up the action," according to the *Times*, "was its recognition of the steady deterioration in the positions of the pro-American governments in Laos and South Vietnam, and the corresponding weakening of the United States hold on both countries. . . ."

"This deterioration was also concealed from Congress and the public as much as possible. . . . The United States found itself particularly unable to cope with the Vietcong insurgency. . . ."

Johnson's concern with a possible victory of the revolution in South Vietnam had nothing to do with the desires of the South Vietnamese people. His number one concern was stopping the advance of colonial revolution on a world scale. "In 1964 the administration . . . feared an outbreak of other 'wars of national liberation' in the Asian, African and Latin American countries," states the *Times*. "[Defense Secretary] McNamara wrote . . . 'the

South Vietnamese conflict is regarded as a test case.'"

The *New York Times* admits that the Pentagon study "conveys an impression that the war was thus considered less important for what it meant to the South Vietnamese people than for what it meant to the position of the United States in the world."

John T. McNaughton, assistant secretary of defense, summed up Washington's priorities in South Vietnam:

"70 percent—To avoid a humiliating U. S. defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor).

"20 percent—To keep SVN (and then adjacent) territory from Chinese hands.

"10 percent—To permit the people of SVN to enjoy a better, freer way of life.

"Also—To emerge from crisis without unacceptable taint from methods used.

"NOT—To 'help a friend,' although it would be hard to stay in if asked out."

### Moscow-Peking reaction

President Nixon's announcement of a trip to Peking before May 1972 suddenly drew to world attention a central preoccupation of the imperialists that is assiduously denied most of the time. This is the reaction of the two giant workers states—

ese troops invaded North Vietnam or northern Laos. The study indicates that this analysis eased administration fears on this point. . . . The panel predicted that the Soviet role was 'likely to remain a minor one,' even where military equipment was concerned."

The failure of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking to provide significant military and political support to the Vietnamese revolutionaries, as U. S. military support for the Saigon dictatorship steadily grew in 1961-64, thus encouraged Washington to go further at every step of the way. Even as tons of bombs rained down on the countryside across the Indochinese subcontinent, Moscow and Peking repeatedly satisfied themselves with the most minimal military and economic provisions to Hanoi.

This history becomes doubly significant as Nixon prepares to go to Peking to seek new favors in turning the balance of power against the Vietnamese revolution.

### Policy of blackmail

As early as Feb. 10, 1964, *The Militant* called attention to the impending shift in Johnson's policies and analyzed their meaning. George Saunders, writing under the pen name of Steve Gra-

## Pentagon papers

# LBJ talked peace, planned escalation



Impelling force behind U. S. escalation was recognition of steady deterioration of puppet regime in South Vietnam. Above, Saigon communications and public service workers demonstrate Sept. 29, 1964, during massive strike.

the U. S. S. R. and China—to Washington's program of world counterrevolution.

The chief officials of the capitalist government officially pretend that they are unconcerned with the effect of their war against Vietnam on Moscow and Peking—even when this attack threatens to precipitate a nuclear holocaust. But a few references in the *Times* survey leave no doubt that the reactions of the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats were major determinants of the step-by-step escalation Washington pursued in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, differing estimates of the Moscow-Peking reaction played a key role in paving the way for Johnson's 1964 decision to bomb North Vietnam. One factor which delayed the Kennedy administration from sending combat troops to South Vietnam in 1961, according to the *Times*, was uncertainty about Moscow's response. In November 1961, Kennedy wanted to avoid "the risk of provoking confrontations with the Soviet Union elsewhere—the 'two front' problem—especially [with the situation] in Berlin where the acute crisis had eased less than a month before."

Fears that Moscow would come to the aid of the Vietnamese had greatly subsided by the time Johnson took office. An intelligence panel informed Johnson in 1964, in the *Times*' words, "that China would not react in any major way to a bombing campaign unless American or South Vietnam-

ham, declared, "It becomes clearer every day that the present policy of fighting a war through a puppet regime is bound to fail."

Saunders cited ominous quotations from leading newspapers. For example, the Jan. 29, 1964, *Christian Science Monitor* had stated: "When guerrilla activity reaches its peak . . . consideration has been given to threatening direct retaliatory action against the true 'source' of the activity—such as by the bombing of military barracks, railroads or cement mills in North Vietnam."

And a Feb. 1, 1964, dispatch in the *New York Times* stated, "it would be a mistake . . . for anyone in North Vietnam or in Communist China to think that the U. S. would merely 'hang on' if the war continued to go badly."

Saunders wrote: "That, then, is the 'major war' alternative being considered. This charge, that North Vietnam is to blame for the civil war in the South, is a cynical and barefaced lie, and none know it better than the Pentagon brass hats and State Department slicksters themselves. Nevertheless they assert it baldly in an attempt to blackmail North Vietnamese leaders . . . to use their good offices with the South Vietnamese Liberation Front—or risk being attacked. U. S. officials hope that the peasant guerrillas may thus be persuaded to give up their arms and abandon the defense

Continued on page 21

# S. Vietnam election fraud increases hatred for U.S.

By **DICK ROBERTS**

The fiasco of the elections in South Vietnam again underlines the fraudulent character of the supposed "free world" Washington is "defending" in South Vietnam.

The reality of the regime in Saigon was emphasized by the Pentagon papers as quoted in the *New York Times*: "South Vietnam was essentially the creation of the United States."

It is a military dictatorship which stays in power solely by force of U. S. money and arms. All three of the principal figures in the current election circus—Nguyen Van Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky and Duong Van Minh—have been leaders of the dictatorship at various times since Diem's assassination in 1963.

The liberal press in this country maintains the pathetic position that the elections in Saigon would be "fair" provided only General Minh is returned to the ballot.

General Minh was a chief architect of the Diem assassination. The Pentagon papers relate how Minh was in constant contact with the U. S. Ambassador to Saigon at the time, Henry Cabot Lodge. They record how Lodge bribed Minh and other anti-Diem figures, making it clear that the pressure for the coup came more from Washington than from the South Vietnamese generals themselves.

Minh served as the head of a three-man military council which ruled the hated dictatorship from Jan. 30, 1964—Feb. 8, 1964. He was chief of state twice under subsequent regimes led by General Khanh.

For these generals it is only a question of who is on top and who gets the biggest take in the millions of dollars poured in by Washington. A 34-year-old South Vietnamese accountant quoted by *New York Times* Saigon correspondent Gloria Emerson said it all: "Whatever Thieu, Ky and Minh are doing is just an attempt to knock each other out. None of them can do any good for the country or for you and me."

Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that the present election fraud has brought hatred for Washington to new heights in South Vietnamese cities. Throughout the entire election period, U. S. troops were put on "yellow alert," confining them to bases.

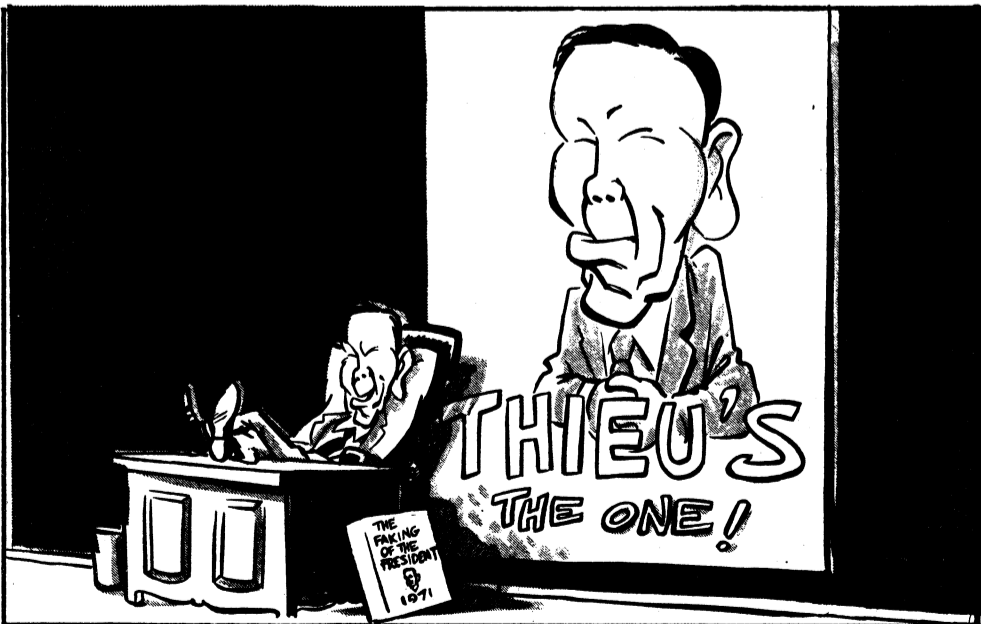
The *Times* reported Aug. 27: "In Hue, for example, a mob killed an American civilian construction worker after he drove his jeep past the scene of a traffic accident caused by a military tank truck crossing a narrow bridge. There were also anti-American demonstrations by students at the University of Hue. Slogans such as 'Crush the United States plan of Vietnamization' are still visible in painted letters on the university building walls."

Reuters reported from Saigon Aug. 26: "South Vietnamese policemen broke up an election rally behind Saigon's National Assembly building today and arrested an anti-Government candidate for this Sunday's lower house election and at least 10 students. Under arrest was Tran Tuan Nham, who called the rally to protest confiscation and defacing of his campaign posters that depict President Nixon with a Hitler mustache. . . . Witnesses said that Mr. Nham was badly beaten before being thrown into a police truck and driven away."

While U. S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker went from one general to the next with his checkbook open, the White House scored a new first in doubletalk. According to the *Times*, administration officials "described the meetings that Mr. Bunker had held through the weekend with Mr. Ky and Gen. Duong Van Minh as 'completely consistent' with the policy of noninvolvement in the elections."

Capturing little attention in the capitalist press was the fact that Nixon continued to escalate the bombing attack on the DMZ and North Vietnam during the election period. An Aug. 24 AP dispatch stated that "allied" bombing of the DMZ came from three directions—land, sea and air. Taking part in the shelling by offshore ships was the Australian destroyer Brisbane.

On Aug. 25, the revolutionary forces scored an attack on the U. S. base at Camranh Bay, long considered the most secure of all U. S. bases in South Vietnam. The huge ammunition dump there was 50-percent destroyed as explosions ripped through the dump for nearly 13 hours. All told, 38 U. S. bases were hit in a series of attacks Aug. 25-26. Only minimal details were given in the press.



Draper Hill—The Commercial Appeal, Memphis

"Well, so much for the election—what do we Vietnamize next?"

# New labor support for Nov. 6 protest

By **HUGH MORGAN**

Support for the mass antiwar marches in 16 cities on Nov. 6 has been growing in the labor movement since Nixon imposed the wage freeze in an effort to make workers pay for the inflation caused by the war.

The University of California, Berkeley, Student Mobilization Committee organized a meeting that was scheduled to take place on the Berkeley campus Sept. 2 called "Unions Speak Out on Nixon's Wartime Wage Freeze." The list of speakers testifies to the impressive labor support for the fall antiwar offensive in the Bay Area. It includes Herb Mills, secretary of the stewards council for International Longshoremen's union Local 10, and Bob Johnson from the same Longshoremen's local, both selected by the strike committee as the union's representatives to the meeting; Jeff Mackler, vice-president of the Hayward American Federation of Teachers local; Steve Willett, treasurer of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; Earl Carter, an organizer for the United Electrical workers; Domingo Ortiz, the Oakland coordinator for the United Farm Workers boycott; George Banks, president of the Berkeley branch of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; and a representative of Painters Local 4.

Plans for the meeting included the organizing of plant gate leafletting teams to build participation of workers in the Nov. 6 action.

A National Peace Action Coalition news conference is scheduled in New York for Sept. 9 to announce the support for Nov. 6 from organized labor on a national scale.

At an Aug. 31 news conference in New York, NPAC co-coordinator Jerry Gordon emphasized the direct relation of the wage freeze to the war, saying that "so long as we have a

military economy with \$80-billion voted annually to the Pentagon, inflation will grow increasingly unbearable."

At the same Aug. 31 news conference, James Lafferty, another NPAC co-coordinator, who was part of an NPAC delegation that just returned from Vietnam where they met with Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, told reporters what the Vietnamese had to say about Nixon's claims that he is ending the war.

The Vietnamese, Lafferty said, "see Nixon's Vietnamization policy, his bad faith in bargaining in Paris and his increased aerial bombardments as evidence of his real intentions in Vietnam: to stall for time while he continues to wage a war of aggression."

Lafferty said the DRV's prime minister told the NPAC delegation, concerning Nixon's planned visit to China, that the president "is knocking on the wrong door" if he wants to settle the war. "The prime minister made it clear that the war will end only when the Nixon administration withdraws all its troops and planes," Lafferty said.

Both Lafferty and Gordon called on antiwar, labor, religious, welfare, Black, Brown and community organizations to "pull out all the stops in the weeks ahead to mobilize gigantic numbers of Americans" behind the demand of "Out Now!" on Nov. 6.

Some of the areas that have planned joint regional conferences of local coalitions affiliated with NPAC and with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice are Texas, where there will be a conference in Wimberly, Texas, Sept. 10-12 and Detroit, where the joint conference will take place Sept. 11. Conferences in Chicago and Boston will not be held until after the Sept. 18 NPAC steering committee meeting in New York; both cities plan them for Oct. 2.

# 10,000 N.Y. women march on Aug. 26

By **CAROL LIPMAN**

NEW YORK—For the second year in a row, women around the country demonstrated for equal rights on August 26, the fifty-first anniversary of the women's suffrage victory. The most significant action in size and scope took place in New York City, where over 10,000 women marched up Fifth Avenue from 44th Street to the 72nd Street Mall in Central Park for a rally.

In the spirited march up Fifth Avenue, tens of thousands of onlookers going home from work lined the avenue, many cheering and some jeering the demonstrators. Many women and some men joined the march from the sidelines, as cries of "join us, join us" rose from the demonstrators.

As the marchers assembled, police were insisting that the demonstration could only take half of the avenue. The march was delayed as the participants chanted, "We want the whole avenue." By the time the marchers reached 49th Street, the entire avenue was taken, and police were forced to reroute traffic.

There were many organized contingents in the demonstration, which was led off by a long banner saying WOMEN MARCH FOR EQUALITY NOW! These included high school and campus contingents and a contingent of

the National Women's Political Caucus led by a banner demanding "Political Power." There were working women's contingents, lesbian contingents and signs were carried by women for abortion, child care, equal pay and many other issues. Banners urging women to participate in the Nov. 20 demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco for abortion law repeal were also highly visible in the crowd.

Activities earlier in the day leading up to the march included actions against sex discrimination at the American Stock Exchange, at the Internal Revenue Service, the First National City Bank and St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Sponsors of the demonstration included many women's and political organizations, as well as union officials from District 65, Distributive Workers Union; Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers; Capmakers union; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union and others.

The National Organization for Women was the initiator and major group behind the action.

Although many marchers did not attend the rally, over 5,000 women

Continued on page 22

# In Our Opinion

## ...inflation

Continued from page 1

Freezing workers' wages won't keep prices down. The employers will conscientiously enforce the wage freeze, but the government has no serious intention of freezing prices, as is already indicated by the many consumer prices that have been exempted.

Labor bureaucrats, like AFL-CIO President George Meany, who have been vigorous supporters of Washington's war in Indochina have naturally not linked the war to inflation. Others, like Woodcock, who have criticized the war previously have suddenly become silent on the relationship between the war and inflation. By failing to put the real blame for inflationary price increases where it belongs—on war spending, not wages—they miss a big opportunity to expose Nixon's lie and rally millions of workers opposed to the war into a fight against the wage freeze.

Meany and Woodcock's silence on the war, however, is not unanimous in the labor movement. On Aug. 30, President Leon Davis of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, issued a statement of the union's executive committee which was in agreement with the AFL-CIO position against the wage freeze, with one important addition: "... the economic fix we're in is primarily due to the unjust war we have been conducting in Southeast Asia, and upon which we are still spending billions of dollars and sacrificing thousands of American and Vietnamese lives." A similar statement was issued by the United Electrical workers.

The fall antiwar offensive culminating in mass demonstrations in 16 cities on Nov. 6 is an important part of the struggle against inflation. These actions are an excellent opportunity for the labor movement to help deal a blow to the real cause of the intensified inflation since 1965—the war in Southeast Asia.

## Congress of labor

There have been a number of proposals raised for how the labor movement should respond to Nixon's wage freeze. But the approach projected by union bureaucrats like George Meany, as well as the "advice" to the labor movement from ruling class voices like the *New York Times*, completely misses the boat.

Meany thinks that all that is needed to respond to the freeze is a few "emergency" meetings of top union officials. He is also for lobbying the Democratic "friends of labor" in Congress, the very ones responsible for the legislation on which Nixon based his order. But the modest aim of this exercise is simply to obtain more "equitable" treatment for labor in phase II of Nixon's "game plan," to go into effect when the 90-day freeze expires. After meeting with UAW President Woodcock Aug. 25, Meany announced their agreement to more or less "cooperate" with the freeze for the 90-day period.

Meany also called a meeting of union lawyers Aug. 26, to discuss what could be done to challenge the wage freeze in the courts. The lawyers likewise decided that nothing much could be done against the 90-day freeze.

The *New York Times* suggested editorially on Aug. 24 and Aug. 27 that what is needed is conferences between labor, government and industry to work out, in "a three-way partnership," what sort of wage and price controls should be imposed after the 90-day period. Such collaboration means that the official leaders of the labor movement meet with legal experts, industrialists and capitalist politicians behind closed doors in plush hotel suites to make decisions affecting the lives and living standards of millions of working people.

What is needed is not more conferences of lawyers; nor tripartite conferences of labor officials, business and the government; nor reliance on capitalist politicians in Congress. What is needed is a democratic congress of the entire labor movement.

Such a congress must represent those who have not been heard but who are most affected by the wage-freeze attack and must be mobilized in struggle if it is to be beaten back—the rank-and-file trade union members and unorganized workers. Representatives should also be invited to the congress from movements which are allies of the labor movement, such as the antiwar movement, the student movement, the liberation movements of Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans, and the women's liberation movement. Only such a democratic congress of the entire labor movement can map out an adequate united response to Nixon's wage freeze, the most serious attack on the working class in 25 years.

At a congress of labor, workers could exchange information about the effects of the wage freeze in different parts of the country. They could find out how phony the so-called "price freeze" is throughout the country. Finally, the delegates could discuss and adopt proposals for directing the united strength of the labor movement and its allies in a struggle to end the wage freeze. It could develop a program offering labor's proposals for ending inflation and unemployment.

# Letters

## From Leavenworth

[The following letter was received by the *Militant* business office from Chicano prisoners at Leavenworth penitentiary who received a sample copy of *The Militant*. They put out a publication within the prison called *Aztlan*. — Editor]

We received your letter and the enclosed copy of *The Militant*. It is not often that we receive literature of relevance and of so penetrating a caliber as yours. We are delighted. Aside from a stray copy or so that manages to find its way in to us, there is, to our knowledge, only one subscriber.

Your publication has given the National Chicano Movement the most extensive coverage that we have had the pleasure of reading. That is why it (*The Militant*) is so essential to the development of our people's social consciousness. With this in mind, we have passed the copy you sent to our brothers, most of whom have shown a great interest in reading it.

In our publication, *Aztlan*, we try to present the Chicano pinto's [prisoner's] point of view, in relationship to the overall movement. We see the Chicano cause as *one* means to the total and complete freedom of the common people; for international harmony.

Thank you for contacting us. Till the walls crumble, we remain yours in the struggle.

J. R., R. R. S.  
Leavenworth, Kan.

## Night or day?

It has been several weeks now since I have received any copies of your paper. With Tricky's new economic measures, I am more eager than ever to read a realistic assessment of this deceit in *The Militant*. Have you ever been locked up in a closet, not knowing whether or not it is night or day? This is what it's like without your paper! Please clear this up for me as soon as possible.

J. F.  
Barre, Vt.

Editor's reply: *The Militant* took a three-week vacation.

## Crisis in Ireland

We send this appeal at the height of the greatest crisis which has faced the Irish nation since the War of Independence, 1918-21.

By provoking armed clashes and continual disorders in Belfast, Britain hopes to isolate "extremists" on both sides from the mass of the people. It has been our policy to avoid unnecessary confrontations. We cannot, however, and we will not stand idly by while foreign troops intimidate native Irish people in a government-supported policy of jackboot aggression.

The true violence in Northern Ireland today is the denial of jobs to 52,000 citizens, the denial of homes to Protestant and Catholic workers while the privileged few reside on large estates, forcibly acquired from the Irish people without compensation. Such economic oppression is being met with increasing resistance by the people. Mr. Faulkner's solution to the problems of his people is to smash their homes, use British troops to terrorize them, and now, finally, to lock them up in concentration camps, without charge or trial.

The Executive of the Irish Republican Clubs has been instructed by

the Irish Republican Movement in Ireland to issue this urgent appeal. Funds are desperately needed NOW to assist the families of the 1,500 prisoners currently interned and to provide legal defense for the internees.

We ask you to be as generous as possible, as the situation is critical. Please make checks payable to Robert Emmet Club (mark them "Prisoner's Emergency Fund") and send to: Robert Emmet Club c/o Naughton, 2785 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11235. All donations will be immediately receipted. William J. Naughton, Treasurer  
Dr. Maire Bradshaw, Co-treasurer  
Irish Republican Clubs National Organizing Committee

## A correction

The opinions attributed to Carol Downer at the Abortion Speak-Out held in Los Angeles on July 11, (reported by myself in *The Militant*, July 30) did not correctly express her stand on abortion-law repeal and self-help clinics.

She stated to me that a more succinct account of her talk would be the following: "I favor organizing women to repeal abortion laws through raising their consciousness by self-knowledge. One definition of revolution is to show people different alternatives than those the power structure has given them. When a woman knows her own body, she can control her own territory. The spectacle of masses of women, marching through the streets, carrying signs demanding the control that lies at their own fingertips, is degrading."

Please print Carol Downer's own statement in order to clarify her position.

Jane Melton  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## Student rights

Greetings. We're the Organization for Student Rights, primarily a high school group struggling for truth, justice, and the American Way.

This goal, while tough almost anywhere nowadays, is downright near impossible in this bastion of nineteenth century reactionism.

The OSR was formed by high school students as a result of the El Paso Independent School District's insistence on enforcing hypocritical dress codes. A local test case is still to be heard in the fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

At present, we are attempting to make contacts with as many movement groups as possible, both as an act of solidarity, and also so that we profit from others' experience. Two concrete things to emerge after the school boycott we had over dress codes have been a free high school and OSR's paper, *The Word*. The Ft. Bliss GIs for Peace have worked step by step with us, allowing us to use their offset press and suggesting tactics. In turn, we have leafletted for Mayday and other antiwar events.

Our main problem is to continue to relate effectively to the real needs of students, and people in general. Because El Paso has few movement projects, and a surplus of crisis situations, we feel it is only proper that OSR not limit its scope to purely scholastic problems.

In the meantime, attempts will be made to sponsor rock dances and similar events. These would be ideal for continued consciousness-raising, and instilling feelings of togeth-

# The Great Society

ness. By the beginning of the fall semester, it is hoped that our brothers and sisters returning to prison will not only be receptive to our goals, but will also be inspired to push for their demands themselves.

In conclusion, let me again request all progressive/radical organizations and publications to send us material which might be relevant to our particular fight. We will likewise send information on developments here on the border, and copies of *The Word*.

Robert Chavez  
Organization for Student Rights  
P. O. Box 26644, Ranchland Station  
El Paso, Texas 79926

## New York painters

District Council 9, representing the organized painters of New York City, reached a settlement with the employers on a three-year agreement, retroactive to Aug. 1, which will increase wages progressively from \$5.60 per hour to \$7.35 per hour by Aug. 1, 1973. Painters' wages will continue to lag behind all the other building trades in New York City, and generally, behind other painters' locals nationally. But approval from Nixon's Wage Stabilization Board must come first, before even this inadequate increase is finalized.

The membership ratified the agreement by a two-to-one vote. Opposition to the agreement was principally based on legalization of the "stick" in residential work. The "stick" is an appendage to the roller, which enables ceilings to be painted from the floor. The roller and the stick both are technological innovations which greatly increase productivity, but also represent great physical hardship to the painter. Both were given away without adequate compensation in the agreement, so that the principal beneficiaries of these tools are the contractors and the real-estate interests.

An escalator clause was also introduced in this agreement.

H. Z.  
Brooklyn, New York

*A comment:* All such contracts in the building trades, after first being negotiated with the contractors, must then be approved by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. The CISC is a government board, made up of union representatives and contractors, set up nearly five months ago to hold down wages in the construction industry.

If a wage increase gets by the CISC, it must then pass the government's Cost of Living Council, set up under Nixon's general wage-freeze decree.

Even though the contract of the New York painters was negotiated before the Aug. 15 wage-freeze decree was issued, the arbitrary rulings of the Cost of Living Council may deprive these workers of their raise, as has happened to teachers in all parts of the country. — Frank Lovell.

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.

**Logic major**—Bankers assert that not all students are properly appreciative of federally insured educational loans. A Wells Fargo official told of one student, a former Air Force captain, who allegedly declined to continue payment. "If Lockheed can be subsidized by the federal government," the student explained, "then so can I."

**Researchers anonymous**—Last May it was reported that doctors at a Denver Army hospital found preliminary evidence that two particular brands of aerosol underarm deodorant can have adverse effect on the lungs. Since then, they have steadfastly refused to name the brands. Asked by reporters if identifying the products might not help prevent lung disease, one of the doctors snorted: "That's an emotional argument, not a scientific one."

**Expanding a sacred institution**—Le Dog Store in New York is offering matched white satin wedding coats for canines. Made to order, only \$10.95 apiece.

**Free-enterprise medicine**—A group of doctors at the Boston-area Peter Bent Brigham Hospital operate a nearby artificial kidney center, which grosses over \$2-million a year from people whose lives depend on being hooked

up to an artificial kidney machine three times a week. Asked if he didn't think it might be unethical for doctors to own health facilities to which they refer patients, the hospital director responded, "Good Lord, no. Not when you look at the doctors who have an interest in nursing homes, pharmacies and clinics."

**Now there's a conundrum for you**— "Statisticians at four federal agencies are puzzling over new disparities between the profits that companies report to tax men and the figures they give to their stockholders." — Los Angeles Times.

**Button bonanza**—Along with the bikini, a boom has been promoted in Japan in belly-button consciousness. One bustling doctor says he "beautified" some 3,000 navels in the past decade. His take runs from \$80 to \$150 for a five-minute alteration job. Occasionally, however, a patient will spend a week or two in bed until the button heals.

**Deflated**—To provide an example in the fight against inflation, millionaire George Romney took a voluntary 25-percent pay cut last year in his \$60,000 salary as Secretary of Urban Development. But now he's back on

full pay. "I didn't think it was having any effect," he explained.

**A tribute from the men in the House**—The Maryland House of Delegates adopted a resolution on the occasion of the birthday of pioneer suffragist Susan B. Anthony. The resolution began: "For a woman, Susan B. Anthony made outstanding contributions to the history of our country." Or, as a jaundiced *Atlanta Journal* copywriter headlined the item, "She Did Fair Considering Her Handicap."

**Tie-in deal**—To counter the radio-television ban on coffin-nail advertising, the tobacco industry has prepared 400,000 bumper stickers proclaiming: "Enjoy Smoking Tobacco Products." We have not verified the report that the morticians association volunteered to handle distribution of the stickers.

**Selling the Pentagon**—Detroit Judge Benjamin Stanczyk, an official of the Disabled American Veterans, charged that Major George Chase, a Pentagon emissary to the recent DAV convention, offered to knock him down for opposing 11 pro-Pentagon resolutions drawn up by Washington brass. Apparently infected by the spirit of the times, the DAV tabled the resolutions.

—HARRY RING

# The National Picket Line

(Editor's note: Since the following was written, the presidential wage-price control executive order has been issued. However, everything in the column still stands, since there has been no official word from the United Mine Workers as to whether they will proceed with scheduled negotiations for a new contract to replace the now expiring agreement. Nor has there been any court decision on the government suit filed in July against UMW President Boyle for alleged violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act.)

The sins, both of commission and omission, perpetrated against the rank and file of the United Mine Workers by its own top bureaucracy appear to be coming home to roost. Unfortunately, the many legal fights against W. A. Boyle and his special court of jesters improperly called an "executive board" are being brought by the federal government and except for a few suits, are aimed mainly at destroying the union, not building it.

In mid-July, the Department of Labor opened its trial against Boyle—six-and-one-half years after the suit was originally filed—charging that the Boyle leadership had violated Section 301 of the Landrum-Griffin Act by maintaining trusteeships imposed on Districts 4, 7, 17, 23, 30 and 31 since 1916.

Another suit under the same section of the Landrum-Griffin Act will open on October 13. In the 190,000-member UMW, there are now 23 districts—19 of which are under receiverships. This means that the members must accept Boyle appointed district and even local union officials, that they have no word in how their own organizations are run or how the money is spent.

Under both Section 301 of the Landrum-Griffin Act and the UMW constitution itself, trusteeships (or receiverships, which amount to the same thing) can be imposed only to end corruption or financial irregularities and may last no longer than 18 months.

Boyle also faces a civil damage suit which demands that his last election be declared null and void because of election fraud. This suit was originally filed by the defeated and now dead Joseph Yablonski and is being carried on by two of Yablonski's sons and the dissident Miners for Democracy.

The Boyle machine received another blow recently when the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), in an unprecedented pre-negotiations luncheon meeting, was told by its president, Joseph E. Moody, that this year the traditional man-to-man negotiations for a new contract would be thrown out the window. Moody said that the Boyle leadership no longer has the necessary discipline over its membership and therefore cannot be trusted to enforce any contract agreed to by Boyle and himself, with

the only ratification coming from a 100-man "negotiations conference" of the union. Since 1916 when John L. Lewis initiated it, negotiations have been direct—between the head of the union and the head of the BCOA.

Moody said he was setting up an industry negotiations team representing two-thirds of the coal industry.

Moody also charged that Boyle's announced demands for the 1971-76 contract are ridiculous, and are a "set of fruitless and unrealistic demands . . . more to prove his (Boyle's) strength through a strike than to beat us down."

According to Moody, coal production is down, and the costs imposed on the industry by the 1969 Health and Safety Act have "cost millions."

Boyle's demands include an increase of \$13 a day, to \$50, a boost in the per-ton royalty from 40 cents to \$1, and paid sick leave for the miners.

The BCOA head predicts both "hard bargaining" and a strike after the Sept. 30 expiration of the present contract. But his claims that "production is down" and that the Safety Act has cost the industry millions have been amply refuted by another government agency—the General Auditing Office. The GAO, a special investigating arm of Congress, issued a sharp report May 31 on the Bureau of Mines enforcement of the 1969 Safety Act—calling the Bureau's safety enforcement record "extremely lenient, confusing, uncertain and inequitable."

On the same day the Bureau of Mines released its figures for mining deaths and injuries in 1970. Two hundred and sixty miners were killed in the coal pits last year (57 more than in 1969), the Bureau reports, and 10,575 miners suffered disabling injuries.

The GAO report also refuted in advance the Bituminous Coal Operators Association claim that production was down; 1970 was the second highest coal producing year in the industry's history—590 million tons as against 623 million tons in the peak year of 1949.

The first indictment under the 1969 Safety Act was handed down on June 23 against the Finley Brothers, in whose mine at Hyden, Ky., 38 miners died last Dec. 31. The Finley Brothers are charged with 24 separate violations in their two mines between June 19 and Dec. 30, 1970.

Two new tragedies, killing five men and injuring two others seriously, have occurred during the last two months.

On June 11, two miners were killed and two others seriously injured in a newly opened mine near Morgantown, W. Va., when a roof collapsed 830 feet below ground at the Federal No. 2 soft coal mine.

On July 11, three men were killed in a cave-in at the small Hilmar Coal Company Mine. One of the dead men was part of the rescue team. He had worked only one day.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# Wide support for Cleveland ballot fight

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND—The fight of Socialist Workers Party candidate John Hawkins for a place on the ballot has thrust him and his campaign into the center of Cleveland politics. Support for Hawkins has grown daily, with the latest indication being an editorial in the Aug. 27 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Nine of the other 11 candidates for mayor have signed statements supporting Hawkins' right to ballot status. (Hawkins was denied a place on the ballot for failure to file his master petition. See *The Militant*, Sept. 3.)

On the wave of this public support, which has included extensive television and radio coverage, Hawkins, in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union, will be taking the public authorities before the Ohio Supreme Court. On Aug. 30, the ACLU filed a suit seeking a court order requiring the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections to grant Hawkins ballot status.

In a news release on the case, the ACLU stated: "ACLU will argue that the copies of the petition filed by Hawkins were in substantial compliance with the form prescribed by Ohio election law. . . . The ACLU contends that such a minute and obviously disputable deficiency is technical and not substantial and should therefore not deprive this candidate of his constitutional right to seek office." Hawkins also has the support of the New York-based Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

Prospects for a legal victory are excellent. In a 1959 precedent, a candidate was also declared ineligible for not signing his master petition. The court ruled in his favor.

Speaking at the Debs Hall Forum

Aug. 27, on the topic "20,000 voters versus the board of elections," Hawkins scored the duplicity of the Board of Elections: "While claiming that they 'don't care who gets on the ballot,' the board is actually a key instrument in the political monopoly maintained by the Democrats and Republicans in Cleveland. A victory in my case will be a victory for the democratic rights of all Clevelanders to a real choice in voting for their elected representatives."

In a statement released to the media



Photo by Howard Petrick

John Hawkins addressing Aug. 12 Cleveland rally launching 1972 SWP campaign.

Aug. 27, Hawkins attacked the attempt of the Board of Elections to rule Jean M. Capers, a Black independent candidate for mayor of Cleveland, off the ballot on the grounds that some of her petitions had "invalid signatures."

He also lent his support to the case of Ira Forman, the 19-year-old Democratic Party candidate for mayor of nearby Rocky River, who was ruled

off the ballot because of a law which states that a mayor must be "a qualified elector and a resident of the city for at least three years." Hawkins urged that "now that 18 year olds have the right to vote, every trace of provincialism must be swept away to permit 18-through-21 year olds ballot status, because the ballot is useless unless you can cast it for the candidate of your choice."

The following editorial, headlined "Let Hawkins Run," appeared in the Aug. 27 issue of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

No petty, flyspeck technicality ought to keep John C. Hawkins, 22, off the mayoral ballot. We join with the Civil Liberties Union, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws and with a goodly handful of other mayor candidates in urging the election board to accept his candidacy.

The Board of Elections declared Hawkins no candidate because he failed to file his master petition by 4 p.m. Aug. 18. He did then bring it in tardy, next day.

But what is most important, Hawkins had gathered 20,000 signatures on petitions, and filed the legal maximum, 16,000. That was more than any of the other mayor candidates. The public, as well as Hawkins, is concerned here.

To bar Hawkins from the ballot is to thwart the 20,000 citizens who thought he ought to have a chance to run for the office. Calling a technical foul is a paltry way to deal with this Socialist Workers Party member.

The Board of Elections should have notified Hawkins that his master petition was lacking, in the period between his filing, Friday, Aug. 13, and the following Wednesday. That would have been fair and respectful of a man able to enroll 20,000 Clevelanders in his attempt to run for the city's highest office.

It is overlegalistic to reject a candidate for some minor flaw in a complex and impressive stack of documents. Secretary of State Ted W. Brown and the Cuyahoga County Election Board, which deadlocked over Hawkins' case, should undo their stiff-necked rulings and declare the man a candidate.

# Socialist Campaign '71

## Washington, D.C.

Keith Jones of the Socialist Workers Party was the first to file nominating petitions here Aug. 24 as an at-large candidate in the Nov. 2 election for the District of Columbia school board. Jones filed more than double the required 1,000 signatures of registered voters. (125 are required from each of the city's eight wards.) His major opponent is expected to be incumbent Anita Allen, the conservative chairwoman of the school board.

Jones is a 25-year-old Black Army veteran. He is a native of Washington, D. C., and a graduate of the District public schools. He helped found and publish the GI antiwar newspaper *Open Sights*, was active in the Third World Task Force which helped build the massive April 24 demonstration, and is now working in the Black Moratorium Committee, which is organizing for the fall antiwar offensive.

In announcing his candidacy, Jones was quoted in the Aug. 25 *Washington Post* as saying, "'Nixon can spend \$125,000 a day in Vietnam, but can tell school systems nationwide and in Washington that he has no money to spend on the D. C. schools.' Jones said students should get free medical and dental care, a guaranteed job at union wages after graduation and a free education, including post-graduate work," the *Post* continued.

Jones said that his campaign will concentrate on the high schools. Young people will be able to vote for school board members for the first

time as a result of the 18-year-old vote.

The 11-member school board was appointed by federal judges until 1968. Aside from a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives, first elected last March, it is the only form of local representation permitted District residents. One of the three at-large positions and five of the eight ward posts are at stake this November.

The other candidates who have filed nominating petitions are: Ira Mosely (at-large), a school teacher; Leaford C. Williams (ward), a public relations officer in the Dept. of Transportation; and Jennine S. Clark (ward) a former teacher. Petitions will be accepted through Sept. 18.

## Boston

All six certified candidates for mayor of Boston finally got together to debate the campaign issues Aug. 26. The 90-minute debate was televised on Kaiser-Globe owned Channel 56. The city's three major newspapers, the *Herald Traveler*, the *Record American*, and the *Boston Globe*, all carried extensive articles on it.

The format consisted of a series of questions asked by five local political reporters. John Powers, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, was able to clearly counterpose the program of the SWP to those of the other candidates.

Early in the debate, the candidates discussed what they were doing to bring young people into their campaigns. Boston's conservative Con-

gresswoman Louise Day Hicks outlined her extensive program. Powers responded: "I really couldn't see how any young person would be interested in voting for Hicks. Recently, when the draft bill came up in Congress, Hicks couldn't even bother to be there to vote. Part of the bill was a rider which said it was the sense of Congress to end the war in nine months. She wouldn't take a position on the war."

Powers then discussed the upcoming Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration and the Nov. 20 abortion repeal demonstration set for Washington, D. C., and encouraged all young people to participate.

Powers' remarks apparently bothered Hicks because she replied later in the debate, when the discussion had turned to another subject. Her reply is of special interest in light of the fact that she has long been one of Boston's strongest supporters of the war. "The candidate to my left [Powers] spoke about the fact that I was not in Congress to vote regarding the draft law," she said. "Now, I was present, I did vote on that matter. I also voted on the termination of the war, I had not voted on the termination of the war before because of the fact that there was nothing done about the prisoners of war. . . ."

As the *Boston Globe* article on the debate pointed out, Hicks did not vote June 28 on the Mansfield Amendment when it came up in Congress. She said at the time that she was home ill.

At another point, the discussion turned to similarities between Boston's problems and those of other major

cities. Powers was able to use this question to get at some of the basic questions in American society. "Boston's problems are the same as all the problems facing the major cities in this country," he stated. "The real problem is that the priorities of this system are wrong. We spend \$30-billion each year in Vietnam. We spend \$80-billion for defense. We pay people not to farm and Americans starve to death. We spend only a tiny sum of money to solve the problems of the cities. We spend very little on schools, health care, public housing, rapid transit and to fight pollution.

"As a socialist, I feel that I am the only candidate here who will do something about these problems. We will turn the priorities around. We will place human rights before property rights. We will go after the people who can really afford to pay—the banks, the big corporations and the insurance corporations and get the money to solve our problems."

During the two-minute summaries allotted each candidate, all but Powers discussed topics ranging from their educational backgrounds to civic pride. Powers concentrated upon what he considers the crucial issues of the campaign: the Vietnam war and the oppression of Blacks, Puerto Ricans and women. He outlined his program for solving these problems. In conclusion, he also indicated that there is "another issue which all the other candidates are afraid to discuss—democratic rights for homosexuals. If we are elected, we will repeal all the anti-gay laws on Boston's books."



# Jenness at NSA convention; Pulley at rallies in Midwest



Linda Jenness

Photos by Brian Shannon

By LAURA MILLER

A busy schedule of speaking engagements at banquets and conferences has already characterized the campaign activities for Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Both candidates begin national speaking tours in late September.

Jenness appeared at the week-long national conference of the National Student Association, held in Ft. Collins, Colo., Aug. 21-29. To an audience of student delegates from around the country, she attacked Nixon's wage freeze and urged students to help fight it. Noting the appearance of capitalist candidates George McGovern, Birch Bayh and Paul McCloskey at the conference—all three of whom refused to engage in debate with any other candidates—Jenness stated: "All of the Democratic and Republican politicians, especially those masquerading as liberals and doves, have sold out the student movement time and again. They have deceived the antiwar movement; they have laughed at the women's liberation movement; they have ignored the question of student rights. And now they have the audacity to campaign for the student vote."

"The SWP campaign says to students: Break from the lying politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. Remain independent of them; organize your struggles independently. And vote for the socialist alternative to the treachery of these two parties."

The following is the schedule of speaking engagements for SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness for the next two weeks:

Sept. 3—8:30 p.m., Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Headquarters, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

Sept. 8—8:30 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.

Sept. 10—Atlanta Campaign '72 Banquet, 1176-1/2 West Peachtree, Atlanta, Georgia.

On Sept. 11 at 8 p.m., both Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, will address a campaign rally at Brooklyn College (Boylan Hall, Rm. 4200).

Jenness later addressed a packed meeting of over 250 students at the University of Colorado in Boulder. She was given a loud ovation when she said that to vote for the Democratic Party was to "crawl on your belly" away from the mass movements. After her talk, independent campaign supporters formed a chapter of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

In an interview with the *Colorado Daily*, the Boulder student paper, Jenness spoke about the effect of Nixon's wage freeze on students. "They are freezing the wages of students who must work to put themselves through school," she said, "but this so-called price freeze doesn't prevent them from raising the cost of tuition."

A news conference held for the SWP presidential candidate in Denver received major coverage on two local TV stations and in both of the city's daily newspapers. She was in Denver Aug. 30 to help launch the Colorado SWP 1972 election campaign. Announced at the news conference were the candidacies of Joan Fulks, a prominent activist in the Colorado antiwar and women's liberation movements, for U. S. Senate; and Fern Gapin, a Boulder women's liberation activist, for U. S. Congress.

While Jenness was at the NSA convention, Andrew Pulley was addressing large campaign meetings in Minneapolis, Detroit and Chicago. A Minneapolis news conference



Andrew Pulley

gained publicity on two television and two radio stations.

In Detroit, Pulley was a guest on "For My People," a Black radio program, where he discussed the effects of the war on Black Americans and the need for an independent Black political party.

A highlight of Pulley's stay in the Midwest was a campaign banquet in Chicago which attracted an overflow crowd. Commenting on the wage freeze, Pulley told his audience, "The SWP campaign demands that the war in Southeast Asia be frozen, not the wages of the American workers who are opposed to the war."

Over \$300 was raised at the Chicago banquet for the campaign.

The following is a listing of newspapers which it is known have already carried coverage of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign. There are doubtless many others.

The New York Times, Willimantic (Conn.) Chronicle, St. Louis Globe Democrat, Newsday (Long Island), St. Paul Dispatch, Knoxville News-Sentinel, Arkansas Gazette, Philadelphia News, Fall River (Mass.) Herald News, Denver Post, National Observer, Atlanta Journal, Jacksonville Daily News, Lima (Ohio) News, Atlanta Constitution, Lorain (Ohio) Journal, Cleveland Call & Post, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

San Francisco Chronicle, Canton (Ohio) Repository, Chicago Tribune, Delphos (Ohio) Herald, Times Leader (Martins Ferry, Ohio), Xenia (Ohio) Daily Gazette, Greenville (Ohio) Daily Gazette, Republican Courier (Findlay, Ohio), Journal Herald (Dayton, Ohio), Cleveland Press, San Francisco Examiner, Philadelphia Inquirer, Los Angeles Times, Groton (Conn.) News.

Wilmington (Del.) Evening News, San Diego Union, Springfield (Ohio) News-Sun, Warren (Ohio) Tribune Chronicle, Evening Outlook (Santa Monica, Calif.), Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Springfield (Ohio) Sun, Upper Sandusky (Ohio) Daily Chief Union, Bowling Green (Ohio) Daily Sentinel-Tribune, Shelby (Ohio) Daily Globe, Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph.

Toledo (Ohio) Blade, Uhrichsville (Ohio) Evening Chronicle, Bryan (Ohio) Times, Kenton (Ohio) Times, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Milwaukee Journal, Cincinnati Post & Times-Star, Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch, Cincinnati Enquirer, and Washington Post.

The following editorial appeared in the Aug. 24 *Cleveland Press*. It was entitled "Socialists can teach other parties a lesson."

*In case it escaped your notice, the Socialist Workers Party held its convention here recently and nominated for president Mrs. Linda Jenness, 30.*

*Maybe Mrs. Jenness will appeal to the liberated women's bloc, but she's a bit young to serve. The nomination for vice-president went to Andrew Pulley, a former Clevelander.*

*Mrs. Jenness minced no words. She said she did not want bankers, businessmen, capitalist politicians and millionaires to vote for her. But she would appreciate the support of everyone else, including young people.*

*All in all the Socialist's convention was a model of brevity and conciseness. Democrats and Republicans could learn something from this when they hold their annual political circuses next year.*

# Courts extend student voting rights

By ERNIE HARSCH

DETROIT—The Michigan Supreme Court unanimously ruled Aug. 27 that Michigan college students must be allowed to register to vote in the communities where they attend school. This follows in the wake of a similar ruling in Massachusetts that set the precedent for extending the democratic rights of students to include the right to vote in the communities where they reside.

Previously, students in Michigan were denied this right since, according to law, they did not automatically gain residency in their college towns and the city clerks held the power to decide which students were residents and which weren't.

Associate Justice John B. Swainson said that Michigan's voter registration law, as it applies to college students, is in violation of the equal protection and due process clauses of the U. S. Constitution. He said, "It is no longer constitutionally permissible to exclude students from the franchise because of the fear of the way they may vote."

This ruling stemmed from a suit brought against the city clerk of Ann Arbor by students at the University of Michigan.

Of the estimated 750,000 Michigan young people who are now eligible to vote under the 26th Amendment, about 200,000 of them are students at four-year colleges and universities in Michigan who are now able to vote where they go to school.

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The Reagan administration suffered a setback in its effort to curb the newly won voting rights of those 18 to 20 when the California Supreme Court ruled Aug. 27 that the new voters have the right to register and to vote where they actually live. The ruling reversed the decision by State Attorney General Evelle Younger that those under 21 must register in the district where their parents live.

The court stated that to compel minors living away from home to travel to their parents' district to register or to vote abridged their voting rights.

The restrictive Younger decision had been tailored to answer the concern that the politics of smaller, often conservative communities—particularly college towns—could be affected by the influx of younger voters.

The court ruling will apply to the November 1971 California elections as well as to the 1972 presidential contest. Secretary of State Edmund Brown, who opposed the original restrictive ruling, ordered election officials to implement the court ruling immediately. The deadline for registering to vote in this November's elections is Sept. 7. Brown urged election officials to post notices of the court decision in places where young people congregate.

The case was brought to the state Supreme Court by nine unmarried minors through Common Cause, and the People's Lobby, an antipollution group.

# Denver Chicanos attacked by cops

By MIGUEL PENDAS

DENVER—An attack by Denver police on the West Side Chicano barrio Aug. 8 has touched off a series of events in Denver involving police and Chicano youth.

A three-day fiesta being held at the Platte Valley Action Center was ending late on Aug. 8 when the first incident began. The purpose of the fiesta was to raise funds for the building of a much-needed swimming pool on the West Side, which the city government had not seen fit to provide.

According to eyewitnesses, about 600 young Chicanos were still congregating in the area when an Anglo, Richard Noakes, 22, was stabbed in the stomach. Brown Berets, who were on the scene to prevent any disturbances, quickly took Noakes inside the Action Center and called Denver General Hospital for an ambulance. It is standard procedure for hospitals to notify the police in such cases.

According to Dan Trujillo, director of the center, two plainclothesmen arrived and began to hassle a young Chicano in the gathering crowd. The reaction of the crowd was rather hostile, and the cops panicked and began firing their riot shotguns into the air. All available police were called to the area.

The Chicanos responded to the cops' provocations with rocks, bottles and gunfire. Over 75 cops arrived, set up three command posts, and opened a barrage of gunfire that wounded five Chicanos.

The shooting continued for 45 minutes. Another eyewitness who was arrested, a Brown Beret who wishes

to remain unidentified, told *The Militant* how police behaved at the scene. During the shooting, he and others at the center urged the police to let the ambulance in to take the stabbed man, Noakes, away. One cop replied: "Let the motherfucker die."

When police finally broke into the center, they roughed up the frightened people inside, yelling "Kill the dirty Mexicans," and "I'm low on ammunition, shoot to kill."

Nearly 100 Chicanos were crammed into police vans and buses and hauled off to Denver City Jail. Some were later transferred to Denver County Jail. Fourteen were released without charges the following day, and three were convicted and sentenced the same day. Ten of the 14 are juveniles.

In a press conference at the center on the next day, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, along with Trujillo and Father Peter Garcia of St. Cajetan Catholic Church on the West Side, denounced the police as responsible for the violence.

That evening, 400 Chicanos attended a mass meeting called at the Crusade for Justice hall to discuss the incident.

Father Garcia called Police Chief Seaton a "liar" for intimating that Brown Berets were the cause of the riot. "I really think they [the police] were the cause of the incident last night," he charged.

Various eyewitnesses gave reports of the incident that exposed the police account as a lie. Support was given by members of UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) from the University of Colorado.

Denver Mayor McNichols is attempting to create the illusion that a mere "breakdown in communication" is responsible for the "problem." In line with this, his office called for a hearing Aug. 13 at the City Council chambers. At the hearing, Trujillo, Garcia, and Eloy Espinosa from the Crusade announced that a meeting of community people had decided to boycott any hearing not held at the Action Center itself.

Trujillo, Garcia and Espinosa then led a walkout from the hearing to the Action Center, where several hundred Chicanos gathered to hold their own hearing.

Trujillo announced that complaints were being filed with the Department of Justice, and that a petition calling for the removal of Seaton is being circulated.

On the same day, Police Chief Seaton released a statement to the news media saying that Chicano militants were planning civil disobedience "to cause the police to respond and react." What Seaton was referring to was a sleep-in planned by Chicano youth in protest over the 11 p.m. curfew imposed on parks in the Chicano barrio by city ordinance. The Denver police used this excuse to launch police "sweeps" through the West Side the following Sunday. These "sweeps" included cops armed with shotguns, the use of a helicopter, and an armored car.

It is apparent to most people in Denver that although the events may have quieted down for the time being, the problems are far from solved.

## Ellsberg enters plea of not guilty

By LEE SMITH

Daniel Ellsberg pleaded not guilty in a Los Angeles federal court Aug. 16 to charges that he illegally possessed and copied the Pentagon papers. He indicated to reporters after pleading that the basis of his defense would be the American people's right to know about the secret papers.

Ellsberg's attorney, Leonard Boudin of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, had sought to delay

Ellsberg's removal to Los Angeles for arraignment and pleading until a hearing determined whether the present indictment was based on evidence obtained by illegal wiretapping. However, the First District Appeals Court denied the petition for a hearing Aug. 10. The reason for holding the proceedings in Los Angeles is that Ellsberg obtained the papers while he was employed by the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica.

The grand jury that issued the present indictment is continuing to meet, however, and the possibility exists that a new indictment could be issued, superseding the one Ellsberg now faces. The *New York Times* of Aug. 17 indicated that "reliable sources" believed the indictment might be expanded to include conspiracy charges that would draw others into the case as Ellsberg's co-defendants.

Another Boston grand jury that is meeting separately to consider charges related to the publication of the study by the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* could also issue superseding indictments.

If no new indictments come out of this tangled nest of investigations, Ellsberg's case will open with pretrial hearings in Los Angeles in January 1972, leading to a trial probably sometime in the spring.

In a sideline development, Ellsberg's attorney, Leonard Boudin, one of the most distinguished civil liberties attorneys in the nation, has evidently made himself the target of a smear campaign by taking on the Ellsberg defense. A nearly subliterary, red-baiting article, obviously gleaned from government witch-hunting sources, appeared in the *San Diego Union* at the time of Ellsberg's arraignment. Under the headline, "Daniel Ellsberg's Lawyer Linked To Red Movements," someone named Ray McHugh from something called the Copley News Service recites in Joe McCarthy guilt-by-association style the cases in which Boudin has defended the civil liberties of Communists and socialists.

# ¡La Raza en Acción!

The trial of several Los Angeles Brown Berets, which began on July 26, for allegedly setting fires at the Biltmore Hotel on April 24, 1969, revealed that an undercover L. A. police agent had infiltrated the Brown Berets and was an instigator and participant in the fires.

The agent, Fernando (Frito) Sumaya, said he was instructed to go undercover and join the Berets to see if the group, which was organized in 1967 to publicize and protest cases of police brutality, "was under the control of communists."

In pursuit of this goal, Sumaya also participated in the fire-bombing of a Safeway store in East Los Angeles, a fact which he admitted under cross examination. Naturally, he was not arrested, although the supposed bomb-thrower was.

When defense attorney Oscar Acosta—the well-known Chicano lawyer—complained about prejudicial questions presented by the prosecuting attorney, the judge found Acosta in contempt and ordered him to spend two nights behind bars. To top it off, when the two other defense attorneys refused to proceed after Acosta was sentenced, the judge also ordered them to jail for one night.

The racism of the education system was exposed by a study made by a sociologist at the University of California in Riverside which revealed that a large number of Chicano and Black children have been mislabeled "educable mentally retarded." The study, which was reported in the July 9 issue of *El Chicano*, showed that nearly three-quarters of all students placed in classes for the mentally retarded were mislabeled because the testing procedures do not take into account a child's social and cultural background.

The sociologist reported that "Only 26 percent of them (those judged 'educable mentally retarded') would have been labeled as such if the school psychologists had studied the child's performance out of school and his family's social and cultural background in addition to looking at his IQ."

Although the test for a child's adaptive behavior is essential in determining whether a child is retarded or not, children are only tested for their IQs, which means Black and particularly Chicano students end up in special EMR classes in greatly disproportionate numbers.

If the children were accurately tested, the report concludes, this disproportion would almost disappear.

The deep-going opposition in the Chicano community to the war in Indochina continues to find new forms of expression. In Santa Clara, Calif., Delia Alvarez, a Chicana whose brother is the longest held prisoner of war in U.S. history, has formed an organization called "Families of POWs and MIAs (Missing In Action) for Indochina Peace."

A UPI dispatch, reprinted in *Regeneracion* (Vol. I, No. 10) said that Alvarez and her family were starting a new movement and that she "was urging other relatives of war prisoners to join her family in calling for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam."

The anger and frustration of the Puerto Rican community of Camden, N.J., over rising unemployment and repeated incidents of police brutality resulted in a major explosion in late August which the Aug. 23 *New York Times* described as "the worst in the city's history."

Camden is a dilapidated city with a declining population of which 16,000 are Puerto Rican and 35,000 are Black. The Puerto Rican population has almost doubled in the last ten years. One third of all its housing is in need of rehabilitation.

According to the *New York Times*, the city's unemployment level is estimated at 12.9 percent and the level of Puerto Rican unemployment may be as high as 16 percent, while underemployment is perhaps 50 percent.

The uprising was provoked by the police when 200 demonstrators gathered at Roosevelt Plaza outside of City Hall to demand the dismissal of two cops who had beaten a Puerto Rican man some days before.

Without giving the crowd time to disperse, police began throwing teargas. Puerto Rican youth then responded with stone-throwing, expropriation of goods from stores, and fire-bombing, which spread to other parts of the city.

After a two-day curfew was placed on the city, things quieted down, but according to the *New York Times* report, "Puerto Rico Libre" banners could still be seen on cars and homes.

— MIRTHA VIDAL

# Women's stake in fighting the wage freeze

By CAROLINE LUND

At the Aug. 26 Women's March for Equality rally in New York, City Councilwoman Carol Greitzer urged: "Let's serve notice on President Nixon that we will not let his wage freeze keep women from struggling for restitution wherever they are being underpaid."

In 1969, the median income for women workers was only 60 percent of men's income. Even in the same occupational categories women earn less than men. In 1969, for instance, women's income ranged from 48 percent of men's income in sales jobs to 72 percent of men's income in teaching.

Thus, women workers need wage increases not only to keep up with inflation, but also simply to get a living wage on a par with what male workers earn doing similar work.

By freezing all wages, Nixon is penalizing working women even more than other workers. He is enforcing the continuation of discrimination against women workers. He is placing an official stamp of approval upon the second-class treatment of women.

During the wage-freeze period, women will lose a great deal of back wages if they are prevented from winning equal pay. From 1964 to 1971, almost 80,000 women employees won \$30-million through legal suits to win equal pay. According to the Department of Labor, the number of women filing complaints about unequal pay doubled between 1969 and 1970, and doubled again from 1970 to 1971.

The wage freeze will be particularly unjust to women who are domestic workers and women who are heads of families. In most states, domestic workers are not even covered under minimum wage laws, and these women are fighting to achieve just this minimum, poverty-level wage which is denied them. On Jan. 15, 1972, for instance, some 100,000 domestic workers in New York State will for the first time come under the \$1.85 state

minimum wage, due to a new law passed by the legislature. If the wage freeze is continued past the 90 days, will these women be denied a minimum wage?

There are 5.4 million women who are heads of households; that is, their small income must support an entire family. The Department of Labor reports that one-third of these families headed by women have incomes below the official "poverty line," set in 1969 at \$3,700 for a family of four.

But women are not accepting this injustice; they are fighting. One of the best examples of how women workers are fighting back is the telephone workers strike. In some areas telephone workers are still on strike despite Nixon's edict.

Female employees of Bell Telephone average only 62 percent of the wages received by male workers for Bell. One of the demands in the recent telephone strike was for raising women's wages to 65 percent of men's—a pitifully small increase, but at least a step forward from the previous total refusal of the union to fight for the rights of women members.

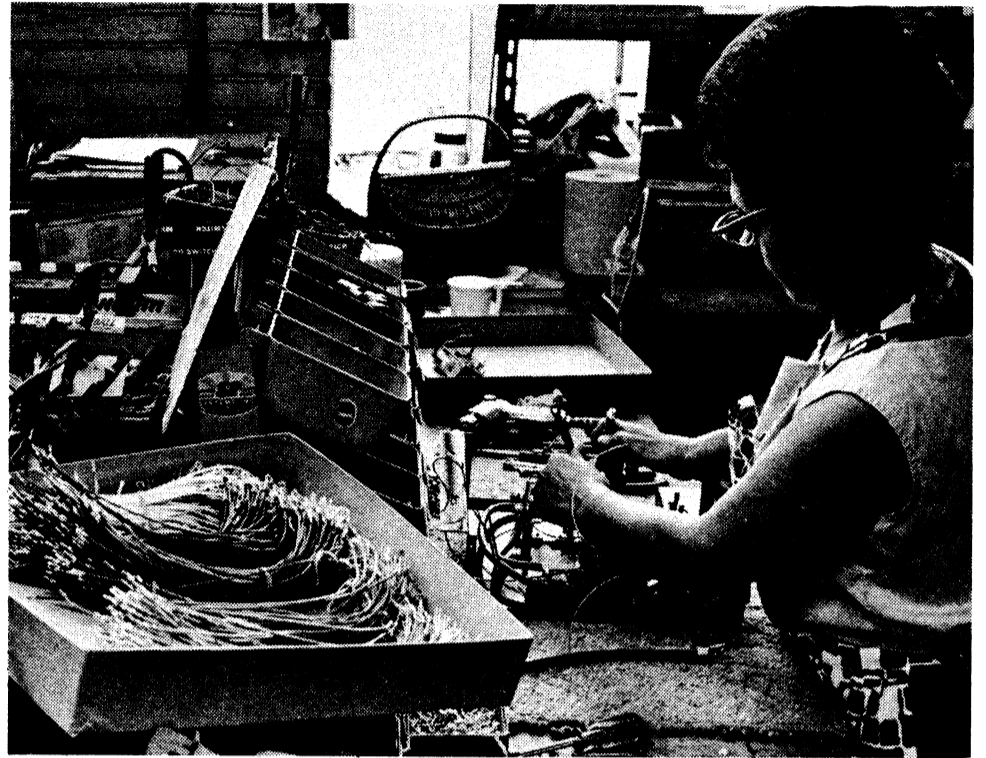
"The women are raising hell," said an official of the telephone workers union in Pennsylvania, which refused to accept the proposed agreement with the company in July. "They've got fire in their eyes. If you think women's lib hasn't had any brush-off on them, you'd better look again." The July 26 *Wall Street Journal* quotes Pat Meckle, an overseas operator in New York City, as saying, "They [Bell management] think we're stupid women who don't know from nothing. But if they don't want to listen to us, we'll get a Betty Friedan and maybe they'll listen to us then."

Jo Stanley, a San Francisco operator, says that one reason for the greater fighting spirit among the women is the publicity about women's liberation. "The women are not sitting back and saying it's the men's thing. It's given them the courage to show what they felt before but were afraid

to express. They're fighting for their rights."

The militancy of the women workers is disturbing to the union bureaucrats. The Pennsylvania telephone workers union, for instance, has been hit with 35 injunctions for illegal mass picketing. About half of these, says the union president, were due to "women . . . who are busting loose."

out a united, powerful action campaign in opposition to the wage freeze and develop its own program for ending the oppressive effects of inflation and unemployment. A congress of labor and its allies should support the fight against the oppression of women, including our struggle for equal pay, child-care centers and the right to abortion.



Woman worker assembles parts in electrical plant

LNS photo

The increasing militancy of women workers will be of great significance in the fight of labor against Nixon's wage freeze. Because women are among those hardest hit by the wage freeze, they will be in the vanguard of those fighting against it. Women in unions should press for the calling of a national congress of the entire labor movement and its allies—women, Blacks, Chicanos, students, and others who are fighting against oppression and have a genuine interest in fighting the wage freeze. Such a congress should map

In addition, women workers and women who do not work outside their homes will be among the first to notice that prices are *not* frozen, because they do much of the shopping. Prices will continue to rise, and women will see the need to press for consumer price committees that could organize an effective publicity campaign to expose the fact that food prices rise while wages are frozen. If such committees were part of a mass movement, they could even begin policing prices in neighborhood groceries and supermarkets.

# Why wage-freeze fight is important to Blacks

By TONY THOMAS

The wage freeze, the plans to cut back on welfare and federal hiring, the attacks on the right to strike, and every other aspect of Nixon's "new economic policy" deepen the oppression of African-Americans. By outlawing the right to strike for better wages, Nixon's edict freezes the economic differential between whites and Blacks that is basic to this racist society.

According to the Labor Department's statistics for the second quarter of this year, 9.9 percent of the Black labor force is unemployed versus 5.5 percent of the whites. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the average annual income of Blacks is three-fifths that of whites. A report by the Urban Institute found that on the average, Blacks were paid 27 percent less than whites working in the same job positions. The same report found that if equal job opportunities and equal pay for equal work for Black people were established, Black wages would be increased by 45 percent.

Any attempt by the Black liberation movement to change these inequalities and gain decent living standards for all Blacks is now branded illegal by Nixon's wage freeze.

Wages are not all that is involved. Welfare payments have already been

cut back in many states to below established minimums, not to speak of the real needs of Black people. Nixon proposes to defer for at least a year consideration of further federal financial aid to welfare programs.

Black unemployment is staggering, reaching 32 percent for brothers and sisters under 20. A massive federal program of public works to improve the Black community, controlled by the Black community, is urgently needed. Instead, Nixon is calling for a cut in already ridiculously low federal spending and employment in this area.

Nixon has stated he will now cut back a minimum of 100,000 federal jobs. This will hit African-Americans especially hard since 15-20 percent of all federal employees are Black. Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities make up roughly 50 percent of the lowest grades of federal jobs, where these cutbacks are most likely to hit.

Municipal workers have already been subjected to a six-year-long attack on their wages caused by the war-primed inflation and the freezing of city, state and federal budgets in order to pour billions of tax dollars into the war. Black workers were in the forefront of such battles as the

postal workers' and sanitation workers' strikes to cut across this blatant wage discrimination against government workers.

Now these actions are branded illegal by Nixon, just as corporate attacks on wages and price-gouging by ghetto businessmen and slumlords reach new heights.

The wage freeze emphasizes the need for African-Americans to break from the Republican and Democratic parties. Both of these racist parties, including the most liberal, "pro-Black" leaders like McGovern and Kennedy, have supported the wage freeze.

If we had had our own political voice—an independent Black party—when Nixon decreed a freeze on wages, it could have mobilized and organized mass actions within the Black community against this attack.

Blacks should also support the demand for organizing a congress of labor and all forces fighting capitalist oppression, for the purpose of mobilizing the masses of Americans against the capitalist wage-freeze assault.

The millions of Black workers in unskilled and semiskilled jobs will be the first and hardest hit by Nixon's wage offensive. Black workers constitute significant segments of such key

industrial unions as the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers, in addition to the municipal workers unions.

Brothers and sisters inside and outside the union movement should demand that organized labor live up to its fundamental responsibility: defense of the standard of living of workers against wage attacks by the bosses and the bosses' government.

The purpose of calling a congress of labor and its allies would be to launch an action campaign against the wage freeze and to draw up a concrete program for fighting inflation and unemployment. The program for fighting inflation should demand that automatic cost-of-living increases—"escalator clauses"—be written into all union contracts in order to protect workers against skyrocketing prices. It should also support the struggle against the Vietnam war, the primary cause of the intense inflation.

The program for unemployment should include the demand for amending the wages-and-hours law to implement an immediate 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay. In addition, it should call for immediately compensating all unemployed at full union pay for as long as they are unemployed, whether or not they were previously employed.

The following article is reprinted from the Sept. 6 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The *Quatrième Internationale*, which Mandel refers to, is the French-language theoretical organ of the Fourth International.

By ERNEST MANDEL

BRUSSELS, Aug. 24—The July issue of *Quatrième Internationale* carried an editorial dated July 5, 1971, on the worsening crisis of imperialism. The following sentences are of particular interest:

"The capitalists will thus follow a different tack. Their response [to a recession that threatens to become general] will be concentrated in two areas. They will try to increase their foreign markets and to boost the rate of profit at the expense of the working class.

"Increasing international markets means expanding East-West trade, with the U.S. joining in the game (relaxing embargoes against the USSR, resuming exports to China). Likewise, it means stepped-up penetration of the markets of semicolonial countries and a new sharpening of interimperialist competition. The attempt to raise the rate of profit at the expense of the working class involves trying to limit or abolish the only substantial right the workers have under the capitalist system, the right of collective bargaining. The means for this are 'incomes policies,' which virtually all tendencies in the international bourgeoisie have begun to demand."

And further on:

". . . in order to strengthen the dollar, American imperialism will combine increased protectionism with a slowdown in real capital outflows and a new effort to retool American industry. . . ."

Six weeks later, these forecasts were borne out by the decisions Nixon announced to the world August 15.

The Marxist analysis of the class nature of the American state, of the fundamental nature of the capitalist system, has been confirmed once again. The American bourgeoisie defends its class interests—not an ideal of freedom. This defense is mounted today not only against the states that have broken out of the imperialist system and against the colonial revolution that threatens to take several more countries along the same road.

It is directed against what is historically the most redoubtable enemy of Wall Street—the American proletariat. It is aimed at shaking up Wall Street's most precious "allies," that is, its most efficient competitors—Japan, Western Germany. "Freedom," including the famous free trade, is swept aside, as is always the case when the system founded on private property, that is, competition and anarchy, is shaken by a serious crisis.

### Disintegration of the international monetary system

For three and a half years we have been witnessing the slow death agony of the international monetary system founded at Bretton Woods under the banner of supremacy of the dollar. This system sought to escape from the dilemma that has confronted the capitalist economy since the beginning of its historic crisis of decline marked by the first world war: either maintenance of the gold standard with more and more catastrophic crises of overproduction; or abandonment of the gold standard and a retreat toward economic nationalism, protectionism, and inconvertible currencies, which signifies not less disastrous consequences for capitalist international trade.

The solution consisted of basing capitalist currencies both on gold and on the dollar, of maintaining stable rates of exchange, and of installing flexible rules, tolerating in reality a permanent inflation, above all when faced a crisis of overproduction impended, in order to avoid a new 1929.

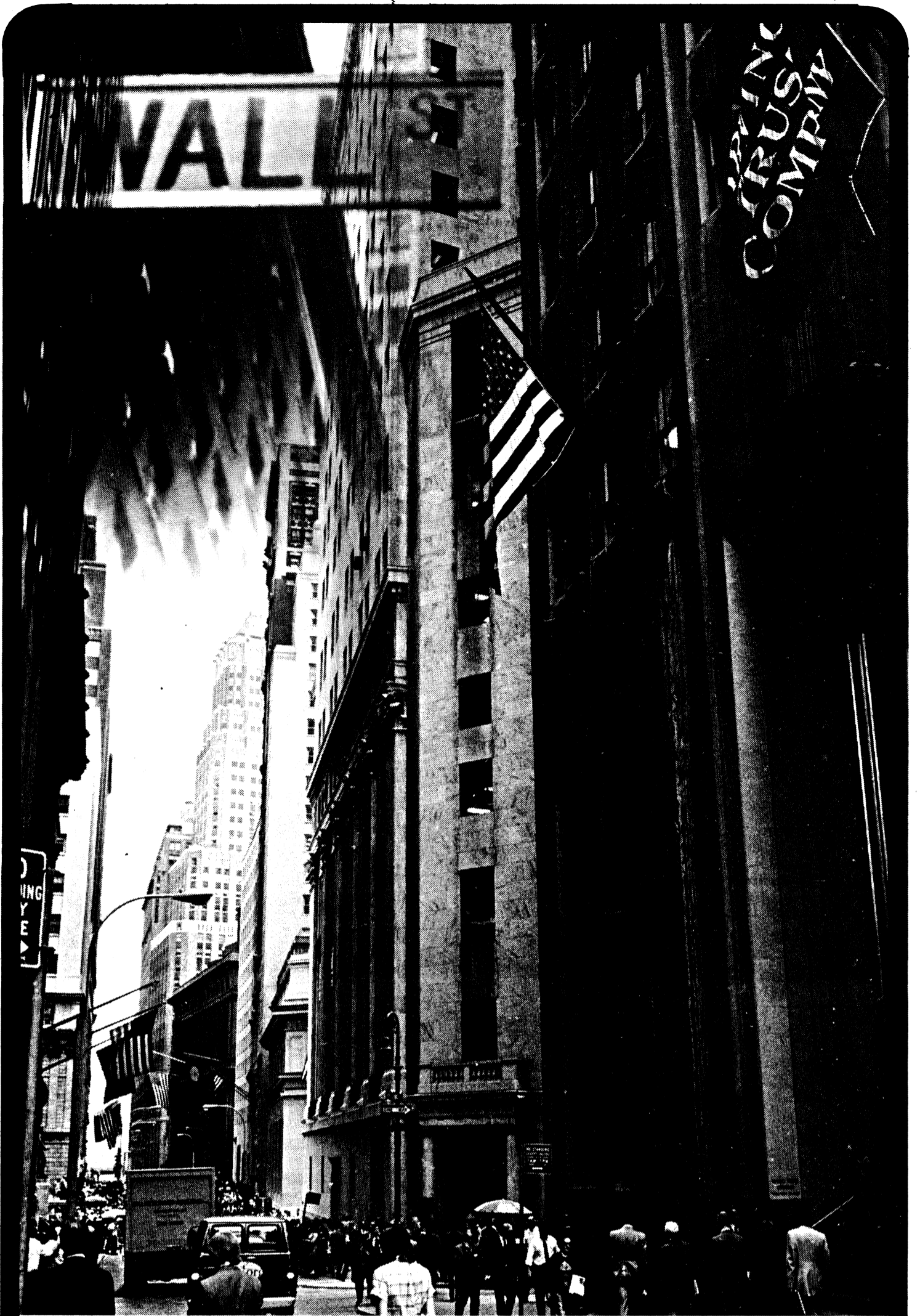


Photo by Ed Weaver

# The downfall of the dollar

So long as the inflation remained moderate, and the dollar lost its purchasing power at a slower rate than the currencies of the other important imperialist powers, the system functioned to the satisfaction of all the imperialists.

Already at that time, it is true, the arrangement signified a more and more ruinous indebtedness for the semicolonial countries, the big losers at Bretton Woods. But that the "great" should exploit the "small" is the most natural of all things in the capitalist world.

No imperialist complained about the

deficit in the U.S. balance of payments in the fifties—and with reason! Without this deficit, the system invented at Bretton Woods would not have been able to function. The capitalist expansion would have died for lack of dollars and gold, that is, of means of international payment.

Things began to turn sour not because of inflation of the dollar—that had been going on uninterrupted for thirty years. Things began to turn sour when the decline in buying power of the dollar became greater than that of other currencies, when the rest of the world's holdings in dollars ex-

panded out of all proportion to the rapidly diminishing stock of gold held by the U.S.

From then on it was clear that devaluation of the dollar would occur sooner or later. The international bourgeoisie—including a good part of big business in the U.S., whether through the multinational companies directly or through go-betweens—began to ready themselves for this contingency. In plain language, this is called speculating on devaluation of the dollar. And in a market economy, when many capitalists ready themselves for a contingency, they precipi-

The inconvertibility of the dollar into gold—a consequence of the disproportion between dollar holdings in the hands of foreigners and the gold reserve at Fort Knox, which shrank to the "minimum strategic reserve" of \$10 billion—did not begin on August 15, 1971. It has been the reality since the end of the "gold pool" (end of 1968).

From that time on, the central banks of the big imperialist powers have in reality stopped exchanging dollars for gold. What was a provisional mutual undertaking has now become a definitive rule because of Nixon's unilateral decision.

The real change announced August 15 was thus not the inconvertibility of the dollar, already in force for three years. The real change was the factual devaluation of the dollar, not in relation to gold but in relation to the other currencies of the imperialist world.

## Depreciation of the dollar

Nixon's decision to let the dollar "float" signifies in reality a decision to depreciate the dollar in relation to other currencies. Because once supply and demand is permitted to operate freely on the exchange market, this outcome is inevitable in view of the current state of inflation of the U.S. dollar in relation to the currencies of the principal competitors of the United States.

The irony of history is that in thundering against the "international speculators," Nixon gave in to them all along the line. It was exactly this depreciation that they were prepared for. In affirming that he was out to defend the stability of the dollar, Nixon did exactly the contrary. He acknowledged *urbi et orbi*<sup>1</sup> that the dollar has been devaluated. Double talk comes natu-

ate. The Gaullists, who have spouted for a long time against the Yankees for buying "our" factories, are decidedly inconsistent in their ideas. Yesterday's complaints are forgotten in exchange for the new complaints. Today, what is involved above all is to protect "our" foreign markets and to sell "our" goods. If not, unemployment will rise in France and along with it the threat of a new May 1968 at the door. . .

The different reactions of the various imperialist powers is tied in with their particular interests and their respective levels of power. The West German capitalists, who are the strongest, do not fear a new minor revaluation of the deutsche mark (an inevitable consequence of floating exchange). The British, who are the weakest, are seeking to profit from the confusion and carry out a discreet new devaluation of the pound. The Italians, the most threatened socially, wish above all to avoid any change in the lira.

As for the French capitalists, who benefited from the effects of the devaluation of the franc during the West German boom, they would like to keep their cake while eating it. Their "two-tier exchange" means that French exports would profit from a lower exchange rate for the franc, while the movement of French capital would profit from the lower exchange rate of the dollar.

Such a system, possible in a small country for a short time, quickly becomes impractical in a more important imperialist power. It opens the way to all kinds of speculation, gambling on the stock market, illicit trading and outright frauds (but perhaps that is why the new Société du Dix Décembre, which was already up to

explain crises essentially by these phenomena, was mistaking the appearance for the reality. This observation remains as valid as ever.

When the dollar is depreciated, when the international monetary system set up at Bretton Woods goes down, this is above all not because of wicked speculators, of too imprudent creditors, or too prudent bankers (especially in other countries!). It is not because money is "badly managed" or because the advice of Professor Rueff has not been followed, or because one has not gone back to the exalted philosophy of the French peasants and kept one's savings in a sock, or hidden in a washing machine, in the form of gold coins. It is because the economic system as a whole is sick.

The fundamental cause of the inflation is the indebtedness of governments, businesses, and consumers. This indebtedness has been mushrooming since 1940 (that of the governments since 1914). Without this indebtedness and this permanent inflation, expansion, full employment, economic growth have become impossible in a capitalist system in decline. The armaments economy is the basis of state indebtedness. Abnormally swollen credit is the basis of private indebtedness. For thirty years, neo-capitalist "prosperity" has ridden on an ocean of credit. Sooner or later waves of inflation were bound to engulf the ship. The collapse of the dollar has shown that the "stabilizers," constructed with such pain, were no longer able to resist the smashing of these ever more powerful waves.

Capitalist prosperity depends on two conditions—a rising rate of profit and an expanding market. The logic of capitalism is such that these conditions coincide only at certain moments. When they coincide temporarily, this in itself creates the conditions for their subsequent separation. The two coincide momentarily during the course of each economic cycle and periodically on a more general and durable scale. Since 1966, we have entered a long period in which the coinciding of the two is being undermined more and more.

To emerge from the recession that has been hitting the American economy for the past two years, Nixon requested Congress to give a tax credit on investments and to repeal an excise tax on automobiles. The industrialists and bankers, as well as not a few "liberal" politicians, applauded. What's good for profits is good for the United States. Who would dare think otherwise in the paradise of "free enterprise"?

## 'Merry-go-round' has only begun'

Right-wing trade-union figures like George Meany protested under pressure from the ranks. What about the freeze on dividends and undistributed profits as a counterweight to the freeze on wages? Where are the guarantees against rises in prices? Where is the compensation for *past losses* in buying power already sustained by the wage workers?

These protests signify that the American workers are going to battle harder for their standard of living, threatened by inflation, taxes, the consequences of the war in Vietnam, and the repercussions that can be counted on as the American bosses seek to answer international competition. They signify longer and harder strikes. But not only that. They involve above all a new contraction of the domestic American market (the reductions in public expenditures and the increased cost of imported products both serve to reduce overall buying power already under full retraction).

How is unemployment to be wiped out under these conditions? Moreover, don't the bosses at bottom want to maintain unemployment in order to hold down wages? But under these

conditions, how can the economy be genuinely started up again (and, in passing, assure Nixon's reelection next year)?

The European capitalists are not without guile. They point their fingers at American protectionism. They have become the attorneys of free trade. But at the least economic shock, they too will come out foursquare for sacred self-interest. They will defend their foreign outlets by devaluations one after the other (French franc, pound sterling) or by stabilization measures (deutsche mark) which will end up by provoking unemployment either at home or among neighboring countries.

With Wall Street playing some of its trump cards, the reaction in the Common Market was *every man for himself* to such a degree that the European bourgeoisie could not lay out any collective defense against American protectionism. Big business may well end up by compelling its politicians to act in the sense of closer European "solidarity" out of fear that Uncle Sam will export his unemployment to the old continent. But how to divide the risks, the losses, and the profits of such solidarity? This is the subject of the current bargaining.

Under these conditions, it is excluded that the inflation will stop. A recession that threatens to become general, increasing unemployment, excess capacity hitting a half dozen key industries cannot be combined with a halt to inflation except at the price of a new 1929, a price that no imperialist power is ready to pay. But persistent inflation joined to exacerbated international competition signifies an erosion of the international monetary system that can no longer be averted. This means that an inter-imperialist agreement on a sufficient new international reserve money is impossible. And that makes certain the threat that the growth of international trade will be slowed down. The conclusion is accentuation of the reversal of the 1945-65 expansionist tendency.

The violent perturbation of the dollar means more than devaluation of a symbol and a monetary system. The international capitalist system as a whole has emerged from a long cycle of expansion to begin a long cycle of much slower growth and many more crises.

In reality, since the German recession of 1966-67, the international capitalist economy has not had a single year of general prosperity. There has not been a single year without a recession or monetary crisis somewhere. The merry-go-round has only begun. The long cycles last on an average twenty to twenty-five years.

If the workers so desire, if they provide themselves with a revolutionary leadership that is up to the height of the historic task, this cycle can give rise to the victory of socialism in the West. If their struggles end in defeats because of lack of an adequate leadership, then capitalism will seek to resolve its structural crisis on their flesh and bones, as it did during the thirties and forties. The crisis that has begun is thus both a promise and a warning.

1. "To the city (Rome) and to the world." The words with which the pope formerly accompanied benedictions pronounced on the Catholic world during certain solemn church festivals.



Ernest Mandel

# Nixon's 'price freeze' is a fraud

These price exemptions directly affecting the cost of living have been approved by the Office of Emergency Preparedness (OEP) since Nixon's Aug. 15 "Stabilization Order."

## 1. Consumer items on which prices can go up by any amount:

All unprocessed food, packaged or unpackaged, such as eggs, fresh fish, uncut chicken, fresh fruits and vegetables

All imported goods

All interest rates

State and local taxes

## 2. Consumer items for which the OEP has approved price increases that had been announced but not put into effect before Aug. 15:

Insurance premiums on the majority of casualty and liability policies on homes, automobiles and other property

School tuition

In addition, prices car dealers may charge for new '72 models can be higher than the discount prices prevailing for new '71 models in the 30 days prior to Aug. 15. However, the '72 model prices are not supposed to exceed '71 prices charged last fall.

rally to the American bourgeois politicians just as it does to the gangsters of the star-spangled republic.

In European capitalist circles—beginning with the Gaullists in France—the devaluation of the dollar is being denounced as a serious blow against trade for Europe and for Japan. It is certain that Nixon's immediate aim is protectionist in nature. It is designed to help American exports and make imports to the United States more difficult.

But these same circles forget that in the capitalist system, money is not only a means of exchange but a means of payment. Dollars serve not only for world trade; they also serve for the export of capital. What American capitalism gains in the "commodities" column, it loses in the "capital" column. From now on, American capitalism will need more dollars to buy a factory in Europe. And a German or Japanese capitalist will be able to buy a factory in the United States with fewer deutsche marks and yen.

That is why American imperialism long resisted the temptation to devalu-

its neck in the affair of les Halles and the Garantie Foncière, plunged into the new situation with delight; these gentlemen thieves have long knives, particularly when they are inside the government!). Just who is to compel an exporter to repatriate his deutsche marks in a "commodities" column when he can obtain a larger sum of francs in a "capital" column? Just who is to check up on fictitious imports designed to obtain deutsche marks at a good price to be resold at a higher rate of the "free market"?

The fact that after twenty years of expanding international capitalist trade—which, it should be noted, had only by 1965 brought per capita exports back up to the level of 1913—complete anarchy, insecurity, and disorder again reign says a lot about the insoluble historic crisis shaking the system that survives in the West, thanks to the traditional labor leaders!

## Behind the monetary screen

Marx liked to repeat that monetary phenomena were only reflections of the economic life, and whoever sought to

By FRANK LOVELL

Less than two weeks after President Nixon issued his August 15 wage-freeze proclamation, the dispirited old men who speak in the name of the potentially powerful 18-million-member union movement were in full retreat before the government-led assault on the living standard of all working men and women in this country.

Some brave words were spoken in the beginning. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO federation, denounced the government edict as "patently discriminatory" and declared the union movement would oppose it.

In San Francisco, President Harry Bridges of the independent Interna-

prepared to appeal to the courts.

On Aug. 26, 135 attorneys representing most major unions in all parts of the country met at AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington and then advised Meany and other union bureaucrats to expect no help from the courts. This collection of union attorneys—"the brains"—suggested lobbying Congress.

This suggestion was no more promising than the courts, its only advantage being that it allows greater pretense and further stalling.

The presidential "stabilization order" states, ". . . by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. . . ."

The Economic Stabilization Act of

and the Office of Price Administration (OPA) of World War II infamy. This capitulation to the drive of the U. S. employing class to slash workers' real wages is typical of the top layer of union officialdom. Meany and Woodcock happen to be the ones who turned in outstanding performances.

Their present position is only a more explicit version of what they had been saying before Nixon acted against the unions and against all wage earners.

These aged union officials were lulled by their own vague memories of what happened during World War II, recalling dimly that many among them during the war years enjoyed comfortable positions on the War Labor Board, the WSB and OPA.

There is evidence indicating that at least some top union bureaucrats were tipped off prior to August 15 that something big affecting them was about to happen. On Aug. 9, just one week before Nixon moved against the workers, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, then meeting in San Francisco, issued the following statement:

"If the president determines that the situation warrants extraordinary overall stabilization measures, the AFL-CIO will cooperate so long as restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation as well as wages."

#### 'Equality of sacrifice'

The statement continued with a special plea and an extraordinary offer. "We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice. We will do our patriotic duty, but we will not be the scapegoat for the economic failures of this administration."

The AFL-CIO executives who drafted that statement are not talking about making sacrifices themselves. They mean they are prepared to help others make sacrifices, most especially the union members they are supposed to represent.

A wage freeze means nothing to these top union officials, who ride around in chauffeur-driven limousines and enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of top corporate executives, with whom they identify. Most of these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class collect \$50,000 a year in salary and some more than \$100,000.

The average union member receives less than \$8,000 a year. They and their families will sacrifice food and clothing and medical care—cutbacks in all the necessities of life—under the wage freeze as prices continue to rise.

These references to "equality of sacrifice" are reminiscent of World War II, revealing how far removed these top union bureaucrats are from present-day reality. There are glaring differences in every respect between the situation now and the days of World War II.

During World War II, the workers in the "arsenal of democracy" were told they had to sacrifice to "defeat fascism" and to win the "Four Freedoms." These sacrifices turned out to be for the benefit of the profiteers, but this wasn't clear at the time to the majority of Americans. The war pulled the economy out of the depths of depression, putting millions of unemployed back to work. An economic boom followed the war, fueled by pent-up consumer demand and the rebuilding of war-torn Europe.

Today the economy is stagnating. The future is bleak.

At the beginning of World War II, Roosevelt had an enticement for business-minded union presidents. He reminded such CIO leaders of that time as Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray and even those AFL officials like George Meany, who was then on a

lower rung, that the sacrifices the workers would be asked to make also contained a few modest concessions to the union movement. In exchange for the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge on the part of the unions, the government was prepared to recognize the established unions in the expanding war industries and grant union contracts with a maintenance-of-membership clause so that all workers hired would automatically become union members and pay their dues through the check-off system.

Today neither the Nixon administration nor its possible successor under the Democrats have anything similar to propose. They can only demand cooperation and threaten reprisals. All that remains for the present-day crop of union misleaders is a possible chance to serve on some future government control boards, and these positions are not likely to be prestigious or enhance their reputations.

These misleaders of labor who now rush so recklessly to offer their services seem to forget that the vast majority in this country are unwilling to plunge headlong into another war. They are demanding instead to get out of the war in Southeast Asia, a war which is a major cause of many of this country's ills, especially the inflation. There is a viable and well-organized antiwar movement which is not recommending that workers and the poor make further sacrifices to pay for that evil, ill-begotten, undeclared war the U. S. government is waging in Vietnam.

Many false values of this society are being rejected by broad sectors of the youth, students and young workers alike; by Blacks and other nationalities who suffer the cruelties of racial discrimination and oppression; by women who seek liberation from their inferior status. This process of radicalization is beginning to change the politics of this country.

The political climate will be even more drastically altered when the full impact of the government's new economic policy hits the working class.

Narrow partisan politics is a factor in the retreat of the labor officialdom. The Republican National Committee charges that Meany's initial attack upon the Nixon administration was all part of "a deal between the biggest union boss and old-liners who control the Democratic Party." This is partisan and not quite accurate.

The union movement is the essential part of the vote-catching coalition the Democratic Party depends upon to win elections. The strategists of the Democratic Party thought they had a sure-fire issue in the economic crisis for the 1972 presidential election, and Meany supported them in this.

Nixon has tried to rob the Democrats of this issue, creating confusion among the politicians in the Democratic camp. But the stakes in this game are much higher than partisan political fortunes.

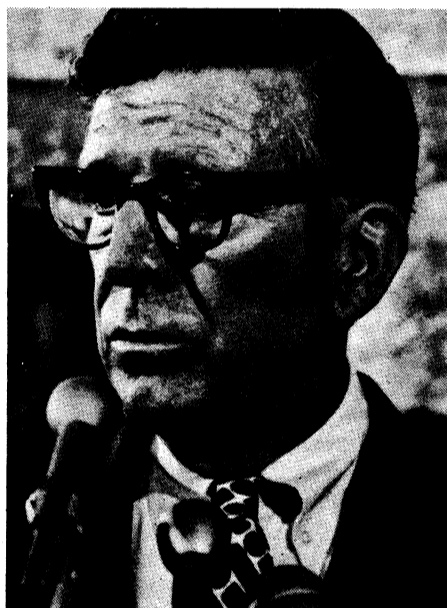
The ruling class, represented through both the Republican and Democratic parties, has united upon a new economic course. They have decided that their economic interests require a substantial reduction of the living standard of the workers in this country, a reduction in real wages.

Both capitalist parties agree that in order to impose this policy they must somehow eliminate the war question as a political issue in the 1972 general election.

The war in Southeast Asia remains, nonetheless, a crucial issue, directly related to the new economic policy of the government and to the wage freeze. It will become more crucial as the presidential election draws nearer.

It remains for the union movement to develop and to advance its own economic policy against wage controls and in support of the urgent needs of the working class for full employment and a higher standard of living.

# Bureaucrats retreat from fight against wage freeze



Despite brave words at first, labor bureaucrats, like George Meany (left) and Leonard Woodcock (right), retreated from fight against wage freeze in less than two weeks.

tional Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, said, "The executive order favors the rich, creates a new tax bonanza for United States corporations, allows interest rates to run scot-free, and hurts millions of American workers and small businessmen."

President Leonard Woodcock of another independent union, the giant United Auto Workers, promised, "If they want war, they can have war."

An unidentified AFL-CIO representative in Washington, D. C., announced that demands for a 24-hour general strike had been made.

Little was done.

A United Auto Workers special convention that was to meet in Detroit Sept. 11 was rescheduled for Nov. 20, one week after the 90-day government-imposed wage freeze expires.

Most major unions called emergency meetings of their executive committees and then issued statements milder than their initial reactions.

President Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), who is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, announced that his union does not accept the wage freeze for public employees and would fight . . . in the courts.

The American Federation of Teachers, another AFL-CIO affiliate, also

1970 was pushed through Congress by the Democratic majority, unsolicited by the Republican administration. Furthermore, every leading Democrat in Congress without exception has endorsed the wage freeze since it was imposed.

Faced with these facts, and incapable of independent political thought or action, Meany called a press conference in Washington on Aug. 27 to announce that "We will just have to sit back and see what happens."

#### Tripartite board

He indicated to reporters, according to the *New York Times* account, that "he would favor the creation of a board representing labor, management and the public, similar to the War Labor Board of World War II, to deal with wage and price issues on a continuing basis after the freeze expires."

This idea of tripartite boards, "with authority to make decisions on individual wage and price decisions," was seconded by UAW President Leonard Woodcock, the same man who less than two weeks previously had talked of war against the employing class and its government. He is now willing, even anxious, to participate in government control boards modeled after the Wage Stabilization Board (WSB)

# AFT convention opposes Vietnam war

By JEFF MACKLER

SAN FRANCISCO—The fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) demonstrated that the issues giving rise to the current radicalization are beginning to affect the trade-union movement. Some 1,294 delegates representing 286 locals, state federations and councils assembled here Aug. 16 and began a five-day debate which included the issues of the war in Indochina, women's oppression, racism, the wage freeze, Angela Davis, union democracy, and independent political action by labor. When the convention adjourned, the 250,000-member federation had gone on record against the war in Indochina and in support of full civil liberties and reasonable bail for Angela Davis.

The war in Indochina occupied a full day of debate. Prior to this convention, the AFT leadership had defeated all efforts aimed at putting the national AFT on record against the war. But evidence of mounting antiwar sentiment among teachers indicated that the leadership could no longer maintain this position. The Chicago local, for example, which represents some 25,000 teachers and is the second largest AFT local in the country, recently passed an immediate-withdrawal referendum by a three-to-one margin.

The debate on the war occurred around three resolutions, two of which called for immediate withdrawal and one, sponsored by the AFT leadership, which held that the AFT's position on the war should be determined by the membership in a national referendum. Passage of the latter resolution would have precluded official AFT support to the upcoming fall antiwar actions and would have left the formulation, conduct and interpre-

to participate in the organization of massive labor contingents for the fall actions, to raise the position of immediate withdrawal at the next AFL-CIO convention, and to take steps to encourage the broader labor movement to participate in action against the war.

Delegates first voted on the two resolutions calling for immediate withdrawal, the winning resolution to face the resolution calling for a national union referendum. The California Resolution was defeated 420-298. Apparently a significant number of conservative votes were cast against the California Resolution in an effort to insure that if an antiwar resolution passed the convention, it would be the weaker of the two alternatives.

The convention next voted the remaining two resolutions against each other. In a dramatic standing count, the immediate-withdrawal resolution lost by one vote, 397-396. After a requested roll-call vote, the final result was announced: 1,648 for immediate withdrawal and 1,880 against. This left only the resolution calling for a referendum on the floor to be voted on, but it too was defeated.

When the roll-call vote was analyzed, it was revealed that more than 75 percent of the 241 locals voting supported the immediate-withdrawal position. What was even more revealing was that the Chicago delegation had cast its entire allotment of 209 votes against immediate withdrawal despite the referendum in its own local in favor of the immediate-withdrawal position. Had the Chicago delegates followed their mandate, the immediate withdrawal position would have carried by almost 200 votes.

At the opening of the next day's session, the AFT tops tried to extricate themselves from this embarrass-

amendments could be offered, the question was called and the entire resolution was passed with almost no opposition.

While it was clear from the debate that the large majority of teachers favor the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam and Indochina, the new AFT position on this question is somewhat ambiguous since it contains the qualifying phrase about the safety of U.S. troops. Nevertheless, most delegates considered the resolution a victory for the antiwar movement and a major step forward for the AFT.

## Wage freeze

The announcement of the Nixon wage freeze came in the middle of the convention. While the AFT Executive Council was cautiously deliberating the question, William Simons, president of the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, succeeded in winning a two-thirds vote on the convention floor for a special order of business to consider a resolution to meet the challenge of the freeze. Representing the newly formed United Action Caucus, Simons called for a two-day work stoppage to follow the Labor Day holiday. While this proposal received considerable support at the beginning of the discussion, it was finally overwhelmingly defeated after it was pointed out that the 70,000-member New York local, the United Federation of Teachers, could not participate in the proposed action because their summer vacation period extended beyond the two days specified in the resolution. At that point, the question of a response to the Nixon wage order was referred back to the AFT Executive Council.

Several days later, the Executive Council reported back to the delegates

way supported the wage freeze was overwhelmingly defeated by the delegates. A subsequent proposal for the formation of a labor party was also defeated, receiving less than 100 votes.

## Angela Davis

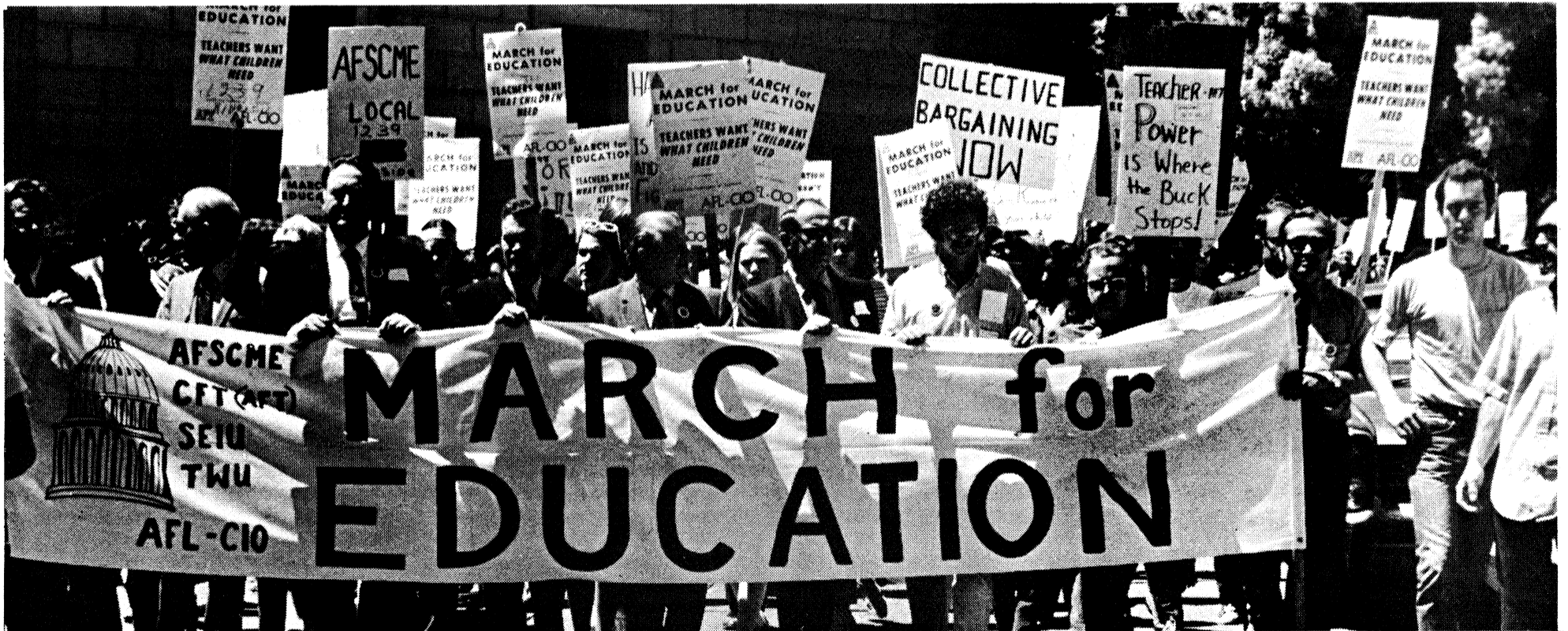
A resolution calling for the freeing of Angela Davis provoked a heated debate on the issue of racism in the U.S. A significant number of Black leaders of the AFT rose in defense of Angela Davis and were supported by close to half the convention.

Although this particular resolution was defeated, another motion which called for the granting of reasonable bail and for full support to the civil liberties and constitutional rights of Angela Davis was later passed unanimously.

During a convention recess, more than 350 delegates piled into six buses and several cars and proceeded to the Marin County Court House, the scene of the Davis trial and the place of her incarceration, and conducted a spirited demonstration and rally in solidarity with Angela Davis.

The issue of women's oppression came to the floor in two forms. First, the delegates reversed the position the AFT had adopted last year in support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The vote was almost unanimous in favor of a resolution entitled "Equal Rights Amendment and State Protective Legislation," which took the position that the ERA would nullify a large body of state laws which protect women. The debate on this question was marked by considerable confusion. The great majority of those voting in favor of the resolution accepted at face value the argument that the ERA would nullify state protective laws.

In another resolution dealing with



California teachers protesting budget cutbacks in Sacramento last April

Photo by Ron Payne

tation of the referendum in the hands of the pro-Meany AFT leadership.

## Antiwar resolutions

The first antiwar resolution introduced called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina and for AFT support to national and local antiwar demonstrations. The second, entitled the "California Resolution" and endorsed by 203 California delegates and alternates—including the president of the California State Federation and all four vice-presidents, as well as some 50 local AFT presidents—presented a nine-point program of action against the war. It called for full AFT support for the Nov. 6 and Oct. 13 mass demonstrations and mandated the AFT

ing position through a series of maneuvers designed to put the convention on record with some semblance of a position on the war. John Desmond, president of the Chicago local, rose to offer still another resolution, calling for "... an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal from Indochina as soon as reasonable precaution can be taken to insure the safety of U.S. troops and others associated with the American military effort."

A motion from the floor to delete that part of the resolution which read, "... and others associated with the American military effort," passed overwhelmingly, indicating that the delegates had no wish to keep U.S. troops in Vietnam to protect the forces of the Thieu regime. But before further

with a statement of policy on the wage freeze for adoption by the convention. The statement reaffirmed the AFT's traditional policy of no contract, no work, leaving action on this position to the discretion of individual locals.

The only proposals for action adopted by the convention were the scheduling of an emergency legislative conference of union teacher leaders to be held in Washington, D.C., in early September and the raising through voluntary contributions of a \$1-million "political war chest for the purpose of replacing the Nixon administration with one understanding the needs of the nation's schools and working people." An amendment to the effect that no part of the war chest be spent on any candidate who in any

women's rights, a section which called for the union to negotiate paid maternity leaves in contracts was deleted by a two-vote margin. The resolution as passed did support the principle of equal pay for equal work and called for the establishment of child-care facilities for teachers and school neighborhood residents.

A number of forces came together at the convention to establish a new opposition group in the AFT, the United Action Caucus. A significant number of independents were initially attracted to this formation but their number dwindled in the course of the convention. It rapidly became clear that the new caucus did not offer a consistent class-struggle program of opposition to the current AFT leadership.

# Women prisoners stage sit-in

By ERNIE HARSCH

DETROIT—On Aug. 20, 150 women prisoners walked off their jobs to stage a sit-in on the prison lawn of the Detroit House of Correction, which holds all 320 of Michigan's women prisoners.

The women, mostly Black, staged this sit-in, the second in five weeks, to protest the living conditions at the House of Correction.

The roots of this protest lie in the treatment of prisoners in American society, coupled with the oppression of women, who in this case also happen to be predominantly Black. These conditions led to the beginning of the movement at the women's prison a month ago, when several prisoners smuggled some letters out to Governor Milliken and State Senator Lorraine Beebe, demanding improvements in medical care and working conditions, the lifting of clothing restrictions and an ending of the discrimination against women prisoners.

One prisoner wrote in a letter to Governor Milliken, "We are not treated with 'fundamental fairness' as compared to the rehabilitative treatment we understand the men at Jackson State Prison receive. They have a full-time medical staff and counselors. Whereas we have one medical doctor who treats both the women's and the men's division, a total of about 1,300 inmates."

The women also wrote about having to push machines weighing 150 to 300 pounds "about an average

block" and having to lift 100-pound bags of laundry. They demanded a representative from the governor to hear their grievances, but none showed up. On July 12, the women staged a one-day sit-in, raising the call for an end to racial discrimination at the prison.

Still getting no results, 150 of the women prisoners staged another sit-in on Aug. 20, which lasted several days. This time they demanded that the profits from the commissary be used to fund their previously demanded improvements.

One of the prisoners, Jane Kennedy, a 45-year-old antiwar activist convicted of destroying Dow Chemical Co. files, was fingered by prison officials as an organizer of the demonstration.

Prison officials didn't interfere with the demonstration, but just scoffed at it. Said Warden William H. Bannon, "Even if I give them everything they want they'll never be satisfied."

## Abortion repeal protest in Phila.

By LYNN RASHKIND

PHILADELPHIA—On July 31, Women United for Abortion Rights (WUAR) held a demonstration for the repeal of all antiabortion and anti-contraception laws and no forced sterilization. About 100 female and 20 male demonstrators marched through the streets of Center City, intentionally making themselves visible to the many Saturday shoppers.

A rally at Rittenhouse Square followed the march, with speakers including Dr. Barbara Roberts from the

Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, Ellen Bronstein from Pennsylvania Abortion Rights Association (PARA), a high school woman and a Black woman.

An antiabortion group, SOUL (Save Our Unborn Lives), mobilized about 20 people to counter-picket the rally. Using sound equipment, signs, guitars and babies, they made clear their support of the Mullin Bill in the state legislature, which would absolutely forbid any abortions.

Endorsers of the abortion-law repeal demonstration included PARA; Zero Population Growth, Northwest Philadelphia Chapter; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Center City Branch; South Jersey Women's Liberation; American Civil Liberties Union, Philadelphia Chapter; New Democratic Coalition; Young Workers Liberation League; Young Socialist Alliance; and the Communist Party of East Philadelphia and Delaware.

This demonstration marked the first step in organizing thousands of Philadelphia women for the national abortion demonstration in Washington, D. C., on Nov. 20. It introduced the abortion campaign to Philadelphia and gave us just a hint of the potential for the fall actions.

## Italian women fight for abortion

By CAROLINE LUND

There have been a number of important developments in the struggle for abortion on demand in the past weeks. The most inspiring of all is the cam-

paigned for legal and free abortions launched by the Italian women's liberation movement. The July 25 *New York Times* reported that the Movimento di Liberazione della Donna (Women's Liberation Movement) has begun a campaign to collect 50,000 signatures needed for a popular initiative referendum on the question of legalizing abortions.

Alma Sabatini, a high school teacher and organizer of the petition drive, said: "We have taken up the abortion issue because the alibi of maternity is the first discrimination against women, in the family, society and at work."

The Movimento di Liberazione della Donna goes especially to working class districts to gather signatures. They set up tables and billboards and attract a big audience with a sound truck. The *Times* reporter told of seeing two women who came to sign the petition but were "literally dragged away, one by a man who appeared to be her husband, the other by her son."

The *Times* said that women from the slum neighborhoods "sign readily, particularly when their husbands are not around. The women are familiar with the horrors of clandestine abortions."

Between 1.5 million and 3 million Italian women undergo illegal abortions in horrible conditions every year. Wealthy women can get a medically supervised abortion in Italy for about \$325 in Italian money. For the great majority of women, however, a "popular" abortion costs about \$110, and a "knitting needle" operation costs about \$16.

Sabatini told the *Times*: "What we need is organization and contacts with women's liberation movements in other countries. We do not want to be just a passing fad." Other goals of the Italian feminist movement are child-care centers, nursing rooms in factories, and a general revision of the family code.

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

The Aug. 4 issue of *The Guardian* carried an article by Renee Blakkan on the July 16-18 conference which launched the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. The article opposes the use of red-baiting by the grouping called WISE (Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression), which walked out of the conference and held a press conference to charge that the new abortion coalition was "dominated" by women from the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The *Guardian* article says: "Withdrawal from the coalition on the grounds that it is a 'front' for the SWP is anticommunist, especially when 253 organizations were represented at the conference. To protest the right of a socialist group to participate in the coalition or its leadership, and to protest the women's allegiance to their party is to decry the very nature of socialist parties."

This principled opposition to red-baiting is the only position that will allow the movement to grow and become effective.

Renee Blakkan disagrees, however, with the decision of the conference to build an abortion-law repeal campaign. She writes: "Sacrificing the demand for free abortions in order to avoid the question of free medicine and sacrificing the other two demands of the American women's movement (for child care and equal job and educational opportunities) seems a step backward. And dropping the other two demands seems especially unfortunate in a national independent women's organization. Instead of taking a vanguard position . . . the coalition has chosen to focus on only one narrow legal aspect of the movement. Doing this, it has taken a reformist position, politically advantageous as it may be for the present."

First of all, the struggle for abortion-law repeal is not a "narrow, legal aspect of the movement," nor is this struggle "reformist." The outlawing of abortions is central to the oppression of women. The campaign of Nixon, Muskie, the churches, and the Right to Life Committees to prevent women from winning this right shows that the ruling class does not consider this struggle a "narrow, legal, reformist" issue that is of no threat to their system.

Secondly, the concept behind the new abortion coalition is not to build a general national women's organization or to replace women's liberation organizations that already exist and act around many issues of women's oppression. The point of the new coalition and the abortion campaign is to join in action all sections of the movement—despite disagreements on other issues and on general perspectives—to exert the united power of women to win victories on this one issue of abortion law repeal, where almost everyone agrees.

Another first for women—For the first time, a woman reporter was allowed to enter the garages at the Indianapolis 500 race tracks. Writer Mari McCloskey

won this right only by bringing a court suit against the Speedway. Women were previously banned from the garage area under the presumption that the surroundings were too "ruggedly masculine," and women should be sheltered from such "unpleasantness."

The case of Nancy Manfredonia serves to illustrate the degree of backwardness and viciousness of the system women are fighting against to win the right to contraception and abortion. Nancy Manfredonia, 27 years old, attended a meeting of the women's liberation group in Suffolk County, Long Island, several weeks ago. At the meeting, a lecture was given by Bill Baird on contraception and abortion. Toward the end of the meeting, Nancy Manfredonia's husband arrived, along with their 14-month-old baby, to drive Nancy home.

As the meeting ended, Nancy Manfredonia was holding her baby on her lap. Three men stood up in the front row, identified themselves as plainclothes detectives, and arrested both Bill Baird and Nancy Manfredonia for allegedly bringing moral danger to a child through exposing the baby to birth-control information. She and Baird were both jailed overnight, and face trial in late September.

Women's groups in Berkeley brought a proposal before the City Council for the establishment of a rape center, where women victims of rape could go for support and legal assistance. The FBI reports that the incidence of rape has gone up by 93 percent during the 1960s.

City Councilman D'Army Bailey, who was elected from the Black Caucus on a slate of "radicals" in April, opposed the proposal, saying: "I think indirectly the whole thing was a slap in the face of the Black community. The whole thing has been a big item with the women's lib movement. It is a white, radical freak trip for the women's lib thing."

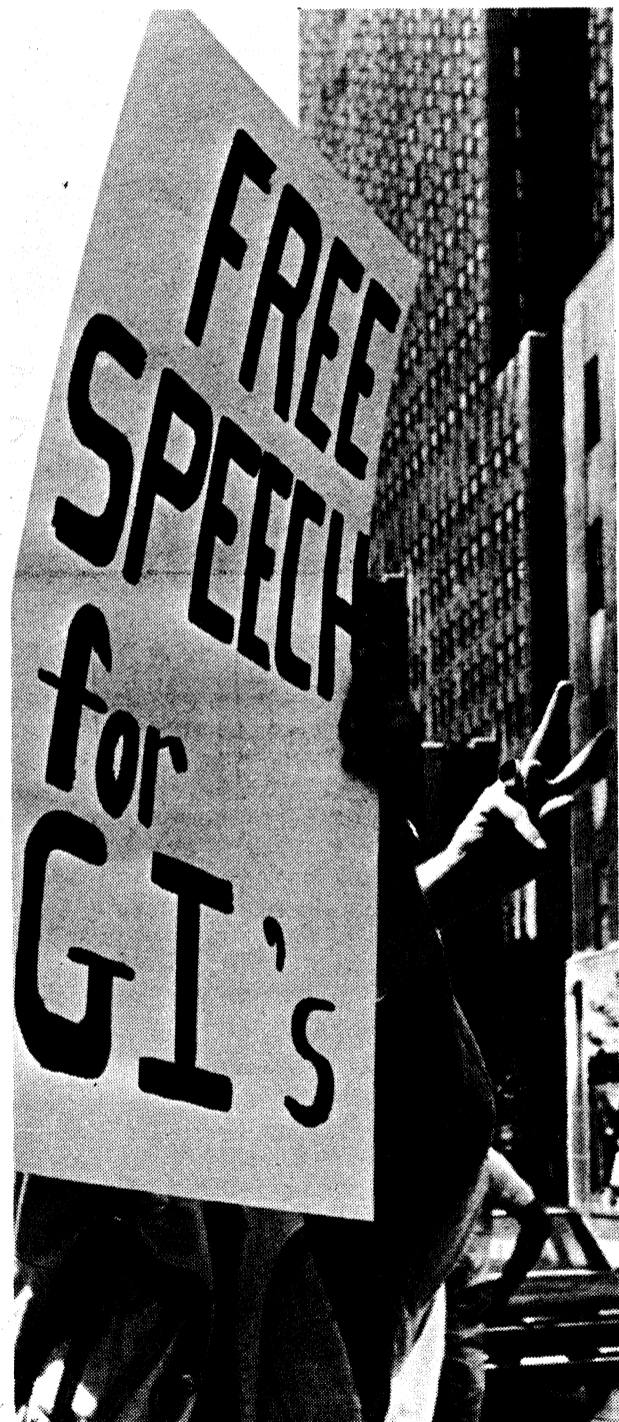
D'Army Bailey ignores the fact that 30 to 35 percent of reported rapes in Berkeley have been committed against Black women. In a newly published book, *Patterns in Forcible Rape* by Menachem Amir, it is noted that Black women are more than 12 times as likely to be raped as white women.

The May 23 issue of *Female Liberation Newsletter* from Boston reported that a bill which would have allowed married women to keep their maiden names was recently defeated in the Massachusetts legislature. Mary Newman, who sponsored the bill, explained that the legislators thought the idea too ridiculous for words, and felt no women would be interested in it.

— CAROLINE LUND



# How an antiwar GI defeated the brass



By LEE SMITH

An important victory in the fight for GI rights was registered July 28 when the Army brass dropped its plans to court-martial Pvt. Ed Jurenas for his role in publishing an antiwar newspaper, *The Arctic Arsenal*, at Ft. Greely, Alaska.

The first issue of *The Arctic Arsenal* appeared on post at the Alaska base May 20. The U.S. Army was forced to retreat from this attack on free speech because of broad support mobilized in barely more than two months. The speed with which this victory was won testifies to the depth of antiwar sentiment among both GIs and civilians today. The way antiwar sentiment was organized in the case of Pvt. Jurenas constitutes a model worth examining.

Pvt. Jurenas, like most GIs today, was opposed to the war at the time of his induction last year. A member of the Young Socialist Alliance, Jurenas also entered the Army with the intention of exercising his constitutional rights to act on his opposition together with other GIs. He said so in a news conference in Seattle just prior to being inducted, and his photo landed on the front page of *Army Times*, the lifer newspaper. The caption beneath the photo in the Aug. 19, 1970, issue of *Army Times* read "Revolutionary in Army," and reported Jurenas plans "to organize his fellow soldiers against the war in his off-duty hours while being 'a model soldier' on duty."

After infantry training at Ft. Polk, where Jurenas found that the overwhelming majority of Vietnam-bound infantrymen shared his hatred of the war, the socialist and antiwar GI obtained a leave prior to shipping out to the war zone. During his leave he attended the December 1970 YSA convention in New York where he called another news conference. He announced that he intended to continue to exercise his constitutional right to express his views about the war when he got to Vietnam.

Evidently persuaded that Jurenas meant what he said and less than enthusiastic about what the effect might be, the brass changed his orders, pulled him out of the line for the plane to Vietnam, and shipped him to Alaska as an MP, rather than to Vietnam as an infantryman.

Placing Jurenas in a Military Police unit was apparently part of an attempt to isolate him from soldiers who would be receptive to his ideas. MPs at Ft. Greely, however, "weren't any different from any other GIs," according to Jurenas. "They felt the same way about the war; the Blacks felt the same way about racism." In fact, the MP unit "became the core" of those who worked on the production of *The Arctic Arsenal*.

Jurenas, along with several other MPs and other GIs, discussed the idea of publishing a paper as a way of adding the voices of Ft. Greely GIs to the protests being mounted by the civilian antiwar movement. As a result of these discussions, the *Arsenal* was launched around the three basic tenets of an immediate end to the war, an immediate end to the draft and full defense of the rights of GIs as citizen-soldiers.

The response of most GIs to the paper's appearance on post May 20 was favorable and enthusiastic, but the brass immediately set out to suppress this legal expression of dissent.

The same day the paper arrived from the printers, the acting post commandant issued a supplementary post regulation governing the distribution of literature on the base. Then agents of the Central Intelligence Division swooped down and confiscated every issue they could lay their hands on. For the next several days, CID agents spoke to all the GIs involved with the paper, making groundless threats of loss of privileges in an effort to intimidate them. On May 21, CID agents pulled Jurenas from the shower and confiscated material from his locker, including stamped and sealed envelopes ready for mailing, *without giving him the receipt required by regulations.*

## Backfire

The attempt at intimidation backfired. Jurenas and the other GIs on the *Arsenal* staff responded immediately by filing disposition papers charging the brass and the CID with violating regulations. GIs with information about illegal electronic surveillance that had been used while the paper was being prepared came forward, and disposition papers were filed concerning this violation as well. The GIs also made application for distribution rights in accordance with the new order issued by the post commandant May 20.

On June 1, Jurenas' commanding officer informed him that he would be charged with violating three articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for allegedly showing "disrespect to an officer" (Article 89), "disobeying a lawful order" (Article

92), and "impairing the loyalty, discipline and morale of the Army" (Article 134).

The commanding general in Alaska at the time was Gen. James Hollingsworth (whom the *Arsenal* nicknamed "Lifer Jim"). Hollingsworth had been the one to press court-martial charges against the Ft. Jackson Eight in 1969 for organizing GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, at Ft. Jackson, S. C.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1972, who had been one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, arrived at Ft. Greely to talk to Jurenas and the other GIs June 3. That day, Jurenas was informed that the charges against him had been referred to the Pentagon. Pulley observed that Hollingsworth's Ft. Jackson experience, where he had been forced to drop charges, probably made him hesitant to proceed in Jurenas' case until he had checked with his bosses in Washington.

Pulley reported that the atmosphere at Ft. Greely in some ways reminded him of the atmosphere on campus. Sentiment at the base was nearly 100 percent behind Jurenas and the *Arsenal*.

As soon as he was informed of the charges being prepared against him, Pvt. Jurenas contacted the national headquarters of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in New York. The GICLDC went right to work soliciting support and met with quick success, not only among forces in the antiwar movement but among members of Congress. Within a few weeks, eight members of the House and Senate had endorsed the Jurenas defense, some of them writing letters of protest to the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense.

At the end of June, the Army moved to transfer Jurenas to the U. S. Army base at the Presidio, San Francisco. Col. Robert E. Miller, chief of the Military Justice Division of the Army's Judge Advocate General's office at the Pentagon, explained the transfer in a June 30 letter to Marc Stickgold of the National Lawyers Guild with the following words: "... because the Commanding General, United States Army Alaska, is his accuser and as such is unable under the law to convene a trial by court-martial in his case."

## 'Arsenal will live!'

Hollingsworth was transferred from Alaska to Vietnam shortly after Jurenas was transferred to the Presidio. And if the Army's motive in transferring Jurenas was to stop publication of the *Arsenal*, this attempt failed along with their other efforts. A July 12 letter from the *Arsenal* staff to the GICLDC expressed the conviction, "The *Arsenal* will live!"

Jurenas was given a leave prior to his scheduled reporting date at his new duty station, July 12. He attended the national antiwar convention over the July 4 weekend at Hunter College in New York, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, and then held news conferences and appeared on TV and radio shows in Chicago, Detroit and San Francisco before reporting for duty at the appointed time. His case received sympathetic treatment by the media in nearly all cases, and public support for his rights mushroomed.

At the Presidio, the brass tried to get Jurenas to agree to an undesirable discharge as a way out of facing court-martial.

This attempt at blackmail was answered in a July 23 letter from GICLDC secretary Terry Hillman to Presidio commander Gen. A. D. Surles. The letter stated, "We pledge to mobilize the support of the American people to defend the rights of Pvt. Ed Jurenas . . . numerous senators and congressmen and congresswomen have already rallied to the defense of Jurenas' rights. In addition, citizens and antiwar and veterans organizations have announced their support to the case and their intention to do everything in their power to prevent the punishment of a GI for exercising his rights . . . We will not stop our campaign until the rights of Pvt. Jurenas are guaranteed."

On July 27, Jurenas' case was supported by the Berkeley City Council, and the next day the Army announced it was dropping all charges against him.

The GIs at Ft. Greely can still use contributions to help them keep *The Arctic Arsenal* going. The *Arsenal* address is P. O. Box 312, Delta Junction, Alaska 99737.

And the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee needs contributions to break even on the work done in winning this case and prepare themselves for the defense of the rights of other GIs who face similar attempts at victimization in the future. The GICLDC address is Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

**This is the third of four articles on current economic and political problems in Cuba.**

By HARRY RING

The declaration of the National Congress on Education and Culture held in Havana April 23-30 confirms that the bureaucratic treatment of a critical-minded literary figure like Heberto Padilla was not an isolated matter. The educational document is laden with concepts utterly alien to the liberating qualities of a socialist revolution. It is much more akin to the kind of thinking that first emanated from the Soviet Union with the rise of Stalinism.

The document is permeated with bureaucratic suspicion and fear of youth and their rebellious spirit. It takes a conservative attitude toward the question of sex and sex education. It declares war on homosexuality in as shamefully a reactionary way as the worst of capitalist countries. It defines and circumscribes the role of culture in the worst tradition of the thoroughly discredited notion of "socialist realism," which views culture primarily as a vehicle for a political line.

The resolution declares there will be no special sex-education classes, so as not to give the question an undue importance in the minds of children. What is taught will be included in other courses—biology, physiology, etc. The aim of this approach, it is explained in the best nineteenth-century tradition, is to "nurture a concept of what love means in the constitution of the human couple and the motives that should unite it."

In the mid-60s, a policy of discrimination developed in Cuba against homosexuals. This reached the stage where some were put into labor camps. Prominent figures in Cuba's artistic and cultural institutions were among those victimized. The poisonous practice of individuals denouncing others as homosexuals began to develop. The situation began to create such a scandal for the Revolution at home and abroad that Fidel reportedly intervened personally, and the antihomosexual campaign abated.

The present educational declaration, however, states:

"It was resolved that it is not to be tolerated for notorious homosexuals to have influence in the formation of our youth on the basis of their 'artistic merits.' Consequently a study is called for to determine how best to tackle the problems of the presence of homosexuals in the various institutions of our cultural sectors."

### Unfettered thought

In dismal contrast to the famed and inspiring 1961 declaration by Fidel that the Revolution must be "a school of unfettered thought," the education resolution asserts:

"There is room only for the ideological coexistence with the spiritual creation of the revolutionary peoples, with socialist culture, with the forms of expression of Marxist-Leninist ideology."

The declaration further asserts: ". . . all trends are condemnable and inadmissible which are based on apparent ideas of freedom as a disguise for the counterrevolutionary poison of works that conspire against the revolutionary ideology. . . ."

It would be difficult for anyone to explain just what Marxist-Leninist "forms of expression" are. It would be even more difficult to square the invidious notion of "apparent ideas of freedom" with Fidel's declaration of a decade ago to Cuban artists.

Speaking at a June 1961 Congress of Artists and Writers at a time when Stalinist hacks were pressing for the restrictive notions labeled "socialist realism," Fidel declared:

"The Revolution should give up only those who are incorrigible reactionaries, who are incorrigible counter-

revolutionaries. Toward all others the Revolution must have a policy. . . . The Revolution has to understand the real situation and should therefore act in such a manner that the whole group of artists and intellectuals who are not genuine revolutionaries can find within the Revolution a place to work and create, a place where their creative spirit, even though they are not revolutionary writers and artists, has the opportunity and freedom to be expressed.

"This means: within the Revolution, everything; against the Revolution, nothing."

Fidel conceded, in offering that revolutionary formulation, that there could be borderline cases which would require responsible judgments by those

imperialist exploitation. It has sought to cope with that problem under the most difficult circumstances. U.S. imperialism has used the vast resources at its command in a persistent drive to strangle and overthrow the Revolution. It deliberately put Cuba in a position where it would have to rely for economic and military aid on the Kremlin bureaucracy. That bureaucracy has doled out aid to Cuba sufficient only to keep it from going under. And it has from the outset sought to exact a heavy political price for whatever it has given.

The extent of the difficulties involved in developing the Cuban economy and the true measure of the actual paucity of Soviet aid is illustrated by one dramatic set of figures pointed to by

Illiteracy has been wiped out. Mass unemployment has been eliminated. Medical care is provided on a scale unknown in the rest of Latin America. While the standard of living is low by U.S. standards, there is no wide-scale hunger and the most glaring economic inequalities have been eliminated. The opportunities for free, higher education are probably even greater, proportionately, than in the wealthy United States.

But with all of these very real and meaningful gains, there is no gainsaying that for the ordinary person, life in Cuba today is hard.

People work hard at their jobs. They do added volunteer work in the countryside on weekends. Tens of thousands of city dwellers, unaccustomed to such labor spend as long as three months in the field every year in the back-breaking work of the sugar harvest.

Ration lines are long. Clothing is extremely scarce. Such items as chicken and pork have almost disappeared. Meat, fish, beans and other staples are rationed in ounces per week per person.

In addition, some manifestations of bureaucratic privilege-taking have become evident in recent years. Such manifestations are difficult to conceal in a small country populated by an alert, socially conscious people.

And while such bureaucratic practices have not assumed a wide-scale character—or at least had not during the time I was there in 1968—the people are angered by every expression of it they do see.

And, as Fidel has frankly conceded, there have been repeated instances of bureaucratic mismanagement and malfunctioning—practices of which the masses are keenly and painfully aware.

From the outset, there have been conflicting pressures within the Cuban regime of how to relate to the masses. The only ones with a clearly consistent line have been the Stalinist hacks of the old Popular Socialist (Communist) Party. Always their approach has been, "Do it bureaucratically."

In 1961, the conflict between the Fidelistas and Stalinists exploded with the ouster of the CP hack Anibal Escalante from the post of general secretary of the predecessor political formation to the present Communist Party of Cuba. In motivating that ouster, Fidel's scorching denunciation of bureaucracy and sectarianism was heard around the world.

Seven years later, the same Escalante, back from exile in Czechoslovakia, was imprisoned for organizing a faction that sought to enlist aid from Soviet-bloc functionaries to use economic pressure on the Cuban regime to make it toe the Moscow line more closely in domestic and foreign policy.

While the crackdown on the Escalante group in 1968 was completely justified as a measure of resistance to external pressure, there was the negative feature that along with his real crimes, Escalante was also declared guilty on the basis of forming a political faction for the expression of a particular political viewpoint.

Three years later, it must be recognized that the present crackdown on the intellectuals represents an adaptation to the pressure of the Moscow bureaucrats and their junior counterparts in Havana.

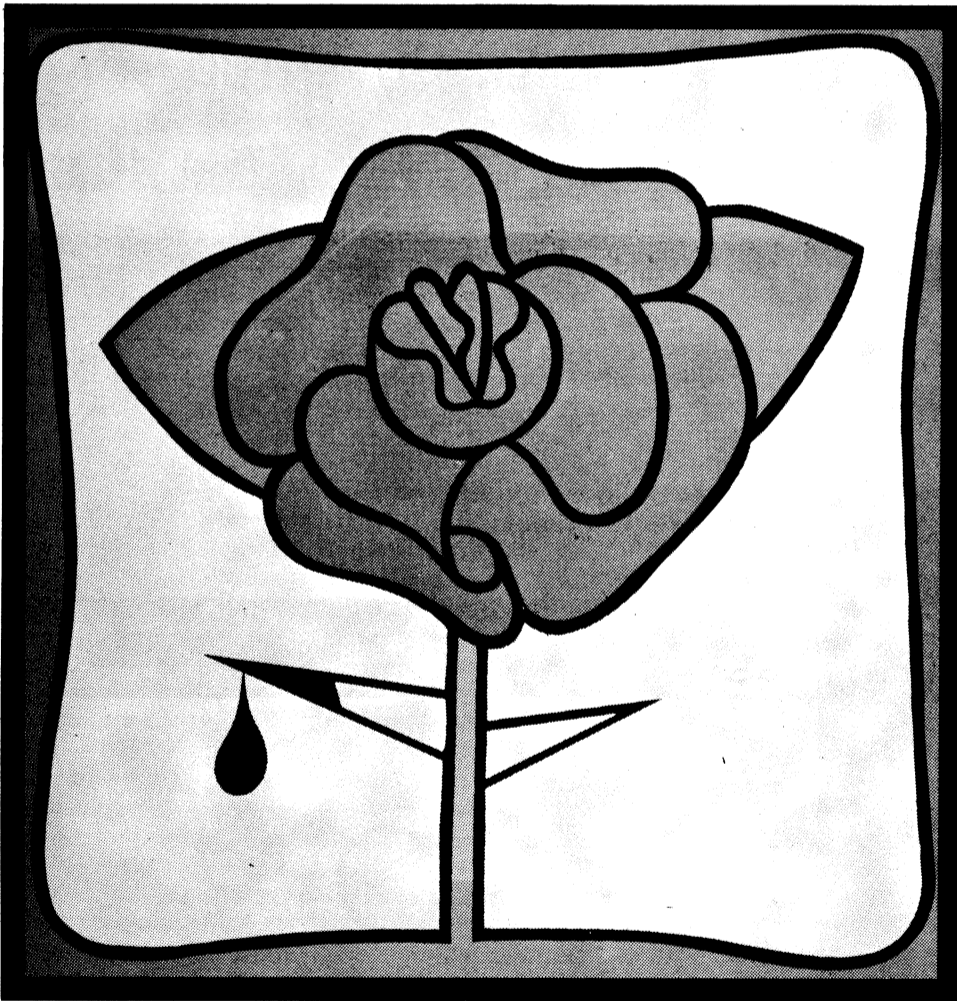
There have been previous adaptations to Stalinist pressures. One example was Fidel's January 1966 attack on Trotskyism. (The retreat from that was indicated when the speech was broadcast internationally by Radio Havana with the attack on Trotskyism deleted.)

But at one time or another, individual revolutionaries and small groupings have been jailed for their political views. Others have been victimized in terms of jobs and political status.

To be continued

## Cuba in '71

# First cultural congress promotes concepts alien to socialism



Design from a 1967 Cuban poster

with decision-making power. But, he emphasized, there must be maximum stress on freedom of expression and no attempt whatever to dictate to the artist on questions of style and form.

What a far cry from all this is the Padilla case and the antidemocratic declaration of the education congress.

If leaders of the Cuban government believe such methods will serve to cope with dissent among the intellectuals and others, they could not be more mistaken. Such methods can only lead to a deepening of tensions within Cuba and a deepening of present dissatisfactions. And it cannot be denied that dissatisfaction exists among Cuban revolutionaries. As we indicated earlier, Fidel has publicly acknowledged this reality.

And how could it be otherwise? The Revolution inherited an economy warped and stunted by a century of

Fidel in his May 20, 1970, speech explaining the failure of the 10-million-ton sugar harvest goal. He said:

"The average in the last 10 years of capitalist [sugar] harvests was 5,521,000 metric tons. The average of the socialist harvests in the past 10 years was 5,261,000 tons."

In other words, even with planned production and massive popular mobilization, revolutionary Cuba's problems were so great that over a 10-year period it produced, on the average, a quarter of a million tons less sugar annually.

### Gains, despite problems

Despite these difficulties, the Revolution has made, and continues to make, significant progress in a number of areas—progress that none of the imperialist-dominated countries of Latin America can match.

# Anti-Communist repression in Sudan

By TONY THOMAS

The vicious repression launched against the Sudanese Communist Party and other Sudanese mass organizations following the defeat of the July 19 coup against the Nimeiri regime is a further step in the counterrevolutionary offensive launched in the Arab world after the September 1970 Jordanian civil war.

A bloody purge has been launched against Communists, trade unions and other supporters of the coup. In addition to leaders of the coup, others executed within a week after Nimeiri's return to power included: Abdel Mahgoub, general secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party; Joseph Garang, Nimeiri's own minister for Southern Sudanese affairs; and Al-Shafie Ahmed al-Sheik, leader of the 500,000-member Sudanese Trade Union Federation. On July 26, Nimeiri admitted to having taken 1,000 captives, not counting those he had already killed.

It is apparent that the Nimeiri regime is attempting to use the defeat of the July 19 coup to smash the estimated 20,000-member Sudanese Communist Party, the largest CP in the Arab world, and to physically eliminate all oppositionists in the peasant, trade-union, women's and student movements.

The tragic irony of the savage attack on the Sudanese Communists was that they had been among the most loyal supporters of the Nimeiri regime. After Nimeiri and the clique of officers surrounding him took power in May 1969, they followed a course similar to that of Nasser and Sadat in Egypt, utilizing rhetoric about Arab nationalism and socialism to camouflage support for capitalism and political repression.

The Sudanese Communists saw this as part of the "national-democratic" stage of the two-stage revolution and considered the "progressive officers" to be a necessary component of the multi-class "democratic front" (popular front) needed to "lead" the Sudanese revolution.

This is how Abdel Mahgoub, general secretary of the Communist Party of Sudan, described the effects of Nimeiri's coming to power in 1969: "It has opened before the national-democratic front the road to deep-going changes designed to strengthen its unity and implement the tasks of the democratic revolution. . . . Favorable conditions have arisen for completing

the establishment of the front because power belongs now to one of its constituent classes." (*Daily World*, August 13, 1971)

Despite this support, Nimeiri found it necessary to attack the Communist movement in order to establish political monopoly for the forces around his ruling military junta. He attempted to establish a Sudanese Socialist Union—modeled after Nasser's Arab Socialist Union in Egypt—as the sole legal political organization in Sudan.

In November 1970, a major split took place within the government over Sudanese membership in the proposed Arab Federation between Libya, Syria and Egypt. Sixty leaders of the government and army, including the leaders of the July 19 coup, were fired from their posts by Nimeiri for questioning Sudanese membership in this federation.

In May, Nimeiri launched a witch-hunt of Communists. He called for the dissolution of the Union of Students, the Youth League and the Feminist Federation—mass organizations led by the Communist Party—and set up government-dominated groups to replace them. Simultaneously he demanded new elections in the unions to replace the Communist leadership. Leaders of the Communist Party were hunted and imprisoned.

All this time, the Soviet Union continued its support of the Nimeiri government in both aid and arms. Over 1,000 Soviet "advisers" and large amounts of military supplies were provided by the Soviet bureaucrats.

The non-Moslem, non-Arab third of the Sudanese population in Southern Sudan has been rebelling against the Arab-dominated central government since the Sudan was given independence in 1956. Instead of supporting the right of the Black Sudanese to self-determination or autonomy, both Nimeiri and the Soviet Union has favored brutal military repression.

The July 19 coup began with the house-arrest of Nimeiri and the seizure of power by a group of young officers led at first by Hashem Atta. Col. Babakr al-Nur Osman, who was then in London having a medical operation, was appointed head of government.

Their program offered no fundamental change from the capitalist course followed by Nimeiri, with the exception of a lifting of the ban on the Communist Party and its women's, youth, and trade-union organizations, and a call for limited self-government

for the Southern Sudan. They remained opposed to any talk of independence.

These officers were not, as the Western press and Nimeiri charged, members of the Sudanese Communist Party, although they received uncritical support from the Sudanese CP. The CP justified its support to these officers, like their support to Nimeiri in the past, as an attempt to build the "national-democratic" front.

Instead of arming the masses of workers and peasants, who applauded the ouster of Nimeiri, Atta and al-Nur relied on the regular army of which they were a part. They also called for the maintenance of friendly relations with Libya and Egypt. They allowed the Egyptian military mission to enter the Sudan immediately after the coup. It is now known that this mission played a major role in directing Nimeiri's counter-coup.

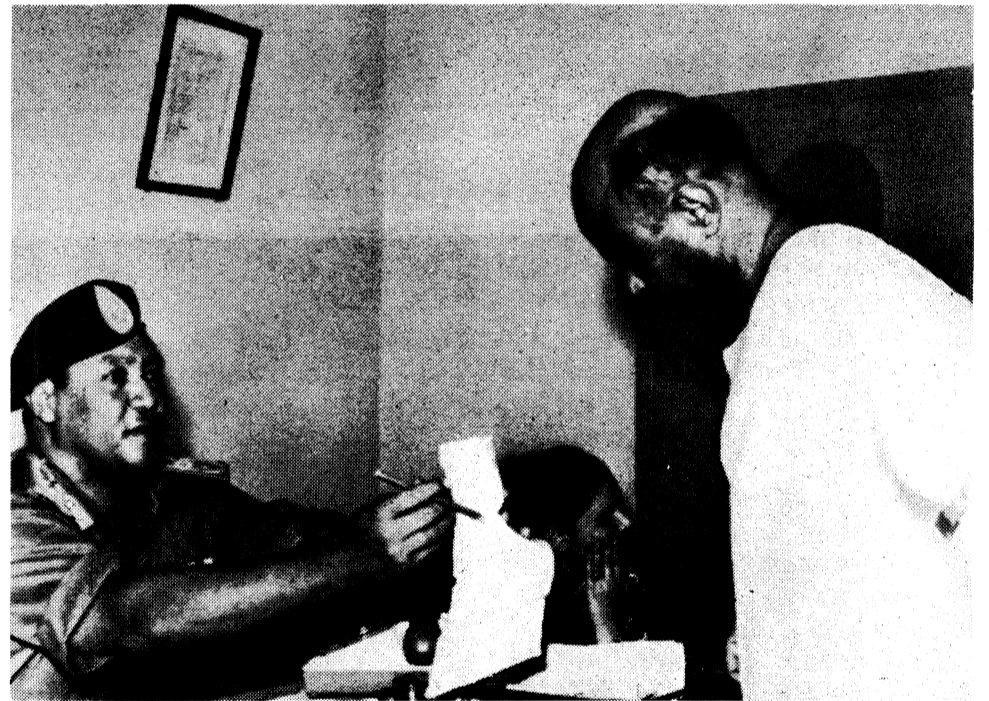
On July 22, Nimeiri's backers struck. A British airplane carrying al-Nur and three other leaders of the new regime was forced down by the Libyan air force. Al-Nur and the others were placed in the hands of Nimeiri's supporters by the Libyan government.

On the same day, thousands of well-armed loyal Sudanese (and probably Egyptian) troops were flown from

Egypt to Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, by the Egyptian and Libyan military. By the morning of July 23, Nimeiri, who had been in touch with his supporters through the Egyptian "military mission," had regained power. He immediately launched the bloodbath against the Communists, trade unionists and other oppositionists that continues to this day.

Supporters of the Arab revolution should oppose Nimeiri's bloodbath and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners. The suppression and murder of left-wing militants in the Sudan only hinders the fight against the real enemies of the Arab revolution, U. S. imperialism and Zionist Israel.

Counterposed to their refusal to come to the aid of the Palestinian fedayeen facing annihilation from Jordan's Hussein, the willingness of the Egyptian and Libyan governments to aid the Sudanese counterrevolutionists demonstrates the bankruptcy of the "progressive," pseudosocialist Arab regimes. Only the mobilization and organization of the masses of workers and peasants to achieve state power—not dependence on Nasserite military cliques and "national-democratic" capitalists—can win liberation for the peoples of Sudan and the Arab world.



Nimeiri confronting head of Sudanese Communist Party, Abdel Mahgoub, at trial prior to his execution.

## Robert Williams fights extradition move

By MALIK MIAH

On July 28 I had a brief discussion with Robert Williams in Ann Arbor, Mich. Williams is presently fighting extradition proceedings that would send him back to his home state of North Carolina, where he faces trumped-up charges of kidnapping and escaping from the FBI in 1961.

The charges originate from a campaign of self-defense waged by the Black community of Monroe, N. C., in the early 1960's against white racist attacks. Williams was a leader of this self-defense effort. After escaping from the FBI, he fled the country and traveled to Cuba, China and North Vietnam.

Williams informed me that his case, which is an appeal of an earlier unfavorable verdict in the district court, is based on a motion seeking a declaratory release. The motion refers

to a section of Michigan law which states that if a Michigan resident is considered to have been convicted in another state on political grounds, instead of criminal grounds, the state of Michigan will then refuse extradition.

This would mean that the state of Michigan must hear and review the entire 1961 case, and then determine from the evidence presented whether Williams is guilty of committing a criminal act.

The chances of victory depend on two factors, said Williams: First, whether the case is tried within the Black community; and second, the amount of general public support that can be generated.

Williams said he saw the need to begin organizing a broad defense effort. He emphasized the need to reach the state, national, and international public.

At present, no such defense campaign exists, but one is projected prior to the fall court hearings. Williams did point out that such a defense effort is occurring in Japan, where several large demonstrations in his behalf have taken place. Yet news of these actions has not reached the American people. Williams stated that the American government is attempting to keep this case quiet so that they can have at least one solid victory against a nationally and internationally prominent Black leader.

Williams feels that one of the main reasons his case has been dropped from the public spotlight is because of "maneuvers by the authorities." The most blatant example occurred when Williams went to Washington last year to testify before a House subcommittee. A rumor spread that he had made a "deal" with Congress to have his Michigan extradition case quashed. Though

totally false, this allegation was picked up by the press in Michigan and around the country. It caused such a controversy, especially among Black supporters, that most of his supporters capitulated to the racist rumor and assumed that Williams "sold out" to Congress.

What is needed now is a public campaign demanding that extradition proceedings be ended immediately, that the facts of the case be revealed, and that Williams be freed from any potential threat of being shipped back to North Carolina. All who support civil liberties, in particular the civil liberties of Black people who are victimized by this racist society, should make their voice of protest heard.

Letters of support for Robert Williams can be sent to: Governor William Milliken, Capitol Building, Lansing, Mich., 48823.

# In Review

## Film

### An indictment of war 'in general'



*Johnny Got His Gun.* Written and directed by Dalton Trumbo. Produced by Bruce Campbell. Starring Timothy Bottoms and Diane Varsi. A Cinemation Industries Release.

When you consider that the hero of *Johnny Got His Gun* is a quadruple amputee with no eyes, no ears, no nose, and no mouth, completely wrapped in bandages and locked in a hospital ward for several years, the fact that the film succeeds in tightly gripping an audience for two hours is proof of Trumbo's great skill as a filmmaker and writer.

The film's central character, Joe Bonham, is an "all-American" (white) boy complete with happy childhood memories of the good old days that never really were during the first two decades of the twentieth century. He is drafted into World War I, and is seriously wounded in a direct hit by an artillery shell.

The film drums into you the death, carnage, and sheer pain of modern warfare. And it rivets your attention by making its hero into a human vegetable that can think. His mental anguish is greater than his physical pain, for he is kept in the best conditions by military doctors who are using him to develop new medical techniques.

Flashbacks, in part induced by drugs, contrast patriotic childhood and adolescent memories about "making the world safe for democracy" with the brutal effect all this has had on Joe. And the callousness with which the doctors and all but one nurse treat him parallels the cynicism and brutality of the war machine.

Cut off from all possible communication, Joe lives only through memories and the fleeting contact with the outside world that comes with the vibrations of footsteps and the sensation of sunlight on his forehead—the only exposed part of his body.

When, after more than a year of this imprisonment, he finally learns to communicate by tapping out Morse code with his head, he is shunned by the doctors. His demands that he either be killed or put in a freak show are rejected. By the end of the film he is more dejected than ever.

While *Johnny Got His Gun* is eloquent in depicting the horrors of war, it is sometimes melodramatic in its treatment of the youth's childhood, family, etc. Scenes with his mother, his father, and his "sweetheart" seem to rate respectively one,

two, or three violins. This mawkishness seems out of place in this shockingly realistic film, and almost spoils it.

Trumbo's film has another, more significant, weakness. Rather than specifically attacking wars that are the product of U.S. imperialism or other reactionary forces, Trumbo attacks "war in general." One feels that his point could equally have been made if Joe had been a fighter for Vietnamese self-determination, a member of Russia's Red Army after the 1917 revolution, a 1956 Hungarian freedom fighter, or a Palestinian fedayeen. All the same, wars are bad, if you get hit by a shell.

The film suggests no course of action, except for vague hints that Joe be placed in a freak show for people to see what happens in wars. This is watered down from the book of the same title written by Trumbo in the 1930s. There the hero demands that he be taken to the halls of Congress and to the president to show the warmakers what they have done. He also suggests that soldiers might be more intelligent if they turned their guns around at their officers.

Perhaps this weakness flows from Trumbo's attraction to pro-Communist Party politics during the 1930s and 1940s. He found it quite easy, for instance, to beat the drums for the warmakers during World War II—which the Stalinists considered a "progressive" imperialist war. He also turned out one of the most racist movies of that period, *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*.

Trumbo served as national chairman of Writers for Roosevelt during the 1944 presidential election campaign. The Roosevelt-Truman team he supported went on to atom bomb the people of Japan and laid the foundations for the war in Vietnam. And Truman initiated the witch-hunt that drove Trumbo and other radical filmmakers out of the film industry for more than a decade.

Trumbo also found it easy to beat the drums for the racist war of the Israelis to steal Palestine in 1948 with his first post-witch-hunt film, *Exodus*. Since this war too was supported by the Stalinists and the "progressives," it managed to escape the category of "war in general" into which World War I falls.

Despite its weaknesses, however, *Johnny Got His Gun* will have a positive impact in that it will undoubtedly help to deepen the antiwar sentiment of those who see it.

— TONY THOMAS

## Books

### Man's World, Woman's Place

by Elizabeth Janeway. William Morrow and Co. New York, 1971. 319 pp. \$8.95

*Man's World, Woman's Place* is a bland attempt to confront and expose the basis of the social oppression of women. Elizabeth Janeway, author of half a dozen novels, provides some insight into how women are brutalized by the process of learning their secondary role in society. Yet she is unable to penetrate the underlying logic of the injustices women suffer.

Janeway confines her book to a discussion of women's role within class society, consigning the communal period of the matriarchy to the realm of myth. By refusing to discuss the status of women before the advent of private property, Janeway disarms herself of the most powerful argument against the myth of women's inferiority. The remaining arguments, as a consequence, float in a vacuum. One might well have counseled her that the best way to tell a story is to begin at the beginning.

The most interesting section of the book centers on Janeway's thesis that the family is a relatively modern institution, coming onto the scene not in antiquity but around 1700. Her argument is basically a restatement of one developed by Philippe Aries in *Centuries of Childhood*. While Aries utilized medieval law to support this conclusion, Janeway points to the evolution of the word "home." In the fourteenth century it referred to one's native village; by the sixteenth century it meant one's country; and only with the eighteenth century did it convey the concept of a tightly knit family grouping.

Under feudalism, roughly 20 percent of the population lived within castles. In these big houses—more like a town than the modern "home"—women produced a wide variety of socially necessary products. The mistress of the manor was more like the manager of a business, or a mayor of an enterprising town, than a weak creature in need of protection. Contrasting the role women played in feudal society with the isolating and alienating role women are forced to play in capitalist society, Janeway attempts to refute the argument that a woman's place is—or always has been—in the home.

However, this historical approach only superficially contrasts one class society with another. Anxious to avoid any consistent materialist analysis of wom-

en's role in history, Janeway jumps from one aspect of oppression to another. She often explains social phenomena in completely psychological terms. While she sees witches as women who are violating the norms of behavior—precisely because witches have certain powers—she cannot explain the universality of the phenomenon except as an inversion of the loving mother figure. In other words, she falls into the trap of accepting the stereotype that witches are evil women. But part of writing women back into history will be reclaiming the rich cultural heritage witches kept alive from the fall of pre-class society until they were all but stamped out by capitalism's drive to mold the world in its own image.

*Man's World, Woman's Place* does not present a comprehensive analysis of women's oppression or offer a program for ending that oppression. It is most insightful when trying to explain how women have come to accept their status. The author cites the memoirs of Charles Darwin's granddaughter, *Period Piece* by Gwen Raverat, who could not even dream of succeeding as an artist; the closest she could come to imagining such a thing was to marry a famous painter! And in answer to Erik Erikson's contention that girls build fences while boys build towers because of their sex differences, Janeway notes: "The fence around woman's place is more apparent to the people who live inside it than to those outside in man's world."

Janeway sees the mark of a woman's subordinate role in her ability to "please" others. Those who are powerful have no need to please. Intrinsicly, the role of "being pleasant" becomes a kind of protective coloration adopted as a defense mechanism or as a means of gaining power one cannot achieve by one's own actions.

Despite these valid insights into the way women are forced to mask their feelings and shuffle before the powerful, *Man's World, Woman's Place* contributes to the feminist movement in only a minor way. It may perform the function of explaining the legitimacy of the rage of women to those hostile to the very concept of women's liberation. But the challenge it raises against the antifeminist position is weak and halting. It is a testimony to the deep-seated oppression of women that such a "respectable" book about it was written at all.

— DIANNE FEELEY

# U.S. took part in Bolivian coup

By JOHN SORUM

SEPT. 1—Only a few days after the successful counterrevolution in Bolivia a week and a half ago, details began coming to light concerning the role the United States may have played in it. The first report appeared in an Aug. 28 dispatch by Lewis H. Diuguid to the *Washington Post* from Santa Cruz, the center of the right-wing revolt whose stated purpose was "to save Bolivia from anarchy, territorial dissolution and Communism." The coup was masterminded by Col. Hugo Banzer Suárez with the support of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and the Bolivian Socialist Falange.

According to the *Post* report, conversations Diuguid had in Santa Cruz "make it clear" that a U.S. Air Force major serving as an advisor to the Bolivian air training school in Santa Cruz "played a role in last week's coup d'etat."

The officer, Maj. Robert J. Lundin, was said to have been "in close contact" with the plotters for the past six months. Diuguid confirmed that after the plotters had gained control of Santa Cruz, when their lines of communication to La Paz broke down they "switched" to a separate radio system owned by Lundin. "Maj. Lundin normally uses the radio system to report to the U.S. embassy, 300 miles away in La Paz, although nominally his sole assignment here is as a pilot trainer," said Diuguid.

Soon after Banzer first hatched the coup plot last January, he consulted with Lundin. As he consolidated support for the counterrevolution, he maintained contact with Lundin. Part of his support came from the 800-man ranger unit stationed near Santa Cruz that had been trained by the U.S. Green Berets for use against Che Guevara's guerrilla band in Bolivia in 1967.

On Aug. 29, the day after Diuguid

filed his report, a State Department spokesman denied that the U.S. had played any role in the counterrevolution but noted that Banzer had maintained close personal connections with U.S. military figures. (According to Diuguid, Lundin "appears to be the only U.S. military man" in all of eastern Bolivia.) Yet, the next day, State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey claimed he did not know if Banzer and Lundin had been in touch. The following day, the U.S. officially recognized the new anti-Communist regime in Bolivia.

## Calif. MAPA holds convention

By ROY GONZALES

SAN FRANCISCO—Two hundred fifty Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) members and guests attended the opening speeches of the MAPA statewide convention, held at the California state fairgrounds in Fresno July 30-Aug. 2.

This was the convention that was to consider the resolution by Bert Corona, a former president of the organization, that MAPA should endorse and build a Raza Unida Party on a statewide level. (See Aug. 6 *Militant*.)

The convention began with speeches by several speakers as well as greetings delivered by Senator Birch Bayh and supporters of George McGovern and Edmund Muskie. These Democrats received little enthusiasm from the convention participants.

The main order of business on the first day of the convention was the election of statewide officers.

Herman Baca was nominated by Bert Corona for president of MAPA. Baca, 28, is an activist in the National City, Calif., branch of La Raza Unida Party. He pledged to carry out Bert Corona's resolution if elected.

He was opposed by Armando Rodriguez, a 40-year-old candidate who ran on a platform that the convention should not endorse Corona's resolution but simply endorse the general concept of the Raza Unida Party.

Margarita Cruz from San Francisco

was elected first vice-president of MAPA, the first woman to be elected to that position. In accepting the nomination, she stated that she viewed the office as a stepping stone to the 1973 elections, where she or another woman would run for president of MAPA. The woman who nominated Margarita Cruz stated that women have been the backbone of MAPA for too long. "We want to get out of that backbone position and become the front-runners for MAPA."

Armando Rodriguez won the presidential election, by a margin of about 20 votes.

Bert Corona brought his resolution to the floor of the convention on Sunday after the election of officers.

Corona's resolution stated, in part: "In the political arena, the same story has been repeated in terms of the Democratic and Republican parties' unwillingness and inability to represent the true interests of the masses of our people. Tokenism, both in representation and in programs and solutions to the oppression, racism and poverty that is doled out to Chicanos, has been the answer of both of these parties."

The resolution went on to state: "The time is here for change and for a totally new political strategy for Chicanos. That strategy comes naturally out of the manifested need for self-determination and independence of the Chicano community socially, culturally, economically and politically. This strategy is the creation of La Raza Unida Party."

After a heated debate, this resolution was defeated, and in place of it another was passed to endorse "the general concept of La Raza Unida Party."

Many of the Raza Unida Party activists and MAPA activists who attended the convention feel that they can build La Raza Unida Party and bring the strength and influence of MAPA behind it within the framework of the resolution that was passed. They feel, however, that it was a step backward from Bert Corona's resolution.

The MAPA convention also discussed the restrictive laws on immigration of Mexicans to the United States, which have forced many Mexicans to live in the U.S. without immigration documents. MAPA called for the elimination of the present immigration quota and for ending the requirements for labor certification for prospective immigrants.

# Irish rout British invaders

By DAVID THORSTAD

SEPT. 1—On Aug. 29, a British patrol consisting of two armored cars crossed over into the Irish Republic from Northern Ireland. While British Army headquarters claimed it did so "inadvertently," townspeople reacted with hostility at the provocation. They surrounded the patrol and set fire to one of the vehicles. The troops escaped back into Northern Ireland in the other one.

They were followed, according to a report in the Aug. 30 *Irish Times*, by a group of six armed men who opened fire on them with machine guns and rifles, killing one British soldier and wounding another. The six men were able to disappear without a trace.

Typical of the biased reporting of the events in Ireland was the Associated Press dispatch on this incident which referred to the six men as "terrorists," but which spoke of the armored cars as if they were a natural feature of the Irish countryside.

Following the incident, John Taylor, Northern Ireland's Minister of State for Home Affairs, called for the border with the Irish Republic to be sealed.

In another development, police in Dublin raided the offices of Sinn Fein—the political wing of the Irish Republican Army—and its publication, *The United Irishman*, according to a report in the Aug. 26 *New York Times*. "It is believed the raid could mark the start of a clampdown on the IRA in the republic," the report stated.

In New York, the National Association for Irish Freedom, the official representative of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, has announced a demonstration to protest the "terror against the embattled civil rights partisans in the six northern counties in Ireland." The protest will be held Sat., Sept. 11 at 2 p.m. in front of the BOAC building, 45th St. and Fifth Avenue.

# ...Pentagon

Continued from page 4

of their land, homes and human rights."

Was *The Militant's* contention of blackmail an exaggeration? The Pentagon papers supply the answer. They reveal that the idea of bombing North Vietnam was originally championed by Walt W. Rostow. Rostow's theory was "that a credible threat to bomb the industry Hanoi had so painstakingly constructed out of the ruins of the French Indochina War [1946-1954] would be enough to frighten the country's leaders into ordering the Vietcong to halt their activities in the South."

The bombing strategy was also supported by U.S. ambassador to Saigon, Maxwell D. Taylor. According to the *Times*, Taylor "despaired of improving the Saigon government's effectiveness and . . . wanted a will-breaking device 'to inflict such pain or threat of pain on the DRV [North Vietnamese Government] that it would be compelled to order a stand-down of Vietcong violence.'"

Thus, from the outset of the bombing, Washington lied about its real purpose. In public the government officials contended that the bombing was directed against supposed North Vietnamese infiltration to the South. In secret they hoped to bomb Hanoi into exerting pressure against the revolution which they despaired of crushing by other military means.

Senator Wayne Morse broke ranks with the Democratic administration's war plans in this period. The Aug. 24, 1964, *Militant* carried a speech by

Morse in which he declared: "I have been briefed many times, as have the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee; and all this time witness after witness from the State Department and from the Pentagon have admitted under examination that they had no evidence of any foreign troops in South Vietnam from North Vietnam, Red China, Cambodia, or anywhere else."

"The sad fact is that the only foreign troops that have been in South Vietnam in any numbers have been American troops." Morse was telling the truth.

## Johnson vs. Goldwater

When Barry Goldwater was nominated as the Republican presidential candidate in June 1964, the June 29 *Militant* featured a front-page analysis written by Joseph Hansen. Hansen asked, would a Goldwater victory bring a shift in U.S. foreign policy?

He wrote: "To cite but recent history, the liberal Truman won an upset over the reactionary Dewey. Truman, however, opened the McCarthyite era and plunged the U.S. into the Korean adventure, perhaps the most unpopular war the country ever engaged in."

"In the next election the liberal Stevenson lost to Eisenhower, who, the liberals freely predicted, would lead the U.S. to disaster. The general, however, fulfilled his campaign pledge to bring an end to the hostilities in Korea."

"In the 1960 elections Kennedy played the role of the liberal. This hero then carried out an invasion of Cuba, preparations for which had been

begun by Eisenhower, and dragged the U.S. into the dirty war in South Vietnam. . . . American foreign policy is not determined by the campaign propaganda of either of the two candidates of the twin-party system. It is determined by the long-range interests of the giant corporations and the dynastic families that own and control them."

The Tonkin Bay incident in August 1964, in the midst of the presidential election campaign, was the final tip-off of Johnson's real plans for Vietnam. *The Militant* headlines Aug. 24 declared: "Vietnam Attack Proves Johnson as Trigger-Happy as Goldwater." A sub-headline declared: "Gulf of Tonkin Raid Shows Urgent Need for Socialist Vote"—calling for a vote for Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate.

In that *Militant*, George Saunders wrote: "The common willingness of the two major-party aspirants to commit naked aggression at the risk of world holocaust was made clear by Goldwater's swift endorsement of Johnson's action. . . ."

"This bipartisan action has again escalated the U.S. war in Vietnam to a new stage. Previously, the Pentagon maintained the fiction of only 'advising' the South Vietnamese military governments. Now Johnson drops the pretense and strikes directly with U.S. military units. This . . . establishes the precedent for further direct intervention, including the taking over command of the fighting in South Vietnam and the sending of U.S. ground forces into that civil war. . . ."

"One of the most ominous fruits of the crisis was the joint resolution that Johnson rammed through Congress. . . ."

To be continued

# Hanrahan indicted in Panther case

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO—A long-suppressed indictment of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan and 13 others for criminal conspiracy to obstruct the grand jury investigation of the 1969 police slayings of Chicago Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was revealed here Aug. 4. Criminal court Judge Joseph A. Power, acting on an order issued earlier in the day by the Illinois Supreme Court, handed down the indictment.

The murderous dawn raid on Hampton's apartment Dec. 4, 1969, by Chicago cops on orders from Hanrahan's office created such a furor in the Black community, on the campuses and across the country that federal and local authorities were forced to launch an investigation.

The grand jury indictment, suppressed by Power since June 25, accuses State's Attorney Hanrahan, Assistant State's Attorney Richard S. Jalovec and 12 policemen of "unlawfully, willfully and knowingly destroying, altering, concealing and disguising physical evidence," "planting false evidence" and "furnishing false information" in order to procure indictments of the seven surviving Panthers and prevent the possible indictment of the 14 policemen involved in the Panther slayings.

When rumors of the impending indictment first swept city hall last April 22, Judge Power, a friend and former law partner of Mayor Richard Daley, immediately ordered special prosecutor Barnabas Sears and the special county grand jury to hear testimony by Hanrahan and several additional witnesses before returning any indictments. (Hanrahan had previously refused to appear before the grand jury.)

When Sears publicly denounced this attempted interference in the proceedings of the grand jury, Power cited him on two counts of contempt of court. Several days later, three defense attorneys representing 13 policemen

and three employees of Hanrahan's office filed petitions charging the grand jurors had been prejudiced by slanted news coverage, and that Sears had improperly pressured the panel to vote for an indictment.

Judge Power ordered Sears to provide him with a copy of the grand jury proceedings and announced that he would begin interviewing individual jurors privately in his chamber to determine the truth or falsity of the defense allegations. Sears immediately appealed the contempt citations and these two actions by Judge Power to the Illinois Supreme Court.

On June 23, the Illinois high court overruled the contempt citations, but found that Judge Power could examine the transcript of the grand jury proceedings and interview the jurors as a group. According to the Chicago Bar Association and many other legal experts, such interference by a judge in the proceedings of a grand jury is without precedent in American legal history.

The grand jury again affirmed its decision and Sears submitted the indictments to Power June 25. Power immediately ordered them sealed.

Two weeks later, on Aug. 5, Judge Power named Mitchell Ware, a close political ally of Mayor Daley and head of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation, as a special "friend of the court" to conduct an inquiry into the allegations made against the special prosecutor.

Ware's objectivity, in the editorial understatement of the *Chicago Daily News*, "was open to serious question." In the wake of mounting public pressure, the Illinois high court voided the appointment at the same time that it ordered the suppressed Hanrahan indictment be made public.

The 14 defendants were to be arraigned Aug. 31, but this was delayed when Judge Power stepped aside to make room for another judge to preside over the upcoming trial. The Chicago Bar Association and many other organizations and individuals have long demanded that he do so.

State's Attorney Hanrahan, however, has indicated that he intends to continue in his present capacity in spite of public pressure for him to take a leave of absence pending the court decision. None of the cops named in the indictment have yet been suspended by the police department, though such suspensions are normal procedure.

The most recent developments in the case indicate, however, that the struggle for a just settlement of the mur-

der of the Black Panther Party leaders is far from being achieved. An exclusive article in the Aug. 30 *Chicago Sun Times* reported that one of the four "no bills" returned by the special grand jury with its indictments finds that there is insufficient evidence to indict Hanrahan or the cops who carried out the Dec. 4 raid on charges of homicide. (A "no bill" is a statement by a grand jury that there is no basis for an indictment on a specific point.)

Although the indictment of Hanrahan, Jalovec and the 12 cops on conspiracy to obstruct justice should be welcomed, the grand jury's failure, in the face of overwhelming evidence, to return an indictment for first-degree murder is a travesty of justice.

An independent citizens committee to investigate Hanrahan's office has been called for by Illinois Black Panther Field Secretary Howard Bell.

## ...Aug. 26

Continued from page 5

marched the entire route and participated in the rally.

The dominant theme of the demonstration, injected by the leadership of NOW, whose main spokeswoman was Betty Friedan, was for "political power." However, the primary means projected for winning political power was through gaining influence in the Democratic and Republican parties. This approach is self-defeating, since these parties are incapable of representing the interests of women.

Betty Friedan was the first speaker, and opened the rally by saying: "We are now moving from women's liberation to women's participation in equal political power. And equal political power will mean human liberation." She urged that women run for political office around the country, because with women in office, she said, "we would not continue war, freeze wages or create war industry."

One of the biggest responses from the crowd came as Friedan said that "women will march every year on Aug. 26 until our demands are met and women are free." She received a standing ovation when she was introduced.

Carol Greitzer, New York Democratic councilwoman, continued with this theme, saying that women must do two things: get elected to office and

keep hitting specific issues like child care, abortion, etc. She urged women to get elected as delegates to Republican and Democratic party conventions.

Four lesbians, all supporters of WISE (Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression), the group of women who disrupted the National Women's Abortion Conference, also spoke. They chided the women present for their supposed "anti-lesbianism," and presented lesbianism as an alternative life style which could help liberate women. There was a short ruckus at the platform as one of their representatives not scheduled to speak demanded to be part of the program.

Other speakers at the rally included New York Assemblywoman Constance Cooke; Judge Dorothy Kenyon, a former suffragist; Nancy Manfredonia, a New York woman who was arrested for bringing her 14-month-old child to a meeting on abortion and contraception; a striking telephone worker; a representative from International Socialists, and many others.

While the rally was in progress, women from many organizations sold literature and buttons to build future actions for the women's movement. The busiest tables were those of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), NOW, and the Women's Political Caucus. Hundreds of women bought buttons and signed up to work on the Nov. 20 demonstrations and the projects organized by WONAAC.

## Calendar

### ATLANTA

'72 SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND KICKOFF RALLY AND GRAND OPENING OF GEORGIA CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Speakers: Linda Jenness, '72 SWP candidate for U.S. president; Alice Conner, '72 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia; Frank Grinnon, '72 SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th Georgia District. Cost: \$3.50, including food and beverages. Fri., Sept. 10, 6 p.m., 68 Peachtree St., Downtown Atlanta at Poplar, Third Floor.

### BOSTON

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

### HOUSTON

GRAND OPENING CELEBRATION FOR PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE AND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Sat., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. Refreshments, hors d'oeuvres, candidates, speeches, raffle. Tickets: \$3, \$5 per couple, \$1 high school and unemployed. Phone 674-0612 for reservations. 6409 Lyons St.

# Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.  
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.  
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.  
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.  
Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.  
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.  
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.  
San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.  
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.  
FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.  
Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.  
Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.  
GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.  
ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.  
DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).  
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.  
KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.  
Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.  
Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.  
Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.  
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.  
Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.  
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# THE MILITANT

## Angry response to Jackson murder

### San Francisco

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Local and federal authorities are stepping up their attempts to build a case for "conspiracy" in the Aug. 21 incident at San Quentin that brought about the death of Soledad Brother George Jackson, three guards, and two other inmates.

The FBI has joined the search for attorney Stephen Bingham, charged on Aug. 31 with five counts of murder for allegedly giving George Jackson the gun that guards claim he was carrying when they shot him down. Authorities claim that Bingham concealed a 9mm automatic pistol inside a tape recorder in order to get it through San Quentin security.

Jackson allegedly took the gun, according to this story, and hid it under an Afro-style wig that he wore while walking 50 yards back to the maximum security section of the prison. A reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* staged an attempt to conceal an identical pistol in the method allegedly used by Jackson and reported that, on his subject, "the wig was obviously askew," and "with every step he took, the gun wobbled dangerously, bringing his hands instinctively to his head."

San Quentin officials have begun to argue that the Aug. 21 incident, which they originally called an "escape attempt," resulted from a slip in the plans for a better engineered escape plan that aimed for a break at night. A story "leaked" to the *San Francisco Examiner* by unnamed official sources alleges that a letter from Jackson was found by a cleaner in the pocket of another inmate's pants. The letter the anonymous source attributes to Jackson is said to contain an outline of the nighttime escape plan.

In their scramble to find some "evidence" to support their charges, authorities have been reduced to such ridiculous claims as that the carrying of a cap pistol by Jackson's 12-year-old nephew on an Aug. 1 visit to the prison was a "dry run" of the "escape plot."

Another story, put forward by Associate Warden James W. L. Park, is that Jackson was being "used" by "left-wing lawyers." Park asserted that if Jackson had escaped, "his white advisers . . . would have had a hero to work with. Dead, he became a martyr."

The other prisoners present when Jackson was slain tell another story. In an affidavit put forward during the pretrial hearings for the two surviving Soledad Brothers, John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, 26 prisoners charged that on Aug. 21, prison guards armed with guns stormed their cells and ordered the inmates to come out or be killed. They maintain that the incident was part of a plan to kill Jackson and other prisoners who refused to submit to the loss of their human dignity. The prisoners claim that the incident began a reign of terror in San Quentin that has continued since.

Drumgo says his life has been repeatedly threatened by prison guards: "They're saying I'm a dead man. I don't know how much longer I have to live."

Cluchette and Drumgo have had to limp into the courtroom since the incident because of welts on their ankles caused by shackles. Their bodies are covered with bruises and cuts.

On Aug. 26, according to witnesses, the two appeared to have suffered fresh beatings, showing signs of new bruises. Attorney Richard Silver's motion that the pair be moved to the San Francisco County Jail for their safety and so that they could receive a medical examination was denied by Judge Carl Allen. Allen claimed he could see no bruises.

In response to Allen's claim, Drumgo stripped to his waist, revealing welts from what he said was a recent beating. "Kill me now," Drumgo shouted. "Kill me now; you're going to kill me anyway!"

Doris Maxwell, Cluchette's mother, cried out when she saw the marks on Drumgo's body. Judge Allen ordered her removed from the court for her reaction, and when several spectators attempted to defend her right to be in court, the San Francisco Tactical Squad cops burst into the room and began clubbing and kicking the spectators.

About 300 angry people gathered at an emer-

gency rally after the brutality in the courtroom Aug. 26. Held at the offices of the *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper, the rally was organized by the San Francisco United Committee to Free Angela Davis. Representatives of the defense committee said that Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) would arrive the next day to head a delegation of Black lawyers who would attempt to investigate the prisoners' charges of brutality in San Quentin.

But while speakers had urged people at the rally to support Dellums' attempted investigation by demonstrating outside the prison gates, when Dellums arrived at San Quentin on Aug. 27, he urged the 500 demonstrators to "remove themselves." Dellums told demonstrators that the warden would not allow him to inspect conditions "as long as tensions are high," and suggested that people leave so that he could handle things. The demonstrators



George Jackson

LNS photo

did not respond warmly to Dellums' attempt to have them quit their action and rely on him, but the congressman's remarks effectively demoralized them so that the vigil, which had been going on uninterruptedly for two days, gradually trickled to an end.

### Los Angeles

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—At a press conference here Aug. 25, representatives for a group of Black and Third World organizations charged that the official accounts of the Aug. 21 San Quentin killing of George Jackson and two other prisoners were a fabrication. They asserted that information which filtered out from the prison pointed to the "escape" story as concocted after the fact to justify the slaying of George Jackson.

The persons speaking at the press conference said they had information that tear gas was used to force Jackson from the Adjustment Center from which he allegedly tried to escape into an adjoining yard where he was shot in the ankle and then, while in a face down position, shot in the back of the head.

With a map of the high-security Adjustment Center and surrounding area of San Quentin on a blackboard, a former San Quentin inmate showed how the physical characteristics of the area, coupled with the security and search measures employed there, made it virtually escape-proof. He said it was incomprehensible that someone like Jackson would try to break out of there.

Sponsors of the press conference, which was held at the Harriet Tubman Bookstore, included the Ex-Cons of San Quentin, East Los Angeles College Black Student Union, the Southern Cali-

fornia Prison Coalition, the Ruchell Magee Defense Committee, the Chicano Prison Movement and others. It was initiated by the Harriet Tubman Prison Movement.

Rella Brown, coordinator of the press conference, told the assembled newspaper and media representatives that the sponsoring groups "charge the California Department of Correction with the cowardly murder of George Jackson. . . ."

She said they strongly felt and intended to prove that "the 'official' accounts of the brutal murder are fabricated and designed to mislead the people. . . ."

"We feel," she declared, "that farcical statements about a gun being in a tape recorder—all such gadgets are completely disassembled—and being hidden in hair nets and hair are made with the belief that the public is easily fooled."

The stories issued by prison officials, she charged, are patently absurd in that going from the Adjustment Center to the visiting area all prisoners are subjected to four thorough searches—one before leaving the Adjustment Center, one before entering the visiting area, one on leaving it, and a fourth on reentering the Adjustment Center.

James Standifer, a former San Quentin inmate, described the security check:

"You strip off all your clothes," he explained. "First you bend over and spread the cheeks of your behind. You turn around again and raise your testicles. The officers examine all these areas. Then you turn around again and raise your feet one at a time and he looks under your feet. Then you turn around, you open your mouth, you turn your head, show him the inside of both your ears. You lower your head and run your fingers through your hair. You show him the top and bottom of your hands. You raise both arms and show him your arm pits. You do this four times when you go from the Adjustment Center—or any other disciplinary area—to the visiting center."

Brown, who said she has made a number of visits to the prison over the past seven years, described the meticulous scrutiny to which visitors are subjected.

"When you go in," she said, "Any letters in your possession are taken from you. A thorough check is made of your luggage. You go through a metal detector. On a couple of occasions I had on a metal buckle or metal earrings and was asked to take them off. If you have any metal on you it registers with a beep. Then you have to come back through again, continuously, until you pass."

"If you have a child with you, all bottles and diapers and so on are checked."

The following statement was issued by Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

*The Socialist Workers Party condemns the murders by San Quentin prison guards of George Jackson and two other prisoners on August 21.*

*Associate warden James W.L. Park and San Quentin authorities have fabricated a suicidal "escape attempt," attempting to blame the murders on "dilettante revolutionary" newspapers that "stir up unrest" among inmates. This is an attempt to cover up the deliberate killing of Jackson, whose writings have helped expose the rotten, racist conditions in today's prisons.*

*We condemn the systematic and brutal violence which goes on daily in the prisons—the real cause of "unrest" among prisoners. Our campaign will bring the truth about the prisons to the American people. As candidates for public office, we demand our right to visit the prisons and talk with the prisoners themselves.*

*We call for an independent public investigation of the San Quentin murders to be controlled by the Black community, including Black prisoners and former prisoners.*