

THE MILITANT

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

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Bangla Desh liberation fighters in training

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PILAND GETS ELEVENTH-HOUR BREAK: Lt. (jg) Gordon Piland is an activist in the San Francisco Bay Area Concerned Military who faces a punitive transfer to remote Adak, Alaska, for his antiwar activity. He was all set to leave for Adak Dec. 1 when word came through that morning that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas had issued an order staying the transfer until the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals can hear Piland's appeal of a district court ruling that his case falls outside court jurisdiction.

GOVERNMENT NAMES ONE MORE IN INVENTED HARRISBURG "CONSPIRACY": A bill of particulars filed Nov. 26 in the Harrisburg federal court where the Berrigan case is to be tried added another alleged co-conspirator to the fantastic bombing and kidnap frame-up. The bill was filed by the Justice Department. It named 27-year-old John Swinglish, a Navy vet active in the Catholic Peace Fellowship, without charging him. He was indicted last April for criminal contempt because he refused to testify before a grand jury under the odious "immunity" provision of the 1970 crime law.

LEGION GOON GETS TWO TO EIGHT: Thomas Stewart, one of the hooligans in Chicago attorney S. Thomas Sutton's ultraright Legion of Justice, has been convicted of the armed robbery and assault of four Catholic priests. He was sentenced to from two to eight years in the Illinois penitentiary.

LONDON SPOILER: Teachers and headmasters were ordered Nov. 26 to spare the rod and cease caning students as a means of discipline in London elementary schools. Yes, Nov. 26, 1971—not 50 or 100 years ago. But in most other districts in Britain caning still remains a form of discipline.

KENT STUDENT FOUND GUILTY OF MISDEMEANOR: The Ravenna, Ohio, jury returned its first verdict Nov. 30 in the 25 frame-up cases against students and faculty at Kent State University stemming from the May 1970 antiwar upsurge in which four students were shot to death by National Guardsmen. The jury acquitted Jerry Rupe of the more serious arson and riot charges, but found him guilty of "obstructing firemen."

OHIO MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM: Twenty-six men and five women from the staff of the Lima State Hospital for the Criminally Insane appeared in court Nov. 26 on charges that make one wonder whether the institution's name refers to those confined there or its employees. The 31 staffers tied up, beat, tortured and sexually assaulted inmates until Lima attorney Robert Muhlbaugh initiated the investigation that led to indictments against them for sodomy, assault and torture. "If hell has a basement," Muhlbaugh told the New York Times, "it's the Lima State Hospital."

OLD AGE IN THE USA: The Senate Committee on Aging issued a report Nov. 25 disclosing that one person in four over the age of 65 lives in poverty in the U.S.—that's 4.7 million impoverished old people.

OLD AGE IN FUN CITY: "If you ask me," an elderly man is quoted as saying of New York's Housing Maintenance Commission in the Dec. 1 New York Times, "I think they're dizzy, not busy." He had been trying to phone city housing offices for two days without getting through. He is one of thousands of poor people, 62 and older, seeking to apply for a partial exemption from rent increases before the Dec. 3 deadline. A Times editorial the same day explained how difficult the commission has made it for the city's aging poor to obtain such exemptions: "The forms are excessively complex. Delays in their delivery moreover forced many applicants to wait in line, sometimes in heavy rain outside the district offices. In some instances, hard-to-negotiate stairs turned the mission into a cruel obstacle course. And the phone number in the brochure that had been mailed out was wrong."

SECOND THOUGHTS: A recent recipient of the Cardinal Spellman Award for outstanding contributions to theology, the Rev. Raymond E. Brown, urged in a lecture at the Jesuits' Woodstock College where he teaches that a "serious re-examination" of the doctrine of the virgin birth of Jesus be made. It always did sound fishy to us.

MORE SECOND THOUGHTS: A dispatch from Tel Aviv in the Nov. 27 New York Times reported that "several

dozen immigrant families from the Soviet Republic of Georgia want to go back there."

AMA ALARMISTS GET COMEUPPANCE SPIRO-STYLE: Vice-President Agnew told the "radical-libs" in the American Medical Association Nov. 28 that it was engaging in "scare rhetoric" by mentioning the cost of pollution-related diseases in an ad.

A JURY OF HER PEERS: In the second day of trial, the judge in Fairbanks, Alaska, dropped charges against a young woman on trial for possession of hallucinogenic drugs for the purpose of sale. The jury was composed entirely of 17- and 18-year-old high school students. The defendant's name was withheld under state law.

IN TIME OF WAR: CHILDREN TESTIFY is the title of a beautiful book in Arabic and English containing drawings and statements by, as well as photographs of and stories about, Palestinian refugee children. The drawings are reproduced in brilliant colors. The 188-page book was published in Beirut in August this year. Proceeds from its sale will go to set up cultural centers in Palestinian camps. One selection by 11-year-old Jalilah, accompanying her painting, "The Black Bride," says in part: "When I grow up I am going to become a fedayi. Woman must participate in the fighting; victory is impossible without her." The book is dedicated "From the Palestinian children. To all the children in the world." Edited by Mona Saudi, it can be ordered from Mawakef, P. O. Box 1489, Beirut, Lebanon. (\$6 postpaid.)

BISHOPS ASK WAR'S END: The American Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church approved a resolution Nov. 19 calling for the "speedy ending" of the war in Vietnam as "a moral imperative of the highest priority."

CHICANOS PROTEST ON THANKSGIVING: About 40 faculty and students demonstrated in front of University Hall, headquarters of the University of California system in Berkeley Thanksgiving Day. The action was called by the University of California Chicano Steering Committee, a coalition of Chicano faculty, staff and student representatives from all nine campuses in the state university system. The demonstration protested racist hiring and enrollment policies. The steering committee is demanding 7,000 Chicano students by the fall 1973 semester, according to Jorge Acevedo, coordinator for Chicano Studies at the Berkeley campus.

Total Chicano enrollment in the state university system is only 2 percent even though Chicanos account for 16 percent of the population.

PUNCH, June 10 1970



"Surely they don't need all those happy hunting grounds?"

NEW YORK'S INSURGENT CABBIES: The Taxi Rank and File Coalition in the New York drivers' union submitted a formal complaint Nov. 22 with the U.S. Labor Department. The coalition cited 34 irregularities in the previous week's elections in Taxi Drivers' Local 3036. The union's chiseling and bureaucratic president, Harry Van Arsdale, was re-elected by the slim margin of only 57 percent despite the lack of adequate safeguards to prevent ballot tampering; the use of violence, violent threats and blackmail; and Van Arsdale's access to the local's newspaper as a campaign vehicle.

— LEE SMITH

Goal in sight in record sub drive

By MIKE LUX

NOV. 30—As we approach the end of the largest subscription drive in the history of *The Militant*, prospects for successfully obtaining 30,000 new readers are excellent.

Although the deadline for the drive is Dec. 1, the final tabulation will not appear until next week's scoreboard to make sure that all subs mailed by the deadline are counted. Indications are that areas are mobilizing their forces for the final push. Already 12 areas are over the top and are continuing to sell at a rapid pace in order to ensure that the national total is reached.

At this point there are a total of 28,143 new subscribers, including 1,648 sent in this week. This means that 1,857 subs must be turned in during the next few days in order to reach and surpass the 30,000 goal.

Militant supporters from the New York area plan to leave early for the Dec. 3-5 national antiwar convention in Cleveland, stopping along the way to sell subscriptions. They will also encourage everyone they meet to attend the Cleveland conference.

San Francisco reports new successes in sales. Norton Sandler, sub drive director of the YSA there, wrote about their sales blitzes at San Francisco International Airport during the Thanksgiving holidays: "The holiday means that the turnover is very high in the terminal. In two evenings, we sold 40 subs and 130 single issues of *The Militant*. The holiday is an ideal time to cover the airports since large numbers of GIs are leaving town on vacation. We found that GIs literally gobbled up the papers. Additionally, many bought subs for their friends still

on the base. At one point on Wednesday evening, a whole room of GIs were reading *The Militant* while waiting for their flights. Also, we were able to reach many recent Vietnam returnees. They were extremely excited to see us selling the paper."

The national sales teams continue to send in subscriptions at a fast pace and report that they will be working right up to the last possible minute. All the teams have been traveling in the South for the last few days, selling at various Black universities, agricultural colleges, and a Baptist college in Arkadelphia, Ark. A member of the Southwest team reports, "We even sold two subs at Oral Roberts University—the stomping grounds of one of this nation's leading faith healers." As of this writing, the Western team is in Kansas City, Mo., the Southwest team

is in Little Rock, Ark., and the Southern team is in Jackson, Miss. In addition to selling subs, the teams are publicizing the Young Socialist national convention to be held in Houston Dec. 28-Jan. 1, and gathering endorsers for the Jenness-Pulley campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

International Socialist Review

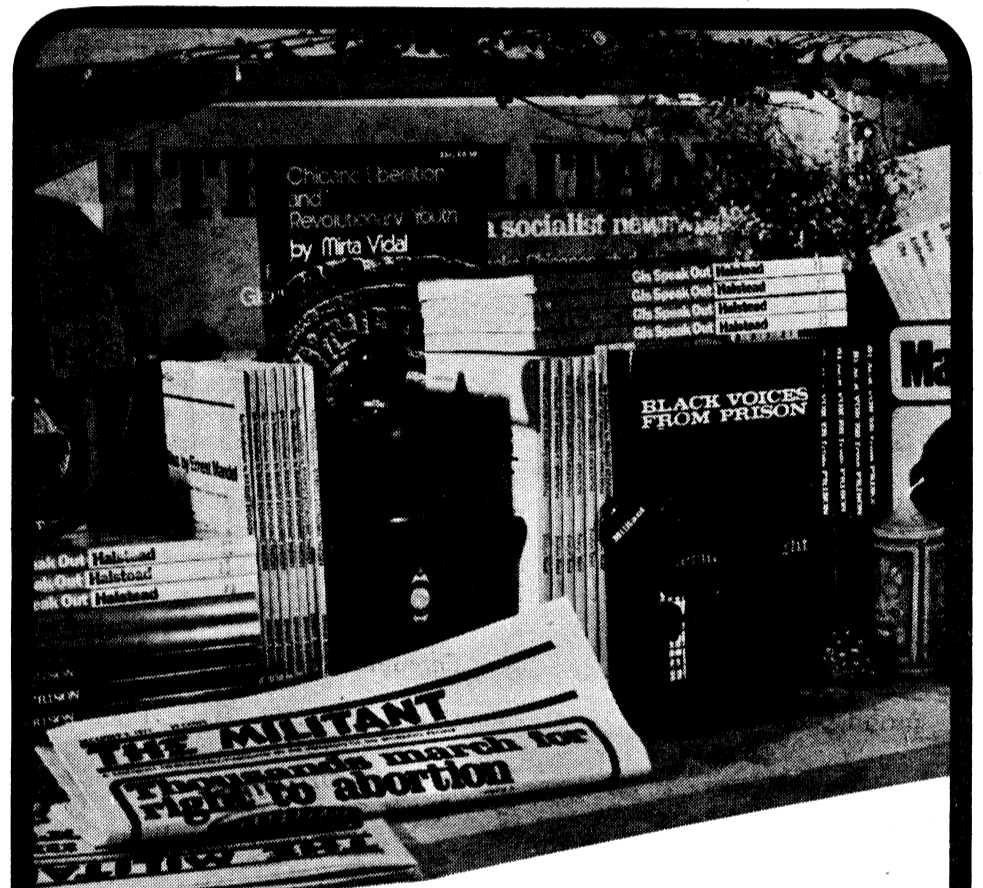
The *International Socialist Review* sub drive for 5,000 new readers is still lagging far behind schedule in the last few days of the drive. Salespeople report that they are placing more emphasis on selling the *ISR* as they sell *Militant* subs and that the magazine has a broad appeal to activists everywhere. The *ISR* now has 2,499 new readers, which is more than it has ever obtained during a sub drive.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	%
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	25	39	156.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	56	140.0
Erie, Pa.	5	7	140.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	13	130.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	15	18	120.0
Paterson, N.J.	25	29	116.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	112	112.0
Geneseo, N.Y.	20	22	110.0
Nashville, Tenn.	45	49	108.9
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	1,214	101.3
Manchester, N.H.	15	15	100.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	200	100.0
Seattle, Wash.	600	583	97.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	966	96.6
San Antonio, Texas	40	38	95.0
Boston, Mass.	2,000	1,855	92.8
Travis A.F.B., Calif.	40	37	92.5
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	1,835	91.8
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	1,098	91.5
Connecticut	200	181	90.5
San Diego, Calif.	200	181	90.5
Denver, Colo.	700	625	89.3
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	1,419	88.7
Austin, Texas	375	331	88.2
Amherst, Mass.	100	88	88.0
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	13	86.7
North Andover, Mass.	20	17	85.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	17	85.0
Houston, Texas	600	504	84.0
Bloomington, Ind.	150	125	83.3
Madison, Wis.	300	246	82.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	962	77.0
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	997	76.7
Gainesville, Fla.	100	75	75.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	20	15	75.0
Cleveland, Ohio	850	634	74.6
Washington, D.C.	600	441	73.5
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	912	73.0
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	900	72.0
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	1,096	70.7
Marietta, Ohio	10	7	70.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	80	56	70.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	28	70.0
Atlanta, Ga.	750	507	67.6
Eugene, Ore.	40	25	62.5
Logan, Utah	100	62	62.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	61	61.0
Providence, R.I.	200	121	60.5
Albuquerque, N.M.	5	3	60.0
Davenport, Iowa	10	6	60.0
Portland, Ore.	400	238	59.5
Durham, N.H.	40	23	57.5
Chapel Hill, N.C.	30	16	53.3
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	52	52.0
Edinboro, Pa.	25	13	52.0
Baton Rouge, La.	10	5	50.0
State College, Pa.	20	10	50.0
Tucson, Ariz.	20	10	50.0
Long Island, N.Y.	200	99	49.5
Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
DeKalb, Ill.	25	11	44.0
Kingston, R.I.	20	8	40.0
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	10	4	40.0
El Paso, Texas	50	18	36.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	72	36.0
Lubbock, Texas	25	8	32.0
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	8	32.0
Waterloo, Iowa	10	3	30.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	28	28.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	13	21.7
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	4	20.0
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Gary, Ind.	10	2	20.0
Lawton, Okla.	5	1	20.0
Wichita, Kan.	20	4	20.0
Kansas City, Mo.	200	35	17.5
Tampa, Fla.	150	26	17.3
Modesto, Calif.	30	4	13.3
Oxford, Ohio	75	5	6.7
Sciota, Pa.	5	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6,000	8,115	135.3
Mid-Atlantic	(2,346)		
Southern	(2,283)		
Western	(1,810)		
Southwest	(1,676)		
General	325	455	140.0
TOTAL TO DATE		28,143	93.8
SHOULD BE		29,610	98.7
GOAL		30,000	100.0



Crystal City, Texas



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How to involve labor in the antiwar movement

By DAVE FRANKEL

Nixon's Aug. 15 speech imposing the wage freeze, followed by the Phase Two wage controls, added a new element to American political life. For the first time since the Korean War, the government is openly attempting to drive down the wages of the American working class.

This attack on workers, along with the 1972 presidential elections, establishes the political context within which the antiwar movement will be operating for the next year. A successful strategy for the antiwar movement in 1972 must be based on a sober analysis of these two factors and an assessment of their impact upon the American people.

Nixon's assault on workers' wages is not merely an experiment or a passing phase in the economic policies of the U. S. government. It stems from a deepening economic crisis in the capitalist world, which is reflected in the growing friction between the advanced capitalist powers as they compete for world trade, in the recurrent international monetary crises, and the combined inflation and recession that the U. S. and other capitalist nations are experiencing.

These developments are beginning to have a powerful impact on the thinking of the American working class by undermining reformist illusions in the ability of capitalism to provide a constantly improving standard of living.

However, the immediate reaction of the trade union bureaucrats has not been to mobilize the union membership in defense of its basic interests. In fact, they supported the wage-restraint bills in Congress, while criticizing only some aspects of Nixon's wage controls. Instead of launching mass strikes and demonstrations, instead of calling a national congress of labor that could mobilize the whole working class in a massive struggle against the wage controls, the union leadership tells the rank and file to wait for the 1972 elections in order to defeat Nixon and elect a Democrat.

This policy is clearly expressed by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). District 37 is the largest union in New York City, and Gotbaum has endorsed and spoken at a number of antiwar demonstrations, including the Nov. 6 action in New York. In the Oct. 29 issue of District 37's newspaper, the *Public Employee Press*, Gotbaum writes in an editorial: "There has been no change in the policy of controlling wages, prices and rents—with guidelines to come later—while interests, dividends and profits go scot-free. Thus, the bias of the Nixon administration toward big business remains the keystone of his economic policy. . . .

"We must never take our eye off the 1972 ball. The election is only 12 months from now. This administration spends billions on war and armaments, at a greater rate than its predecessors, feeding inflation horrendously, and even worse, has no plan to convert to a peacetime economy.

"So my final point is: Buckle your belts and get ready for November 1972. If you want a decent paycheck and a decent life for your family, you'll just have to beat Richard Milhous Nixon 12 months from now."

Similar sentiments are voiced by Gotbaum in the Sept. 17 issue of the same paper. In an editorial entitled "Looking past the 90 days, ahead to the '72 elections," Gotbaum writes that "above all, we have to gear for 1972. In this belief we are very close to George Meany. Any Democrat would be preferable to what we now have in the White House."

The fact of the matter is that all the potential presidential nominees of the Democratic Party, along with the Democrats in Congress, support the wage controls. They differ with Nixon only on details of implementation. The willingness of Gotbaum to subordinate the interests of the workers he leads to support for the Democratic Party puts him right in step with the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy in this country, despite his opposition to the war in Southeast Asia.

The labor bureaucracy believes that Nixon can be defeated in 1972, and its policy is to begin immediately to mobilize the resources of the union movement to support the Democrats. Many of the same labor officials who have been involved in the antiwar movement to one degree or another will now be making the campaign to "defeat Nixon" their main priority.

Another example illustrating the orientation of the most liberal wing of the union leadership is found in the Jan. 22, 1971, *Missouri Teamster*, the official publication of Teamsters Joint Council 13. Harold J. Gibbons, president of Council 13 and international vice-president of the Teamsters, has, like Gotbaum, endorsed actions and spoken at rallies of the antiwar movement. His paper, in a front-page article by Ronald R. Borges, ad-



Participating in Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in Cleveland were members of AFSCME, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, U. E. District 7, and UAW Local 1045.

Photo by Linda Burton

vises that "we must wait until the 1972 elections to get rid of our worst enemy since the depression of the 1930s."

Labor and Nov. 6

Some within the antiwar movement were disappointed that the most extensive endorsement ever obtained for an antiwar action from forces within the labor movement did not result in an appreciably larger labor turnout on Nov. 6. This view fails to take into account that endorsement of antiwar actions by labor officials in no way guarantees that these same officials will turn out the membership of their unions for the actions. It does, however, give the antiwar movement the opportunity to get a hearing within the unions and makes it possible for antiwar unionists to raise the issue of the war in their unions.

The trade-union officialdom is not directly affected by the wage controls or the war-caused inflation in the same way as the workers in their unions. Their salaries are generally closer to the salaries of the executives in industry and government whom they negotiate with than to the wages of the workers they purport to lead. These bureaucrats look with fear and hostility on any attempts by the rank and file to enter into political activity or assert their control over the affairs and policies of the unions, since this would jeopardize their own comfortable positions. Serious struggles require the mobilization of the ranks, but the trade-union bureaucracy prefers the road of "responsible negotiation" and peace with the employers. Its motto is "Don't rock the boat"; its support of the status quo and the capitalist political parties is a natural outgrowth of this class-collaborationist perspective.

Because the bureaucrats' strategy for 1972 is to subordinate the workers' struggles to support for the Democratic Party, it is highly unlikely—to say the least—that they will lead mass actions against the wage controls or the Vietnam war.

1972 elections and antiwar movement

As the pressures of the 1972 elections mount, a number of challenges have already been made to the existence of an independent antiwar movement that mobilizes mass actions in the streets for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia. The most obvious of these are the attempts to line up the antiwar movement as a supporting formation of the Democratic Party in the elections. This perspective is at the heart of the "Evict Nixon" campaign launched by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). It will certainly be put forward by the representatives of the trade union bureaucracy within the antiwar movement.

In addition to such open challenges to the character of the antiwar movement, there are others of a different type. The widespread illusion that Nixon is "winding down" the war, and that if he doesn't, the Democrats will field a "peace" candidate who will, draws many people away from organizing mass mobilizations in the streets and toward supporting the Democratic Party in the elections. This process has only begun, but, barring any dramatic events such as a major re-escalation of the war, it will intensify up to the November 1972 elections. In this situation, we can

expect to see people in the antiwar movement come up with all kinds of gimmicks in an attempt to find a shortcut solution to the difficulties posed by the elections and the illusion that Nixon is "winding down" the war. Most often such pressures are reflected in proposals, either open or implied, to change the character of the antiwar movement.

An example of this can be found in the Nov. 24 issue of the *Guardian*, an independent radical newsweekly published in New York. While defending the tactic of mass mobilizations against the war, *Guardian* staff writer Carl Davidson argues that "the conclusion to be drawn from an evaluation of the fall offensive is the 'inadequacy' of the class composition of the turnout. In spite of the wide endorsements from labor officialdom, neither antiwar coalition [PCPJ and the National Peace Action Coalition] has developed a strategy or organization capable of mobilizing rank-and-file workers into the antiwar struggle. The same is true of the offensive's national composition, and the antiwar coalition's relation to the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican people's organizations."

One of the reasons masses of workers did not turn out for the fall offensive has been discussed—the labor bureaucrats, whom most of the rank-and-file workers still view as their leaders, didn't mobilize them. In addition, the elections and the illusions about Nixon's intentions in Vietnam limited participation.

Although Davidson doesn't go further into this question in his article, it is clear that his evaluation of the fall offensive implies the need for an "alternative strategy and organization" if the antiwar movement is to be successful in mobilizing workers and the oppressed nationalities against the war. But what other strategy and organizational form than a coalition of all groups and individuals who support mass actions for immediate withdrawal would Davidson suggest?

From its inception almost seven years ago, the antiwar movement has maintained that the war was an issue of vital importance to virtually every sector of American society, including the organized labor movement. The antiwar movement set out to win to its ranks the majority of the American people on the basis of opposition to the war. The passage of time has borne out this approach. A majority of the American people are today clearly opposed to the war. The existence of this massive sentiment, together with the organized antiwar movement, has prevented the U. S. ruling class from bringing its full power to bear against the Vietnamese revolution, and in fact, has forced it to pretend it is ending the war.

The 'add another issue' gimmick

Davidson's suggestion for an alternative strategy to mobilizing people on the issue of the war implies that they should be organized around an alternative political issue. The PCPJ attempted to do precisely that. It insisted that the way to draw the Black community into the struggle against the war was for the antiwar movement to take upon itself the struggle against racism. However, the result is that PCPJ has been unable to make any contribution to the struggle against racism, and has put less and less energy into mobilizing masses of people against the war.

Instead of building a coalition based on action, on the mobilization of masses of people around the demand of immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia, PCPJ attempted to pose as a leading organization in the Black struggle as well as an antiwar organization.

But those who agreed with PCPJ on the basis of fighting the war did not necessarily agree with its vague, ineffectual program for "fighting racism." For example, there are many forces in the antiwar movement who believe that a program for fighting racism must include unconditional support for the right to self-determination of Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.

The result of PCPJ's "multi-issue" strategy was that the only time it was able to mobilize any significant numbers of people was when it tied in with antiwar actions called by NPAC.

There is another aspect to the attempt to draw African-Americans into the antiwar movement by forming an organization that purports to fight racism as well as the war. Such an approach fails to realize that the leadership for the Black struggle will emerge out of the Black nationalist movement itself. The basis for the appeal within the Black community of the antiwar movement's demand to bring all the troops home now is that the racist U. S. aggression in Vietnam is against the interests of that community. The antiwar movement cannot substitute itself for the leadership of the Black movement, which can only come from within the Black community.

Unions and the antiwar movement

Davidson's logic leads in a similar direction if applied to the need to draw labor into the antiwar struggle. The way to involve trade unionists in the antiwar movement is by showing how the war is contrary to their interests and is responsible for deepening the inflation. The antiwar movement cannot lead the struggle of the trade unions or any section of the union movement—that's the job of the unions themselves. Such an attempt would only succeed in derailing the antiwar movement by narrowing it and deflecting it from its central job of organizing mass actions against the war.

Without question the problems facing American workers cry out for the building of a left wing in the union movement to mobilize the ranks in struggle in their own interests against the capitalist class. Such a class-struggle left wing will be characterized not only by its opposition to the war but by a whole program designed to facilitate the participation of the union membership in the affairs of the union and in politics in general—a program to fight inflation, unemployment, the war, and for the formation of an independent labor party. It will of necessity not directly involve many of the forces currently active in the antiwar coalition since it will be built in the unions by union members. In fact, such a left wing will surely be directed *against* some of the same labor officials who currently support the antiwar movement.

This is in no way an argument against the involvement of labor officials in the antiwar movement. It is important that all forces opposed to the war be involved in the antiwar movement in order to build the broadest, most massive actions possible.

Another reason for soliciting support from labor officials is that the majority of union members still look to the union bureaucracy for leadership. Because of these illusions, endorsements from labor officials help provide opportunities to go to union members either individually or at meetings with the facts about the war and information about antiwar actions.

While the antiwar movement cannot build a class-struggle left wing in the union movement from the outside or substitute itself for such a left wing, it has already influenced the thinking of many workers. The political impact of the mass actions the antiwar movement has organized has been felt in every union in the country and has begun to change the thinking of millions of workers. As the antiwar movement explains the relationship between the war, the rising prices, and the wage controls to more workers, the impact will deepen further.

Seen in this context, the proposals continually made by sectarian grouplets on the fringes of the antiwar movement that the antiwar movement call for general strikes or labor marches are clearly attempts to substitute the antiwar movement for a left wing in the trade unions—and to some extent for the trade unions themselves.

The antiwar movement must continue its work of organizing massive demonstrations around the single issue of the Vietnam war and around the demand for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces. Endorsements should be obtained from as many labor officials and unions as possible and a special effort made to reach the ranks of the unions. This is the task that is before the national antiwar convention meeting in Cleveland Dec. 3-5.

SWP greetings to Socialist Party of Puerto Rico

On Nov. 28 Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, flew to Puerto Rico to attend the rally at which the founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) was publicly announced. The new party was formed at the eighth national assembly of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) Nov. 19-21.

Over 5,000 members and supporters of the PSP gathered in Bayamon for the rally and heard speeches from MPI General Secretary Juan Mari Bras and Puerto Rican Independence Party Secretary Ruben Berrios. Greetings were read from many organizations and individuals, including the following from Linda Jenness. The translation is by The Militant.

Compañeros y Compañeras, comrades, I bring revolutionary greetings from the Socialist Workers Party, which is struggling in the United States within the heart of the monster, Yankee imperialism.

The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party at this eighth assembly of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI) has enormous significance

for the struggles of all the peoples of the Americas.

The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party means that when the people of Puerto Rico, when its working masses and all its allies, prepare to take power, they will have the indispensable tool for transforming society and for founding the socialist republic of a free and sovereign Puerto Rico.

I also wish to let you know that within the heart of the monster you have allies. Not only that part of the Puerto Rican people who have been exiled but also the masses of Black people who are fighting for liberation; the youth who are rejecting a materialist and alienating world and seeking a world and society with justice; the masses of Chicanos who are organizing and fighting for their national liberation; and the movement against the war in Indochina, which will not rest until all the troops of imperialism are withdrawn from Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese people have achieved their right to be sovereign. There are also other sectors awakening and beginning to challenge the power of the bourgeoisie in the United States.

Long live the Puerto Rican Socialist Party!



Puerto Rican Independence march Sept. 12, 1971

Photo by Miguel Rivera/Claridad

Puerto Rican Socialists ally with struggles in U.S.

The following resolution directed to the people of the United States was adopted at the eighth national assembly of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), which founded the Puerto Rican Socialist Party Nov. 19-21. The translation is by The Militant.

In this past year the exploitation to which the North American workers are subjected at the hands of the center of capitalist power has increased. The measures decreed by President Nixon freezing wages have thrown the total weight of the economic crisis of the United States on the shoulders of the workers. This crisis is a result of the imperialist adventure and genocide of the Yankee government in Indochina as well as internal contradictions of capitalism itself.

Tens of thousands of the sons of the exploited have lost their lives and hundreds of thousands have been physically and mentally incapacitated by the aggressive war carried on by the imperialists against the people of Indochina.

This oppression is manifested in an ever-growing way against the racial minorities and nationalities of that country. It is the Blacks, Chicanos, Native-American Indians, and those of Asian lineage who are the first victims of the powerful blows of capitalism and imperialism of the military-industrial power in the United States.

Racism is the institution fostered and maintained by the North American bourgeoisie to divide the exploited from each other in order to prevent their unity against the exploiters.

The colonial governor of Puerto Rico, Luis A. Ferré, joins the insulting and inhumane internal oppression and, in his role as puppet, allies himself with the governors who represent the most racist, backward and reactionary section of that country, the South. Luis A. Ferré joins the racism

of George Wallace when he allies himself with him for segregated schooling.

Despite the humiliating position suffered by the North American workers, the people—particularly the Blacks, Chicanos, the Indians and the Asians, and the other ethnic and racial groups of North America—demonstrate more each day their will to struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation. They demonstrate their aim to end the Yanqui presence in Indochina and to live in peace with the other people of the world.

For these reasons, the eighth national assembly of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI) and founding convention of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party resolves:

1. To aid all efforts of the progressive people of the United States to free Compañera Angela Davis, a living symbol of the cruelty practiced by the capitalist system against those who rebel.

2. To fully solidarize ourselves with the battle of our brothers the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Asians, and other national and racial minorities who struggle for their liberation and self-determination.

3. To urge all progressive organizations to redouble their efforts to force their government to quickly end the aggression and genocide against the people of Indochina.

4. To repudiate the racist actions of the colonial governor of Puerto Rico, the puppet Luis A. Ferré, ally of the most neanderthal sectors of the United States.

5. To acknowledge the solidarity manifested on diverse occasions by the people of North America for the people of Puerto Rico in its struggle against imperialism and Yankee colonialism.

6. To fully solidarize ourselves with the struggle of the people of North American against exploitation and racism, and for world peace.

Full citizenship for women

On Nov. 22 the U.S. Supreme Court for the first time ruled a state law unconstitutional on the grounds of "arbitrary" sex discrimination. On the same day the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee voted down the women's Equal Rights Amendment, citing the Supreme Court decision as evidence that a constitutional amendment was not needed to guarantee women equal rights.

The law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court was an Idaho statute that said "males must be preferred to females" in cases where more than one person applies to administer a dead person's estate.

While representing a progressive step, this decision was very limited in its scope. It only outlawed "arbitrary" or "unreasonable" discrimination against women, without defining these terms. It did not place sex discrimination in the same category as discrimination based on race or wealth, which the courts are supposed to view as "inherently suspect," requiring a "compelling interest" on the part of the government for justification.

The Fourteenth Amendment, passed in 1868 during Reconstruction, was aimed mainly at eliminating laws discriminating against Black people. It has been cited often in legal cases against school segregation in the South. Protection under the Fourteenth Amendment, however, was never extended to women. In 1872, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld an Illinois law prohibiting women from practicing law. In motivating this ruling, one justice wrote as part of the decision: "The paramount destiny and mission of women are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator."

In subsequent years, laws discriminating against women were upheld because they were said to be "reasonable," and "protective" of women in their role as wives and mothers. For instance, as recently as 1961 a Florida law was upheld that exempted women from jury duty, although the law was challenged by a woman convicted by an all-male jury of killing her husband.

An article in the Nov. 28 *New York Times* points out that past rulings of the Supreme Court in the area of sex discrimination have dealt only with laws like the Florida one, that is, those couched in terms of "protecting" women. The Idaho statute is the first one having no "protective coloration" to be considered by the court. But in striking down this blatantly discriminatory Idaho law, the door is still left open to more subtle forms of discrimination for a "reasonable" or "protective" purpose.

The *New York Times*—which has staunchly opposed adoption of the women's Equal Rights Amendment as too radical a step—praised the Supreme Court decision on the Idaho law. A Nov. 23 editorial stated: "The effect of this ruling is to place the fate of various sexually discriminatory laws on a case-by-case basis. This is a slower but preferable way to correct the evils of discrimination than the passage of the proposed equal rights amendment."

For whom is the "slower" way more preferable? It is certainly not "preferable" to women to slow down the process of eliminating sex discrimination. What is needed—and was not provided by the recent Supreme Court decision—is a clear statement that women are full citizens entitled to equal rights under the law. The entire body of laws that treat women as a separate category of inferior citizens who belong in the home must go. This is the intent of the Equal Rights Amendment.

'Lights for Life'

Thought readers of *The Militant* would like to know that the opponents of the abortion law repeal campaign were active on the Miami Beach front Friday and Saturday, Nov. 19 and 20. Planes fly over the ocean dragging advertising slogans. Friday the 19th, I was much surprised to see "National Abortion Day—Nov. 20th" and up above it was another plane dragging the sign "Drive with headlights—porchlights on all day." Today—the 20th—the signs read "Headlights on—Lights for Life, Protest abortion Nov. 20th."

Also, on the news here tonight when they reported 2,000 at the demonstration, they showed a local Democrat who, although he sounded wishy-washy, said in the end that abortion should be a personal matter between the woman and her doctor. So despite the numbers, the campaign must have dented the media all over.

D. B.
Miami, Fla.

McCloskey

Congressman Paul McCloskey, on a blitz of New Hampshire's campuses trying to solicit student support for himself and the Republican Party, spoke to about a hundred students at Saint Anselm's College in Manchester on Nov. 14.

When questioned about his reputation as an avid supporter of the draft, McCloskey had to try to explain to the students why a volunteer army is undesirable. When queried on why he voted for the notorious D. C. "anti-crime" bill, McCloskey said, "You can't even walk the streets at night in Washington."

I asked McCloskey if he supported the Nov. 20 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco for repeal of all abortion laws, to which he replied: "Well, I don't know about supporting any demonstrations, but . . ." and tried to evade the question by rambling on about the necessity for abortion law "reform."

When I asked McCloskey why he had not as of yet scheduled a debate with the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness, he seemed to be stunned to meet a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley supporter on such an isolated and remote campus.

McCloskey generally did not get a good reception here. Most of the questions attacked him from the left, and some of his replies—such as his refusal to support the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition demonstrations and his racist reply to why he supported Nixon's D. C. crime bill—exposed McCloskey for what he really is.

McCloskey is going to be confronted and exposed by YSJers wherever he goes.

John Custin
Manchester, N. H.

McGovern and gay rights

On Nov. 15, I phoned McGovern's New York campaign headquarters and spoke to campaign worker Rick Hirsch about McGovern's position on homosexual rights. I asked: If elected, would McGovern propose and fight for gay rights legislation on the federal level?

"I can't tell you specifically," Hirsch replied. He assured me, however, that while McGovern supports

"civil rights for every group" he would only say and do things publicly that he could "do practically and still have a chance to get elected." If a candidate openly supported gay rights at this time, he said, it would be "very bold but would probably hurt that fellow's chance to—I'm not talking about bullshit and rhetoric—but passing legislation. It would turn off more people than it would turn on," he continued.

Hirsch said that if McGovern openly supported gay rights, "can you imagine what Spiro Agnew would do? He could wipe McGovern out!"

He told me of alleged gay McGovern supporters who pledged to vote for but not publicly endorse McGovern because they "realized" that the electorate as a whole opposed gay liberation.

The issue of homosexual rights has been ignored long enough! McGovern's refusal to make even a token public statement on behalf of gays reveals his own anti-gay prejudice and demonstrates his unwillingness to fight for justice. Democratic and Republican party politicians are not interested in our rights, but only in getting themselves elected to office and keeping their parties in power.

It's about time that gay people—as well as working people, women, Blacks, Chicanos and other oppressed groups—start voting *against* their oppressors. The only presidential candidate who supports the democratic rights of gay people unconditionally is Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party. I urge everyone, especially every gay woman and man, to vote Socialist Workers in 1972.

Steve Beren
New York, N. Y.

What good was Nov. 6?

I was telling my friends about the antiwar demonstration I was in on Nov. 6, and one of them replied, "What good did it do you? The war is still going on and that won't end it."

This is an example of how stupid people are now. They don't care about the war and the worthless waste of human beings, money, etc. It wouldn't bother them one bit, unless someone they knew died over in Vietnam.

Les Zak
Garfield Heights, Ohio

Clinton prison

On behalf of all the political prisoners who are currently enduring the most harsh punishments in solitary confinement of Clinton Concentration Camp, please allow me to extend the warmest greetings to all of you.

There is a growing conspiracy on the part of the Department of Corrections to silence prisoners, to dehumanize us and violently strip us of any rights. Our whole plight here is deliberately hidden from the public. All of us are being subjected to these vindictive cruelties because of the ideas we embrace: We are revolutionaries.

The prison officials religiously indulge their philistine animosities by continually persecuting and insidiously depriving us of things we are entitled to by law. They maliciously prevent us from reading or acquiring the literature pertinent to our

The Great Society

struggle and reality (e.g. Marxism-Leninism). Then they ruthlessly employ violent tortures in an effort to coerce us into conforming to their archaic standard.

The situation here progressively worsens daily; the menace to our physical as well as our mental health grows greater too. Our very lives are in danger, and some of us may be brutally murdered by the authorities when you receive this correspondence.

Please send whatever literature you can spare because we have nothing. Peace, Power, Love, and Freedom!

J. K. D.
Clinton Correctional Facility
Dannemora, N. Y.

Cuban women

As a feminist, I would be interested in detailed information on the role of women in Cuba, both after and during the revolution. What is the role of the woman in the family (housework, etc.)? What is her socio-economic and political role? Is she equal?

You have a great paper. Power to the People. Right on!

R. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Teacher at prison

I am a teacher at the California Correctional Institution for Men at Tehachapi. I have read and enjoyed *The Militant*. Could you donate 10 to 15 copies to me occasionally for my classes? I am sure my class and others will benefit from reading your paper.

D. M.
Tehachapi, Calif.

Needs literature

This letter is to bring to your attention that your services are needed at this concentration camp for the benefit of the brothers who have dedicated themselves to the needs of the people, mentally and physically, in this fascist, capitalist system.

I want to state that we, the brothers detained in this camp, are in need of literature for a workshop. The literature will bring myself and the brothers where we need to go.

Comrade Simba
State Correctional Institution
Dallas, Pa.

General strike

My union, the Cincinnati Newspaper Guild, passed the following resolution in response to the wage freeze and wage controls of the Nixon administration:

"Resolved, that the Cincinnati Newspaper Guild is on record as supporting the Meat Cutters union in their call for a general strike to force the government to recognize the validity of our contracts."

D. W.
Cincinnati, Ohio

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.

"J" as in Jesus—Exhorting visitors to the Johnson Library in Austin to buy a copy of his memoirs, LBJ advised: "Buy a book and give it to the generations to come to let them know how good the blessings of the good Lord were to us in the 1960s."

Just a little extra sediment—An Ohio company that treats plant waste dumped into the Miami River was shut down for four days with a clogged disposal line. Operations were resumed after they discovered the line was plugged by two bowling balls.

Fearless critics—An editorial in the *Baptist Standard* criticized the denomination's Sunday School Board for withdrawing a youth publication that contained a picture of two white female youths talking with a male Black youth. The editorial forthrightly attacked the explanation that the publication had been yanked because it promoted "integration." "There is a difference," it declared, "between promoting integration and promoting segregation."

A question—The "7-11" food chain said it would ban "questionable" books from its 28 Pasadena, Calif., stores. Our question is, would they also consider banning questionable foods?

Philosophical approach—The National Federation of Independent Businessmen predicts that if Congress raises the minimum wage from \$1.60 an hour to \$2, it will torpedo President Nixon's economic recovery plan. The federation says it agrees with the trade union contention that employment at \$1.60 an hour constitutes "underemployment." But, the group asks, isn't underemployment better than unemployment?

Things are tough all over dep't—California's Governor Reagan and his family are making do in a \$150,000 Tudor house at the state capital for which Californians pay \$15,000 annual rent. "It's really a modest house," said a Reagan aide. "They can't entertain more than 40 people for dinner and that's buffet style, because there's not enough room to sit."

The humane society—Readying themselves for possible demonstrations at the Republican convention, San Diego police are stockpiling plastic handcuffs. A cop can carry a couple dozen pair in his pocket and they cost only 25 cents in quantity as against \$20 for the traditional steel cuffs. In addition, it was noted that they're the "most humane" of the plastic variety since they neither cut off circulation nor cause bleeding wrists.

And keep the sty clean—By way of England's *Manchester Guardian*, we learn that a new Chicago police training bulletin advises officers that they must have "a body and mouth free from odors" and that a "big mouth does not indicate a big brain." Unduly familiar language and chewing tobacco or spitting in public are out. Which doesn't leave much for relaxation besides clubbing and shooting.

Antialienation—The chairman of the Pizza Hut chain attributes mushrooming pizza popularity to "personal involvement." You "can pick it up with your fingers."

No depletion allowance?—We were weighing the reported Moscow analysis that Aristotle Onassis married Jacqueline Kennedy simply to advertise his shipping line when we read the report that she entered the union with a 70-clause contract guaranteeing separate bedrooms, such allotments as \$17,000 a month for clothes, cosmetics and hairdressers, plus various amounts in the millions for reparations if either splits the scene. We concluded that rather than him marrying her to advertise his boats, she married him to advertise America.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

WOMEN AND THE ELECTIONS—On Nov. 13-14, over 500 women met in Albany, N. Y., for a conference on "Women: A Political Force." Out of the conference—which was coordinated by the Women's Unit of Governor Rockefeller's office—came the New York State Women's Political Caucus, which is affiliated with the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). A major part of the conference was a School for Candidates, aimed at encouraging women to run for office. This portion of the conference was addressed by Congresswomen Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.) and Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.).

According to *Militant* correspondent Ruth Robinett, "the clear emphasis was that it is necessary to join the Democratic or Republican party in order to run an effective election campaign—a campaign to win." Along this line, the NWPC has announced it is taking steps to ensure that at least half the delegates to the Democratic and Republican party conventions next year are women.

In the conferences the NWPC has held around the country, its perspective has become more clear—to gain influence within the Democratic and Republican parties. The NWPC has put its principal emphasis on getting women elected, placing little importance on what program these women are going to fight for.

The only programmatic basis for the NWPC is one of vague liberalism. As quoted in the Nov. 18 *New York Post*, Bella Abzug said the NWPC supports "women who oppose sexism, racism, poverty and violence." Nixon himself would certainly say he is opposed to "sexism, racism, poverty and violence."

The NWPC's basic perspective was recently applied by Norwegian women in the Sept. 20 elections there. This experience demonstrated that little change can be made by substituting women for men in the parties that support the status quo.

In the Norwegian elections, women won majorities in the city councils of 50 municipalities, including Oslo, the capital. The campaign to elect women was organized by a group called the New Feminists. Ballots in Norway are cast for slates of candidates presented by the various parties. Usually men are at the top of the slate of all parties and a few women are at the bottom.

Because of unusual election procedures—which permit changing the order of names on the party slate in the polling booth, and voting as many as three times for some candidates while not voting for others—it was possible for the New Feminists to organize balloting in such a way that women in each party were elected. But nothing

fundamental has changed. The women are still committed to the same parties and politics as the men they defeated.

Another example of the incorrect perspective of the National Women's Political Caucus was the demand of caucus leaders that more women be added to Nixon's Price Commission and Pay Board. Only one woman was named by Nixon to the Price Commission, and none to the Pay Board. In asking that women be added to the Pay Board, the NWPC is simply requesting that women be allowed to participate in an instrument designed by the rulers of this country to hold down the wages of working people and negate the right of workers to collective bargaining. They are asking to be allowed to participate in restraining the wages of women workers, who are only getting 60 percent of men's wages to start with. Just like Meany, Woodcock and the other labor representatives on the board, the NWPC is asking to be able to help give legitimacy to the decisions made by this board, which is stacked in favor of big business.

In order to make gains through the elections, women must begin by recognizing that the Democratic and Republican parties—like the Pay Board—serve the interests of the ruling class. The program of these parties is based on maintaining the capitalist system. Their function is to create the appearance of democracy—to fool people into thinking they are choosing the policies of the government—and to absorb and diffuse protest against the system.

It is true, as the NWPC points out, that women are numerous enough to be a political force. The question is, a force in which direction? Is the NWPC going to fight uncompromisingly against this system and in the interests of women? Or is it going to be a factor in leading the women's movement away from militant action, into compromising its demands, and into supporting "lesser evil" candidates committed to defending this system?

Women in the NWPC who want to use the election as a way to promote feminist goals should build the revolutionary-socialist campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party ticket. A special brochure called "Women's Liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign," which describes the program of the SWP for women's liberation, is available. Single copies are free, or you can get 100 for \$1 from: SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

— CAROLINE LUND

Cahill threatens Rahway inmates

By DERRICK MORRISON

NOV. 30—"The understanding was that there would be no kind of retaliation . . . no kind of reprisals by the government, that no one would be sent to any other prison," said Earl Phillips of the Newark Urban League in a telephone interview today with *The Militant* concerning the Nov. 24-25 Rahway state prison rebellion. This contradicts a statement in the Nov. 30 *New York Times* by New Jersey Governor William T. Cahill, who claimed, "There never was any agreement that there would be no retribution. . . ."

Governor Cahill is now dangling the threat of criminal prosecution and disciplinary punishment over the heads of the Rahway inmates. He has already shifted seven inmates, including a reputed spokesman, Derrick Thomas, to the Vroom Building for the Criminally Insane at Trenton State Hospital.

Phillips was among several Newark and Rahway Black and Puerto Rican

community leaders who conferred with the governor and other state officials during the 24-hour rebellion at the state prison in Woodbridge Township. It began on the night of Nov. 24 while inmates were viewing a movie in the auditorium.

Reports have it that an inmate jumped upon the stage and began rapping about the inhuman conditions. This brought the warden onto the scene. After a futile attempt at dialogue, the inmates, numbering about 600, seized the auditorium and other parts of the prison, holding Warden V. Samuel Vukceovich and five guards as hostages.

Later the next day, one guard was released when three newsmen were permitted to enter the prison to record grievances and demands. Governor Cahill had set up a headquarters nearby and communicated with the inmates through a number of Black and Puerto Rican figures.

All of the hostages were released that night after the governor agreed to prohibit reprisals, negotiate inmate demands, and admit community leaders to the prison as assurance against any physical attacks by the guards and state police on the scene.

Cahill says the 1,143 inmates will now be able to elect a 15-man committee, which in turn will choose five of its members to negotiate grievances with a five-member body comprised of state officials, a Black lawyer, and a Puerto Rican community leader from Trenton.

This plan, highly touted in the press, appears to be a farce in light of Cahill's threats and the transfer of the seven inmates.

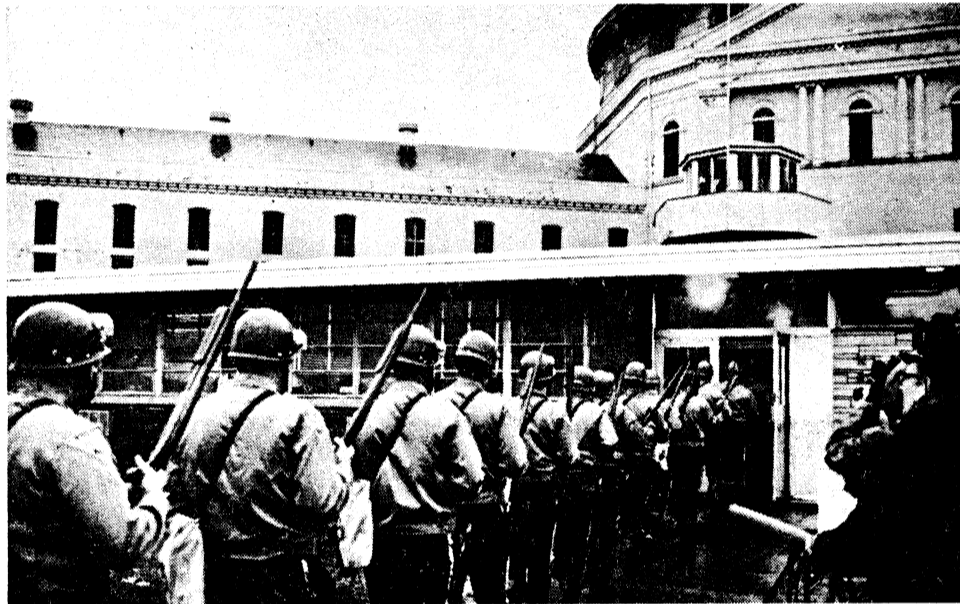
The text of the inmate demands and grievances printed in the capitalist newspapers cited the following: inadequate food and medical care; guard brutality and injustice; lack of vocational training; refusal to permit Blacks to learn and practice their cultural identity; extremely low wages (a per capita income of approximately 60 cents per day); extremely high prices (resulting in a profit for the prison commissary of \$30,000 a month) and mishandling of inmates' mail by officials.

One inmate told newsmen that heroin and other drugs were being pushed by the guards.

Over 75 percent of the inmates are Black.

Two days after the Rahway rebellion, inmates at the Essex County Jail in Newark freed a prisoner from solitary confinement by ripping off the door to the special facility.

Jail officials claim the freed inmate had been placed in solitary for stealing a spoon. But the inmates thought otherwise. They conducted the liberation operation as they passed the special facility going from the TV room to their cells. Simultaneously, in other parts of the jail, inmates broke out windows and flooded floors. The jail detains about 560 people.



State troopers outside Rahway prison

Attica rebels not to be tried by peers

NOV. 30—In blatant disregard of the tenet that persons on trial should stand before a jury of their peers, the State of New York has empaneled a grand jury of 23 people, mostly farmers and housewives, to hear evidence for indictments against the inmates at Attica state prison. These

rural residents will be passing judgment on Blacks and Puerto Ricans from the ghettos of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, and Buffalo. According to the Nov. 30 *New York Times*, the jurors will begin hearing testimony on Dec. 8 in the Wyoming County community of Warsaw, N.Y.

Press interviews with Attica inmates since Nov. 11—the date Superintendent Vincent Mancusi laid down guidelines for news media access to the prison—have invariably disclosed that conditions have worsened since the crushing of the rebellion last Sept. 13.

Steve Barney, who talked with Stewart Dan of TV station WGR in Buffalo, told how guards sometimes serve the inmates their food by throwing it on the floor or running their hands through it. Barney, 21, is one of 46 inmates in a solitary confinement block called Housing Block Z (HBZ).

On Nov. 16, six representatives of HBZ, including Richard Clark and Roger Champen, talked to several newsmen. They complained of beatings, inadequate diets, and psychological and physical abuse. According to the Nov. 17 *Times*, Clark, who is 25 years old and was one of the spokesmen during the rebellion, said, "I'm going to be killed as soon as the support for us dies. . . . I'm afraid to be talking because I want to live."

Champen, 39, derided the grand jury by asking, "How many Blacks and Puerto Ricans live in Wyoming County?"

Gary Haynes, 24, and one of two whites in HBZ, reported continual harassment by guards for "getting too friendly with Blacks." He said medical treatment had been denied him despite the fact that he has a terminal kidney disease.

Mancusi flabbergasted reporters with a statement denying the reported beatings and physical harassment. "Any corporal punishment or physical force which is used must be documented . . . and if this happened, I would know about it. And this has not been so," he was quoted in the Nov. 18 *New York Post*.

Yet, the final report of the Goldman Committee—appointed by New York Supreme Court Justice Harry D. Goldman, at Governor Nelson Rockefeller's request, to "protect in-

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By Any Means Necessary

HOUSING I—In December 1966, the New York City Board of Estimate approved an 840-unit, low-income, public housing project for the community of Forest Hills in Queens. The board, composed of the mayor, city controller, city council president, and the five borough presidents, unanimously viewed the site of the project as a step toward the dispersal of low-income housing to various parts of the city.

When construction of the project began last month, vehement demonstrations broke out in the Forest Hills community, a community whose residents are predominantly liberal, white, middle class, and Jewish. Their utterances were laced with references to "them" and "they," and the coming "end of Queens."

Jerry Birbach, president of the Forest Hills Residents' Association, talks of how a "malignant tumor" was being transplanted to a "healthy, viable community." He demagogically tried to link the Forest Hills action to the demand for "community control" raised by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. A popular ruse employed by the residents was the claim that the housing would bring congestion and place severe strain on the already inadequate social services and schools in the area.

But these arguments were not enough to cloak the real nature of their action. The Forest Hills protests were unmistakably directed against Black people. The residents were not directing their protests at the government by demanding more social services to cope with the new influx of people. No, they were demanding that no housing be built. Their protests provided an illustration of the deep-seated white racist fears and prejudices existing in American society.

One resident who refused to sign a petition against the housing project was asked, "Are you a hippie? Or maybe a Communist?" And another, of high school age, was told, after expressing approval of the project, "If you want integration, move to Harlem. They need integration there."

HOUSING II—About a week after the demonstrations in Forest Hills, the Board of Estimate rejected a zoning change for Lindenwood, another section of Queens, that would have permitted the construction of low-income housing.

HOUSING III—Meanwhile, the City Planning Commission approved a zoning change in Harlem to allow for the erection of a 14-story commercial and office building on 125th Street near Lenox Ave. This project is expected to be endorsed by the Board of Estimate.

The commission claimed, according to the Nov. 18 *New York Times*, that the office structure "would help fulfill the economic potential of 125th Street, produce good jobs and could spur future commercial development in the interest of the Harlem community."

What this lofty projection boils down to is that Blacks are going to be removed from the 125th Street area because big business has staked it out for development as a major transportation and commercial thoroughfare.

The question of what structures would go up on 125th St. sparked a major community struggle back in the summer of 1969. At that time it was over the construction of a 20-story state office building between 7th and Lenox Avenues.

Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and

Rev. Wyatt T. Walker of SCLC had decided in favor of the building, which was being pushed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. But in opposition to it, a group of young community activists organized an occupation of the building site, renaming it "Reclamation Site #1."

They proceeded to utilize the occupation as a base from which to organize Harlem residents against the projected state office building. A year earlier the activists had collected 20,000 signatures protesting the fact that there are no high schools in Harlem and demanding that one be built. And in a poll conducted by them during the occupation, the vast majority of over 6,000 residents who voted expressed a desire for an educational and/or housing facility.

The activists pointed out that Rockefeller's plan envisioned the construction of a whole commercial complex, which would lead inevitably to the removal of Harlem's Black residents.

Eventually, the police removed the militants from the site, amid massive street protests by the Black community. And now, the overall plan that had previously been hushed-up is discussed quite candidly.

The decisions of the Board of Estimate and City Planning Commission simply underscore the fact that Black people have no voice whatsoever over what is or is not built in their community. So far these decisions include a token housing project in Queens and a coordinated plan for commercial structures and office space in the middle of Harlem.

But the drama is not over. Black people, assuredly, have yet to pronounce their last words in regard to these ill-conceived plans.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Impact of U.S. policies on Canada

By DICK ROBERTS

On Nov. 13, almost three months after President Nixon's announcement of the "New Economic Policy," the U. S. Senate defeated with only a brief debate a proposal that would have exempted Canada and Mexico from the 10 percent import surcharge.

The issues involved call attention to a significant aspect of Nixon's world-trade moves that is largely ignored in the U. S. press: their impact on the "special relations" supposedly enjoyed by Canadians in U. S. political and economic foreign policy.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau stated recently, "It's a bit disconcerting—but when the Americans look at what they're doing they say: 'Well, you know, we're doing this to the Europeans,' they don't seem to realize what they're doing to Canadians."

Nixon's protectionist moves could have a greater economic impact on Canada than on Europe or Japan. Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska), a supporter of the tax amendment that would have relieved Canada from the import surcharge, called attention to some of the pertinent facts:

"Contrary to the president's remark that Japan is our largest trading partner," said Gravel, "trade between Canada and the United States is equivalent to the United States' trade with Japan, Germany, Italy, France and Great Britain combined—some \$11-billion. The United States takes 70 percent of Canada's exports and provides 75 percent of her imports. This latter figure represents 25 percent of all U. S. exports." (*Congressional Record*, Nov. 13, 1971, p. S18457.)

Because of a number of special trade arrangements, the 10 percent surcharge approved by the bipartisan Congress does not apply to all Canadian exports to the U. S. Of the \$11-billion in goods Canada exports to the United States, the surcharge will affect 23.1 percent.

"The Canadian-American Committee, a business-labor group, has calculated that the surcharge affects 3.4 percent of Canada's gross national product, as against 2.8 percent for Japan and 1.2 percent for Europe," *New York Times* correspondent Edward Cowan reported from Toronto Oct. 29.

Thousands of jobs and hundreds of millions of dollars are involved in these figures. Senator Gravel gave an estimate of the possible impact of the surcharge on Canadian firms: "a direct loss of \$400-million after three months, \$700-million after six months, and \$900-million after one year. The resulting loss of jobs in export industries might approach 40,000, 70,000 and 90,000 over these respective periods." (*Congressional Record*, Nov. 13, 1971, p. S18457.)

To add insult to injury, Nixon's moves come at a time when Canada is in the throes of a recession with nearly a half million workers unemployed, 7 percent of the labor force. "A sharp drop in Canadian sales to the U. S. of machinery, electrical apparatus, iron and steel products, etc. will aggravate an already high unemployment level," the Canadian socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge* reported Sept. 13.

U. S. trade strategy

Nixon's trade measures raise another question: What about U. S. investments in Canada? Don't protectionist moves end up undercutting the profits of those U. S. subsidiaries that manufacture goods in Canada for sale in the American market?

In fact, as the diagram from the Oct. 25 issue of *U. S. News & World Report* on this page shows, the U. S. ruling class has a stake of "direct" investments in Canada valued at close to \$25-billion. Direct investment means investment where the parent

U. S. corporation owns a controlling interest or at least 10 percent of the subsidiary stock. Including other investments in Canadian stocks and bonds, U. S. investments in Canada total \$35-billion. The American ruling class owns nearly 60 percent of Canada's manufacturing industries, according to an estimate in the Oct. 30 issue of *Business Week*. According to the July 19 *U. S. News & World Report*, "U. S. businessmen own or control about 95 percent of the nation's [Canada's] automotive industry, almost 90 percent of its electrical companies, almost 60 percent of its chemical industry, and 85 percent of its mining interests."

The key to this seeming contradiction is that America's rulers hope to use the protectionist measures in the short run to open up bigger arenas for U. S. sales and investment in the long run. In return for dropping the import surcharge, the Nixon administration has demanded that foreign governments revalue their currencies and reduce their own tariff barriers, in order to pave the way for a massive increase of U. S. export products, and that foreign governments make

of Canadian motor vehicle production. Nevertheless, GM's world production in 1968 was 7,086,914 cars and trucks. Here are the figures: United States, 5,410,320; Canada, 423,579; Australia, 168,363; Britain, 329,047; West Germany, 654,584; all others, 101,021. GM's auto production in Canada accounted for less than 6 percent of its world total.

The "United States-Canadian Automobile Agreement" is one of the major issues in dispute in Nixon's trade policies. According to the agreement, automotive products are supposed to flow freely between the two countries without import barriers. In fact, however, Canada has imposed barriers that reduce U. S. finished-car sales in Canada.

Senator Russell Long, the powerful chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, complained, "we have a disadvantage of \$1,651,000,000 a year in automobile trade with Canada. I was led to believe it was a free-trade agreement. Now it appears it was free trade only one way—into the United States. . . ." (*Congressional Record*, Nov. 13, 1971, p. S18485.)

Besides dropping the auto tariff bar-

recently implemented by Canada to spur the development of technologically advanced industries north of the border were unacceptable to the United States and suggested that Canada specialize instead in the extracting and processing of raw materials for American industry."

Canadian ruling class

How do Canada's rulers take the arrogant U. S. proposal that they forego hopes of continuing to advance their economy through the development of manufacturing industry? The responses are limited. The Trudeau government has taken some economic measures designed to soften the impact of Nixon's policies. Mainly, Canadian officials have pleaded, in a series of secret meetings, for a return to "special relations."

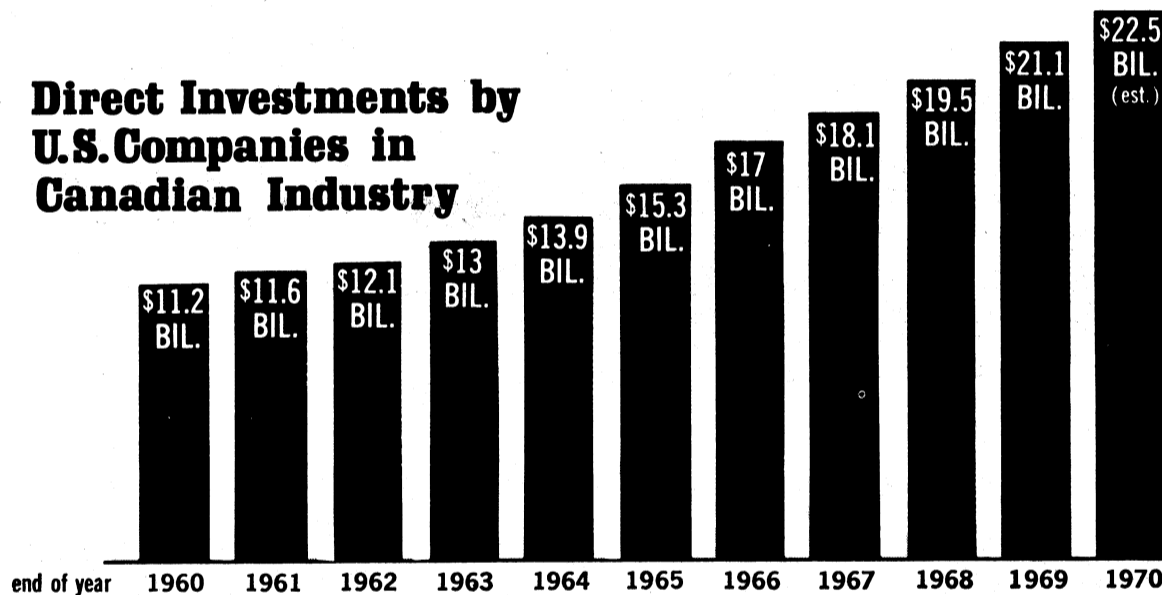
U. S. News & World Report indicated July 19 that "The prime minister will find it difficult to take decisive action. Every Canadian provincial government—with the possible exception of Ontario's—and a number of the country's top bankers, oppose any moves to restrict U. S. investment."

This is because significant sections

One Concern North of the Border...

U.S. INVESTMENTS IN CANADA DOUBLED IN A DECADE

Direct Investments by U.S. Companies in Canadian Industry



Source: through 1969, U. S. Dept. of Commerce; 1970 estimate by USN&WR Economic Unit

Key issue in U. S.-Canada trade disputes is U. S. hold on Canadian economy

their own markets more accessible to U. S. capital.

U. S. imperialism can carry out this strategy because as large as the U. S. investments already are in foreign nations, they are small by comparison to investments in the United States itself. The central bastion of U. S. monopoly remains the industry located in America.

For example, the 1969 United Nations *Statistical Yearbook* shows that in 1968, total pig-iron and ferro-alloy production in Canada stood at 7,756,000 metric tons; in the United States it was 82,867,000 metric tons. Canadian crude steel production was 10,207,000 metric tons compared to 119,260,000 in the United States. And Canadian motor vehicle production—95 percent owned by American trusts—stood at 1,180,000, compared to U. S. production of 10,718,300.

The foreign subsidiaries of the multinational U. S. giants are pawns in the greater game of extending the world domination of U. S. monopolies. The case of General Motors illustrates this point.

According to the 1969 *Annual Report* of General Motors, its motor vehicle production in Canada in 1968 stood at 423,579 cars and trucks. Thus GM accounted for 36 percent

of Canadian motor vehicle production. Nevertheless, GM's world production in 1968 was 7,086,914 cars and trucks. Here are the figures: United States, 5,410,320; Canada, 423,579; Australia, 168,363; Britain, 329,047; West Germany, 654,584; all others, 101,021. GM's auto production in Canada accounted for less than 6 percent of its world total.

The Canadian authorities have replied that agreeing to these demands would wipe out tens of thousands of jobs and cut short the development of manufacturing industry in Canada. But the United States balance of payments deficits are undermining Wall Street's hold on international finance. The unilateral moves by the U. S. to eliminate this deficit have resulted in a "relentless deterioration in U. S.-Canadian relations," according to the Oct. 24 *Washington Post*.

This authoritative voice for the capitalist rulers reported that U. S. Treasury officials have "questioned the long-term viability of Canadian manufacturing industries within the North American economy. . . . The same officials also indicated that policies re-

of the Canadian ruling class have major investments in the United States. Representatives of the Canadian ruling class sit on the boards of major U. S. banks and industry. An example is W. Earle McLaughlin, chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada, who is a director of General Motors.

Writing in the Sept. 13 *Labor Challenge*, John Steele and Dick Fidler point out, "The Canadian capitalist class sees its fate inextricably linked to that of U. S. imperialism—to the strength and stability of the U. S. dollar. The capitalist rulers of Canada have no answer to Nixon's assault on our jobs and living standard. . . ."

"The present crisis demonstrates very clearly just how much Canada's economy is not merely 'hampered,' but distorted and mangled by U. S. capitalist domination. What is needed is a class-struggle program around which working people can organize to defend their standard of living.

"Ultimately, such a program must come to grips with the necessity for Canada to break with U. S. imperialism, by ripping the Canadian economy out of the U. S. orbit through nationalization of Canada's key industries."

East Coast dockers forced back to work

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK, Nov. 29—Longshoremen here and in other ports on the East and Gulf coasts returned to work today under a 10-day temporary restraining order issued by federal courts after Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley antilabor law last week.

The federal court orders halted the strike and lockout that has affected the 45,000 members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), AFL-CIO, since their contracts expired Sept. 30. The temporary orders are expected to be followed by an 80-day strike ban in accordance with the Taft-Hartley "cooling-off" provision. This has already been granted by judges in New Orleans, and Portland, Maine.

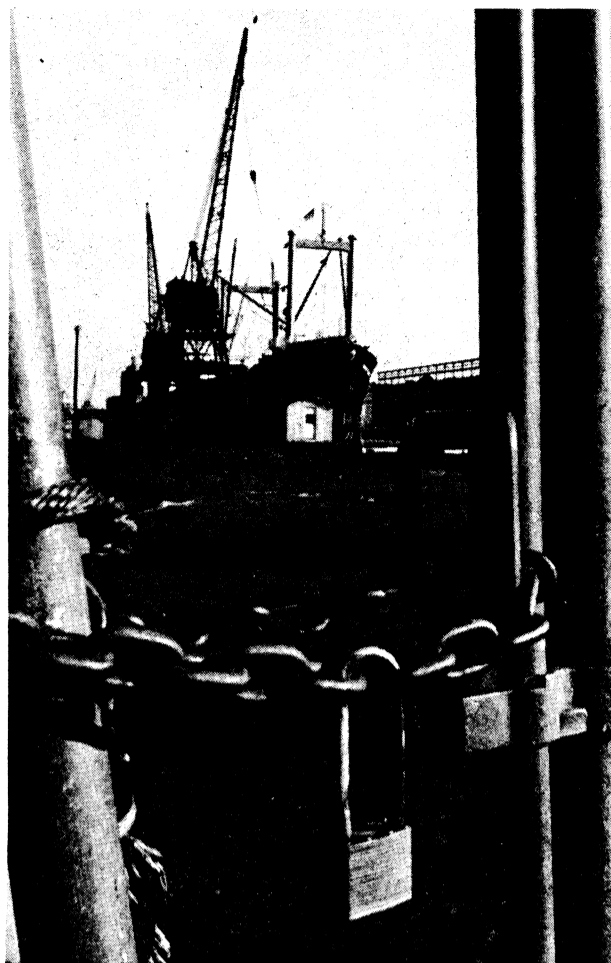
This is the second time in the last two months that Taft-Hartley has been invoked against striking longshoremen. On Oct. 6 the courts ordered members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) (Independent) back to work, halting the 100-day West Coast strike. The 80-day "cooling-off" period will expire for them Dec. 24. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 3.)

Even though the Atlantic dock strike had already begun when the West Coast strikers were ordered back to work, a similar order was not sought on the East Coast. At that time it appeared as if the government planned to avoid a nationwide strike by conspiring with the stevedore companies to keep longshoremen out on the Atlantic while forcing those on the Pacific back to work.

The central issues in the strikes on both coasts are: 1) a guaranteed annual wage to provide protection against unemployment resulting from mechanization of cargo handling, and 2) union control of hiring.

The specific demands of the ILA for all Atlantic ports have not been announced. Under the previous contract, wages and conditions varied widely from port to port. Longshoremen in the highly mechanized port of New York had a guaranteed annual wage of 2,080 hours at the basic rate of \$4.60 an hour, assuring that all registered longshoremen would be paid a minimum of 40 hours for 52 weeks whether work was available or not. This protected them from unemployment due to the uncertainty of ship arrivals and the great increase in productivity resulting from mechanization of port facilities.

Longshoremen in other Atlantic ports had a lower guaranteed annual wage or none at all.



Freighter in Philadelphia idled by strike

This gave rise to division among the dock workers, with those in most Gulf ports refusing to take strike action until their own demands were clarified.

The New York Shipping Association sought to take advantage of this by refusing to consider renewal of the New York contract, demanding that longshoremen here give up their guaranteed annual income and work-classification clauses they had won in the old agreement. When longshoremen in the port of New York refused to work without a contract and under the new terms dictated by the shippers, other ILA locals in nearly all East Coast ports and some Gulf ports walked out in support.

The waterfront employers in the outlying ports then appealed to the National Labor Relations Board, which in turn sought injunctions against

what they termed "secondary boycotts."

Compliant judges issued the injunctions in most major ports outside of New York, and the longshoremen were forced back to work. The last injunctions were issued Nov. 12 in Charleston and Georgetown, S. C., in Tampa and Jacksonville, Fla., and in Savannah, Ga.

A coastwide walkout for local demands by all major ILA locals on Nov. 14 effectively removed the legal pretext for imposing "secondary-boycott" injunctions and initiated a new stage in negotiations. The ILA had successfully circumvented the strike-breaking strategy of the New York Shipping Association.

The government agent in the negotiations, J. Curtis Counts, chief of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, announced shortly after the Nov. 14 walkouts began that the scope of negotiations would shift from New York to include all ports from Maine to Hampton Roads, Va.

When these negotiations broke down, the government moved to invoke the Taft-Hartley law, over the opposition of the New York Shipping Association.

The longshore unions on both coasts have discussed united action and announced some general plans, but little has been done to insure mutual protection. At a press conference in New York last month, West Coast ILWU president Harry Bridges and ILA president Thomas Gleason announced they would seek a common national agreement on all coasts covering the handling of containerized cargo, a common expiration date of union contracts, and mutual protection against wage controls under Phase II.

The ILA officialdom appears comfortable for the time being under the 80-day strike ban. Their attorneys asked only that the courts specify that the return to work shall be "at the same rate of pay, hours of labor and other terms and conditions of employment in effect immediately prior to Oct. 1, 1971."

According to *New York Post* reporter Ralph Blumenfeld, ILA president Gleason was heard to murmur during a court recess Nov. 27, when the government-requested injunction was handed down, "You can't go wrong being on the government's side."

There are few working longshoremen on either side of the country today who think the government is on their side.

The National Picket Line

UNITED MINE WORKERS PRESIDENT W. A. BOYLE announced a victorious settlement of the coal strike Nov. 13, claiming he had won a \$13-a-day increase in wages plus an additional 40-cents-per-ton royalty payment to the UMW health, welfare and pension fund.

Now the miners are beginning to find out that, as usual, Boyle's claims are larger than reality. The \$13-a-day raise covers only about one-third of the 100,000 UMW members—the highly skilled underground electricians, first-class welders, and continuous mining machine operators.

Men in the more numerous, less-skilled categories, such as the shuttle-car operators, mine motormen and electric locomotive drivers, will receive an increase of only \$9 per day over three years. Their wages will go up from \$34.25 a day to \$43.25 in six-month stages.

The UMW membership has nothing to say about accepting or rejecting a contract. That authority rests with the 125-member Wage-Policy Committee. But since Boyle and Company made such glowing reports of the new agreement, many of the men who had been on strike since Oct. 1 went back to the mines. Others waited until after the Pay Board had approved the first-year pay raises.

When details of the contract began to arrive at local union headquarters, angry members realized that once again they had been outfoxed by Boyle. And when it was discovered that the version of the contract printed in a special issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* did not contain the section on pay scales, more and more men closed down operations and joined the roving picket lines.

Justin McCarthy, an editor of the *UMW Journal*, said the pay scales had been omitted from the paper because they hadn't been available in time

to send to the printer for the special issue. But since "special issues" have no hard and fast deadlines, it would seem the miners have ample reason to doubt the UMW top leadership's excuse for not printing the pay scales along with the rest of the contract.

Two major dissident factions within the UMW, Miners for Democracy and the Disabled Miners and Widows, both claim they have not called the wildcat strikes. Another faction, called Loyal to Boyle, has had many desertions since the contract was signed. Many of these formerly pro-Boyle miners have joined the strikes.

SOME 55,000 MEMBERS of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union stayed away from their jobs in packing and meat-processing plants in 41 cities Nov. 21 in a one-day protest of Nixon's wage freeze. Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meatcutters, had urged the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbor, Fla., to call a nationwide strike of all trades to protest the freeze.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, beset by increasing problems with priests and nuns leaving their "calling," was dealt another blow Nov. 22. Lay teachers in the New York Diocese, many of whom are ex-priests and ex-nuns, called the first strike against the Catholic school system in this country.

As of Nov. 23 the strikers had succeeded in closing down two of the 327 parochial schools in the diocese. Militant picket lines concentrated their efforts in Manhattan and the Bronx. Before the strike actually began, members of the Fed-

eration of Catholic Teachers (FCT) and many supporters from religious orders picketed Archbishop Thomas Cooke's palatial home on New York's wealthy upper east side.

The teachers are demanding higher pay and parity for elementary and secondary school teachers.

Under current pay scales, lay teachers with college degrees earn from \$6,600 to \$9,600 in Catholic elementary schools. In Catholic high schools, the pay scale ranges from \$7,200 to \$13,000. Elementary school teachers without degrees earn from \$5,000 to \$5,800.

The FCT is demanding closer parity with public school teachers. For public teachers with college degrees, the salary ranges from \$8,500 to \$15,400. High school and elementary school teachers achieve parity after six months under the current contract with the public school system. The FCT also demands that the salary range for non-degree teachers be raised to \$6,400-\$8,000.

While representatives for the diocese claim the strike has had little effect on most of its schools, FCT President Barry Ryan claims that more than 1,000 teachers are on strike, not just 625 as the hierarchy claims.

Two years ago the fledgling union won its first fight with the archdiocese when it signed a contract granting raises of \$1,300 over two years, a complex tenure system, and fringe benefits. Failure to achieve parity for elementary and secondary teachers split the new union, however, nearly wrecking it. More than 800 members left, but they have since returned in strength. The union now has more than 1,400 members, a majority of the lay teachers in the system.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Fla. free speech fight wins broad support

By BILL BOYD

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Defense efforts here are continuing in behalf of Jack Lieberman, a Young Socialist Alliance leader who was dismissed from Florida State University (FSU) Nov. 1 for teaching a class on "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S."

Support has been won from the off-campus community in Tallahassee, and local leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the president of a local carpenters union have signed up as sponsors of the defense committee.

Three national figures—Kathleen Cleaver, Linda Jenness and William Kunstler—have also endorsed the defense committee.

At the Nov. 1 hearing that dismissed him from the university, Lieberman was charged with defying President Stanley Marshall's authority—a peculiar charge to begin with.

This same charge was dropped against Claire Cohen, who was also accused of holding a session of her CPE class while the program was being held up by President Marshall.

Cohen explicitly held her class to protest Marshall's edict and to object to any administrative review of a program that is supposed to be run by students. The first student honor court, meeting in early October, dropped charges against Cohen and found Lieberman innocent. Cohen's case, un-



Administration spokesman introducing FSU president Stanley Marshall to Nov. 11 campus meeting at which Marshall told FSU students they were "out of touch with reality." In center of photo is Jack Lieberman, dismissed young socialist.

Legal arguments are being prepared for court action in the near future to seek an injunction barring Lieberman's dismissal.

From the beginning of the case this fall, the FSU administration has argued that Lieberman's dismissal is an issue of "administrative authority," not a question of free speech or censorship.

The administration maintains the reason for Lieberman's dismissal is that he taught his class at the wrong time. They assert he held a session of the class Sept. 23 when all courses in the Center for Participant Education (CPE—a student-led free university program) were suspended pending administrative review.

Lieberman's class on "How to Make a Revolution" has been part of the CPE program since the 1970-71 school term. The class has been a continuing focus of controversy between FSU students and the administration, regents and state legislature.

The administration's arguments about timing and "authority" are phony. The real question is whether the administration can assert absolute authority over the ideas expressed by students and the form and time in which they are expressed.

like Lieberman's, was not pressed any further by the administration.

The defense committee is continuing to publicize and clarify the facts in the case. This task is seen as particularly important because the administration's phony arguments had an effect on both the undergraduate student government and the student paper, the *Flambeau*. They believe Lieberman should not have been dismissed, but have fallen for the argument that he did something wrong.

The graduate student government, however, just before Thanksgiving break, came out clearly and strongly in complete support for Lieberman. The graduate student government's statement was printed in full in the *Flambeau*.

Since Lieberman's dismissal, Marshall has banned the secretary of the defense committee from campus, banned Lieberman as a guest speaker from any classes, and banned the entire CPE program for the winter quarter because its organizers have taken an active role in Lieberman's defense.

The committee urges that protests be sent to President Marshall in care of FSU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306, with copies to the Committee for Free Speech at FSU, Box 3092, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

Socialist convention attracts activist youth

By LOUISE GOODMAN

Activists from the mass movements fighting for social change will be at the eleventh Young Socialist national convention in Houston, Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

The participants will include many supporters of the antiwar movement. YSA members have been active organizers of the demonstrations against the war since the antiwar movement began in 1965. These experiences as well as future strategy for the antiwar movement will be discussed in the delegated plenary sessions, and in the workshops and panels at the convention.

More than any other issue in the past few years, the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia has led tens of thousands of young people to question all the oppressive aspects of capitalist society. As the antiwar resolution drafted by the YSA National Executive Committee and submitted to YSA locals for discussion states, "The YSA has understood that the fight against the war and the struggle against the system as a whole are inseparable. In the course of the struggle against the war in Indochina, the YSA has not only been successful in transmitting a strategy for victory to the antiwar movement, but has also successfully assembled a growing cadre of revolutionary-socialist youth experienced in the mass movement and looking with confidence to the future."

One of the main ways the YSA will be explaining how the war is related to the other problems of capitalism is through its support to the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Both candidates are long-time activists in the fight against the war, and unlike the Democratic and Republican politicians, they will build

the antiwar movement while they campaign.

The major focus of the convention will be radical youth and the 1972 elections. Young Socialists from around the country will be discussing the need for a real alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. The SWP campaign is committed to building all the struggles that have already started to change this country—from the antiwar movement, to the fight of women, Blacks, and Chicanos to control their lives.

Around the country, socialist educational conferences were held over the Thanksgiving weekend, and a major emphasis was placed on getting people to the convention in Houston. Full-time convention organizers are already at work in Boston, Detroit, New York, and Minneapolis. In the last three weeks before the convention, YSA locals are making an all-out push to build this convention as big as possible.

Requests for information on housing and transportation have been steadily coming into the YSA national office. Excellent hotel accommodations have been reserved at the Texas State and Continental hotels, both within walking distance of the Civic Center Music Hall, where the main sessions will be held. The rates are singles/\$12 a day, doubles/\$7.50 a day, twins/\$8.50 a day, triples/\$6 a day, and quads/\$5 a day.

Cheaper housing and mass free housing will also be available. Reservations will be made at the convention registration in Houston. The registration fee is \$4 for the entire week (\$2 for high school students), or \$1 a day if you are unable to attend the whole convention. For information on transportation, contact the YSA nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 22.

Which way for youth in the '72 election?
Discuss a real alternative at the Young Socialist National Convention

Come to Houston! Dec. 28-Jan. 1, Civic Center Music Hall. YSA, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003/Convention Center, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020.

- Send me more information on the Young Socialist convention
- I'm coming—send me material to help build the convention.
- I want to join the YSA.
- Enclosed is \$1.50 for the six convention resolutions.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

BY GEORGE SAUNDERS

Vladimir Bukovsky has been ruled "sane" and fit to stand trial "shortly" for alleged anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. (Conviction could mean up to seven years' imprisonment.) Thus the Soviet bureaucrats have retreated for the moment from their previously indicated tactic of holding the dynamic 28-year-old rights fighter indefinitely in a psychiatric prison-hospital.

This retreat was unquestionably the result of embarrassment over the growing publicity and protests around his case.

The news came only in the second week of November, well over a month after it became known that Bukovsky had been placed in a psychiatric institute for an "examination" of his mental health. (See "The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky" in the Oct. 29 *Militant*.)

This new turn in the Bukovsky case could be of great importance for the Soviet democratic movement. The Brezhnev regime since 1969 has increasingly resorted to the confinement of political opponents in psychiatric prison-hospitals. This is mainly to avoid the formalities and publicity imposed by public trials.

But through a determined and courageous effort, not least by Bukovsky himself, the Soviet democratic fighters have managed to stigmatize this exceptionally cruel form of repression. The Kremlin can no longer resort to it without creating ever greater opprobrium and difficulties for itself.

Still, the trial tactic is no better for Communist Party chief Brezhnev and Company than before. Thus the regime is stalling as it searches for an option in the Bukovsky case. Captain Korkach, the KGB (Soviet secret police) investigator in the case, reportedly informed Nina Bukovskaya that the investigation was "expected to be completed by the end of November and that her son would be placed on trial "shortly" thereafter.

According to their own "norms of socialist legality," the bureaucrats may not hold anyone for pretrial investigation longer than six months without the special dispensation of the USSR prosecutor general. No such permission has been indicated. Even if it were, pretrial detention is never supposed to extend beyond nine months in any case, and the eighth month is already half over in this one.

The bureaucrats face a dilemma. Either they must rush ahead to a trial they feel unsure about; or they must all-too-obviously violate Soviet law; or they must release their captive. In the case of Jaurès Medvedev, in May-June 1970, they were forced to release

their prisoner. Such a victory might conceivably be extracted in the Bukovsky case, if the protest becomes powerful enough.

The Kremlin already feels under pressure from the publicity at home and abroad concerning its repressive use of psychiatric techniques, the central issue in the Bukovsky case: This showed clearly when *Izvestia* ran a lengthy article on the subject in its Oct. 24 issue (not the Oct. 23 one, as erroneously stated by the *New York Times*).

While denying that people are confined in psychiatric hospitals for political reasons, *Izvestia* simultaneously argued that "Olga I." had been released from forced psychiatric treatment after an expert examination had found her cured. This was a clear reference to Olga Iofe, a prominent rights activist, although *Izvestia* implied she was just an individual who had committed a criminal act while of unsound mind. A recommendation that Iofe be released from the Moscow hospital in which she was confined was reported in the July 2, 1971, *Chronicle of Current Events*, the *samizdat* human rights organ.)

The reference to Iofe was apparently not picked up by the Western capitalist press. Neither was the *Izvestia* statement that "forced psychiatric treatment has also been ended" for another person around whom no little furor has been raised in the West." This may have been a veiled reference to the oppositional Communist and former collective-farm chairman Ivan Yakhimovich, who was released from the Riga psychiatric hospital—apparently as an outpatient—on April 27, 1971 (as reported by the same *Chronicle*).

Issue at world conference

The *Izvestia* article appeared in the wake of protests in early October over Bukovsky's confinement for psychiatric "examination." It also came at a time when, according to Amnesty International, the congress of the World Psychiatric Association, scheduled for Nov. 28-Dec. 4 in Mexico City, has placed on its agenda the question of the misuse of psychiatric medicine for political purposes.

That this will be an issue at the psychiatric congress is a direct result of Bukovsky's efforts. Last Jan. 28, two months before his arrest, he sent an appeal to psychiatrists outside the Soviet Union along with 150 pages of documentation on the cases of six prominent dissidents who were confined in "special" psychiatric prisons. Documents on Yakhimovich's case were among the six.

In appealing to psychiatrists to comment on whether justice was being done

Soviet dissidents imprisoned in mental hospitals



in these cases, Bukovsky also urged that the issue be raised at the next international congress. (His appeal also mentioned the cases of Olga Iofe and Valeria Novodvorskaya, both referred to by the Oct. 24 *Izvestia*.)

It is reasonable to conclude that the *Izvestia* article and its comments on Iofe and Novodvorskaya (and possibly on Yakhimovich) were meant to counteract the stir caused by Bukovsky's appeal. Now, the transferring of Bukovsky to a regular prison undoubtedly has the same intent. The psychiatric congress is very

much on the Kremlin's mind. This is indicated by another sequence of events. The nonofficial Committee for Human Rights, founded in the USSR in November 1970 by nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov and others, was reported Oct. 24 to have appealed for the psychiatric congress to take up the question of repressive misuse of psychiatry.

The KGB responded by trying to cut the committee's spokesmen and women off from any further contact with human rights advocates outside the country. On Nov. 5, physicist

Psychiatrists assail USSR

The following letter to the editor of the *London Times* was published in its Sept. 16 issue. It was signed by 43 psychiatrists from England, Scotland, Norway, Denmark, Canada, W. Germany, and the United States.

Since March 29 Mr. Vladimir Bukovsky, a Soviet citizen, has been under arrest on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation." On March 12, *The Times* had published an appeal by him to Western psychiatrists. He asked them to study the official psychiatric reports and other documents (which he enclosed) relating to the detention, mostly in prison mental hospitals, of persons who had protested against certain actions of the Soviet Government.

In his letter Mr. Bukovsky said: "I realize that at a distance and without some of the essential clinical information it is very difficult to deter-

mine the mental condition of a person and either to diagnose an illness or assert the absence of any illness. Therefore I ask you to express an opinion only on this point: do the above-mentioned psychiatric reports contain enough scientifically based evidence not only to indicate the mental illness described in the reports, but also "to indicate the necessity of isolating these people completely from society?" (our italics).

The reports on Grigorenko, Yakhimovich, Gorbanevskaya, Fainberg, Borisov and Kuznetsov, and other materials relating to these people have now been translated by the recently constituted Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals (which includes psychiatrists, lawyers and people concerned with human rights), and are available.

On the basis of the evidence con-

tained in these reports, the undersigned psychiatrists feel impelled to express grave doubts about the legitimacy of compulsory treatment for the six people concerned, and indefinite detention in prison mental hospital conditions. Four of them do not appear to have any symptoms at all which indicate a need for treatment, let alone treatment of such a punitive kind.

As for Gorbanevskaya and Fainberg, according to the official diagnostic reports they had symptoms of mental illness at an earlier period in their lives. With Gorbanevskaya these were minor, involving only a two-week voluntary stay in hospital, and there was apparently no recurrence of them for seven years preceding the demonstration (against the occupation of Czechoslovakia) in Red Square on August 25, 1968—for participation in which she and Fainberg were ar-

rested. Fainberg's earlier illness appears to have been more serious, but there was apparently no recurrence of it for at least eighteen years preceding the demonstration.

So if there were, conceivably, any grounds for some kind of psychiatric treatment for these two people in 1968, prolonged detention in prison conditions would certainly have been quite inappropriate. It seems to us that the diagnoses on the six above-mentioned people were made purely in consequence of actions in which they were exercising fundamental freedoms—as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

The current widespread anxiety could perhaps be mitigated if the Soviet authorities made available further evidence on these matters. The misuse of psychiatry for political and

Soviet dissidents imprisoned in mental hospitals



Winter in GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN, Antwerp

Dissidents in hospitals



Valerii Chalidze protested to the Soviet ministry of communications that mail was being prevented from reaching him from abroad and a telephone call from New York had not been sent through by Soviet operators.

The Soviet committee stressed that the question of repressive uses of psychiatry should be considered not only in connection with the Soviet Union, but in general. Similarly, a dramatic appeal of March 13, 1971, by hunger-striking dissidents Viktor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov, issued from the Leningrad "special" psychiatric hos-

pital, argued that in an age of expanding drug technology, this was a universal threat, not just a Soviet problem.

Fainberg and Borisov stressed that repressive regimes anywhere could misuse psychiatry. They specifically mentioned the United States and Italy as countries where they saw repressive trends growing stronger recently. This is a problem, then, for protest movements in the advanced capitalist countries—the so-called free world—too.

The KGB's great sensitivity at this time on the subject of its own abuse of psychiatry was illustrated by another episode. The twin brothers Jaurès and Roy Medvedev had the Russian text of their book *Kto Sumashedshii?* (Who Is the Crazy One?) published in Britain in September.

They had agreed not to publicize the details about Jaurès's arbitrary confinement in the Kaluga psychiatric hospital and the successful campaign waged by Roy and prominent Soviet intellectuals to free him. In return, Jaurès was not to be required to show up for regular checkups as an "out-patient" of the psychiatric hospital. Also, any official record that he had supposedly had psychological problems was to be destroyed. When the authorities continued to require Jaurès to appear for "checkups," the brothers went ahead with their exposé.

The English edition of the Medvedevs' book, under the title *A Question of Madness*, is scheduled for early December publication by Macmillan in London and Knopf in New York. A "distillation" of its contents, published in the Nov. 7 *New York Times*, indicates that the Medvedevs have effectively achieved their aim in writing the book—"to call attention to the dangerous tendency of using psychiatry for political purposes."

The KGB retaliated for the publication of this exposé by confiscating all of Roy Medvedev's private papers. This presumably included a three-volume Marxist history of the Stalin period he had written, based on the testimony of old Communists—a work the state publishing institutions have refused to publish. Roy Medvedev's open letter to *Pravda* protesting the KGB confiscation was reported circulating in *samizdat* Oct. 8.

Protests in USSR

The transfer of Bukovsky was in response to domestic as well as international focus on the issues in his case. At the time of his reported transfer, there was also news of an appeal circulating in *samizdat* in Moscow, in addition to the numerous protest statements on his case circulated earlier. *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith reported modestly that Bukov-

sky's case had even become a "minor cause celebre" in Moscow.

(The July 2 *Chronicle* reported the arrest of Nadezhda Emelkina, a young Moscow oppositionist who appeared in Pushkin Square on Soviet Youth Day, June 27, with a banner reading "Freedom for Vladimir Bukovsky!" and "Freedom for Soviet Political Prisoners!")

The appeal in Bukovsky's behalf, which appeared on the eve of his transfer, was signed by 52 Soviet citizens, according to the Nov. 11 *Le Monde*. It was endorsed further, in two separate statements, by prominent members of the Committee for Human Rights—Academician Andrei D. Sakharov and Igor Shafarevich, a mathematics professor at Moscow University.

(Sakharov is a leading Soviet physicist and founder of the Committee for Human Rights. Shafarevich was elected a member of the committee on May 20, 1971, according to the *Chronicle*. He is a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a winner of the Lenin Prize.)

The appeal protested Bukovsky's being placed in the Serbsky Institute for psychiatric examination without any basis and his being held there incommunicado. "His relatives have not been granted a single meeting with him; they have not been allowed a single letter, nor even the shortest note, either from him or to him," the appeal declared. It called for Bukovsky to be provided with defense counsel of his choice and for immediate termination of his so-called examination.

Sakharov endorsed the appeal with a separate short statement, quoted by *Le Monde* as follows:

"I share the concern expressed in this appeal concerning Vladimir Bukovsky's situation and I reaffirm my solidarity with his actions, aimed at averting the possibility of psychiatry being used to combat those who dissent."

Shafarevich gave an endorsing statement similar to Sakharov's.

By transferring Bukovsky and announcing "Olga I.'s" release, the bureaucrats hope to defuse the issue at the Mexico City congress. They are not likely to make further moves in Bukovsky's case until after the congress. But they are fully capable, later on, of trying to have him recommitted for "special" care.

Whatever the Kremlin's next moves, it will continue to be influenced by the pressure of the Soviet democratic movement. And as long as protests elsewhere cannot be written off by the bureaucrats as merely those of anti-Communists and imperialists, such protests will reinforce the Soviet fighters for socialist democracy.

Nov. 15

SR detention policy

other ends is, of course, an insidious danger, not only in the USSR, but also elsewhere.

We also hope especially that the Soviet Government will reconsider the case of Vladimir Bukovsky, who acted with courage in making his appeal and who appears to have suffered in consequence. The information we have about him suggests that he is the sort of person who might be embarrassing to authorities in any country because he seems unwilling to compromise for convenience and personal comfort, and believes in saying what he thinks in situations which he clearly knows could endanger him. But such people often have much to contribute, and deserve considerable respect. As he has appealed to us to make some sort of statement on persons—outspoken like himself—whom he believes to be the victims of corrupt

psychiatric practice, we feel that to answer with a stony silence would be not only wrong but also inhuman.

Finally, we should add that material on other cases in addition to those of the six people named, lend considerable extra weight to the grave doubts we have expressed above. As noted in your excellent leader [editorial] of July 12, a deeply disquieting pattern, sometimes involving the punitive and potentially dangerous use of powerful drugs, seems to be emerging in the treatment of dissenters in Soviet mental institutions. We therefore call on our colleagues throughout the world to study the voluminous material now available, to discuss the matter with their Soviet colleagues, some of whom we know to have doubts as grave as our own, and to raise the issue, as Vladimir Bukovsky re-

quested, at international conferences such as that of the World Psychiatric Association in Mexico City from November 29 to December 4.

Yours, etc., F. A. Jenner, W. Von Baeyer, E. F. Carr, D. H. Clark, H. Clapham, A. H. Crisp, D. L. Davies, H. V. Dicks, Griffith Edwards, L. Eitinger, T. Ferguson Rodger, C. Finn, J. A. Fraser Roberts, L. R. Gjessing, M. Hamilton, I. M. Ingram, Einar Kringlen, D. M. Leiberman, S. Mackeith, P. Mullin, A. Munro, Ian Oswald, Thomas L. Perry, J. Pippard, D. A. Pond, F. Post, K. Rawnsley, Derek Richter, H. R. Rollin, D. Rosenthal, P. Sainsbury, J. Schorstein, Mogens Schou, S. Shafar, D. M. Shaw, A. M. Shenkin, E. Slater, J. R. Smythies, K. Soddy, D. Stafford-Clark, E. Stengal, A. Storr, W. L. Tonge, W. H. Trethowan.

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PATHFINDER PRESS

410 West Street, New York 10014

By HARRY RING

There has been fairly wide media coverage of the electoral victory of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas. But there has been very little attention focused on a similar Raza Unida victory in San Juan, one of a cluster of small towns in the Rio Grande valley, about 50 miles from Brownsville. The capitalist press in

ically as well as economically. Chicano representation in town affairs has been limited to an occasional token. Racism has permeated all aspects of the Anglo exploitation of the Chicano.

Spurred by the example of Crystal City, La Raza Unida Party nominated a candidate for county commissioner from San Juan in November 1970. Even though the campaign was not too well organized and lacked funds and staff, it was an effective initial

San Juan, Texas, Chicanos win gains with Raza Unida administration



Photo by Howard Petrick

Raza Unida Party city officials in San Juan, Texas, discuss record at town meeting.

the area has virtually blotted out coverage of the Raza Unida administration in San Juan, perhaps with the thought that such news would promote similar political efforts elsewhere in the valley.

In mid-November, I visited San Juan, along with Manuel "Tank" Barrera, a spokesman for the Texas Socialist Workers Party, who grew up in Brownsville.

We talked with Jesús Ramírez, La Raza Unida Party organizer in San Juan, and his associate, Edgar Ruiz. Ramírez, 20, was elected a statewide coordinator of the party at its recent state convention in San Antonio. He has been active in the Chicano movement for several years. He was an early member of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization), and organized the MAYO chapter in San Juan, which laid the basis for the formation of La Raza Unida Party there. The son of a migrant field worker, he was born and raised in San Juan.

San Juan is a rather typical Texas valley town. It has a population of approximately 5,000, about 75 percent Chicano. There is little employment for Chicanos in the town itself. The men are mainly field workers and the women work in food canning plants in the area.

Almost all the Chicano people of San Juan are poor—about a third are in the government-defined poverty bracket. About 90 percent of their homes are substandard. Most of the town has no paving and, in some sections, there is no drainage system or sewer lines. Sanitation and other services are less than minimal.

Since the town was founded, the Anglo minority has controlled it polit-

effort. The party won a third of the votes in the county. The campaign convinced the party's initiators that they could win significant grass roots support, and they began organizing for the April 1971 town elections.

In that election, they ran candidates for mayor and for the two seats on the town commission. They won all three and elected their candidate to the local school board as well.

In the Chicano precincts, 850 people voted, and the Raza Unida candidates won 700, 699 and 658 votes respectively. Lalo Arcaute, a 35-year-old TV repairman, was elected mayor. Juan Maldonado and Tony García, both 25-year-old school teachers, were elected commissioners. All continue to work and carry on their official duties nights and weekends.

Control over representatives

The victory of La Raza Unida has brought a new sense of political consciousness and participation to the people of San Juan.

"The people can relate to this administration," Ramírez said. "They go to meetings with problems others might consider petty. But they expect an explanation and they get an explanation. They get it because they know they've had a lot to do with whoever was elected.

"You know, whenever a gringo is in office and a Chicano voted for a gringo, the Chicano will not go to City Hall and demand something because he knows he won't get it.

"But when a Chicano is elected, especially a Chicano who has placed himself in a position of saying, 'La Raza controls me,' they'll call him three or four times a day. 'Pick up

my trash, man!' They'll call the mayor up at six o'clock in the morning and demand things of the guy, because he knows he's going to have to do it.

"This is why I think we're going to have some success in this county. Through San Juan, people are learning they really can have control over their representatives."

At the same time, Ramírez added, the people are learning that they face some very real problems and that there are serious restrictions on how much they can accomplish in a society like the present one.

This is so, he said, even though the Raza Unida administration has already brought some meaningful improvements. Ten blocks of the town have been paved and more will be in the coming months. A town health department has been established and is seeking federal funds for a Chicano clinic. A housing authority has been set up and is working on arrangements to have the federal government build homes that the community would buy from it.

"Outside of this, nothing," Ramírez said candidly.

"There's very little you can really do under this system," he added. "As long as the money's being spent for Vietnam, Southeast Asia—that kind of thing—it can't come into the community."

Response of the people

What was the reaction of the townspeople as they came to realize the limitations on what could be done?

"The first reaction is, 'Well, the money's there, but they don't want to do anything,'" Ramírez said. "But then when you start explaining, when you begin the education, they begin to understand it's not that the officeholders might be wrong, but that the whole economic system is screwed up."

Did the people become disappointed with La Raza Unida Party and begin to feel that, like the other parties, it makes promises and doesn't deliver on them?

"To an extent, yes," Ramírez replied. "But it's our purpose to turn that disappointment into action. That's our plan—to take this disappointment and direct it against those really responsible."

Despite the difficulties, he added, the party is gaining ground, both in the numbers of activists becoming involved in San Juan and in the job that is being done in spreading the ideas of La Raza Unida Party throughout the valley.

In spite of the news blackout, word has gotten around about San Juan. There are numerous community groups throughout the valley that are tired of the usual politics, Ramírez said, and the party has been receiving frequent invitations to speak before them.

In San Juan itself, he continued, even though the gains are modest, they do represent change, change that brings credit to La Raza Unida Party.

"Just going into City Hall and having someone say good morning—and it's a Chicano—means something," he observed.

Discussing the problem of making basic changes, Ramírez said, "We can't expect to produce that much just by electing people to office. This is where a lot of understanding is growing now. People can begin to understand what we're talking about when we talk about the whole economic system. Some people argue, 'You put a good man in there everything will be solved.' Well, that's bull. And they realize it when they put *their* people in there."

But it's not only the people who are learning political lessons, he emphasized. The movement organizers are learning a great deal too.

As we discussed this question, it was apparent that Ramírez has given a lot of serious thought to it and has drawn a number of conclusions from

his own political evolution, as well as that of others in the movement.

He first started organizing while in high school in Kingsville. "During this whole time," he recalls, "we had no real success in getting anything done. We had meetings, demonstrations, even some school walkouts. But they were small, unplanned, and failures as far as involving the community was concerned.

"We'd make 30 or 40 demands, but we really didn't know what it was all about. We didn't understand the system, the relation between economics and politics.

"We went for a couple of years like that, just organizing and educating ourselves. That was one of the good results of it. We did learn. We came a long way from where we started.

"We could begin to organize on different levels without selling out. Four years ago we didn't really understand about a Humphrey or a Johnson or a Kennedy. We weren't really politicized. We would say, 'Well, Kennedy's a good guy.' We didn't understand the situation as it was. So as a result, four years ago we'd go out and support Kennedy.

"A lot of us in MAYO came a long way in getting educated. But it was only about a year ago that we began to get into the community to organize.

"We weren't organizing before. We were creating a lot of hassles and we were shouting a lot, but we weren't thinking in terms of taking power.

"We were thinking of somehow building a mass movement. But we weren't saying, 'We can control this,' or 'We can run this.' Not knowing what our goals were or how much power we really had, we became very defeatist, saying, 'Well, we'll die in the struggle. We'll die for our people.'

"But some of us got our minds together and decided, let's organize something. Let's take people where they are—at the level of consciousness where they are—and start from there.

"First, we began running for different offices, just to let people know we were there, to educate people. But then we started saying, 'Hell no, we can win!'

"Here in the valley there are so many Chicanos that we can be radical and, at the same time, win. There's no such thing that because I'm a radical people won't like me. People like an intelligent radical who works, who understands what he's talking about.

"But you have to relate to local issues. You hear it over and over: 'We want paved streets, we want sewers, we want water!' So you have to organize around those issues. This is what we've done in San Juan and what's being done throughout the valley. And only when we can begin to solve some of these local issues, organize people around them, can we begin to go into some of the national and international issues.

"For instance, take Edgar here [his associate, Edgar Ruiz]. Two years ago he might have said, 'Well, there's a lot of poor people. Let's help them, let's give them a hand.' He'd take the attitude of a priest or a nun, with the apples in the basket. Now he's asking questions about other things. He's saying, we live under a capitalist system where we're getting screwed. He's more aware. Yet he can relate to the other problems. A lot of organizers can't relate to issues they consider petty but which the community considers of the utmost importance.

"All of us want to change people's attitudes, their thinking. And we can! But some of us want to do it in one discussion, in the initial discussion. And that's where we really screw up."

Democratic Party

A key issue Ramírez feels needs clarifying among movement people is that of the Democratic Party. "There's no way the Chicano people can have in-

fluence in the Democratic Party," he said. "I know guys who have been trying to take over the Democratic Party for 25 years, and they still say we can take it over. They don't understand how money comes into the thing, how the party is directed at keeping out radicals, keeping out progressive ideas.

"Through the Raza Unida Party," he continued, "we have a party where the community, the people, are participants in their party, their ideas are put into the party. As a result they know what the party is about; they'll not only vote for a candidate, but they'll have direct control over the candidate if he's elected. They control the party. It's their party."

The Democratic Party is a trap nationally as well, he added. "Look at McGovern. He's getting a lot of support from the liberal college students. Yet he won't take a stand on issues. He's against the war in Vietnam, but he won't even vote for doing away with the draft. Kennedy, the same thing. A lot of the people, of the *mexicano* people, don't understand this. And that's how they've been herded into the polls for the Democrats.

"They're ignorant of the way the system works. What we do is explain how the Democratic Party works, how La Raza Unida Party works.

"Take the United Farm Workers," he added. "They can't get the Democratic Party to support them. But they can get La Raza Unida Party to support them.

"It's far beyond my comprehension," he said, "why students would go and try to influence the Democratic convention, or even try to lobby for people like McGovern or Kennedy.

"I really don't understand it," he reiterated. "All the Chicanos who are in the Democratic Party could be tops, could be heavies in our party, but instead they're going through the same system where they've been screwed up."

Ramírez also sees La Raza Unida Party as a vehicle for the Chicano people to assert their national identity.

"You had some Chicano parties before," he said, "but they were really only pressure groups on the two parties, so they were co-opted. The Raza Unida Party is the first through which the Chicanos can express themselves as Chicanos. They can control the party and decide what is being done."

At the recent Texas convention of La Raza Unida Party, Ramírez was a leading proponent of the proposition, which the convention approved, that the party form a statewide organization and enter a state ticket in the 1972 elections. He indicated some of the reasons why he favored doing this.

"I don't think we can expect to win this year statewide," he said. "But if that's the only reason people are in it, then they're in the wrong place. I don't think we're building a party just for electing people to office. It's also for educating the community.

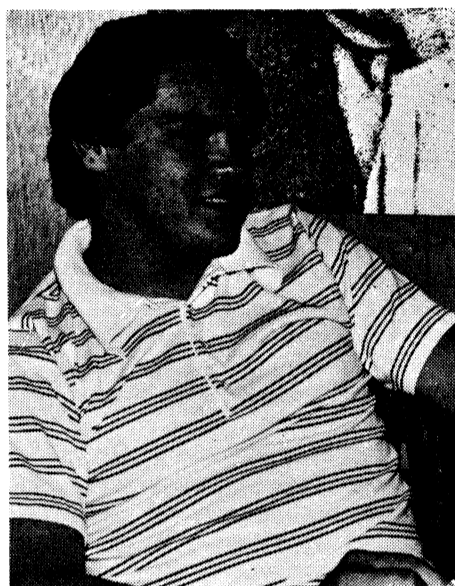
"The main disagreement I had with those who were opposed to the party going statewide," he continued, "was that the Democrats are going to be getting support. If we can't provide an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, then we can't provide anything. The people will keep voting for the 'lesser of the two evils'—like choosing between Hitler and Mussolini.

"I think we'd be kidding ourselves," he added, "if we start expecting victory right now. We should think in terms of building the party first. Of course, we would like some victories as soon as possible. But I consider establishing the party statewide the primary thing."

Returning to the situation in San Juan, we asked what's been happening with the local Anglos since the election. Ramírez grinned broadly. "The minorities here are very quiet," he said.



Jesús Ramírez



Edgar Ruiz

Photos by Howard Petrick

19-yr-old organizes Raza youth

While interviewing Jesús Ramírez, we also had the opportunity to talk with Edgar Ruiz, 19, who has been a Raza Unida Party organizer in San Juan, Texas, for the past year.

Though his political activity so far has been limited to San Juan, Ruiz is quite well known throughout the valley as a star high school quarterback for three seasons.

Though Ruiz is relatively new to politics he is regarded by Ramírez and others as a very capable party organizer. His approach is to spend a good deal of time with the young people in town—shooting pool with them, playing dominoes, or discussing politics over beer.

In high school, he and his friends thought about political problems but were not actively involved. "We saw the racism in the school," he said, "but we didn't really do anything. We sat back. But when the movement started organizing here, I found it very interesting, and I wanted to help and learn more about it. I found it's better than any other movement because it's really trying to help the people, the Chicano people, who have been put down so much."

The activity of La Raza Unida Party has done a lot to create awareness among the young people in town. "I go to the pool hall now and they themselves start talking about politics," he said. "When I first started, they were all kind of surprised. But now they ask me, 'What's the latest thing? What's your next move?' And they give me their opinions, which helps us a lot in organizing."

A lot of them, he said, weren't active in the local election, but now want to help with the statewide campaign. The young women have become in-

terested too, and all of them want to do what they can to help the party. Many of them are discussing politics with their parents and trying to influence their thinking.

Ruiz attended the state convention of the Raza Unida Party and supported the proposal for building a statewide organization. He is optimistic about the prospects and feels young people can be involved.

"We've done a lot to educate the people, talking to them, giving them literature to read," he said. "And they're learning a lot. They're learning more about the system and how it really works, and why change is needed."

— H. R.

San Juan officials review record

By MANUEL "TANK" BARRERA

SAN JUAN, Texas—At a public meeting held here Nov. 9, the Raza Unida Party administration gave an accounting of its first six months in office. There were reports by Mayor Lalo Arcaute and Commissioners Juan Maldonado and Tony Garcia.

They explained that they had been compelled to devote a good deal of their first six months trying to clear up the mess left by the previous administration. A lot of time has been put in straightening out records and reorganizing departments.

They have also been overhauling the city's tax structure. They found that although many of the houses in the Anglo section of town had increased in value over the years, the new values were never recorded and taxes were paid on the basis of the old values. The new administration has hired a person to bring the assessments up to date and see to it that taxes are paid on an equitable basis.

Efforts are being made to improve city services. Some streets have been paved and more will be.

Also they have bought a garbage truck and hired sanitation workers to collect garbage. This replaces the old system under which the "city fathers" would contract with friends at enormous prices to pick up and dump the garbage. As high as the cost was, Chicanos received very little service.

The new administration has also bought a gas station and the profits from it are being used to fund various projects.

The commissioners reported they will propose that a bond issue be submitted to the voters to raise the money needed to install drainage and sewer systems where there are none, replace worn out sewage and water lines, and so on. All of these things are badly needed in the Chicano districts.

It will take a fight to get such a bond issue through, the commissioners explained. They said the gringos and the *vendidos* (sell-outs) will argue against it, saying the money would come from the pockets of the people who cannot afford it.

But that will not happen, the commissioners explained, because the proposed bond issue will be based on a complete overhaul of the tax structure. Businessmen and Anglo homeowners are now paying lower taxes than they should be and Chicano homeowners are severely overtaxed.

"We'll be raising taxes on the ones who should be paying more, the richer ones in the city," Commissioner Maldonado said, "and the people who are poorer, their taxes will be lowered."

Oregon Chicano students form group

By TOM GETTS

PORTLAND, Ore.—Close to 150 Chicanos from all over the state met here at Lewis and Clark College Nov. 12-14 and established the Chicano Student Federation of Oregon (CSFO).

The conference, called by a seminar in October, began with two important films: *Mexican-Americans: The Forgotten Minority*, a film about the awakening of Chicano culture, ethnic pride and political power; and *I Am Joaquín*, which portrays the history of the Chicano people.

Following an initial session to discuss structure, workshops were convened on political involvement, prisons, Chicano studies, high schools, farm workers, and a coordinating committee to formalize proposals for the CSFO structure. The conference decided to hold statewide meetings every school term, selected officers, and established bylaws for the future meetings.

The political involvement workshop presented a resolution condemning the war in Southeast Asia and calling for immediate and total withdrawal.

Another resolution called for the right of Chicano students to form organizations in the schools.

The recent use of zoning laws by Marion County commissioners to bloc Chicanos from operating a community center, Centro Chicano Cultural, was also condemned in a resolution.

The prison workshop reported plans to provide tutorial programs for inmates and to conduct further research regarding prison conditions.

Representatives from the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) reported the progress of efforts to defeat another objectionable farm-labor bill. Mass protests led by UFWOC and several Chicano cultural groups forced Oregon Governor Tom McCall to veto an earlier version of the bill last July 2 (see July 23 *Militant*).

Now, during a special session of the state legislature to deal with a budget deficit, an additional bipartisan effort is being forged to compose a "more constitutional" attack upon farm workers. The CSFO passed a resolution supporting UFWOC in its efforts to defeat the legislation through a campaign of letters and telegrams to state legislators.

Another resolution submitted recognized the role of the Democratic and Republican parties and stated that these parties do "not even minimally address themselves to the social and economic problems of Chicanos." The resolution further gave recognition to the right of Chicanos to independent political action and called for "supporting all efforts by Chicanos to unite ourselves in La Raza Unida Party."

The conference was characterized by unity and solidarity and the desire to reach out and build a youth organization to contribute to the struggle of the Chicano community.

'Abortion laws have nothing to do with murder; they have to do with keeping women in chains'

The following is the speech given by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, at the Nov. 20 demonstration for abortion law repeal in Washington, D. C.

The last time women marched on Washington was in 1913, when the suffragists demonstrated for the right of women to vote. We have learned a lot from the example of the suffragists. They were women who knew how to fight. They marched in the streets; they chained themselves to the White House gates; they burned copies of the Declaration of Independence every time President Wilson mentioned the word freedom; and they involved hundreds of thousands of women in action.

That's how the vote was won. It was won through massive, united resistance and action.

The vote was not won without a struggle, and the right to abortion will not be won without a struggle.

Why is this true? Why is it that here in the richest country in the world almost no money has been put aside to invent a safe birth-control method? Why are the defenders of the status quo so opposed to our right to abortion?

In past centuries the rulers of society were more plain-spoken about why they were opposed to abortion. Napoleon once said: "What a mad idea to demand equality for women! . . . Women are nothing but machines for producing children."

And in this country, they have just started to talk about the "sanctity of life." They used to simply say, "Keep 'em barefoot and pregnant and in the kitchen."

Today they aren't so crude, but they are more hypocritical. Today they claim they are concerned about the "sanctity of life." They say that we are murderers.

But look who is saying it: Nixon! Nixon doesn't give a damn about the "sanctity of life"—not here, not in Vietnam, not at Attica, not at Amchitka.

No. It's not murder Nixon is worried about. It's the specter of millions of women rising up and shaking his foot off our necks! These abortion laws have nothing to do with murder. They have to do with keeping women in chains.

They know that by denying us the right to abortion they make it easier to deny us our rights in other areas as well. They don't give us equal pay because they say we'll just get pregnant. They don't give us equal education because they say we'll just have babies anyway. They know that as long as we can't control our bodies we are not free.

Senator Muskie, when he was asked what he thought of abortions, tried to pass it off as a joke. He said: "I don't know, I haven't had one."

And Senator McGovern tried to duck the issue by saying, "There are no federal laws prohibiting abortion"—which is completely false. There are such laws.

Senator Kennedy says outright he's opposed to legal abortion. He said: "I believe that a fetus has some rights. And I also think that the father has some rights."

All these politicians join with the Catholic Church hier-

archy, the so-called right-to-life people, and other reactionary forces in calling for the continuation of the murder, butchery and maiming of women by back-street abortionists.

Has Nixon ever had an abortion? Has Agnew? Has Mitchell? Have the men on the Supreme Court? No. Only women have abortions. And many have paid for it with their lives.

One out of every four women in this country will have an abortion at some time during her life. That's what the statistics show. What the statistics *don't* show is the nine out of 10 women who go through psychological torture month after month because they are afraid they might be pregnant.

We know about this fear; we know about the mental tortures; we know about the guilt and the humiliation. It is women who know, and it is women who have to fight.

And we can be sure that even many of those women who are in the counterdemonstration against us today have also known these fears of an unwanted pregnancy. So we are fighting for them too. We are fighting for all women.

Women are the only ones who know what the right to abortion means, and we are going to count only on ourselves in this fight. We're not going to rely on men—although we welcome the support of the men here today. We're not going to rely on the government. We're not going to rely on the Democratic and Republican parties. We are going to rely on ourselves, and on our sisters who join with us in this struggle in France, Canada, Italy, New Zealand, and around the world.

This march is just a first step. There are thousands here and in San Francisco. But think of the one out of four who are at home but know we are right and solidarize with this march. Think of the millions trapped by fears and prejudice who are whispering to themselves, "Right on, sisters."

That whisper will become a roar and these thousands will become hundreds of thousands, because this march is proving that women *can* organize, that we *can* fight, and that we *can* unite.

Through this struggle women are learning that they do have the power to make changes in this society. And we are also learning that our fight is related to the struggles of others who are oppressed in this society. Women are not the only ones who don't have control over their lives. Black people don't have control, Chicanos don't have control, nor do working people, GIs, gay people, or prisoners.

The struggle for the right to control our bodies is part of a struggle against a whole oppressive system which keeps women and other people down.

The opponents of our demonstration say we are for murder and destruction. But it's *their* system, and *their* government that is murderous and destructive—that kills millions in Vietnam, that murders women on abortion tables, that brutalizes Black people, Puerto Rican people and Chicanos. And the only moral and humane thing we can do is fight for a change in this society.

We have made our choice. We are not going to accept the brutality and slaughter of this system. We are going to fight to get this system off our backs!

Jenness meeting in N.Y. threatened by JDL

By KARL BERMANN

NEW YORK, Nov. 29—When Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness spoke to a meeting of 100 students at New York University Nov. 23, goons from the ultra-right-wing Jewish Defense League tried unsuccessfully to prevent her from speaking.

Prior to the meeting, the JDL issued a leaflet, which said in part, "Tonight when Jewish activists disrupt a function of the Socialist Workers Party, they are correct in doing so." In attempting to justify their action, the pro-Vietnam-war, racist group slandered the SWP as "Jew-haters," stating that the "SWP, and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, have sponsored Mid-East 'teach-ins' on many college campuses."

A counter leaflet jointly issued by the NYU Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, NYU Students for McGovern, the NYU Student Mobilization Committee and the Student Council of the Graduate School of Social Work called upon all members of the NYU community, regardless of their views on the Middle East, to attend the meeting to "reaffirm the right of Jenness and every other individual to speak publicly without threat of intimidation or physical reprisal" and to "uphold the constitutional right of free speech at NYU."

Following the talk by Jenness, a group of about 15 JDL members jumped out of their seats, unfurled an Israeli flag and began shouting epithets. Several began to advance on the podium while others were evidently preparing to overturn the literature table. They were quickly surrounded, however, by supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign, and a physical attack by the JDL on any of those present was averted.

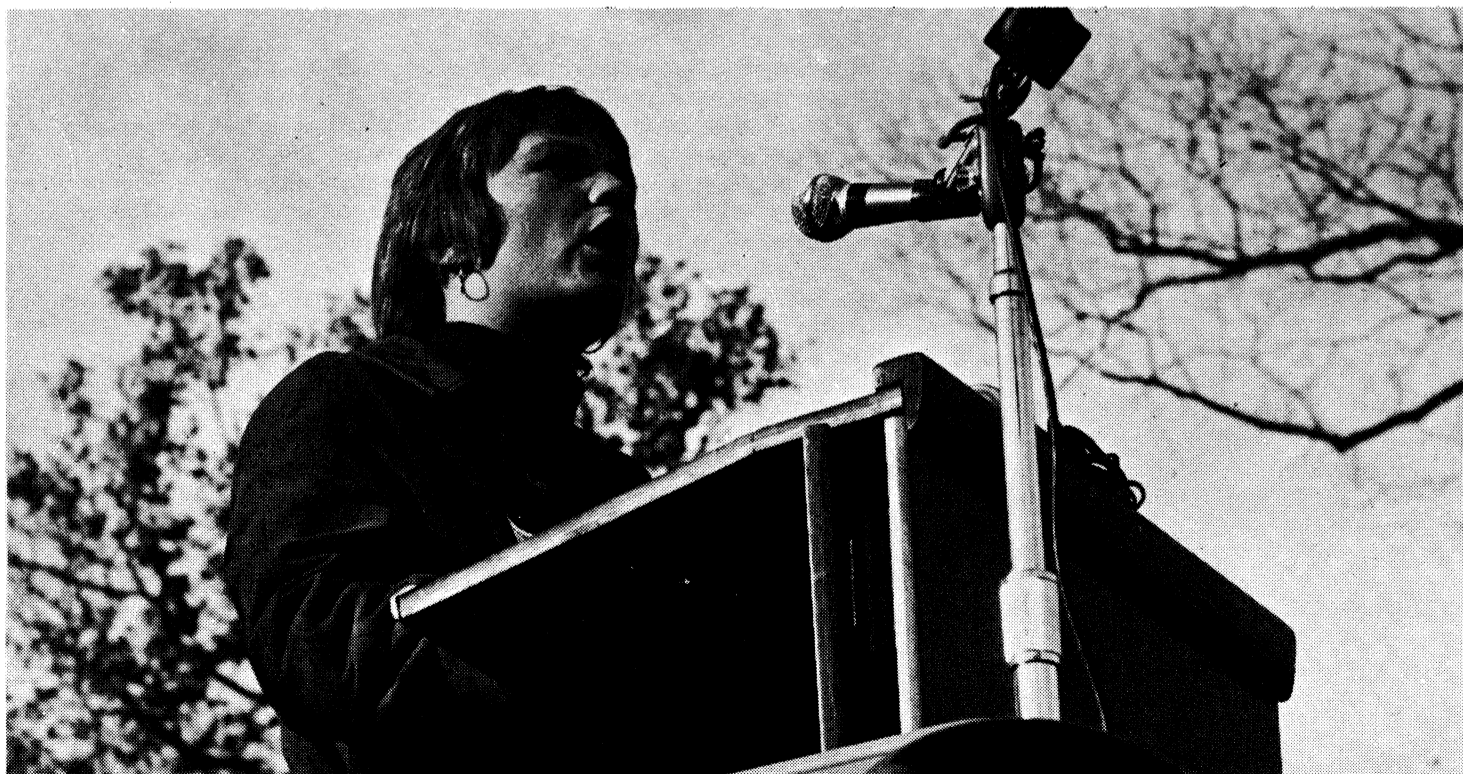
Seeing that the overwhelming majority of those present would not tolerate any disruption, and having refused an offer to debate the issues, the JDL hooligans were ushered out of the hall. The question-and-answer period proceeded without further incident.

A statement on the leaflet issued by the JDL, that "The [Socialist Workers] Party produces the most sophisticated propaganda of any group on the left" against Israel, is proof that the JDL recognizes the consistent role the SWP is playing in defense of the Palestinian revolution.

Another highlight of Jenness' tour was a meeting held Nov. 24 at which Jenness spoke with members of the Political Action Committee of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930 (New York Library Guild). AFSCME District Council 37, of which Local 1930 is an affiliate, is New York's largest union.

Jenness spoke to the unionists about Nixon's wage-controls and the SWP's program to combat it. A lively discussion ensued on the need for a congress of labor to fight the bipartisan economic policies and on the need for an independent labor party.

All in all, Jenness spoke to over 400 people at meetings on nine campuses and five high schools in New York City. She wound up her two weeks of campaigning on Nov. 27 by addressing a rally of 150 supporters at Academy Hall, where over \$500 was raised for the SWP campaign.



Linda Jenness speaking in Washington, D. C., Nov. 20

Photo by Howard Petrick

Pulley tours Pacific Northwest

By DOUG SWANSON

SEATTLE, Nov. 27 — Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate, completed a successful tour of the Pacific Northwest with a two-hour radio show Thanksgiving day.

The high point of Pulley's tour was a meeting Nov. 23 at the University of Washington in Seattle, cosponsored by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) and the Black Student Union. Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.) had been scheduled to speak at the campus the day before. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley approached McGovern supporters on the campus to challenge McGovern to debate Pulley. The McGovern supporters refused to agree to a debate, so YSJP supporters planned to distribute leaflets at McGovern's meeting and question him from the floor. However, McGovern canceled his engagement so he could rush back to Washington to vote for the \$20.4-million bill that would earmark taxpayers' funds for financing the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns.

Pulley's meeting on campus the next day drew 200 interested students and was widely covered by the news media, in addition to being taped and broadcast by a local radio station.

Pulley also addressed students at Seattle Community College, Highline Community College, and spoke at a meeting of the University of Washington Black Student Union. Many who heard Pulley endorsed the SWP campaign.

Pulley took his campaign into the high schools and spoke to over 250 students from three different schools. He told the students, "While sister Angela, who is innocent, is in jail, a convicted mass murderer like Calley does his time in a bachelor apartment."

Another feature of Pulley's tour was a meeting at the Shelter Half, a GI coffee house in Tacoma. GIs from neighboring Ft. Lewis and McChord Air Force Base stayed around for nearly three hours to meet Pulley and discuss his campaign.

While in Seattle, Pulley received excellent media coverage. Both major daily newspapers carried interviews with him. He appeared on three TV stations, including a 10-minute segment on the major talk show, *Telescope*, and spoke on five radio stations.

Florida readers!

In December, the Florida Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be collecting signatures to put the candidates on the Florida ballot. Want to help? Clip and mail this coupon to YSJP, P. O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

() Send me petition blanks and instructions.

() I can house petitioner(s) for a few days.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Organization _____

Phone _____

Socialist candidate visits women's prison

ATLANTA—"No politician has ever asked to tour my facility before" was the surprised response of Warden Edward E. Perkins when Alice Conner, Georgia Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, visited the Milledgeville State Prison for Women. Conner conducted a fact-finding tour of the Hardwick, Ga., institution Nov. 16.

As an activist in the women's liberation movement, Conner was interested in finding out about a new "self-esteem through femininity" course currently offered to prison inmates. State prison authorities claim the program is raising inmates' morale by teaching them such feminine skills as posture, hair care, makeup, and "feminine hygiene."

An inmate expressed a different opinion on the value of the program. "This course won't make me feel any different," she told Conner, "because every day I will still take out the trash and load the laundry trucks."

The 269 prisoners at Milledgeville, which was built to house only 150, are forced to work as many as 10 hours a day hauling garbage, mopping floors, and doing the laundry for a nearby state mental hospital. They receive no pay for their labor.

Conner requested permission to bring campaign literature into the prison, but Warden Perkins denied her this right. "There are enough bad racial feelings in here, and it would only stir them up," he claimed.

The women, however, were interested that a candidate for public office was concerned with conditions inside the prison.

Following the prison visit, Conner told an *Atlanta Journal* reporter Nov. 18 "It was a very depressing experience. The only bright thing about the entire tour was that in the isolation area, one of the cell doors had a women's liberation sign scratched on it."

Conner intends to wage a legal battle for the right on inmates to hear and read about the views of her campaign.

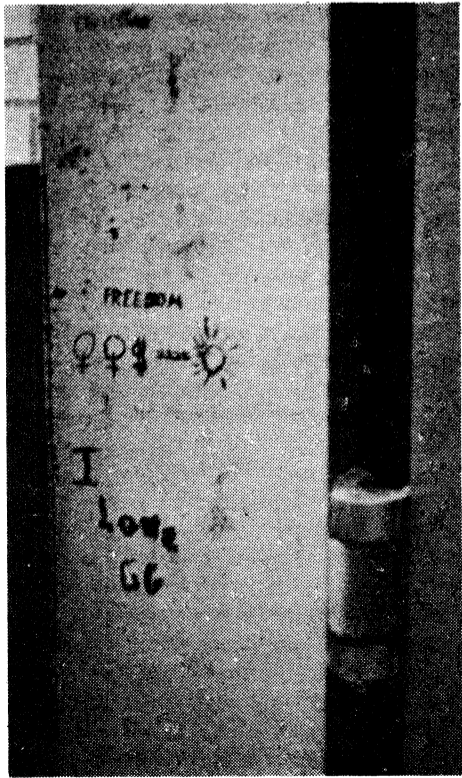


Photo by Debbie Camejo

Writing on door inside Georgia women's prison.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and Congressman Paul McCloskey, the liberal California Republican hopeful, have agreed to debate at Franconia College in New Hampshire sometime in January.

Jenness and McCloskey have also agreed to open up the debate to include other presidential candidates, each of whom has been sent a written invitation to participate.

SWP Cambridge City Council candidate Joe Miles spoke Nov. 13 to 30 inmates at Norfolk State Penitentiary in Norfolk, Mass. After the meeting, 27 of the inmates signed up as endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Several hundred copies of *The Militant* have been distributed within the prison. They have received an excellent response, and 40 prisoners have requested *Militant* subscriptions.

The campaign supporters at Norfolk are now organizing a meeting of the entire inmate population of 744 to hear Jenness.

The Minnesota Socialist Workers Party announced at a Nov. 23 news conference that it would run Mary Hillery for U. S. Senate and Bill Peterson for U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

Hillery, currently the coordinator of the Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition, has been a women's liberation activist in Boston and Minneapolis.

Peterson is a member of the United Transportation Union Local 911 and a leader of the Minnesota antiwar movement.

Over one hundred women participating in the Nov. 20 march in Washington, D. C., to repeal all anti-abortion laws signed up as "Women for Jenness and Pulley." Jenness was a featured speaker at the rally.

An attractive blue, white and orange poster bearing the slogan "Repeal all anti-abortion laws, vote Socialist Workers in '72" is now available. Send 50 cents (20 cents each for orders of twenty or more) to Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway (8th floor), New York, N. Y. 10003.

Disturbed by a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley leaflet giving Senator George McGovern's true stand on issues, four leaders of the University of New Hampshire Students for McGovern, in a letter printed in the Nov. 12 *New Hampshire*, charged Jenness supporters with slandering McGovern's record.

They write: "Does YSA (Young Socialist Alliance) really believe George McGovern might not be against the war? If the Jenness record is better than that of George McGovern, let's hear it. If she has made a more concrete attempt to end the war and eliminate hunger in America, again let's hear it."

Four days later, The *New Hampshire* carried a reply by YSJP supporter Roland Rhoades:

"We are not slandering McGovern, we are exposing his lies. . . . McGovern has spoken at antiwar rallies, but he hasn't promoted the antiwar movement and its demonstrations in his campaign speeches. He is concentrating on getting young people back into

the establishment to take people away from the mass demonstrations and into the Democratic Party. . . . Linda Jenness (has) helped build mass peaceful antiwar demonstrations since they started. Linda Jenness has been the only consistent supporter of the antiwar movement among all the presidential candidates."

If Students for McGovern has an answer, let's hear it.

When Jenness was in Washington, D. C., she was interviewed by George Lardner Jr. of the *Washington Post*. In a lengthy article in the Nov. 10 *Post*, Lardner writes: "The campaign, promised Linda Jenness, will be the biggest and best since the days of old Gene Debs. . . . Little more than two years ago she was just a secretary in Atlanta. Then she became 'Georgia's best-known socialist.' Now she is running for president. . . . The party platform includes 'immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam,' equal rights for women and repeal of all abortion laws, prison reform, Black control of the Black communities, and a stem-winding assault on President Nixon's wage controls as a capitalist ploy on behalf of bankers and businessmen. . . . To the party . . . there isn't a dime's worth of difference between the Democrats and the Republicans."

Lardner calls Jenness "a woman with a ready answer for every question."

The article was sent out by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service and reprinted in newspapers all over the country, including the *Boston Globe*, *New York Post*, and *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.

Tina Jeffrey, a staff writer for the *Newport News*, Va., *Daily Press*, wrote a full-page article for the Nov. 14 issue entitled "Linda Jenness Has Eye On The Presidency."

She describes Jenness as a "very bright, idealistic and determined young woman . . . who is convinced that she is the best possible candidate for the presidency."

Jeffrey quotes Jenness as saying, "People tell me I'm stubborn, but I don't think so. I think it's that I really believe we can change society!"

Over 25,000,000 people have had an opportunity to read about the Jenness-Pulley ticket since the campaign was launched. The estimate is based on newspaper clippings and circulation figures provided by the International Press Clipping Bureau, Inc.

Syd Stapleton, who was the 1969 SWP mayoral candidate in Cleveland and most recently a national staff member for the National Peace Action Coalition, joined the SWP national campaign staff Nov. 23 to coordinate the campaign's fund-raising activities.

Tom Vernier, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, is currently on a speaking tour through Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. Following on the heels of Linda Jenness' recent tour through the area, Vernier is organizing YSJPs on campuses and in high schools, and encouraging campaign supporters to attend the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Houston, Texas, Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

— STEVE BEREN



Nov. 20 demonstration in London. Photo is from the British daily Morning Star.

Abortion actions in England, Australia

From Intercontinental Press

LONDON— Demonstrations, teach-ins, and meetings were held in London and some provincial cities including Bristol, Nottingham, Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow on November 20 in solidarity with the international actions to make abortion a woman's right.

The Nottingham teach-in was initiated by local women's liberation activists who formed an abortion group. The teach-in was endorsed by representatives of the local branch of the National Council of Civil Liberties, the Humanist Society, Consumers Association, Conservation Society, Marriage Guidance Councilors, Family Planning Association, Labour councillors, and the chairman of the Black People's Freedom party.

Speakers included women's liberation activists and representatives of the Claimants Union Brook Advisory Clinic for birth control.

Linda Sheppard, on a British speaking tour for the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, addressed the meeting and later, together with women's liberationists Valerie Mollen and Antonia Gorton, spoke from the Nottingham Trades Council platform at an open-air meeting in the centre of the city.

In London demonstrators marched down Oxford Street in London's busy West End shopping area, handing out leaflets to women shoppers. The leaflets attacked the inadequacies of the 1967 Abortion Act and demanded "free, safe abortion and a woman's right to choose."

A letter was also delivered to the Family Planning Association asking it to support the campaign being launched for free safe contraception and abortion in Britain, to make abortion a woman's right.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) reports that the international demonstrations on Nov. 20 for the right of women to abortion included marches in Australia, as well as in France, Canada, and England. WONAAC received an account of the Australian actions from Mavis Robertson, a member of the Working Women's Group of the Women's Liberation Movement in New South Wales, Australia.

About 250 women marched through the downtown shopping area of Sydney, passing out leaflets and asking people to sign a petition demanding repeal of Australia's anti-abortion laws.

A float accompanying the marchers attracted

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, sponsor of the demonstrations Nov. 20 for abortion law repeal, has called a meeting of its national coordinating committee for Dec. 18 in Washington, D. C. The meeting will discuss future projects in the national campaign for repeal of abortion laws, repeal of anti-contraception laws, and no forced sterilization, including a national conference of WONAAC set for January. For further information, write WONAAC, 917 15th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. Phone (202) 347-0946.

much interest. It showed obviously pregnant male figures resembling the prominent politicians and churchmen who have opposed abortion law repeal. The sign on the float read: "If men became pregnant, abortion would be legal."

British actress Honor Blackman spoke at the rally following the march. The action received good coverage on television.

According to Robertson, actions also took place in Melbourne and Brisbane the same day.

III. 'Abortion Week' stirs controversy

By SUZANNE HAIG

CHICAGO—The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition (IWAC) held a series of activities during Illinois Abortion Week, Nov. 7-13, to help build support for the Nov. 20 march on Washington for repeal of anti-abortion laws.

During the week, speakers from IWAC addressed several of the Chicago-area churches on the legal, medical and moral questions relating to abortion. Other activities included a meeting sponsored by the University of Chicago Abortion Committee, featuring Dr. Edgar Keemer, Midwest vice-president of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws. Dr. Keemer recently flaunted the Michigan anti-abortion law by publicly declaring he has performed abortions. He emphasized the plight of Black and poor women who are victims of the abortion laws. According to Keemer, a pill can be bought in the ghetto drug stores that actually burns out the lining of the uterus. In their desperation, women use these pills to abort, and end up in the emergency rooms of hospitals.

The University of Chicago Women's Law Caucus sponsored a panel of lawyers who discussed suits presently before the U.S. Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of abortion laws.

The Women's Law Caucus of Loyola Law School sponsored a debate between Rev. Francis Lawlor, an alderman, and Rev. Carl Lezak, director of the Chicago ACLU. Both are Catholic priests. Lawlor displayed a fetus in a jar as his argument against abortion. Lezak stressed the right of a woman to decide on abortion, and explained the ACLU position favoring the abolition of all abortion laws.

Other activities of the week included a film and speakers at Northwestern University and at Loretta High School, a predominantly Black, Catholic school on the South Side of Chicago.

The sharpest reaction to Abortion Week took place at Mundelein College, an all women's Catholic school, where the Mundelein Abortion Coalition had planned a whole series of activities. The faculty of the college—many of whom are leaders of the groups opposing the repeal of abortion laws in Illinois—called an emergency meeting to attempt to prevent the activities from taking place.

The students, however, continued their plans and organized a debate between Helen Smith, head of the Illinois Citizens Committee for Medical Control of Abortion, and representatives of the various "right-to-life" groups. The debate became extremely heated, with the anti-abortion forces attempting to intimidate the women students. But the abortion coalition continued its program with two more speak-outs where students spoke openly on abortion and the need for information at their school. The group, however, was forbidden to show movies on abortion without the faculty first viewing the films.

During the week, the campus was in an uproar.

Faculty and students took sides. Classrooms were open for discussion, with most faculty attempting to persuade the students of an anti-abortion position. Other faculty members told the students privately that they agreed with them. The Mundelein Abortion Coalition spent the rest of the week holding fund-raising activities to subsidize the trip to Washington Nov. 20.

The Abortion Week activities and meetings held the following week on other campuses were successful in building for the Nov. 20 march. Press coverage and publicity reached many women who could not attend the events.

Women organize at anthropology convention

By EVELYN REED

NEW YORK—At the 70th national convention of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) held here Nov. 18-21, male supremacy and pomposity in the association were profoundly shaken by the unity of hundreds of women, mostly young, determined to win equal academic and job rights with men in their chosen profession of anthropology.

Several sessions in the four-day convention resembled huge women's liberation meetings. Although men were not excluded from any sessions except the Women's Caucus, only a few were present at the sessions where women presented papers about women. In the session "Social Structure and Women," held Thursday morning, several hundred women and a sprinkling of men heard and discussed papers presented by eight women anthropologists. Among them was Nancy Leis of Michigan, who spoke on "Women in Groups," refuting Lionel Tiger's rabidly sexist thesis that only males gather in groups while females are incapable of cooperating with one another.

The last speaker, Josslyn Moore from Hunter College in New York City, presented a devastating exposé of the discrimination practiced by the AAA against women anthropologists in her paper, "A Study of the 1970 AAA Meeting." The points she made were backed up by a membership survey conducted by the Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology this past academic year and made available on the Women's Caucus literature table. The survey shows that, while 26 percent of professional anthropologists are women, only 15 percent are employed in 171 major university departments of anthropology. This 15 percent is disproportionately distributed, with far more than 15 percent in the "lower ranks" and only tokenism among full professors.

In addition to this discrimination, the women expressed outrage at the sexual exploitation male professors practice with respect to young women graduates whom they "proposition" to go on field trips with them. Those who do not accept do not get the jobs.

A half-dozen women made up the panel for a symposium "Anthropologists Look at the Study of Women," attended by some 500 women and a few men. Among the papers presented was one on "Power Strategies and Sex Roles," compiled by the Women's Studies Collective of Stanford University in California. The aim of this collective, according to the reporter, is to create an integrated group of studies and analyses of women to counter the male-oriented philosophy that dominates anthropology today.

Unfortunately not all the papers presented at the convention were as cogent and forthright. At the opposite end of the spectrum were women anthropologists who dutifully presented dull academic papers guaranteed not to offend the male establishment in anthropology. Even more painful to listen to were those papers by women who bowed down before the patriarchal interpretations of women that are designed to slander the female sex in general and throughout all history.

The most unrestrained version of woman as the "evil," the "polluting" and "contaminating" sex, infinitely dangerous to the male sex, was given by Robert Glasse of Queens College in New York City during the symposium "Anthropological Perspective on Sexual Antagonism." He successfully demonstrated his unconcealed hatred and scorn of women, past and present, along with his ignorance.

The first speaker at this session, Mario Bick

Continued on page 22

Allende cracks down on land seizures

By DAVID THORSTAD

NOV. 20—Indications are that in his determination to remain strictly within the confines of capitalist law, Chile's President Salvador Allende is moving to crack down on land seizures by peasants. The agrarian reform law to which Allende adheres was passed under the previous administration of Eduardo Frei. It provides for the expropriation of all farms with more than 176 acres of irrigated land or more than 600 acres of non-irrigated land.

During the months after Allende came into office, there was a wave of land seizures by landless peasants in the southern part of Chile. They saw an opportunity to speed up the slow-moving pace of implementing the agrarian reform. According to Juan de Onís in the Jan. 28, 1971, *New York Times*, only 30,000 peasants had been settled on lands from expropriated properties under the Christian Democratic government. "At the end of the Frei government," he says, "there were still 150,000 peasants without land or with so little they could not support a family."

The land invasions have been aided by the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement). Many of them have been carried out by Mapuche Indians in the province of Cautín. The Mapuche, who were conquered in 1881, claimed ancestral rights to the land.

The initial response of the Allende

regime to the expropriations was on the one hand to offer soothing words to the farm owners, assuring them that everything would be done legally and that they would be paid for their land and crops, and on the other hand to refuse to call out the special police, or carabineers, against the peasants. (Still, on Feb. 13, Minister of the Interior José Toha announced that the government would seek special legislation against "illegal" land seizures that would provide for up to three years in prison.)

The "hands off" attitude now appears to have been abandoned and police are being used against squatters. Lewis Diuguid, writing in the Nov. 5 *Washington Post*, recalls Allende's campaign promise to "operate within the legal system." "To fulfill that pledge, he broke another—to dissolve the 'Mobile Group' police that used to put down violent demonstrations by the political parties now in power," Diuguid reports.

"The Mobile Group is back on the job, without the old name, against squatters and others who do not wait for change to come within the law."

The Nov. 15 *Newsweek* reports that this use of police, resulting in the arrest of 18 peasants two weeks ago, prompted sharp criticism of Allende by the MIR's general secretary, Miguel Enriquez. "Choosing a rally in the town of Temuco in honor of a campesino who had died in a farm take-

over, Enriquez attacked the government's 'lack of decision in forwarding the plan promised to the people.'"

Allende is fully supported by the Chilean Communist Party in his effort to keep Chile within the confines of capitalist law and order. The Nov. 15 *Newsweek* quotes CP leader Volodia Teitelboim as defending the CP's strategy of bringing about socialism peacefully within a capitalist framework this way: "It's an experiment we are going to attempt. It will be harder to construct a socialist society through the law, but we can do it. If the government fails we will blow out the candles and go home. But we will

work very hard to see that that doesn't happen."

In a special article for the Nov. 5 issue of the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, entitled "One Year of People's Government in Chile," Teitelboim praises what he calls the "Chilean Revolution" and compares it to the Cuban revolution. He says Cuba and Chile constitute "the two Latin American revolutions which, by different paths, are heading toward the same socialist goal."

The peasants Allende's police are now arresting because they need land to live have good reason to be skeptical about this comparison.



Chilean peasant squatters

U.S. bars Mandel a third time

From *Intercontinental Press*

Ernest Mandel, invited to speak at leading Eastern universities in the United States in December, has again been prevented from fulfilling these engagements by the U. S. Justice Department.

The Belgian Marxist scholar requested permission on July 13 to visit the United States from October 13 to December 16. The American consulate in Brussels informed him on August 9 that it was withholding favorable action on his visa application because the government was appealing the lower court decision in his favor to the Supreme Court. "The Embassy has been notified by the authorities in Washington that no action will be taken on your current visa until final judgment has been rendered on this appeal," the consul wrote.

This makes the third time since 1969 that Mandel has been barred from lecturing in the U. S. Constitutional lawyers Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg, retained by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to handle the suit filed by Mandel and eight distinguished American professors, are asking the Supreme Court to grant a temporary visit while the merits of the case are being considered, but there is no assurance that this will be done.

Mandel will therefore be unable to come to the United States until and unless the high court upholds the majority opinion of the lower court. It is uncertain how long it will take the justices to hear the arguments and render their decision on this important civil-liberties case testing the constitutional right to hear.

Meanwhile Mandel is on a speaking tour of Canada. He will be in Hamilton, December 6; Brandon, December 7; Winnipeg, December 8; Saska-

toon, December 9; Vancouver, December 10; Montréal, December 11-13; Toronto and southern Ontario, December 14-16. The Canadian tour is sponsored by the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Quebec labor confronts gov't

The following article is reprinted from the Nov. 22 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly socialist newspaper published in Toronto.

By MARILYN RAPHAEL and PHIL COURNEYEUR

MONTREAL—The labor daily *Le Quotidien Populaire*, launched by the 11 unions on strike at *La Presse*, announced Nov. 15 that it was suspending publication immediately for lack of funds. This setback occurred just as the workers at *La Presse* affiliated with the Québec Federation of Labor (QFL) rejected a settlement proposed by the Québec labor minister and accepted by the owners of *La Presse*, Power Corporation of multimillionaire Paul Desmarais.

The *La Presse* unions affiliated with the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) had earlier rejected the proposed settlement.

Did the decision to close *Le Quotidien Populaire* mean that it was seen only as a means to pressure the government and management of *La Presse* into bargaining? In an editorial in the last issue, spokesmen for the unions had said they were "reallocating their resources" owing to a "new turn in the dispute."

Yet the creation of *Le Quotidien Populaire* had posed the possibility of a permanent mass-circulation daily, under the control of the trade unions, to furnish labor's viewpoint to the Québécois nation. During the two weeks it published, the daily had a press run of some 100,000 copies.

The publication of *Le Quotidien Populaire*—the first labor daily in Can-

ada (a similar attempt by *La Presse* strikers in 1964 came out irregularly and soon faltered)—highlighted the importance of the *La Presse* strike, which moved very rapidly to the center of a mounting crisis in Québec. The main issue in the strike, which began in August with the bosses locking out four of the 11 unions, is job security. But the bosses and government authorities, including Justice Minister Choquette and Mayor Jean Drapeau, have used it to unleash a brutal offensive against labor, which triggered the murderous police attack on the Oct. 29 demonstration of 15,000 against *La Presse*.

The Québec government is readying a new antidemonstration law which will make the organizers of demonstrations legally responsible for injuries and property damage which occur. Trudeau has indicated his approval of such a law.

The vicious antilabor assault comes in a period of growing nationalist ferment around the defense of the French language and a campaign for French unilingualism, which the Montréal CNTU has vigorously backed. There has been a resurgence of protest in Québec since the War Measures crisis, announced especially by the Oct. 16 language demonstration of 8,000 and the Oct. 29 *La Presse* demonstration followed by a mass rally of 12,000 at the Forum on Nov. 2, called to denounce police repression.

The leadership of both the CNTU and the QFL have been forced to respond to the pressure from the ranks to defend labor from attack and to safeguard its hard-won rights. There has been a marked politicalization in the unions, with the capitalist press commenting ominously on the growth of a new, militant socialist outlook among the workers and in the labor hierarchy.

The leadership has responded with the formation of a Front Commun (united front) of the three major trade-union federations in Québec, CNTU, QFL and the teachers' union.

Not the least significant aspect of the *La Presse* struggle is that it has brought the trade unions into sharper confrontation with the independentist but bourgeois Parti Québécois. The PQ completely dissociated itself from

the Oct. 29 labor demonstration and PQ national leader René Lévesque has violently attacked the unions despite the support the struggle has found among PQ ranks and associations in working-class east-end Montréal. Lévesque suggestively stated he "would rather live in a South American banana republic than in a Québec run according to the rantings" of the trade-union leadership.

In a television debate Nov. 12 between Lévesque and QFL leader Louis Laberge, the latter defended the labor movement's decision to mobilize workers around social and political issues, against Lévesque, who dissociated the PQ, stating that it was a "political party and not an agitational movement or a movement for social disintegration."

The Québec Trotskyist newspaper *Libération*, which fights for an independent and socialist Québec, noted in a special issue published on the eve of the giant Montréal Forum rally:

"As we saw once again on Oct. 29, we cannot count on the PQ, which holds the respect of the bourgeoisie in higher esteem than the interests of the workers. The necessity of partisan political action by the workers is confirmed anew. Without their own mass party, the workers face antilabor policies, unemployment and repression from the present governments without the effective and necessary political arm they need."

At a meeting of the Montréal Central Council of the CNTU, a majority of over 300 delegates present voted to call a one-hour general strike if the *La Presse* dispute is not settled quickly. The United Front has called for the government to place *La Presse* under trusteeship while negotiations continue. A general strike could be an extremely effective action if the leadership would put forward concrete demands for ending the *La Presse* dispute.

To answer these blatant attacks on the Québec working class, the Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, one of the organizations which participated in the Oct. 29 demonstration, has called for an emergency congress of labor delegated from union locals to enable the labor movement to discuss a program of action.

In Review

Film WR--Mysteries of the Organism



Wilhelm Reich

WR—Mysteries of the Organism. Directed and written by Dusan Makavejev. Photography by Pega Popovic and Aleksandar Petkovic. Released by Cinema V.

This U.S.-Yugoslav film captures the spirit and ideas of Wilhelm Reich, the sexual theorist, in an exciting and entertaining fashion. Reich's views on the repression and distortion of human sexuality by capitalism and Stalinism, the persecution to which he was subjected in the U.S., and his erroneous "orgone" theory are all presented.

Interviews with Reich's wife, Ilse, his son, co-workers, and neighbors in the small Maine town where he worked during the 1950s, in addition to film clips and tape recordings of Reich himself, provide insight into both Reich's personality and the extreme persecution he suffered.

During the witch-hunt of the 1950s, he was nearly lynched as a "commie" by the solid citizens of Maine; his books were banned and burned by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration; and he was sent to a federal prison, where he was denied the medical attention he needed.

While Reich, in the later part of his life, abandoned his support of Marxism and Leninism (in the film Reich describes his anticommunism and explains why he supported Eisenhower in 1956), Makavejev shows both of these sides to Reich's views and the directions in which they have led his followers.

On one hand, the film shows modern "Reichian" psychologists who concentrate on individual therapy, "orgone" boxes, and muscular studies.

On the other hand, the film's non-documentary sections vigorously criticize the banalities of U.S. society and the reactionary and sexist attitudes of the Stalinized workers states, including Makavejev's Yugoslavia. The oppression of African-Americans, pornography, urban alienation, prisons, and U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia are all linked to the sexual distortion and repression that are rampant in U.S. society.

A sequence on sexual repression in the workers states is the most interesting and political part of the film. It centers on the quest of a young Yugoslav woman for freedom from the sexism

and sexual repression in her society. A follower of Reich, she makes the point that sexual repression and the oppression of women have developed "swinish" attitudes in men toward women, making a sexual revolution impossible without the liberation of women. She criticizes the repressive sexual norms in Yugoslavia, which differ only superficially from those of the capitalist nations.

The repressed and sexist personal and political attitudes of a Soviet ice skater (a "People's Artist"), a New York City factory making penis-shaped candles, and Stalin-era films of the "great Stalin" are interwoven.

Likewise, both the woman (positively) and the "People's Artist" (negatively) link Reich's demands for sexual freedom with Leon Trotsky, the theory of permanent revolution, and the world revolution.

One error in this section of the film is an apparent attempt to associate Lenin with Stalinist concepts. The Russian ice skater is named Vladimir Ilyich and notions attributed to Lenin (his stated antipathy to music, for instance) are expressed by the ice skater, though the connection is only implicit. Yet Reich himself, especially in his discussion of the Soviet Union in the *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, clearly counterposed Lenin's and Engels' views on the state and the family to the Stalinist view. Elsewhere Reich pointed out that Lenin's theory of the necessity of building a revolutionary party was consonant with his own ideas.

One of the problems with *WR—Mysteries of the Organism* will be most viewers' lack of familiarity with Reich's thought—brought on in part, of course, by the suppression of his writings during the 1950s by the U.S. government. Many of his ideas that the film presents in an indirect way may be lost on those unfamiliar with his views, although most of the film is unmistakably clear. The solution to this problem lies in the popularization and critical study of Reich's ideas by the current generation, radicalized by the crimes of capitalism and Stalinism. A good way to begin would be to see this film.

Besides, the film—especially Tuli Kupferberg's trips through "Fun City" and the sequence filmed in Yugoslavia—is riotous fun.

—TONY THOMAS

Pamphlets Gay Liberation

The Gay Liberation Movement by Jack Onge. Published by The Alliance Press. Chicago, 1971. 90 pp. \$1.50.

This pamphlet provides a historical outline of the development of the gay liberation movement up through last June's Gay Pride Week activities.

"The purpose of this book is not to apologize for homosexuality," Onge writes in his introduction, "nor to advocate it, but merely to show how people with this different sexual orientation organized to win their civil rights and dignity as full human beings."

He has divided the pamphlet into seven chapters. The first, entitled "The Homophile Movement in the United States," begins with references to some of the earliest homosexual movements in various countries prior to the twentieth century. Onge then traces the development of the American movement, which he divides into three phases.

The first, from the 1920s until after World War II, was a period of short-lived and scattered organizations.

The second, according to Onge, saw the publishing of the first Kinsey studies in 1948, and in the early 1950s, the founding of Mattachine, ONE Incorporated, and the Daughters of Bilitis.

The third began in the 1960s when "Americans began reevaluating their views on sex" and when "the launching of the various civil rights movements among women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians helped raise the consciousness of gay people."

Onge devotes one chapter each to the development of the gay liberation movement in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago. These chapters relate the main struggles of the past few years and present the role of various groups and individual leaders in the movement.

The chapter on the Chicago movement is especially good because it goes into the discrimination and brutality gay people continue to face in Illinois despite the fact that in 1961 it was the first state to liberalize its laws, making homosexual acts between consenting persons over 18 legal. It also traces the struggles against the discrimination that occurred even before today's gay liberation movement came on the scene.

In a chapter entitled "The Political Implications of Gay Liberation," Onge presents his views on what road the gay liberation movement should follow in light of existing attitudes toward homosexuals and the current political realities of American society. This chapter includes a section on the relationship between gay liberation and the radical movement as well as a discussion, not always accurate, on the treatment of gays in Cuba and other workers states. ("In Eastern Europe," he claims, for example, "no laws exist against homosexual acts in private." Yet, according to a pamphlet published in 1970 by the Corinthian Foundation, this is true only of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Since Onge gives no source for his information, we are left wondering if the laws were changed last year in the remaining countries.)

Onge also discusses the debate in the gay liberation movement between those who favor and those who oppose linking up with other movements for social change. "The future of gay liberation is inexorably tied in with the other movements for social reform," Onge says. "The country is ready for a gay liberation movement and conditions are ripe for it to organize even further. The last two years have shown that thousands of people will commit themselves to the cause of homosexual freedom."

This pamphlet has its faults. It is too ambitious, and tries to cram too much into too little space, making it irritatingly sketchy. In addition, the print is very small, there are many typographical errors, and the footnoting is overdone (426 footnotes!). But these faults do not override the usefulness of the pamphlet, for it also contains a lot of interesting information. It may be ordered from The Alliance Press, 741 Briar Place, Chicago, Ill. 60657.

—STEVE BEREN

By LEE SMITH

DEC. 1—Thirty years ago today, six days before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and one week before the U. S. Congress declared war on the Axis states, 18 socialist and trade-union leaders were found guilty by a Minneapolis federal jury of advocating the overthrow of the government and inciting insubordination in the armed forces.

The Minneapolis 18 were declared guilty of charges brought under the notorious 1940 Smith "gag" Act. This was the first time the law was used.

While the law bears the name of Howard Smith, a reactionary congressman from Virginia, responsibility for its provisions and passage must also be assigned to the liberal chief of the "New Deal," Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In 1940, when FDR asked for a law against aliens, he received Smith's Alien Registration Bill. Although it contained all of the provisions that had been too hot to handle a year earlier when they were part of the Omnibus Gag Bill, Roosevelt signed the Smith Act into law, disregarding the protests made directly to him by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Another liberal, Anthony Biddle, set the frame-up prosecution in motion as solicitor general and was FDR's attorney general when the trial opened. Twenty years later, in his book *In Brief Authority*, Biddle claimed he repented his role.

Biddle maintained that he had authorized the frame-up "so that the law would be tested at the threshold, and taken to the Supreme Court, where it would, I hoped and believed, be knocked out. . . ."

"I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution. I should not have tried to test the criminal provisions of the statute in this particular case. . . . There had been no substantial overt acts outside of talk and threats, openly expressed in the

30th anniversary of the first Smith Act trial



Civil Rights Defense Committee rally for 18 Smith Act victims in 1941 Minneapolis trial. Speaking is CRDC secretary George Novack. At right of podium is CRDC chairman James T. Farrell. At left is Farrell Dobbs, one of the 18.

time-honored Marxist lingo."

But the Roosevelt administration did not promote the frame-up of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Motor Transport Workers Local 544 (CIO) in Minneapolis to "test the law."

These 28 men and women were the revolutionaries and trade-union militants who had inspired, organized and led the working people of Minneapolis in the 1934 general truck drivers strikes. Among them was James P. Cannon, a founder of the American Trotskyist movement and

then the national secretary of the SWP. His trial testimony in the Smith Act case still serves today as an introduction to the program of revolutionary socialism (*Socialism on Trial*, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N. Y. 10014 \$1.50).

Roosevelt instigated the frame-up as part of a deal with International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL) President Daniel Tobin. As Tobin agent Henry Harris admitted under cross-examination on the witness stand at the trial, Tobin had been working with the FBI for up to a

year in advance of the indictments to help prepare the frame-up.

Tobin's motive was his desire to wrest control of Local 544 from its militant leadership, which had taken it out of the AFL and into the CIO. FDR's motives were a mixture of his political debt to Tobin, a loyal New Deal Democrat, and his desire to silence the antiwar views of the SWP.

In addition to the Smith Act charges, the 28 were charged with "seditious conspiracy" under a law passed against slave-holders during the Civil War.

On Nov. 18, U. S. District Judge Matthew M. Joyce dropped both charges against five of the defendants.

The jury found five of the remaining 23 innocent of all charges and all 23 innocent of the "seditious conspiracy" charge. But it ruled that 18 were guilty of violating the Smith Act.

On Dec. 10, in the midst of the war mobilization, Judge Joyce sentenced 12 of the 18 to 16 months in prison and the other six to one year and one day.

The defense of the 28 and then of the 18 was waged by the Civil Rights Defense Committee (CRDC), whose chairman was noted novelist James T. Farrell.

In the face of the prevailing war hysteria, the CRDC gathered support for the 18 from organizations representing three million members, including the Michigan and New Jersey state CIO councils, 58 United Auto Workers locals, 22 Steelworkers locals and hundreds of other unions.

This impressive labor support was obtained in spite of a vicious campaign by the Communist Party to sabotage the defense effort by blocking endorsements in CP-influenced unions and spreading slander against the working-class victims of Stalin's ally, FDR. In commenting on the indictments against the 28, the editors of the *Daily Worker* wrote that the defendants "deserve no more support from labor and friends of national security than do the Nazis. . . ."

Viet war escalation key in Senate aid vote

By DICK ROBERTS

The main reason the U. S. Senate took the unusual move of rejecting President Nixon's "foreign aid" bill Oct. 29 has received little explanation in the capitalist press. What happened is that a significant number of senators used this opportunity to show their opposition to Nixon's plans of escalating the U. S. war in Southeast Asia.

Nixon's bill included three times as much military funding as the foreign aid bill that passed the Senate last year (Dec. 16, 1970). Most of the additional military appropriation was for "support operations" in Indochina.

Nixon's escalation plans were revealed by a series of debates and votes on amendments to the foreign aid bill. As initially presented to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee, the bill included an amendment sponsored by Senators John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) and Frank Church (D-Idaho), which stated that the appropriated funds "be used only for the purpose of withdrawal of all [U. S.] forces from Indochina and may not be used for the purpose of engaging such forces in hostilities in North or South Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos, except for action necessary to protect those forces against imminent danger as they are withdrawn."

At first reading, the amendment would appear to be entirely within the framework of Nixon's purported withdrawal policies. Senator Church himself stated, "It is a serious mistake to regard this amendment as a vote of no confidence in the president. . . . There is nothing in the amendment that imposes a time frame within which the withdrawal must be completed."

But the administration adamantly opposed this Cooper-Church amend-

ment and succeeded in defeating it by a narrow margin of 47 to 44 in a Senate vote Oct. 28. White House objections to the amendment were hinted at by Church himself: "There are great pressures in this city, pressures being brought to bear upon the president to leave an American residual force in Vietnam indefinitely. This is no secret. There is talk about a force of 50,000 men, to continue giving air support, logistical support, artillery support, and naval support to the South Vietnamese policy."

In addition to this perspective of permanent U. S. occupation of South Vietnam in considerable force, the Pentagon hopes to build up the U. S. puppet armies in Cambodia and Laos. The question of Cambodia was paramount in the Senate debate. The Foreign Relations Committee had attempted to cut U. S. financing of the Pnompenh regime below the amounts requested by the White House. The committee explained, "It was felt by many members . . . that a reduction in the funds available for United States operations in Cambodia would serve to restrain what they perceive to be a tendency to duplicate in Cambodia an entire range of United States supported programs of the type which have resulted in ever deeper and seemingly endless involvement in other countries of Southeast Asia."

But this attempt to reduce administration war-financing in Cambodia was also defeated. By a critical vote of 52 to 35, Oct. 28, the Senate granted Nixon the full financing of the Cambodia war he had requested. This led a number of Senate opponents of Nixon's policies, who traditionally support foreign aid, to vote against the foreign aid bill in the final roll call Oct. 29.

In addition, however, more far-

reaching objections to the foreign aid bill were expressed. Senator Church estimated total U. S. military and economic aid in the fiscal year 1972 as more than \$10,000,000,000, with half of that — \$5,000,000,000 — being military aid. He declared: ". . . our bilateral aid program is, in effect, the soft-loan window of the Export-Import Bank; it is the source from which foreign governments borrow money on easy terms with which to buy goods and services from within the United States. . . ."

"In addition to financing American exports, our foreign aid, both economic and military, has encouraged relationships of sustained dependency on the United States. In many underdeveloped countries, repressive governments draw reassurance from the arms we furnish and the military training we supply. As the source of money and weapons for their armies and police forces, the U. S. Government acquires a certain leverage over these regimes, while they last. Enticed by attractive credit terms, by growing familiarity with American equipment, reliance on American replacement parts, by bargain prices on obsolete equipment, training programs for their soldiers and police, and the sales promotion techniques of our military advisory missions, these governments soon enough learn to think American."

The liberal Democrat from Idaho touched on the extent of "aid" subsidization of U. S. exports. "Former AID [Agency for International Development] Director William Gaud disclosed that, as a result of tied loans [loans requiring the recipient to "buy American"] — '93 percent of AID funds are spent directly in the United States. . . . Just last year some 4,000 Amer-

ican firms in 50 states received \$1.3-billion in AID funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program."

More precise figures than these were provided by the *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 3. ". . . AID bureaucrats are especially irritated by the perennial 'giveaway' charges made about their programs," the *Wall Street Journal* stated. "During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1970, they say, AID loans and grants financed \$995.1-million of American products for shipment overseas to underdeveloped countries; only \$19.4-million was used to finance foreign products." Thus the proportion of foreign "economic aid" spent on U. S. products was 50 times more than that spent on foreign products!

But these are precisely the reasons why no capitalist Congress will ever put an end to U. S. "foreign aid" policies. They are indispensable to the imperialist objective of maintaining world dominance for the manufacturing industries of the advanced capitalist countries as well as stabilizing the control of pro-imperialist regimes throughout the world.

As the Congress has refurbished the defeated foreign aid bill in the period following its Oct. 29 Senate rejection, Church's speeches seem to have had little effect. On Nov. 10, for example, the Senate approved a new foreign aid bill implementing \$1.4-billion for "economic and humanitarian assistance," thus restoring the old economic aid program with a slightly reduced budget. Church voted for this.

The following day, the Senate approved \$1.5-billion of military aid. This included full funding of the administration's requests for Cambodia. The new military aid bill passed the Senate 65 to 24, overwhelming the doves.

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. "Socialism and Women's Liberation," with Pat Galligan, member of Socialist Workers Party and Boston Female Liberation. Wed., Dec. 8, 8 p.m., WTBS, 88.1 FM.

NEW ENGLAND

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN TOUR SCHEDULE. Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate, will be speaking at the following campuses: Mon., Dec. 6, 8 p.m., Clark University in Worcester, Mass.; Tues., Dec. 7, U of Mass. at Amherst; Wed., Dec. 8, Brown University, Providence, R.I.; Thurs., Dec. 9, 4 p.m., U of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I.; Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m., rally featuring Linda Jenness, John E. Powers, Jeanne Lafferty and Don Gurewitz at Hill House, 74 Joy St., Boston, Mass. Rally admission: \$2. Party after rally. Call (617) 536-6981 for further information.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

COME TO OUR RUMMAGE SALE. Bargains in books, clothing, home furnishings, records and much more. Sat., Dec. 11, 10 a.m.-7 p.m., 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. For rummage pick-up or more information, call 982-6051.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:30 a.m. every Monday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

... Attica

Continued from page 8

mate rights"—contradicted Mancusi. "The danger of harassment of inmates continues," it charged, "... and the likelihood of unjust and inflammatory acts in parole and other areas still remains."

... women

Continued from page 18

of Bard College in New York set the keynote by declaring the matriarchy a "myth" concocted by Bachofen, Crawley and others, which had suffered its "last gasp" with Robert Briffault. Although no one submitted a paper challenging the official view that the patriarchy is eternal, it appears that some men are nevertheless worried about women anthropologists discovering the hidden history of the matriarchal epoch.

The five-member committee was chaired by Clarence Jones, Black publisher of the New York *Amsterdam News*, and Austin H. MacCormack, executive director of the Osborne Association, a prison improvement organization.

In other developments, Herbert X. Blyden, another spokesman of the inmates during the rebellion, has been transferred to the Bronx House of Detention in New York City to stand trial on a 72-count indictment. These astronomical charges arose out of the October 1970 jail rebellion at the Tombs (Manhattan House of Detention). Blyden was imprisoned in the Tombs at that time.

His defense counsel is William Kunstler, the prominent civil liberties lawyer. Trial proceedings may begin this month.

...B. Desh

Continued from page 24

BBC film crew that toured liberated zones in Bangla Desh, is lack of arms, which demonstrates that Indian aid has taken the form of use of its own troops rather than massive material assistance to the guerrillas.

The Nov. 28 *New York Times* carried an article by Malcolm W. Browne from Islamabad, capital of West Pakistan, which pointed to the main issue underlying all the saber rattling between India and Pakistan: the fight for self-determination of Bangla Desh. In the article, entitled "The Real War Is With Bangla Desh," Browne writes that "a real war between the Bangla Desh guerrilla force and an occupation army is being fought in East Pakistan, and how that conflict will develop none can predict."

Students fight for birth control clinic

By ELOISE LINGER

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 1—A Nov. 30 sit-in by women students at the office of American University President George Williams has triggered a massive student protest against a series of administrative maneuvers aimed at stifling student rights.

AU women are demanding that the administration supply campus space for a gynecologist and a birth-control clinic. For nine months women have been going through proper administrative channels, and have made arrangements with Planned Parenthood for doctors, equipment, and supplies. Planned Parenthood has also agreed to take financial and legal responsibility for the clinic.

When President Williams rejected the proposal, which only required that the university supply space for the clinic, over 100 students occupied his office. After seven women refused to leave, the administration reacted by suspending four whom they could identify and putting out a warrant for the arrest of an as yet unspecified number of protesters.

Coinciding with the women's struggle

is a general student struggle protesting the administration's attempt to deny previously won rights, including the allocation of student-activities fees through the Student Association. Under the ploy of instituting "voluntary student-activities fees" (along with a tuition increase) the administration is trying to stop the programs the students have developed by leaving the Student Association penniless next January.

Making the student activity fee voluntary will mean that students would probably not pay the full amount. Williams' maneuver is aimed at doing away with the bail fund, the abortion-loan fund, the day-care center fund, speakers fund, recreation facilities and other valuable student services now provided or planned by the Student Association.

These student services and rights were won three years ago after a long, hard struggle.

At the Nov. 30 Student Association meeting, over 100 students adopted a proposal by student body President Chuck Morton calling for a mass meeting to organize a protest against President Williams' denial of space for the birth-control clinic and his autocratic decision to take away what little power students now have in deciding how their money should be spent.

At the meeting today, over 300 students decided to keep the university open so they can reach every student possible and publicize their action. They decided to show support for the women's demands and for amnesty for those suspended by organizing masses of students to attend a press conference called by the women.

They plan to follow the press conference with an action at the administration building.

More than 200 women met to form a Women's Caucus during the convention. Its general aim is to work within the AAA against sexual stereotyping and for equal opportunities with men.

The democratic outlook of the caucus was stressed by several women. While they would welcome more women Ph.D.s in the profession, this was by no means sufficient; all women, right down to the "secretaries who organize the departments," were to be liberated from male patronage and domination.

Margaret Mead, who was present throughout the caucus meeting, cautioned the women to remember that their "main contribution" was in the field

of anthropology. But apparently a large majority of the young women present felt that in order to make their main contribution possible they would have to put up a vigorous fight as women against the men in the AAA who keep them down and out of sight.

The struggle of women for equality has penetrated a number of professional associations in the past couple of years. What is most significant about the women's revolt in the AAA is that it is taking place in the ideological factory that manufactures and disseminates so many myths and falsifications about the role of women and their history.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

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

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-1988.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 127 Washington St., Apt. 106, Hartford, Conn. 06106.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, 1615 N.W. 3rd Ave., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

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

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

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

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 Don Caine, 446 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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.

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THE MILITANT

Struggle for national liberation intensifies in Bangla Desh

NOV. 30—Indian Foreign Minister Jagjivan Ram, speaking to a Calcutta rally of 50,000 on Nov. 28, made the first public announcement that official Indian policy on the Pakistan border conflict had changed. Ram said Indian generals had been instructed to "advance as many miles into Pakistani territory as the range of the Pakistani guns." The escalation of the war of words (other speakers at the rally spoke of the army's determination to "break Pakistan into pieces") followed the most intense week of fighting to date along the India-East Bengal border.

Although India had previously acknowledged isolated border crossings, Ram's speech would suggest that they will now become the rule.

The new escalation in the fighting

in border areas that have been liberated by the Mukti Bahini.

Yahya Khan's butchers are notorious for bravado. An example was provided by Lieutenant General A. A. K. Niazi, who is killer-in-charge of the occupation army. In a Nov. 26 Dacca news conference he stated: "The more they [the Indians] come in the happier I am; there are more to kill."

One day later, Niazi claimed that 1,000 Indians and only 30 Pakistanis had been killed in a week of what he called "total war."

A ban on foreign newsmen in the border areas makes information on the real military situation difficult to obtain. But some journalists have succeeded in getting to Indian border towns, and this, combined with in-



Mukti Bahini guerrillas

began on Nov. 21. On that day, according to Pakistani army officers, a major Indian offensive was launched on four fronts. The concentration point was Jessore, only about sixty miles northeast of Calcutta. Other fighting took place in the areas of Sylhet, Comilla and the Chittagong hills near the Burmese border.

It appears that there was intensive combat in these areas, but the Pakistani estimates of the number of Indian troops involved was almost certainly a serious exaggeration. Pakistani military commanders claimed that some 300,000 Indian soldiers are involved in the border conflicts; but it is doubtful that the 70,000 to 80,000 Pakistani troops occupying Bangla Desh could have repelled forces of this magnitude.

According to the Indian government, the major fighting was conducted by the Mukti Bahini, the national liberation forces of Bangla Desh. One Mukti Bahini commander, Major Jill-Ed, said Nov. 22 that a Mukti Bahini force of between 8,000 and 12,000 was encircling the city of Jessore. He denied that Indian soldiers were involved.

New York Times correspondent Sydney Schanberg wrote in the Nov. 23 issue that "there were indications that the Bengali forces fighting for the independence of East Pakistan were pushing Pakistani troops back for the first time" since the March 25 invasion of Bangla Desh by Pakistani forces.

According to the Nov. 27 *New York Times*, spirits are high in the Bengali refugee camps in India. Some refugees are already returning to their homes

formation from the Mukti Bahini, provides at least the broad outlines of the situation.

Pakistan's assertion that India had embarked on all-out war is almost certainly false. It appears that India is successfully carrying out its semi-officially stated objective—to give military support to offensives of the Mukti Bahini while gradually capturing enough land in East Bengal to return the refugees and establish an independent East Bengal under Indian tutelage.

The offensive that began Nov. 21 seems to have been initiated by the Mukti Bahini, and not the Indian army.

If General Niazi's rhetoric and casualty figures sound like Westmoreland's and Abrams', it is because his army is facing the same sort of enemy the U. S. troops face in Indochina—the entire population of the occupied country. In the Nov. 20 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Dacca correspondent Werner Adam quoted an "American diplomat" in that city as saying that East Bengal looks "exactly like Vietnam." The difference, according to Adam, is that popular support for the Mukti Bahini even exceeds that for the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

In its training and organization, its effective control of the countryside, and its ability to penetrate the major cities, the Mukti Bahini have attained in several months a level of activity that took the Vietnamese several years to achieve. The major problem for the Bengalis today, according to a

Continued on page 22

Ruling jeopardizes fair trial for Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, Calif.—The prospect of a fair trial for Angela Davis was greatly reduced Nov. 12 when Judge Richard E. Arnason refused to change his earlier decision moving the trial site to Santa Clara County. The judge said two days of testimony by defense witnesses convinced him that "Santa Clara County is not totally free of bias and prejudice—but that is not the only standard one needs to apply."

A lack of congestion in the courts and excellent police security, the judge indicated, were the additional standards that led him to recommend Santa Clara over San Francisco County, despite the defense lawyers' contention that San Francisco County is the only location in the state where it might be possible to find an unbiased jury.

When defense counsel Margaret Burnham argued that Arnason's decision disregarded Davis' constitutional right to a fair trial, the judge yawned and said she raised "interesting points which might be argued at some further time."

Santa Clara is a formerly agricultural county, about 45 minutes from San Francisco, which has grown during the last two decades into a freeway megalopolis specializing in electronic and aerospace engineering. Of its population of one million, approximately 2.5 percent are Black, making chances very high for a jury with no Black people on it.

Santa Clara ranked "least favorable" to Davis in a survey of five Bay Area counties initiated by the Davis defense committee.

For example, 30 percent of the persons polled in Santa Clara considered themselves "very unfavorable" to Davis, compared to 14 percent in San Francisco and 17 percent in Marin, the site of the pretrial hearings.

Suit filed against humiliating searches

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—Judge Spiro Vavuris' refusal to halt inhuman searches and debasement of women admitted to the trial of Soledad Brothers Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette has been challenged in a suit filed in the appellate courts by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Paul Havolonik, representing the ACLU, told the press Nov. 18, "Surely things have not gotten to the point where the exercise of the constitutional right to attend a public trial is 'suspect' activity, empowering the state to conduct degrading skin searches."

The ACLU suit seeks to void the security order issued by Vavuris at the beginning of the trial. Defense counsels Floyd Silliman and Richard Silver's vociferous complaints about the searches have been repeatedly ignored. If security at the trial were loosened, "I would be remiss in my duty," Vavuris asserted self-righteously. The defense, however, feels that the barbarous treatment of spectators is an attempt to force the frame-up of Cluchette and Drumgo to be staged

Santa Clara's conservative white community, which voted heavily for Wallace in 1968, has been ignited by recent actions at Stanford University in Palo Alto, where a radical instructor, Bruce Franklin, is threatened with dismissal on charges stemming from an anti-Nixon demonstration.

In addition, Aaron Harris, who testified in behalf of Davis, said the recent slaying of a Black man by police in San Jose, the county's largest city, has further polarized whites and people of the oppressed nationalities.

While Harris was testifying, sheriff's deputies from Santa Clara were studiously taking notes and making video tape recordings of Marin County's security procedures.

Andrew Pulley, the 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president who attended sessions of the hearings, expressed concern over the obviously deteriorating health of Davis, who has lost considerable weight.

Davis' physician, Tolbert J. Small, announced Nov. 12 that she has developed glaucoma, a disease of the eye that may lead to blindness if untreated. Lack of exercise has also caused varicose veins in Davis' legs. It is difficult to know whether jail conditions will improve for Davis in Santa Clara, since county officials will not name the exact city where the trial is to be held.

Davis is expected to be transferred to either San Jose or Palo Alto before Dec. 1. Immediately afterward, pretrial hearings will resume on defense motions that challenge jury-selection procedure. Defense lawyers maintain that the present procedure, based on lists of voters registered in Santa Clara County, excludes 18-year-olds and Third World people who do not bother to vote because of their feeling of lack of choice between the two capitalist parties.

in an empty theater.

Three spectators, Suzan Fine, Marie Chapman, and Agness McFaddin, appeared with Havolonik at the ACLU press conference. They agreed that the searches were "humiliating . . . degrading . . . and an attempt to intimidate us and keep us out of the courtroom."

Fine, who had been forced to remove a sanitary napkin during a search, said, "The men don't have to go through searches like that."

Chapman bitterly protested the antics of tactical squad thugs stationed in the "mugging area" of the courtroom. Protesting the photographing of spectators, she asked one officer, "Am I a criminal?" Responding in a manner typical of the trial atmosphere, he jeered, "You're right, you are the criminal."

Vavuris continues the sexist attacks inside the courtroom. On Nov. 9, he chivalrously admitted to a snickering audience that the section of the Declaration of Independence stating all are created equal "also applies to women."