

THE MILITANT

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



March to repeal abortion laws, Austin, Texas

Photo by Howard Petrick

Are socialism and women's liberation related?

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In Brief

MINE STRIKE ENDS: The United Mine Workers of America leadership signed a new contract Nov. 14 with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, ending the strike by 84,000 miners. The settlement provides an increase in the average miner's daily wage from \$37 to \$48 over the next three years, subject to approval by the Nixon Pay Board. Less than ecstatic about the terms of the settlement, the miners took a few days to come back to work after the contract had been signed.

CORAL SEA: The case of the USS Coral Sea sailors has set a few precedents that are a gauge of the current level of antiwar opposition in the armed forces and the extent to which this sentiment worries the brass. On Nov. 11, the day before the aircraft carrier sailed for Vietnam, Lt. (jg) James R. Meyers, talking from the ship by phone to Pete Verral of the Northern California Peace Action Coalition, said that his request and the requests of two other Coral Sea officers to be allowed to resign from the Navy were being given friendly consideration by the ship's captain, William H. Harris. Meanwhile, the three have been relieved of their duties.

On Nov. 12, Harris called a news conference on deck to assure reporters that the Coral Sea had "very fine morale" and that "the men are free to protest . . . they are free to do anything they desire on politics . . . they can print leaflets and newspapers . . . as long as they are approved by me."

Both the kid-glove treatment of the three officers and the deck news conference were without precedent, as was the Nov. 11 six-to-one vote by the Berkeley City Council offering sanctuary to Coral Sea sailors who did not want to sail with the ship. At a rally held shortly before the captain's news conference, about 1,000 supporters of the Coral Sea sailors heard Susan Ramshaw of the Berkeley University Lutheran Chapel report that 25 sailors were not sailing with the ship.

PILAND CASE: U. S. District Judge Philip C. Wilkins is considering arguments presented Nov. 15 on whether his court has jurisdiction in the case of Navy Lt. (jg) Gordon Piland. Piland, 24, is scheduled to be transferred Nov. 21 to a remote base in Adak, Alaska. Piland's attorney John Vaisey argued that the transfer is punitive and directed against Piland's antiwar activity. If allowed, Vaisey said, it would "have a chilling effect" on Piland's First Amendment rights. These are among the arguments Vaisey will press if Wilkins agrees to hear the case. U. S. Attorney Brewster Morgan replied that "even if Adak were blatantly punitive," the court should not review a change of duty station.

OVERTIME: Melvin Whittum, serving time in a Maine state mental hospital where he had been transferred from prison, was scheduled for release in 1930. However, due to "clerical errors in his hospital records," Whittum was not released until Nov. 12 at the age of 66. He has entered a rest home since being released.

KENT 25: The trial of the students and faculty indicted on "riot" charges after the May 1970 demonstrations in which guardsmen killed four students is slated to open Nov. 22.

DEATH TOLL ARRESTS: One hundred and five demonstrators from the Daily Death Toll project were arrested in Washington, D. C., Nov. 9 after telling the cops who asked them to move from the White House driveway they were blocking that they couldn't move because "we count ourselves among the dead."

CHICAGO RECEPTION FOR SPIRO, DICKIE: When Nixon and Agnew showed up at the Conrad Hilton in Chicago for a Republican fund-raising dinner Nov. 9, they had to be sneaked in the back way because 1,000 antiwar protesters were out front in an action sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council, the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, and other groups.

FREE FT. HOOD GIS: The Ft. Hood United Front has called a demonstration in Killeen, Texas, just outside Ft. Hood, for Dec. 4. The action will demand freedom for those arrested in the Oct. 25 antiwar march in Killeen. For more information, contact Ft. Hood United Front, P. O. Box 1265, Killeen, Texas 76541.

VIRGINIA PRISON FOOTNOTE: Last week's *In Brief* reported that federal judge Robert Merhige had ruled that such barbaric practices as the chaining and whipping of inmates had to cease in Virginia's state prisons. Otis L. Brown, Virginia's Welfare and Institutions director, has responded by charging that Merhige's ruling will tie the hands of guards and prevent them from acting "swiftly and decisively" to quell potential riots.

TOO CLOSE: Residents of Marin County in California (which has one of the highest per capita incomes of any

county in the country) don't like all the fuss going on at San Quentin, according to the Nov. 12 *New York Times*. They want the prison moved out of Marin because, as one county supervisor puts it, "It just makes life very unpleasant for the people here."

ABOUT THAT "LULL": All the major news media have been whooping it up lately about how all the campus turmoil of the 1960s is a thing of the past. A more sober appraisal came from the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in a 177-page study reported by the *New York Times* Nov. 15. "The tinder of discontent on the campus remains dry," the study says, pointing out that only a spark is needed to touch off another explosion like the May 1970 upsurge.

"COLD-BLOODED KILLER"? Lt. Colonel Anthony B. Herbert, the "soldier's soldier" who has been hounded by the brass into seeking retirement because he brought to light his commanders' attempts to conceal war crimes, is now being victimized by an incredible slander campaign. Maj. General John Barnes, one of the brass hats Herbert has fingered for sweeping acts of torture and murder under the rug, said in interviews printed Nov. 12 in the *Phoenix Arizona Republic* and the *Chicago Sun-Times* that Herbert impressed him as a "cold-blooded killer" who would be disastrous in the Army's "pacification" efforts. Charles Morgan of the American Civil Liberties Union responded immediately to the appearance of these articles. Morgan is quoted in the Nov. 13 *New York Times* as saying that Barnes' interviews are part of an Army campaign to "destroy" Herbert.

Socialist educational conferences

The International Socialist Review, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and the Young Socialist Alliance are sponsoring a fall series of socialist educational conferences Nov. 26-28.

Topics include: Nixon's wage freeze, strategy for the 1972 elections, the feminist movement, Black nationalism, Chicano liberation, and how to make a revolution in the U. S. For further information, contact the nearest regional office of the YSA, listed on page 22.

ASSEMBLY OF CATALONIA: The Nov. 9 *New York Times* reported that 300 workers, students, lawyers, artists and businessmen "illegally" gathered in or near Barcelona Nov. 7 to draft a program of opposition to Franco's regime. The assembly adopted a program calling for amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles, for democratic rights, and for autonomous status for Catalonia.

NIXON STAFF NIXES UPS: The Underground Press Syndicate serves 600 newspapers and 100 radio stations in the U. S. But the White House denied press credentials to UPS reporter Tom Forcade, allegedly for "security" reasons. This argument won't work. Although Forcade has been arrested twice (once for alleged flag desecration and once for alleged LSD possession), he has never been convicted of a crime. And although in the spring of 1970 he threw a cream pie in the face of Otto Larsen, chairman of the U. S. Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, he is a committed pacifist. Moreover, both houses of Congress have granted press credentials to Forcade.

"GOOD, RED MEAT" AND CANCER: We reported April 2 that Dr. William Lijinsky of the University of Nebraska had told a Congressional hearing March 16 his studies indicated the red dye used by food markets to make meat more "attractive" might be carcinogenic—only to have the Food and Drug Administration pooh-pooh his warning. This month, in response to a letter from Ralph Nader pointing to two Soviet animal studies also suggesting that cancer may be caused by the red dye, the FDA said it had verified the Soviet studies but considered the results insufficient to take action beyond that already taken. The action the FDA has taken is to request from companies using the dye reports on how they use it. The reports are due by Dec. 31.

AN "UNCITIZEN": The Supreme Court, in upholding Nov. 9 the ruling of the immigration service that Thomas Jolley be deported to any country that will take him, described Jolley as "A native of the United States and a citizen of an uncountrry." Jolley renounced his U. S. citizenship in 1969 to avoid the draft.

— LEE SMITH

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 43
NOVEMBER 26, 1971
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 17

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone (213) 463-1917. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including U.S.S.R.), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Militant subs surpass 1945 record

By MIKE LUX

Nov. 16—The Militant subscription drive for 30,000 new readers by Dec. 1 broke a record this week by passing the previous subscription drive high of 22,437 set in 1945! That year *The Militant* set its sights on a goal of 10,000 new readers and ended the campaign with over double that amount.

This week *Militant* supporters sent in 2,844 new subs for a total of 23,611.

The sub drive is still behind schedule this week, however, with 932 subs short of the number needed to be on time. The gap was closed slightly but with only two weeks remaining in the drive all areas must make a big push in order to achieve the goal of 30,000 new readers.

New York City has begun a drive to catch up and sent in 590 subs this week, with Upper West Side obtaining 247 of them. Daily sub teams

sold throughout the city and into the region.

Around the country, other areas are preparing for the final push. Detroit and Los Angeles made impressive showings in their campaigns to get on schedule. Detroit sent in 261 subs and Los Angeles 226.

The national sales teams continue to set the pace with more than 7,500 new subscriptions. Debby Woodroffe of the Mid-Atlantic team writes: "My favorite thing is to see the transformation of the dorms we bring about—campaign posters all over the hall, WONAAC stickers, etc. And every *Militant* we sell gets passed from hand to hand. The most exciting thing is the response to the SWP election campaign. There is an immediate response to it—an identification with the spirit of the campaign and an immediate understanding that it is *the* campaign of the youth radicalization."

A team of five women from New York spent a few hours at the Col-

lege of New Rochelle, where they sold 31 *Militant* subscriptions to women in the dorms. They found great interest in the Shirley Wheeler case and report that women are very receptive to the fact that the Socialist Workers Party is running a woman for president.

David Welters, a member of the Minneapolis sales team that sold subs throughout a five state region, reports: "Four states, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska are virtually shut off from the nationally organized mass movements. We are convinced that *The Militant* will provide them with the best coverage of all these movements." The team sold 189 *Militant* and 12 *ISR* subs in six days.

Cappy Kidd, from Washington, D. C., reports that high school sales are an important way to increase the circulation of *The Militant*. They found high school sales best in the mornings because the paper gets passed around to more people during the day.

Austin also reports success with high school sales. A Chicano high school student, Daniel Rodriguez, was able to sell 10 subs and 35 single issues of *The Militant* in two days.

International Socialist Review

The *ISR* drive for 5,000 new readers is picking up somewhat, but is still only at the 40 percent mark with 1,963 subs to date. Areas on time are Patterson, N.J., Bloomington, Ind., and State College, Penn.

Dianne Feeley, from the Upper West Side in New York reports that she has had better than average success selling in dorms by urging one of the people who share a room to buy a subscription to *The Militant* and the other to buy one to the *ISR*. Again, the key to making the *ISR* quota remains simply asking each new *Militant* reader if they would be interested in also buying a trial subscription to the *International Socialist Review*.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	%
Albuquerque, N. M.	5	2	40.0
Baton Rouge, La.	10	4	40.0
Edinboro, Pa.	25	10	40.0
Long Island, N. Y.	200	76	38.0
El Paso, Texas	50	18	36.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	72	36.0
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	5	33.3
Lubbock, Texas	25	8	32.0
Eugene, Ore.	40	12	30.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	27	27.0
Manchester, N. H.	15	4	26.7
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	4	20.0
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Gary, Ind.	10	2	20.0
Marietta, Ohio	10	2	20.0
Wichita, Kan.	20	4	20.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	11	18.3
Tampa, Fla.	150	26	17.3
Kansas City, Mo.	200	33	16.5
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	4	16.0
Modesto, Calif.	30	4	13.3
DeKalb, Ill.	100	11	11.0
Oxford, Ohio	75	5	6.7
Kingston, R. I.	20	0	0
Lawton, Okla.	5	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6,000	7,546	125.8
Mid-Atlantic		(2,247)	
Southern		(2,037)	
Western		(1,699)	
Southwest		(1,563)	
General	325	390	120.0
TOTAL TO DATE		23,611	78.7
SHOULD BE		24,543	81.8
GOAL		30,000	100.0
Gainesville, Fla.	15	52	346.7
Claremont, Calif.	40	51	127.5
Erie, Pa.	5	6	120.0
Paterson, N. J.	25	29	116.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	112	112.0
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	25	28	112.0
Geneseo, N. Y.	20	22	110.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	38	95.0
North Andover, Mass.	20	17	85.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	17	85.0
Travis A. F. B., Calif.	40	33	82.5
Worcester, Mass.	200	166	83.0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	982	81.8
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	809	80.9
Nashville, Tenn.	45	36	80.0
San Diego, Calif.	200	160	80.0
Austin, Texas	375	294	78.4
Denver, Colo.	700	546	78.0
Boston, Mass.	2,000	1,538	76.9
Connecticut	200	148	74.0
Upper West Side, N. Y.	1,250	898	71.8
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	1,127	70.4
Madison, Wis.	300	210	70.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	28	70.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	7	70.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	838	69.8
Lower Manhattan, N. Y.	1,250	845	67.6
Bloomington, Ind.	150	101	67.3
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	1,333	66.7
Houston, Texas	600	399	66.5
Washington, D. C.	600	371	61.8
Jacksonville, Fla.	20	12	60.0
Logan, Utah	100	60	60.0
Providence, R. I.	200	120	60.0
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,250	741	59.3
Amherst, Mass.	100	59	59.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	80	45	56.3
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	730	56.2
Seattle, Wash.	600	327	54.5
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	827	53.4
Chapel Hill, N. C.	30	16	53.3
New Brunswick, N. J.	15	8	53.3
Binghamton, N. Y.	100	52	52.0
Davenport, Iowa	10	5	50.0
Durham, N. H.	40	20	50.0
State College, Pa.	20	10	50.0
Atlanta, Ga.	750	357	47.6
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	472	47.2
Tucson, Ariz.	20	9	45.0
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	44	44.0
Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
Portland, Ore.	400	164	41.0

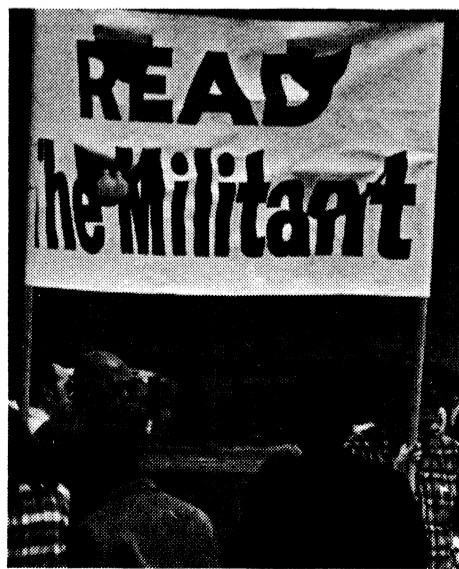


Photo by Goodman

In 1916...

Margaret Sanger was arrested for opening the first birth-control clinic in the country. In 1971 the struggle continues with the movement for repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

For the best coverage of this movement--read *The Militant*.

Photo: Margaret Sanger in court

The *Militant* has been on the spot with complete coverage of the campaign to repeal all anti-abortion laws--from the national actions in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco on Nov. 20 to local meetings, demonstrations, and conferences. The *Militant* also features a weekly women's liberation column, "The Insurgent Majority," as well as coverage of other aspects of women's liberation, such as the international movements, Chicana and Black women's liberation, and reviews of feminist plays, periodicals and books.

Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
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By DAVE FRANKEL

Readers who agree with *The Militant* that opposition to the war in Indochina can only be effective if it is visibly mobilized, and that it is the job of the antiwar movement to accomplish this mobilization, would have been pleased by the editorial in the Nov. 17 *Guardian*, an independent radical weekly.

That issue of the *Guardian* contains coverage of the Nov. 6 actions and the editorial is an evaluation of them and of the present situation in the antiwar movement. The editorial also deals with some of the general questions raised by the coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) on the need for unity in the antiwar movement. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 5.)

The editorial correctly assesses the continued vitality of the antiwar movement, despite the attempts of the Nixon administration to convince the American people the war is being terminated. It gives NPAC some much-deserved praise for its insistence on mobilizing antiwar sentiment in mass demonstrations against the government and its unflagging energy in building the Nov. 6 demonstrations around the country.

The *Guardian* editors point out that the 150,000 people who turned out to demonstrate their opposition to the war were the clearest repudiation of "the defeatism and/or negativism which repeatedly overtakes certain sections of the left before mass demonstrations. . . ."

It is worth quoting the *Guardian* on this question. Its editorial states that "no credence can be given to the defeatist notion that the American people are 'turned off' on mass demonstrations. This thinking, which unfortunately has some currency in the movement, is little but a projection upon the masses of people of subjective despair and elitism. To predict the people no longer wish to participate in major antiwar protests—when most have yet to do so—and then to do nothing to organize a mass turnout is to make certain one's forecast comes true. This is precisely what has taken place too often in recent months. The thinking within elements of leadership that are behind this kind of self-fulfilling prophecy should be confronted and defeated."

The Militant is certainly in wholehearted agreement with the sentiments expressed in this paragraph. However, some of the points touched on by the *Guardian* editors raise a question.

Who is despairing?

Who are the "leaders" so far behind the people they would like to lead? They are not to be found in NPAC, which the *Guardian* commends for its role in building the Nov. 6 actions. Its editorial makes clear—and the

The antiwar convention called by the National Peace Action Coalition for Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland Dec. 3-5 will be open to everyone opposed to the war. Registration will be \$6 for adults, \$3 for college students, and \$2 for high school and junior high school students. Advance registration can be obtained by sending the appropriate fee along with your name, address, school and/or organization to the NPAC office.

Both low-cost and hotel housing will be available, and there will be child care during all convention sessions. For more information on attending and building the convention, write to NPAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10011 or phone (212) 741-2018.

Guardian news coverage of the demonstrations makes even clearer—the fact that those who projected their own "despair and elitism" on the American people were to be found in the leadership of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

The *Guardian* quotes a leader of PCPJ from San Francisco as saying "About 99 percent of the work for this [the San Francisco demonstration] was done by NPAC. People have so many criticisms of this kind of thing that we really didn't get involved." Similar examples are given for other cities.

Surprisingly enough, after establishing the fact that PCPJ has reneged on

its responsibility to mobilize those under its influence to decisively and effectively answer Nixon's attempt to bury the issue of the war, the *Guardian* editors state that "PCPJ, in our opinion, has better politics than NPAC."

The *Guardian* points to PCPJ's support of the seven-point program for peace put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) as one instance of PCPJ's superiority over NPAC.

What Nov. 6 showed about opposing antiwar strategies



Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in Tampa, Fla.

Photo by Tom Palmer

Since it favors PCPJ's politics to those of NPAC, are we then to assume that the *Guardian* prefers to associate itself with those who support the seven-point plan of the PRG and do nothing, rather than with those who demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Southeast Asia and organize massive demonstrations against the government around this

demand?

NPAC has always maintained that it is not the role of the American antiwar movement to decide upon one or another program for the solution of the problems of Vietnam. This will be done by the Vietnamese people themselves, with no help from the United States. The job of the antiwar movement is to demand the withdrawal of all U. S. troops so that the Vietnamese can determine for themselves their government and its policies.

Certainly the Vietnamese have made clear many times their appreciation for massive demonstrations organized

on this basis. When Jerry Gordon, one of the NPAC coordinators, met with representatives of the PRG in Paris Nov. 12, the Vietnamese once again stated that they respect this demand and appreciate the solidarity shown by NPAC.

'Set the date'

The *Guardian* editors also point to PCPJ's slogan of "set the date" as an example of its better program and

politics. The "set the date" demand represents an unprincipled retreat from the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam. It concedes the right of the U. S. to maintain its forces on Vietnamese soil until a specified date. It opens the door for all kinds of maneuverers because it is less clear and can be met without bringing all the troops home immediately.

Moreover, those who support "set the date" have been unable to mobilize significant forces in mass action behind this demand, despite their insistence that its purpose is to further mass mobilizations.

The *Guardian*, according to its editorial, wants to see such massive actions against the war. However, it would like to see these demonstrations organized around a diversity of issues, not "just" the war and the ways in which the war affects the American people.

Recognizing the fact that the PCPJ did almost nothing on a national scale to build the Nov. 6 actions, the *Guardian* is reduced to bemoaning the fact that "Organizationally . . . PCPJ is a confusing (and confused) hodgepodge that at this point is not making the national contribution it should to the antiwar effort."

This is true, but what the *Guardian* editors fail to understand is that it is precisely the politics of PCPJ that have led it to this state. *The Militant* has consistently pointed out the fact that the success of the antiwar movement has been due to its determina-

tion to mobilize masses of Americans against the war, on the basis of the clear-cut and principled demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Indochina.

PCPJ is simply the latest of a series of coalitions that have attempted to mechanically change the character of the antiwar movement from a broad united front for organizing mass actions against the war to some type of vaguely radical social movement with a reformist program on a whole series of questions. PCPJ's failure to mobilize people for the Nov. 6 and Oct. 13 demonstrations is due to the inadequacy of their political program.

'Evict Nixon'?

It is interesting to note that the *Guardian* editors, after defending the politics of PCPJ, find it necessary to criticize these politics as they are revealed in practice. Their editorial contains an entire section correctly exposing PCPJ's "Evict Nixon" campaign as a smokescreen designed to provide cover for a campaign to turn the antiwar movement into an auxiliary for the election campaign of the Democratic Party presidential candidate in 1972.

However, the *Guardian* is a little disingenuous when it attributes the "evict Nixon" strategy only to Rennie Davis and the Mayday wing of PCPJ. Surely the people who put out the *Guardian* are aware of the fact that PCPJ as a whole has sponsored this campaign. The best-organized group in PCPJ, the Communist Party (CP), will be going all-out for the Democratic Party in 1972, as they have done in previous elections. In fact, the Nov. 6 issue of the *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the thinking of the CP, has a full-page article on the peace movement that concludes by supporting the "Evict Nixon" movement.

There can be little doubt about which direction groups traditionally oriented toward the Democratic Party and associated with PCPJ, such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will go. *The Militant* welcomes the *Guardian's* rejection of the Democratic Party trap, but it appears that they will be almost alone among supporters of PCPJ in their fight to prevent PCPJ from going in this direction.

Finally, it was gratifying to read the *Guardian's* statement on the need for a united antiwar effort. During an election year, capitalist politicians from Nixon on down are most vulnerable and sensitive to the type of mass protests that can be organized by the antiwar movement. In this election year, when the administration is desperately trying to remove the war issue from domestic politics while preserving the American position in Vietnam, massive antiwar protests can have a bigger effect than ever before in forcing concessions from the government and hampering its ability to prosecute the war.

What is required is a single antiwar coalition that can effectively bring together and unite in action all of the forces in American society opposed to the war, regardless of their politics on other issues or their attitude toward the 1972 presidential elections. Naturally, such a coalition would in no way contradict the existence of the organizations participating in it, nor in any way prevent them from organizing campaigns on other issues or participating in the electoral arena.

The coordinators of NPAC have circulated a letter to the entire antiwar movement stressing the need for a united antiwar coalition and urging PCPJ to co-host a convention of the antiwar movement in Cleveland Dec. 3-5. Such a united convention would be a significant step toward a united antiwar movement and the next phase of antiwar actions. It is to be hoped that the *Guardian* will champion the course of unity within PCPJ and call upon its readers to attend the antiwar convention in Cleveland.

Nixon's plan: permanent U.S. war

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon directly admitted Nov. 12 that "Vietnamization" means indefinite U.S. occupation of South Vietnam. The admission came in an unscheduled press conference in Washington, D. C.

Following his expected announcement of further U. S. troop withdrawals for December and January, Nixon was asked whether Washington intended to leave a "residual force" of 40,000 to 50,000 troops in South Vietnam. "If we do not get a negotiated settlement," the president stated, "then it is necessary to maintain a residual force . . . in order to continue our role of leaving South Vietnam in a position where it will be able to defend itself from a Communist take-over."

In other words, war until U. S. military victory over the Vietnamese revolution. This has been the goal of every administration in the White House, Democrat and Republican, since the Vietnamese launched their independence struggle against French colonialism in the Second World War. But antiwar sentiment in this country has reached an all-time high, according to the Harris poll.

On Nov. 11, the day before Nixon's press conference, Harris reported that a record 65 percent of those interviewed believed the U. S. fighting in Vietnam to be "morally wrong." The comparable figure was 47 percent in January at the beginning of this year.

A week earlier, the Harris poll reported that a majority of Americans believe Nixon's pace of withdrawal is too slow and that 55 percent of those interviewed oppose "leaving 50,000 noncombat U. S. troops" in South Vietnam even "if it meant keeping the Communists from taking over Vietnam." (See *The Militant*, Nov. 19.)

Yet this is precisely what Nixon hopes to do. In fact, the announced troop reductions will leave a force of 139,000 U. S. troops. *Washington Post* reporter Peter A. Jay wrote from Saigon Nov. 13, "President Nixon's plan to withdraw another 45,000 American troops from South Vietnam by Feb. 1 . . . is unlikely to make a

perceptible difference in the military balance here."

This is because Washington is primarily pressing the war through escalated bombing of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, while at the same time beefing up the puppet armies in Saigon, Pnompenh and Vientiane.

A detailed indictment of Nixon's bombing policies was released Nov. 7 by the Center for International Studies at Cornell University. "By the end of this year," the study declares, "the Nixon administration will have deployed in three years as much bomb tonnage as the Johnson administration did in five." The study estimates that six million tons of bombs and other aerial munitions will have been dropped on Indochina, a region about the size of Texas, by the end of 1971. This is more than three times the total tonnage used in World War II.

A summary distributed with the Cornell report was entered into the *Congressional Record* Nov. 11 by Senator Harold Hughes (D-Iowa). It states, in part: "In South Vietnam alone, the U. S. has already dropped 3.6 million tons of bombs. . . . Only 5 to 8 percent of the air sorties flown in South Vietnam were in direct support of American or allied troops in battle; the rest were for interdiction, harassment, and retaliation—missions which, in a country being defended not attacked from the air, result in widespread civil destruction among the population. . . .

"In South Vietnam to date, it is estimated that there have been over one million civilian casualties, including 325,000 deaths, while over six million people (one-third of the population) have become refugees.

"U. S. air activity in South Vietnam itself has been cut back, with the South Vietnamese Air Force taking up some of the tactical bombing assignments. U. S. emphasis is now more on saturation bombing by B-52 Stratofortresses. A typical mission of six B-52s dropped 300,000 pounds of high explosive in a fraction of a minute. (A hand grenade contains less than one pound.)

"Such bombing without a detailed target demolishes an area corresponding to 200 city blocks. Over half the tonnage dropped in South Vietnam has been in such massive saturation raids. . . .

"Despite administration denials, a major air effort has been carried out in northern Laos to support ground activities of the Royal Laotian Government, which are totally unconnected with the conflict in Vietnam. . . .

"In Cambodia, American air operations have been conducted with sustained intensity since 1970. . . . The air war over the Ho Chi Minh Trail in southern Laos has been steadily escalating since 1966, with 400,000 tons of munitions expected to be dropped this year. . . .

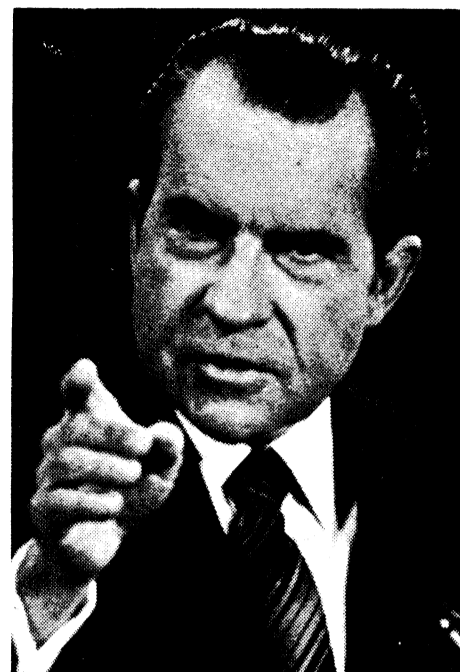
"The air war has also resulted in a direct and massive onslaught on the ecology of Indochina. More than one-third of the forest area of South Vietnam has been sprayed with defoliants, one-half of the country's mangrove forests have been killed off, and enough food has been destroyed by herbicides to feed 600,000 people for one year."

Meanwhile, administration moves in the U. S. Congress have continued to pave the way for financing escalated war in Cambodia and Laos. Most important were votes on two amendments to the revised foreign-aid bill considered Nov. 11.

In the first vote, the Senate refused to approve an amendment sponsored by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), which would have cut the funds requested by the Nixon administration for Cambodia from \$350-million to \$265-million. The vote against Fulbright's proposed cut was 64-24.

In the second vote, the Senate approved an amendment sponsored by Senate Armed Forces Committee Chairman John Stennis (D-Miss.) increasing the foreign-aid financing of the war in Southeast Asia over the amount suggested by the Foreign Relations Committee.

Explaining his amendment, Stennis



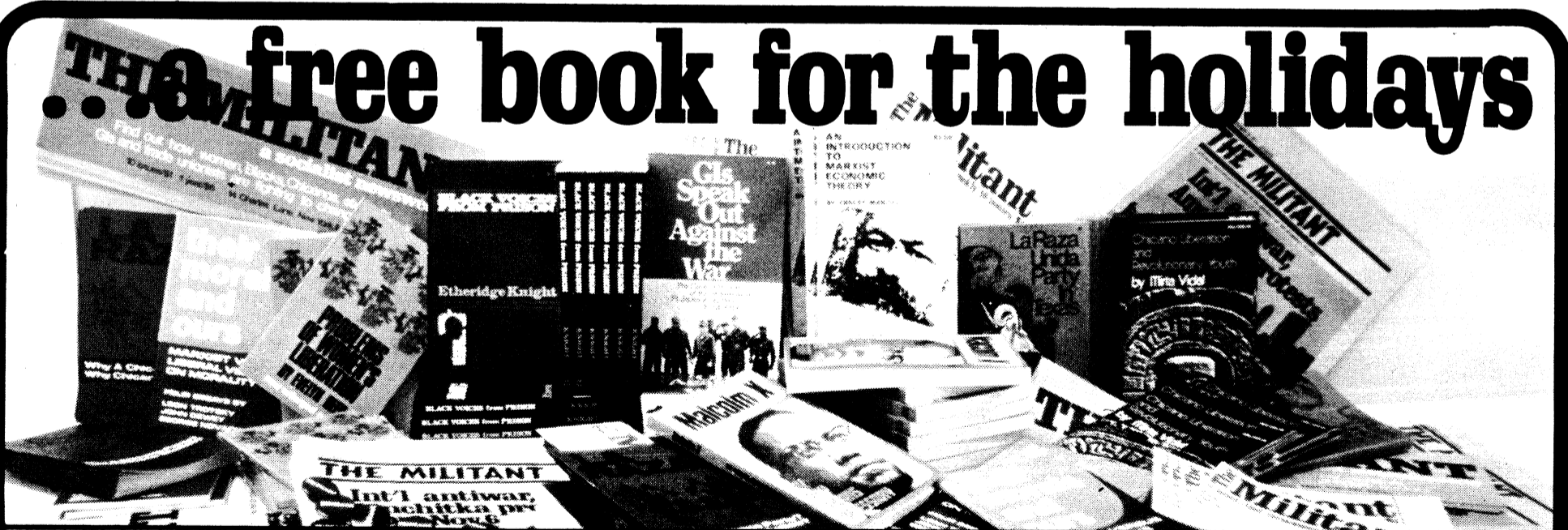
President Nixon

declared, "Like it or not, I have reconciled myself, in my thinking, to the fact that for some two, three, or four years more, at least, we will have to put massive amounts of economic and military aid into South Vietnam if we are going to justify the blood we have already spilled there, the lives lost, and the thousands and thousands of casualties, in addition to the billions of dollars we spent there." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 18240.)

Fulbright replied, "I must compliment the distinguished senator from Mississippi for making much clearer than the administration has what the objective of our policy is in Southeast Asia. He fortifies my belief . . . that what is being done indicates there is no present intention to liquidate our engagement in Southeast Asia in the foreseeable future. If that is what this Senate wishes, contrary, I believe, to the interests of this country and the wishes of the people of this country, it is privileged to do so." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 18243.)

A deeply divided Senate passed the Stennis amendment, supporting Nixon's policies 46 to 42.

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A woman's right

On Nov. 20 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, women and men will be marching for the fundamental human right of women to be able to control their reproductive functions and therefore their own lives.

The demands of the Nov. 20 demonstrations—repeal of anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of anti-contraception laws—have far reaching implications for the struggle of women for freedom. They strike at the very center of women's oppression and the myths and theories used to justify discrimination against women in all areas of life.

Women are taught they will find fulfillment in life from motherhood. Whether they believe that or not, most women still have little choice. They are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancy at any time.

This is the reason most often given for excluding women from playing a central productive role in society. They are guided into home economics, typing, and shorthand in high school; they are advised not to go into law, science, medicine, or politics; they are among the last hired and the first fired, paid lowest wages, and forced to accept the most monotonous jobs.

All because, it is argued, a woman might at any time become pregnant and be compelled to give up her education or career.

Laws restricting the right of women to obtain abortions and laws limiting the use and availability of contraception condemn women to three choices: they can abstain from sexual relations with men; they can devote their lives to bearing and raising children; or they can get illegal abortions—and face legal penalties, social and psychological stigma, and even maiming or death.

These choices deny a woman the basic human right to decide what she wants to do with her life.

The major argument against repeal of abortion laws—that abortion is murder—is sheer hypocrisy. The rulers of this country say abortion is murder; but the bombing of Hiroshima was not, nor is the slaughter in Southeast Asia. Forcing women to risk death from illegal abortions is not considered murder. The production of nerve gas and nuclear tests like the Amchitka blast are not deemed murderous. Letting unwanted children starve because their families cannot, and society will not, care for them—that is not considered murder.

As Nov. 20 approaches, it is clear that the national abortion law repeal campaign represents a whole new stage for the women's liberation movement. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) has shown that in fighting for the right to abortion, the women's movement can reach out to Black and Chicano women, working women, Catholic women, high school women—women from all sectors of the population—in a way that the feminist movement has never done before. The stepped-up campaign of those opposed to women's right to abortion is but one indication of WONAAC's success.

The buildup for Nov. 20 has shown that the movement can have a real impact on this country. It can use the united power of women to force change in a way that has not been done since the suffrage movement at the turn of the century.

Polls show that a majority of Americans feel abortion should be a woman's personal decision—not the decision of the state. WONAAC and the rest of the abortion law repeal movement speak for this majority. From Nov. 20 the abortion movement both in this country and around the world will continue to mobilize this mass support until we win. Nov. 20 is only the beginning!

A new record

This week *The Militant* has set a new record. Our 11-week drive for new subscribers went over the 23,000 mark—an all-time record in *Militant* subscription sales.

Our previous record was reached in the spring of 1945. At that time, *The Militant* set a goal of 10,000 new subscribers in three months, but more than doubled it, ending up with a grand total of 22,437 subs.

The 1945 sub drive took place in the context of the widespread ferment in the labor movement that led to the country's greatest strike wave immediately following World War II. And the unprecedented success of the 1971 *Militant* subscription drive is a reflection of the depth of the current radicalization.

This year we have topped the three-month 1945 drive in only nine weeks. Furthermore, *The Militant* is today a larger paper than ever before in its history. Now a 24-page tabloid, it was eight large-size pages in 1945. *The Militant* staff is today much larger than ever before, able to bring more on-the-spot coverage and analysis of important developments. And we have a Southwest Bureau, which has added qualitatively to our coverage of the Chicano struggle and other political developments in that area of the country.

The Militant is going places. We urge all our readers who have not already done so to help us in the drive to surpass our historic goal of 30,000 new readers.

Help wanted

The Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign staff is in the process of compiling a series of pamphlets on liberal contenders for the presidential nominations of the Democratic and Republican parties—McGovern, Kennedy, Chisholm, Lindsay, Humphrey, Muskie, McCarthy and McCloskey—which will compare their records and positions on the issues with those of the socialist candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

We need volunteers to help compile the voting records of these capitalist politicians, and do other necessary research. Those interested in working on this project can contact the SWP 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150. Any direct quotes, speeches, voting records or other information about these politicians that would relate to this project should be mailed to the above address.

Laura Miller
SWP '72 Campaign Staff

Political prisoner

I am an inmate 20 years old, now a political prisoner. I say political prisoner because before I was minister of education, defense and founder of a program for the inmates organized on Rikers Island and was kidnapped here to the Bronx House of Detention because of my political beliefs. I was informed that a comrade, Herbert X. Blyden from Attica, is here on the sixth floor.

R. W.
Bronx House of Detention, N. Y.

Gains from strike

Hi. Since our work stoppage and strike here at Norfolk state prison, we are now able to receive such great papers as *The Militant*. I got a hold of one this week from another inmate, and would like very much to receive my own copy. Being in prison, I, like so many of us in here, am sort of short of funds. I would like to just tell you and your whole staff to keep up the good work you are doing for all people!

R. G.
Norfolk Prison Colony
Norfolk, Mass.

AFSCME in Tennessee

Another attack on the standard of living of Southern workers has been launched by the administration of the University of Tennessee. This hierarchical bureaucracy refused to recognize and negotiate with a newly formed local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

These university workers are absurdly underpaid and have practically no benefits, not even job security, as evidenced by the worker who broke his leg and returned to find he had no job.

A sheet metal shop worker who had been employed here for six years was fired recently for not contributing to the university's United Fund campaign, according to AFSCME organizer Bobby Cox.

The question of recognition for the union by executive order is now being brought before Governor Winfield Dunn. Anyone interested in supporting these workers in their struggle to gain their right to organize and collectively bargain should write for more information to: Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Student Senate, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

D. H.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Many martyrs

To Canadians who have witnessed the heroic struggle of prisoners at Kingston and Dorchester, your coverage of the Attica rebellion is extremely valuable. Your insight into the dehumanizing penal system serves as an important analysis of what is becoming the prisoner liberation movement. The courts and the jails have tried to trap men and women's bodies but they cannot destroy the desire for freedom.

Revolutionaries have, sadly, too many martyrs. The Attica prison revolt represents a turning point in American history—a Mylai on the ruling class' own soil. Rockefeller and Nixon are covered with blood of prisoners and guards.

The heroic spirit of the Attica prisoners will live on. Long live George Jackson! Long live the Attica rebellion!

R. T.
Halifax, Nova Scotia
Canada

Greek resistance

The Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK), led by Andreas G. Papandreou, is a national liberation movement struggling to liberate Greece from a Pentagon-imposed military dictatorship.

Greece belongs to the Greeks! This is the essence of our struggle—a struggle we share in common with all citizens and organizations who take their stand against the technocratic totalitarianism which crushes the freedom and dignity of peoples in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe and in Greece.

We are eager to develop lines of communication and to achieve a closer relationship with your group. As resistance grows in Greece, it is critical that the American radical community become informed on the issues at stake and equally critical that the Greek people know that there are Americans who share in their fight to contain the power of the Pentagon.

PAK fights for a socialist Greece operating through authentic democratic processes—namely through decentralized organs of self-rule and economic development in which every citizen has full rights or participation and expression.

Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK)
P. O. Box 142, Station "J"
Toronto 6, Ontario
Canada

Cleveland, Nov. 6

The Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in Cleveland was not the largest ever held in this city, but it did have some distinguishing features. One of these was the presence of unions under their own banners: AFSCME, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, U. E. District 7 and United Auto Workers Local 1045. Other unions endorsed the demonstration but were not visible in the march. The presence and endorsements of these unions are significant and, I venture to guess, a harbinger of future marches in this industrial city. Many of the union members had never marched in a demonstration before this one.

Another feature of the rally was the ultralefts under the leadership of Youth Against War and Fascism. The group of approximately 100, from Columbus, Kent, Yellow Springs and Dayton, claimed that since they "represented half the rally," (the *Plain Dealer* estimated the number of people present at the rally as

The Great Society

2,000) their speaker should precede all the others.

This demand was used as an excuse to hide the platform and speakers with their banners, rush the platform in an attempt to take it over, and cut the supply of electricity to the microphone. A number of bystanders were pushed and shoved, and picket signs were used as weapons.

Clearly, the "Anti-Imperialist Coalition" was not in the demonstration to protest U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia, but to disrupt the action. Fortunately, the organizers of this demonstration had enough foresight to supply a large number of marshals who restrained the disrupters and prevented the rally from being broken up.

Herman Kirsch
Cleveland, Ohio

Nov. 6 but not Nov. 20

On Nov. 6, thousands of people marched and demonstrated against the killing of thousands of troops and civilians in Vietnam by Nixon. On Nov. 20, many of the same people will demonstrate for the killing of thousands of babies through abortion on demand.

I was there Nov. 6 but I will not show up on Nov. 20, and though I agree with *The Militant* on mostly all issues but this one, I think someone who supports abortion is no better than fascist pigs like Nixon, killing thousands in Vietnam.

Patrick Barbanes
Bronx, N. Y.

P. S. Also, find enclosed my sub for 10 weeks of *The Militant* and three months of the *ISR*.

Kennedy and Ireland

Your readers might be taken off guard by the recent Kennedy congressional resolution calling for withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. Here are a few points of clarification:

1. Technically, it is a resolution of Congress; it does not bind the U. S. government in relation to Britain.

2. Any politician who stood for the Irish would call for removal of the U. S. Naval Communications Station from Derry, and the withdrawal of the 23,000 U. S. troops from Britain. No officeholder has done so because Irish freedom means nothing to them compared to the reality of the Anglo-American connections.

3. One-eighth of Britain's manufacturing capacity is American-owned. U. S. capitalists still want British assistance in policing their worldwide investments, including the \$275-million put into Ireland by American businessmen.

In Ireland or in America, the slogan of freedom is "Break the connection with England." By that infallible test the Kennedy resolution is seen to be what it really is—a tricolor bag with nothing in it.

Leonard Brenner Glaser
Brooklyn, N. Y.

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.

Dark days dep't—Edward Thiele, president of the Association of Advertising Agencies, concedes "plenty of people are mad at us, and the poorer seem madder than the rich." This, he explained, is the result of "irresponsible consumerism, which assumes the consumer needs to be protected from himself. . . ." Also, the public is wont "to make a hero out of self-appointed critics, professional do-gooders, cranks and crackpots." Meanwhile, Frederick Baker, another huckster spokesman, said "the consumer has lost a great deal of confidence in the American system."

In the land of wheels—People who reside next to freeways do have special problems, a Los Angeles survey suggested. One such resident commented: "It has its advantages. If you use power tools or have an occasional loud party, your neighbors don't mind. They can't hear you. But we do have problems. We can't have a barbecue for friends outside. They

can't stand the noise. . . . The people who lived here before us kept their two dogs in the yard. Both of them went deaf. There's another problem, too. When we go to see friends in other neighborhoods, they complain that we talk too loud."

Everybody chipped in—Patricia English and her husband, a professor at the University of Texas, attended the \$100-million bash thrown by the Shah of Iran. She informed the *Austin American* that it was a great party. "They thought of everything," she fondly recalled. "They even gave us \$50 each when we left because they knew we would have two days in Paris. I had the feeling it was not just the shah's little thing. All the people were behind it, I think. Not even the little boys who carried our baggage would accept a tip." Maybe they weren't old enough to know what it was.

Afterthought—Thinking about that

American couple who accepted \$100 spending money from the shah, it occurred to us that maybe the little boys who wouldn't accept tips simply had more pride.

Far out—"Astronaut Alan Shepard Is First Delegate to the UN Who Has Been On the Moon."—Headline in the Lubbock, Texas, *Avalanche*.

Political science dep't—An Associated Press dispatch from Cambodia discusses the situation there since U. S. puppet Lon Nol declared he was tired of "the sterile game of liberal democracy," abolished the national assembly, and began ruling by decree. The deep-thinking AP analyst said this poses the question: "Is the country now run as a dictatorship?" To which some wiseacre might respond, "No more than usual."

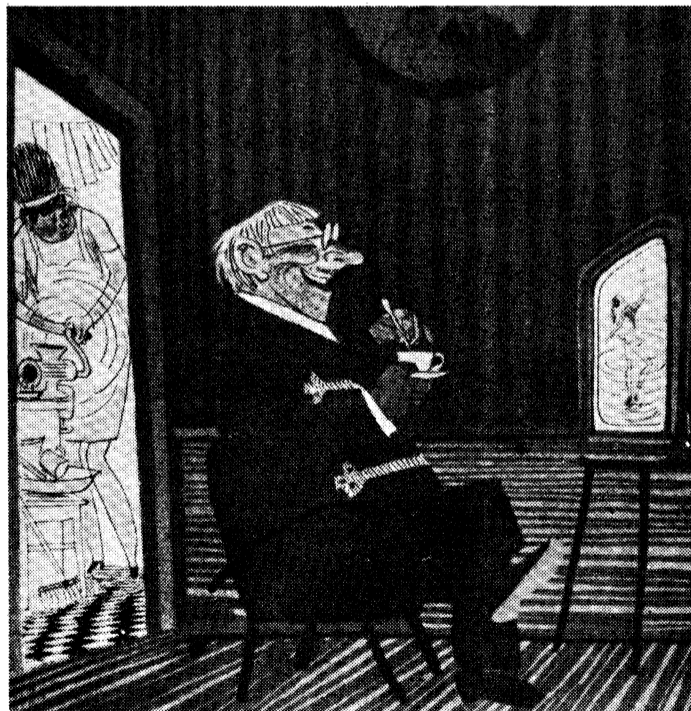
Anticoddler—"This crap of coddling the troops is unreal."—Marine Lt. Col. Peter Wickwire.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

SOVIET WOMEN'S LIBERATION—A number of articles have appeared recently on the stirrings of a women's liberation movement in the Soviet Union. The struggle is, of course, quite different from the struggle in this country. One big difference is that Soviet women already have almost complete formal, legal equality with men, and they have the right to free abortion on demand (for the time being, anyway—Soviet population experts have been discussing whether to abolish legal abortion as a way to increase the birth rate). However, Soviet women are still found in the lowest-paying jobs and are not found in proportionate numbers in supervisory positions or positions of power in the government or the Communist Party.

A host of letters and articles by women have appeared recently in Soviet publications, including *Sovetskaya Rus-*



Yu Cherepanov. From *Krokodil* U.S.S.R.

siya,—a daily Communist Party paper, complaining that women are forced to carry two jobs—their outside job as well as another job running their households. M. Pavlova, in an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the publication of the Writers Union, says that this burden of a double job is what keeps Russian women from being able to participate equally in all aspects of social life. "A vicious circle arises," she wrote, as quoted in the Nov. 1 *New York Times*. "Being tired from a burden, a woman selects mechanical work. And such work does

not stimulate creative thinking and therefore has less pay. So the main role of family provider falls to the husband. Tacitly, this comes to mean that the wife is expected to do the overwhelming part of the housework."

E. Pryadko wrote to *Sovetskaya Russiya*, complaining that men do almost nothing to help care for their children, leaving it all for the woman. "At school meetings," she said, "there are only one or two men out of 40 parents."

Another woman wrote: "Men simply do not know how to occupy themselves in their two days off. Sometimes in your heart you boil over at your husband. . . ."

Despite the burdens, however, Soviet women do not at all want to stop working outside the home because it gives them personal independence. One woman wrote in a letter to *Sovetskaya Russiya* that women would not give up their outside jobs because that would put them back "under the power" of their husbands economically. Because of women working, family relations have basically changed, writes another woman, who says, "Often the head of the family is actually the wife. That is why we value work."

The Nov. 11 *Christian Science Monitor* carried another article on the rise of feminist consciousness in the Soviet Union. It told of the publication two years ago of the short novel "A Week Like Any Other" by Natalya Baranskaya, which tells of the life of a young working mother who is driven to exhaustion by the daily pressures of her jobs outside and inside the home. The book brought forth hundreds of letters from women who saw their own lives in the story.

The real solution to the problem faced by Soviet women—as well as all women—is not simply for men to share equally in the domestic tasks of child care, food preparation, laundry and cleaning, although that would help. What is necessary is for society as a whole to take on the burdens women have been assigned to perform, each in her own little cubicle of a home. That is, through public laundries, comprehensive public child care, public restaurants or prepared food to take out.

COMMUNIST PARTY AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION—The *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party in the United States, has numerous articles on the Soviet Union, but has carried no information on the growing demands of Soviet women for liberation as women. This is consistent with the hostile attitude taken by the *Daily World* toward the women's liberation movement in the U. S. They especially don't like the feminist movement's exposure of the inadequacy of the family system to meet the needs of women as persons. According to the CPUSA, the family is "a revolutionary force."

—CAROLINE LUND

UAW convention debates wage controls

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT, Nov. 13—A special convention of the United Auto Workers, attended by 3,000 delegates representing 1.4 million UAW members, met here today to discuss the UAW's reaction to the new wage controls and to resolve the union's economic crisis.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock's keynote address justified the policy taken by the UAW leadership on the Pay Board and motivated the resolution on economic policy proposed to the convention by the union's International Executive Board.

Woodcock began by pointing out the direct relationship between the current economic crisis and the continuation of the Vietnam war. Inflation, he said, has not been caused by increases in workers' wages but by the escalation of the Vietnam war that began in 1965. He then attempted to justify his participation on Nixon's Pay Board by saying that the alternative would have been an "all-government board, so-called, or a governmental board acting with the force of law, with labor on the outside looking in." He said his strategy had been "essentially successful."

With the end of the freeze, he said, "UAW contracts are in full effect, with all of their terms." Raises negotiated for 700,000 UAW members for Nov. 22 and Dec. 6, ranging from 24 to 28 cents per hour, will be paid on schedule, he contended. In addition, auto workers will be paid for the week-long Christmas shutdown provided for in the 1970 contract and UAW-negotiated settlements in the aerospace industry will be approved by the Pay Board, he stated.

The only serious question still to be settled, Woodcock said, is retroactive wage payments to some 215,000 UAW members whose pay increases were due during the freeze.

There was no apparent large-scale opposition to Woodcock's participation on the Pay Board. Only six delegates got the floor in a discussion that took about 20 minutes. Three of them did raise objections. Peter Kelly of UAW Local 160 said that labor participation on the board was needed to sell the board to the American people. He said Woodcock was giving credence to the myth that wages are the cause of inflation. It was also pointed out that by sitting on the

board, Woodcock and other labor leaders were cutting across their unions' rights to collective bargaining. Kelly demanded Woodcock withdraw from the board and join other labor leaders in calling a one- or two-day general strike.

Woodcock responded to these attacks by stating that labor could do more to guarantee workers' rights by working within the board.

Some delegates and Woodcock himself voiced surprise that the Democratic members of Congress supported Nixon's policies against the interests of the "labor vote." One delegate pointed out that Nixon had been given this power by the "political prostitutes" the UAW had helped to elect.

The resolution on economic policy proposed by the International Board was adopted almost unanimously by the convention. It voiced support for the actions taken by the leadership. It also authorized the leadership "to take whatever actions they consider necessary to protect or restore the integrity of our contract and of collective bargaining rights of our members."

The resolution also stated that it will be the UAW's policy to sign only one-year contracts unless they contain the provision of reopening with the right to strike if any clause is nullified whether by government action or otherwise. This is a change from the policy of three-year contracts the UAW has followed since 1955.

The UAW also demanded: 1) payment of wages withheld during the freeze; 2) no control on increases of wages under \$6,900 per year or \$3.45 per hour; 3) restraints on all profits and non-wage income parallel to restraints on wages.

The resolution on economic policy that was adopted included an antiwar statement. The statement demanded "an immediate end to all U. S. participation in the Indochina war, which has not only been a major cause of inflation but has damaged our society in countless other ways. . . . All U. S. troops and military advisers should be withdrawn as quickly as physically possible. All bombing should cease, all support to the Thieu dictatorship to be ended with no conditions other than the return of U. S. prisoners."

When asked at a news conference following the convention whether this resolution meant the UAW would support antiwar demonstrations, Woodcock responded, "If I thought picket lines and demonstrations could end the war, I would be all in favor of them. But I don't think it will be ended there. . . . It will be ended by Congress, and that's where we will direct our activities." The history of the UAW, however, shows that mass actions, not Congressional elections, are the way to win major social gains.

The proposal to solve the financial problems of the UAW by changing the division of dues between the local and international from the present 40-60 to 37-63 provoked a heated debate. Many delegates felt the loss of this money would seriously hurt the smaller locals. The proposal was adopted by a two-to-one majority.



UAW members at New York antiwar action May 5, 1971

Photo by Lee Smith

The National Picket Line

IN EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY and in every union, the denial of overdue wage increases has made the government's repressive power keenly felt. The employers are raking in billions of dollars in extra profits. To them, it appears as if the government wage controls have signaled a new era of freedom from union demands. They act as if they have suddenly been released from all restraints, as if they may conduct their affairs in any way they choose, regardless of long-term consequences.

Union officials, on the other hand, are caught up in the oppressive wage-control machinery. They are fearful of what the consequences may be.

THE SPECIAL ONE-DAY national convention of the United Auto Workers in Detroit Nov. 13 was the first of several union conventions scheduled in the aftermath of the Nov. 8 decision by Nixon's Pay Board to overrule union contracts.

Three AFL-CIO department conventions—building trades, metal trades and maritime unions—are scheduled to be held in preparation for the biennial AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbor, Fla., Nov. 18.

The first order of business at these conventions is to decide whether the five union officials should continue to serve on the Pay Board and to determine what to do about the board's attack on wages.

DELEGATES TO THE NOV. 13 UAW CONVENTION were more representative of the union membership than those attending previous conventions. Most of these elected delegates came from the auto shops and are affected in their daily lives by the wage freeze, which robs each of them of about 28 cents per hour.

One of these UAW delegates, Peter Kelly, a shop committee chairman and leader of the United National Caucus (an opposition group within the

UAW), said, "UAW members want every penny coming to them and there are over a million of us that have money coming—not to speak of the one-week Christmas bonus that GM and Chrysler, with the help of the Pay Board, will try to cheat us out of."

The defiant attitude of union men and women everywhere demands a stand-up fight against Nixon's whole crooked scheme to rob workers of their wages, and calls for the top union officials to stop promoting that scheme by serving on the Pay Board. "Get Off The Pay Board" is a popular slogan of auto workers, addressed to their own international president, Leonard Woodcock.

THE AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department has supported the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), a government-appointed board that served as a prototype for the Pay Board. The CISC chairman is Dr. John Dunlop, a Harvard University dean and ostensibly a "public" representative. This board has reduced pay increases in the construction industry from an annual 15 percent to 10 or 11 percent, according to Dunlop, and expects now to conform to the 5.5 percent ceiling prescribed by the Pay Board. Hundreds of millions of dollars in clear profit for the construction industry is involved here. For most construction workers it means a significant reduction in their annual income.

Wages of building tradesmen still come under the jurisdiction of CISC and are not subject to direct control by the Pay Board.

THE CONVENTION of the AFL-CIO maritime trades department had the strike of East Coast longshoremen before it. The employers, encouraged by the wage freeze and supported by the National Labor Relations Board, have secured court injunctions against the strike in such major

ports as New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Mobile, Ala. Those ports are working while the New York longshoremen are locked out.

The employers in New York are demanding a back-to-work settlement that eliminates union job control and reduces the guaranteed annual income of the dock workers in this port.

Officials of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, on the East and Gulf coasts have been negotiating with the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast for joint action.

Longshoremen on both coasts are under severe attack from the government. There is an urgent need for them to unite their forces.

AN EXAMPLE of the boost in confidence Nixon's wage freeze has given employers is provided by the New York Telephone Company, where 38,500 skilled linemen and equipment installers have been on strike since July 14. Despite the fact that the strike has not received the support it deserves from the international union, the Communications Workers of America (CWA), it is effective. Although the phone company is using supervisory personnel from New York and other areas, it has been unable to provide the service required of a public utility.

So far the CWA has limited its support of the strike to full-page ads in the New York Times begging the company to negotiate. It refuses to call out the thousands of union phone workers who could force the company to come to terms.

One hundred thousand people who want telephones are unable to get them because of the strike, but the company is more interested in breaking the strike than providing customer service.

—FRANK LOVELL

Pay Board traps union bureaucrats

By CAROLINE LUND

"The Phase Two stabilization machine is now working exactly as President Nixon hoped it would: tightening the knot on future wage settlements and increasing the pressure on unions to acquiesce in the arrangement. That has been the essential purpose of the whole complicated system of boards, commissions and councils created to manage the drive against inflation after Nov. 13."

If you substitute "drive to hold down wages" for "drive against inflation," this comment by prominent *New York Times* analyst Max Frankel quite accurately sums up the meaning of the recent decisions of Nixon's Pay Board. It is all the more revealing coming from the *New York Times*, the voice of a powerful section of the capitalist ruling class in this country.

On Nov. 8, the 10 business and "public" members of the Pay Board voted against the five labor members to set a 5.5 percent general limit on post-freeze wage increases. In addition, the Pay Board voted to deny workers retroactive payment of wage increases lost during the freeze and to allow wage increases under existing contracts to take effect after the freeze expires unless they are challenged by "a party at interest," i. e. the employers.

AFL-CIO president George Meany loudly protested, "They have abrogated our contracts." Nevertheless, he remains on the Pay Board, continuing to collaborate in the government attack on wages of working people.

In his Nov. 10 analysis of Phase Two in the *New York Times*, Max Frankel discussed the obvious predicament of the trade-union bureaucrats who allow themselves to be used by the Nixon administration. He notes that the idea of the Pay Board came from Meany himself, and that President Nixon "not only accepted labor's proposal for a nongovernmental body to regulate wages but also seized on it to create a system in which the unions would participate, but not dominate, while the government gained the posture of a disinterested referee."

Meanwhile, capitalists and bankers applauded the Pay Board decisions. The rulings were "constructive" said Edgar B. Speer, president of U. S. Steel. "Very responsible," remarked Alfred Britain III, president of Bankers Trust Company.

Reactions to the Pay Board rulings by other international unions, some lower labor officials and rank-and-file union members were not so equivocal as those of George Meany, Leonard Woodcock and the other labor representatives on the board.

On Nov. 11, Jerry Menpace, president of the Baltimore Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, called for a nationwide general strike against the government wage controls. At a press conference Nov. 5, Sol Silverman, president of Local 140 of the United Furniture Workers union, said his union had favored a general strike when Nixon first announced the freeze, and that his members were determined to strike rather than be denied increases called for in their contracts.

On Nov. 11, delegates to the Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO voted for a nationwide strike against "all unfair aspects" of the "wage-price freeze." The Nov. 13 *New York Post* said officials of the AFL-CIO reported a flood of telegrams from union members across the country urging a nationwide general strike.

What has been the response of top union officials to this desire of the

rank and file to fight back? A "high AFL-CIO source" told the *New York Post* there was no chance the labor federation would call a strike to protest the controls. "It's not in the tradition of American labor," he said.

Not in the tradition of American labor! Militant strikes were the major weapon used to win such victories as the eight-hour day and the organization of millions of workers into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

These present-day labor bureaucrats are so far removed from the genuine tradition of the union movement that they are ignorant of the fact that the American Federation of Labor traces its founding days back to the great May 1, 1886, nationwide general strike for the eight-hour day.

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock explained Nov. 13 to a UAW special convention why he opposed the idea of a general strike to protest wage controls.

As paraphrased in the Nov. 14 *New York Times*, Woodcock said "arguing for a general strike was similar to the argument in 1968 that there was no difference between Senator Humphrey and Mr. Nixon, and that labor should turn its back on the election. . . . But there was considerable difference between Humphrey and Nixon, and we'd better learn that for '72," Woodcock stated.

Several other labor officials, such as Ron Borges of the Teamsters, Gus Tyler of the Ladies' Garment Workers' union, and Victor Gotbaum of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees have also projected the view that the solution for labor is to become more active in the drive to "defeat Nixon" in 1972.

This perspective—of looking to the liberal Democratic Party politicians as the saviors of the labor movement—underlies the opposition of the top labor figures to fighting back through a general strike and their desire to remain on the Pay Board. Not one of the liberal Democratic presidential hopefuls has come out in opposition to the wage freeze or wage controls. There is no difference between Nixon and any of the Democratic presidential candidates on the question of wage controls, Woodcock notwithstanding. The labor bureaucrats, tied to supporting the Democratic so-called "friends of labor," don't want to do anything that would embarrass these politicians—such as launching a general strike or quitting the Pay Board.

The result of this dependence on the Democratic Party is demonstrated by the end product of labor participation in the Pay Board: labor officials are playing right into the hands of the Nixon administration and the employers by accepting the false notion that wage gains cause inflation and giving their seal of approval to Phase Two wage controls. The servile dependence of these bureaucrats on the Democratic Party ties the unions to the politics of the ruling class and prevents them from exercising their tremendous power to fight for their interests through methods like a nationwide 24-hour general strike.

It prevents them from effectively launching a fight against Nixon's wage control policies by calling an emergency congress of labor, with democratically selected representatives from all unions. Such a national gathering could map out a program of action to fight for cost-of-living wage increases for workers and for an alternative to the capitalist parties, a labor party based on the unions.

Phase II guidelines on prices are a hoax

By LEE SMITH

Nixon's Price Commission announced Nov. 11 that Phase Two of the administration's economic policy would aim at "holding average price increases across the economy to a rate of no more than 2.5 percent per year." As the Phase Two "controls" went into effect with the ending of the 90-day "freeze" Nov. 13, the seven-member Price Commission was still in the process of drawing up the elaborate set of rules designed to make it appear as though the administration intends to keep prices down.

The day after the Price Commission announced its 2.5 percent per year guideline, Nixon's Cost of Living Council said that auto corporations would be able to go ahead and boost prices after Nov. 13 without approval from the Price Commission. This decision was modified Nov. 15, requiring auto and other industries, including steel, to submit proposed price increases for the remainder of 1971 to the commission 72 hours in advance. Under the terms of the Phase Two "three-tiered monitoring system," big steel and auto companies, which fall into the "top tier" along with approximately 1,300 other firms with annual sales of more than \$100-million, would normally be required to submit proposed price increases 30 days in advance.

In the meantime, 10 million firms whose annual sales are below \$50-million (placing them in the bottom tier) do not have to notify the commission or file any reports on price increases at all; the business of these 10 million firms accounts for more than half the dollar volume of annual U. S. sales.

The 2.5 percent guideline is a hoax. First of all, it is based on the myth that wages cause inflation. Wage increases, including those won before Aug. 15, are now restricted by the Pay Board's ruling to 5.5 percent. Yet prices during 1970 rose by 5.9 percent. The allowable wage increase would not be enough to catch up with prices even if prices were to stand still. But they are not standing still and did not even during the 90 days

when they were supposedly "frozen." Two recent indications of how prices continued to climb during the 90-day "price freeze" are:

- Comparisons by the *New York Times* in early November of state retail price reports before and during the freeze revealed rises as high as 25 percent in the price of fish, an item supposedly covered by the freeze, and substantial increases in the price of seven out of 27 cuts of meat.

- The Operation Price Watch of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York (which is now being emulated nationally by central labor councils) cited, among other freeze violations, 24 specials in city food stores that had gone up in price from one to 22 cents per item.

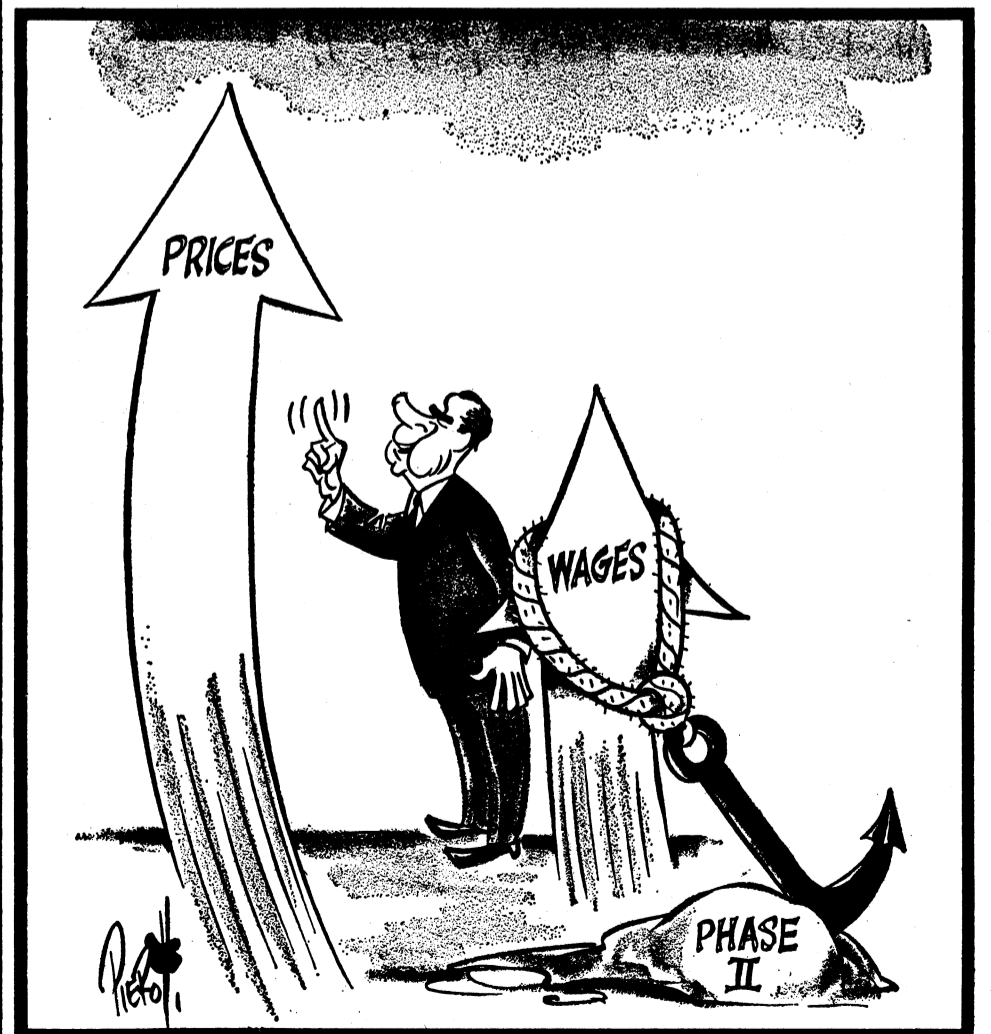
There are literally hundreds of similar examples.

Now that prices are to be "controlled," instead of "frozen," they can be expected to climb even more steeply.

Business leaders have grudgingly said they will go along with the imaginary "price controls," provided productivity—the average amount each worker can produce in an hour—continues to rise roughly 3 percent a year.

The Price Commission's 2.5 percent guideline was arrived at by subtracting an estimated annual productivity increase of 3 percent from the 5.5 percent ceiling clapped on wages by the Pay Board.

The people in the best position to monitor price changes are the workers themselves. The meat cutters know if extra fat is going into a piece of meat; the cooks and waitresses know if smaller portions are being served for the same price; the grocery clerks and other retail sales and stock workers know how packaging and prices are being manipulated on consumer commodities. They are the potential army of price watchers the AFL-CIO's Operation Price Watch has begun to mobilize. These rank-and-file workers could be the basis of price committees, which would also involve shoppers, to expose price increases and organize mass action against the violators.



"Now don't be naughty."

New moves against Florida YSA leader

By JOHN VOTAVA

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Nov. 13—The state legislature and the administration at Florida State University (FSU) have launched their third attack in two years against the Young Socialist Alliance and Jack Lieberman, a local YSA leader.

In a closed hearing and in the absence of the defendant, FSU President Stanley Marshal on Nov. 6 dismissed Lieberman from school and banned the teaching of his course "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." Lieberman, who is known throughout the state as "Radical Jack," was charged with allegedly teaching a session of the course at the wrong time.

The attack on Lieberman has spurred significant protests at FSU and aroused a statewide controversy. Five hundred students participated in a Nov. 11 protest rally that was widely covered by Florida news media.



Photo by Robin Swicord/Florida Flambeau

Jack Lieberman addressing protest rally at Florida State University

More than 1,000 students signed a petition of protest in less than 24 hours.

This action by the FSU administration did not come out of the blue. Florida has a long history of attacking the civil liberties of students and young people. It also has had, however, a record of militant student response in defense of the right of free speech.

In the spring of 1969, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee) were banned from all campuses in the state by fiat of the Board of Regents. In the spring of 1970, that ban was extended to the YSA, once again without any kind of hearings or due process.

Last spring, the state stepped up its attack against the YSA by attacking the Free University program at FSU, called the Center for Participant Education (CPE), because Lieberman taught a CPE course in socialist revolution.

This last attempt to abridge free speech in Florida was spearheaded by a state legislative subcommittee. It was, however, defeated by strong student protest. The other cases have not been completely settled and are still winding their way through the courts.

The latest attack shows the tactics the FSU administration is willing to use in order to cooperate with the state legislature and Board of Regents in abridging democratic rights.

The most serious charge made thus far is that Lieberman taught a course—similar to the one he had taught for two preceding quarters—at the wrong time. For this, he has been

dismissed from the university and the course has been banned.

The administration says the class in question was part of the CPE program, which had been halted by an executive order. Leaving aside the question of what right the university administration has to halt a given course by fiat, the facts themselves do not agree with the charge.

First, no order, written or otherwise, can be found to substantiate the so-called executive order that was to have halted the CPE program. According to an article in the FSU daily *Flambeau*, Marshal "requested" that the CPE hold up its classes for a week or so. After a board meeting, the CPE agreed to this. However, in a letter printed in the *Flambeau*, Lieberman stated that the class in question was not part of the CPE program. The CPE, in its own statement, has also said the class was not part of its pro-

gram.

After Lieberman was suspended, a student honor court and a student supreme court both voted unanimously that Lieberman was correct and the administration wrong.

Marshal then called a closed hearing—in violation of the state's "Sunshine Law," which demands that all state hearings be open. Although Lieberman informed Marshal that he and his witnesses would be at the antiwar action in Tampa on that day, the hearing was held anyway. It overruled the student courts, banned the class, and dismissed Lieberman.

The administration's attitude was made clear in the closed hearing, and showed why the hearing was closed. Pat Gravey, witness for the administration, was asked, "Once Mike told Jack of the ban, he offered to leave?" Gravey answered, "Yes, I believe he did, but we never gave him an answer."

When the defense stated that the so-called "executive order" had never been written down, that it was "vague, confusing, and even unknown to the student body as a whole," Marshal replied: "I'm much more interested in the substance of the issues than in narrow, legalistic terms and definitions like 'executive order.'"

"Finally," Marshal concluded, "I find it troublesome that an issue that seems to be clearly one of administrative authority has been twisted to represent freedom of expression."

A defense committee centering on the demands to reinstate Lieberman and lift the ban on his class is now being formed. A meeting has been called for Nov. 16 to organize a class to be given by Lieberman Nov. 18.

Young socialists to discuss strategy for women's liberation

By DELFINE WELCH

On Dec. 28, young people from around the country will gather in Houston for the five-day eleventh national Young Socialist convention. They will meet to discuss a strategy for making a socialist revolution in the United States.

There will be reports, discussions, panels, and workshops on women's liberation, Black liberation, Chicano liberation, the antiwar movement, the high school revolt, and the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

Those attending the convention will be activists and organizers of mass social movements in this country. Women will be attending to help develop a perspective of fighting for the liberation of women and making a socialist revolution.

The delegated convention will discuss the role of the Young Socialist Alliance in building the independent and growing women's liberation movement in this country. Delegates will discuss the fight of women to control their own bodies, the campaign for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, and the role of this campaign in building a mass feminist movement.

One focus of the convention will be the 1972 election campaign, and participants will discuss how women can relate to the election by supporting the SWP's presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and local SWP campaigns. The convention will discuss strategy for building a mass feminist movement and how to fight for and win the demands of the movement, including free 24-hour child-care centers, equal pay and equal job opportunities, and legal abortions.

YSA members are very active in the feminist movement, helping to build the WONAAC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition) abortion law repeal campaign—including the Nov. 20 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco—the child-care referendum in Cambridge, Mass., and campus and high school women's liberation

groups. YSA members work with many different groups to build an effective mass movement that can win victories for women.

These experiences will be shared in the convention discussion following reports from the National Executive Committee, and in workshops and panels on all aspects of the movement.

The Young Socialist convention offers women activists the opportunity to discuss the interrelationship of all the various social movements. Women have much in common with the struggles of all the oppressed in this society. All face a common enemy—the rulers of this country who profit from the oppression of women, national oppression, wars, inhuman prison conditions, the oppression of gays, the exploitation of workers.

All the struggles for social change require serious and systematic organization and a perspective that can reach out and involve masses of people in the fight to control their lives and fundamentally change society. Women have to build a movement independent of the Republican and Democratic parties, with a perspective of mass action in the streets that challenges the government that oppresses women. For the liberation of women, a total change in the structure of society is needed. Feminists should work with other sectors of the oppressed in a revolutionary-socialist organization which is fighting to make a socialist revolution that will provide the basis for freeing all of the oppressed.

Women interested in learning more about the YSA and its perspectives are invited to read the convention resolutions and attend the Young Socialist convention in Houston.

For information, call or write:

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

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

• Or contact the Young Socialist nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 22.

WOMEN



Come to the 11th Young Socialist National Convention in Houston

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 for a copy of "Introducing the YSA."

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YSA, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

'It's all a case of hypocrisy' Shirley Wheeler condemns abortion laws



Shirley Wheeler

By MATILDE ZIMMERMAN
and CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C.— Shirley Wheeler, the first woman in U. S. history to be tried and convicted for having an abortion, was here the week of Nov. 17 to help with preparations for the demonstration for repeal of all abortion laws Nov. 20. It will be her first protest demonstration. "The only ones I'd heard about before were the peace demonstrations," Shirley Wheeler said, "and they were usually too far away and sometimes we didn't find out about them in Daytona Beach until they were over."

Wheeler, 23, has lived in the South all her life and feels that the national campaign for repeal of abortion laws has helped her case by getting out the word of her conviction and appeal. "If it weren't for WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition] and the publicity about the case, I might be in prison now," she says, "or I might have had a stiffer probation."

She told a Nov. 16 press conference sponsored by WONAAC, "I think the demonstration is going to be the start of the repeal of abortion laws. . . . I don't want any woman to have to go through what I went through."

Shirley Wheeler feels that in demonstrating Nov. 20, women are fighting not only for her, but for all women who suffer unwanted pregnancies. Referring to the counterdemonstrations against the right to abortion planned for the same day, she said, "We're even demonstrating for the rights of some of those women who now oppose us."

Shirley Wheeler grew up in North Carolina, living with relatives after her mother died of rheumatic fever. She worked in a textile mill while in high school, and has more recently been a cashier in a Daytona Beach amusement park.

Her support for the abortion law repeal movement grew out of her experiences during the past year, experiences she describes as "a living hell." Last year, when she became pregnant and sought an abortion, she went to an illegal, expensive abortionist in Jacksonville, Fla. "If I had been rich," she said, "I could have flown to Japan for the abortion—the New York law had not been liberalized yet."

The abortion was not successful, and two months later Shirley Wheeler was taken, bleeding, to a Daytona Beach hospital where the abortion was "completed."

Later, on May 26, 1970, police came to her apartment door and arrested her. She was completely surprised. "I thought it was a joke, but it

wasn't. It was a nightmare—the worst kind of nightmare."

She spent four days in jail. While she was there, police came into her cell, showed her pictures of the fetus, and asked her whether she had had an abortion. They kept saying: "How can you deny having an abortion? Here is your baby. Look at it."

On July 13, 1971, Wheeler was found guilty of abortion-manslaughter after a two-day trial by a jury of three men and three women.

At the sentencing on Oct. 15, felony court Judge Uriel Blount denied a motion for retrial and handed down a sentence of two years' probation. Her probation officer ordered her to either get married or move to North Carolina to live with her brother during the probation period.

Since Shirley Wheeler is appealing her case, a stay has been put on the probation restrictions and she is currently free on a \$2,500 bond pending the outcome of the appeal.

Wheeler feels her conviction and sentence are completely unjust and discriminatory. "Rich women have been getting abortions for years. It's all a case of hypocrisy. Even the judges who sat in judgment of me probably have wives who had abortions. Poor women are the ones who really suffer from these laws."

Wheeler feels that the law is being used to intimidate women who want abortions, especially those with unconventional life styles. She is not married to the man she has been living with for the past four years, and thinks that this has much to do with the ruling. She says she was told that the next time she went to bed with a man she "had better make sure it was legal."

"They would never do that kind of thing to a 23-year-old man," she says.

In addition to being for repeal of all abortion laws, she is against all laws that force women and minors to live with their families if they would prefer not to. "The fight for that is next on my list," she says.

"The court is trying to punish me, not help me," she declared. "President Nixon intervened in behalf of Lieutenant Calley, and if he could do that, I don't see why he can't intervene on my behalf. He said he doesn't believe in abortion because he doesn't believe in the killing of human life. But how could he say that when he lets the slaughter go on in Vietnam year after year?"

Shirley Wheeler feels she will win, and that the abortion law repeal movement will win. "If people could just find out about this case, they would be willing to support me and help me."

Building for Nov. 20 ♀

A press release from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition notes that counterdemonstrations to the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal actions in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco are being organized. They are scheduled to take place in D. C., New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Ohio.

Americans for Life, a recently formed group sponsoring the counterdemonstration in Washington, D. C., has declared its purpose as providing a "nationwide organization that you can work through to help stop the abortion coalition in its tracks."

WONAAC issued a statement in response to these stepped-up efforts of opponents of abortion law repeal. The statement begins: "In the struggle for the right to vote, the suffragists were systematically confronted with counterdemonstrations when they called for actions in the streets to win support for women's suffrage. In the struggle for the right to safe, legal abortions, for control of our bodies, for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, we face the same situation." The statement urges the abortion law repeal movement to redouble its efforts and unite in the face of this escalated attack on women's rights.

In New York, Betty Friedan responded to the announcement of an anti-abortion march down Fifth Ave. on Nov. 20 by saying: "To put the life of the unborn fetus ahead of the life of the woman demeans the personhood of the woman."

Speaking at the Nov. 16 press conference organized by New York WONAAC, she also said: "WONAAC is bringing together not only the young women of the women's liberation movement, but also other women—Black women, the Women's Political Caucus women, NOW women, YWCA women, women from state commissions, a great deal of support from Catholics—all sorts of women."

Also speaking at the New York press conference was Lawrence Lader, executive committee chairman of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws. He stated: "WONAAC is electrifying the campuses, and this is crucial because this is where the fight will be won." Lader referred to the Nov. 20 march as "one of the most significant of the last few years."

The Nov. 16 issue of the *Washington Post* carried a full-page ad from a group called Women for the Unborn attacking the Nov. 20 demonstration for repeal of abortion laws. The ad challenges the right of the abortion law repeal movement to speak for women. Although headlined "Who speaks for women?" the main text is concerned not with women but with the so-called rights of the fetus. It contains such demagogic gibberish as: "There is a person in the womb. . . . He is exercising, too, thrashing his legs and arms, swimming, floating and diving in the amniotic sac which surrounds him. His graceful motions strengthen his limbs and help build muscles that some day may make him an athlete."

The Nov. 20 demonstrations will show who speaks for women. They will be a powerful answer to these wealthy anti-abortion groups that have the Catholic Church hierarchy, lobbyists, and the government behind them.

Militant correspondent Jane Sica reports that over 150 supporters of WONAAC picketed the first day of the Nov. 12-13 convention of the Pro-Life Council of San Francisco held at the Mark Hopkins Hotel. "The picket line resumed Nov. 13, still 100 strong and very spirited," writes Sica.

"The chanting brought some of the Pro-Lifers out of the convention and into arguments with the picketers, while newsmen curiously looked on, trying to interview the debaters."

A Los Angeles *Militant* correspondent reports that an all-day symposium on women held at UCLA proved to be an excellent forum for getting out news about the Nov. 20 demonstration in San Francisco. The panel—entitled "What Do They Want?"—discussed many of the demands being raised by the women's liberation movement. The best received panelists were Dr. Barbara Roberts, a project director of WONAAC, and Olga Rodriguez of the Los Angeles chapter of WONAAC.

In the Nov. 8 issue of the Canadian publication *Labor Challenge*, Donna Nelson described the buildup for the Nov. 20 demonstrations planned in Canada:

"A mass women's assembly in Ottawa on Nov. 20 to call for repeal of the abortion laws—abortion on demand—is being built right across Ontario. So far six buses have been rented from Toronto, and other areas are planning to send large contingents.

"A French-language coalition and an English-language coalition have been formed in Montreal and are planning a joint demonstration on Nov. 20 in Montreal. The Front Commun Pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement (United Front for Repeal of Abortion Laws) held a public meeting Oct. 21 attended by close to 100."

Two hundred women and men attended a panel on birth control sponsored by the University of Minnesota Women's Liberation. The Nov. 20 demonstration was announced and the WONAAC literature table received a very good response. According to Mary Hillery, the Minneapolis Women's Abortion Action Coalition is organizing to distribute 30,000 leaflets for the Nov. 20 demonstration and plans to send at least one, and probably two, buses to Washington.

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

"I can imagine a society where the distribution of wealth is hopelessly unjust, but male supremacy is nonexistent; I can imagine a utopia of sorts where all men are treated with justice, but women are hopelessly oppressed. I have tried to see what connection there might be between the oppression of the worker and the oppression of woman. My conclusion is that unconsciously Marxists apply male supremacy no less than all other men. In reasoning that the means of production should be in the hands of The People, they conclude that women, as one means of production—the production of babies—must likewise be in the hands of The People."

The above is one of the more interesting passages to be found in "Political Theology or Practical Government" by Rita Laporte, a long, rambling attack on Marxism, and in particular the Marxist view of the struggle for women's liberation. The article appears in the October-November 1971 issue of *The Ladder*, a nationally circulated magazine published by lesbians.

It is a curious piece, mixing numerous statements about freedom and justice for all human beings with observations and judgments that could easily be uttered by an ardent reactionary. In and of itself, such a mixture is not so uncommon. Even Lyndon Baines Johnson said "We shall overcome." But it is interesting because the author writes as a proponent of women's liberation, especially lesbian liberation, and she thinks she is attacking Marxism from the left.

However, when Laporte discusses the left, she sounds like Martha Mitchell, barely able to control her revulsion over the dirty, smelly hippies. Youthful radicals, Laporte says, are simply steeped in "old fashioned prejudice" against the wealthy and those who have "made it into a profession." "The self-styled leaders of The Movement (which in my disgust I call The Bowel Movement) are Caesar types who envision themselves as rulers of the world. . . . From Alexander the Great to Augustus Caesar to Napoleon to Hitler to today's puny Movement leaders runs an unchanging thread."

Laporte also accepts the most reactionary stereotypes concerning "human nature," and male and female characteristics. "The stronger are forever trying to take advantage of the weaker," she says, as though it were simply "natural."

"Some of us are better able to manage the means of production, the finances, the legal intricacies necessary to run our complex society than are others. Some of us will continue to garner a greater share of the gross national product than others. A society that tries to give equal material reward for unequal contribution will not last long." The implication is clearly that it is those who are more capable who are running things and "garnering a greater share," which they deserve.

And as the statement quoted at the beginning indicates, she even seems to believe that Marxism stands for some kind of state-owned harem where every female would be forced to reproduce as ordered. The fact that Marxists have always been in the forefront of the struggle to free women from the burden of forced motherhood does not yet seem to have penetrated her consciousness.

If such ill-informed and reactionary views were all there were to Rita Laporte's article, it would be of little interest. But along with all this, both implicitly and explicitly, she raises a number of important questions that deserve serious answers by those who take women's liberation seriously.

What kind of revolution?

Laporte's political position is that the emancipation of women can be achieved without abolishing the capitalist system; that there is no fundamental connection between the oppression of women and the exploitation of the masses of humanity by a tiny handful of individuals who own and control most of the resources and the productive capacities of the world. In her opinion the personal, psychological, sexual liberation, "the inner liberation of women IS the revolution." There is no need to change society in order to achieve this on a massive scale.

There is no doubt that a revolutionary transformation takes place within each woman as she becomes conscious of her oppression as a woman and increasingly determined to struggle against her second-class status. That new consciousness has profound ramifications for the lives of each of us. But, Laporte to the contrary, that is not the end. It is just the beginning. It only raises for the first time a whole series of questions we have all had to face as we became conscious feminists.

What are we after?

As women we have been stunned and then outraged as we came to comprehend the degree to which our lives have been deformed, our abilities and ambitions stunted, our self-confidence destroyed, our very characters twisted. We have lashed out against these things. Our first reaction was often that it would be easy to convince other women of all this, because it was so obvious. And if we could only convince enough women of the truth, somehow that would change everything. It was only a question of consciousness.

So we tried. We started discussion groups, which grew. There were 10 then 100, then there were thousands of women involved. But it rapidly became evident that we weren't solving the real problems. The laws that forced motherhood on us were still on the books. We still got only 60 percent of the pay our male counterparts received. We had no access to better jobs. We were still chained to the kitchen stove and play pen. Most men still looked upon us as bodies for their sexual amusement.

In other words, we were rapidly faced with the key question: How do we go about changing not just the ideas people hold but the *institutions* set up to perpetuate and reinforce male supremacy?

That question automatically raised others. Where did male supremacy come from? Did it always exist? If not, when did it begin? Why? Who benefits from it? How is it enforced? What social function does it serve?

These are all questions that are never even raised, much less answered by Laporte. Her only reference to these fundamental questions is a passing dismissal of the idea that class society has anything to do with the origins of women's oppression. How the abolition of capitalism could make any difference to women is something she says she cannot fathom.

Origins of women's oppression

If Laporte offered some theory concerning the origins and social function of women's oppression, we could have had a very interesting discussion. But she doesn't. So what *are* the answers to those basic questions?

Women have not always been second-class citizens, they have not always been considered inferior to men and excluded from any central productive role in society. Prior to the dawn of recorded history, women and men functioned as social equals. Women were the main producers and actually developed or invented the basic skills that placed humanity on the road to civilization—agriculture, tanning, weaving, pottery, architecture and much else.

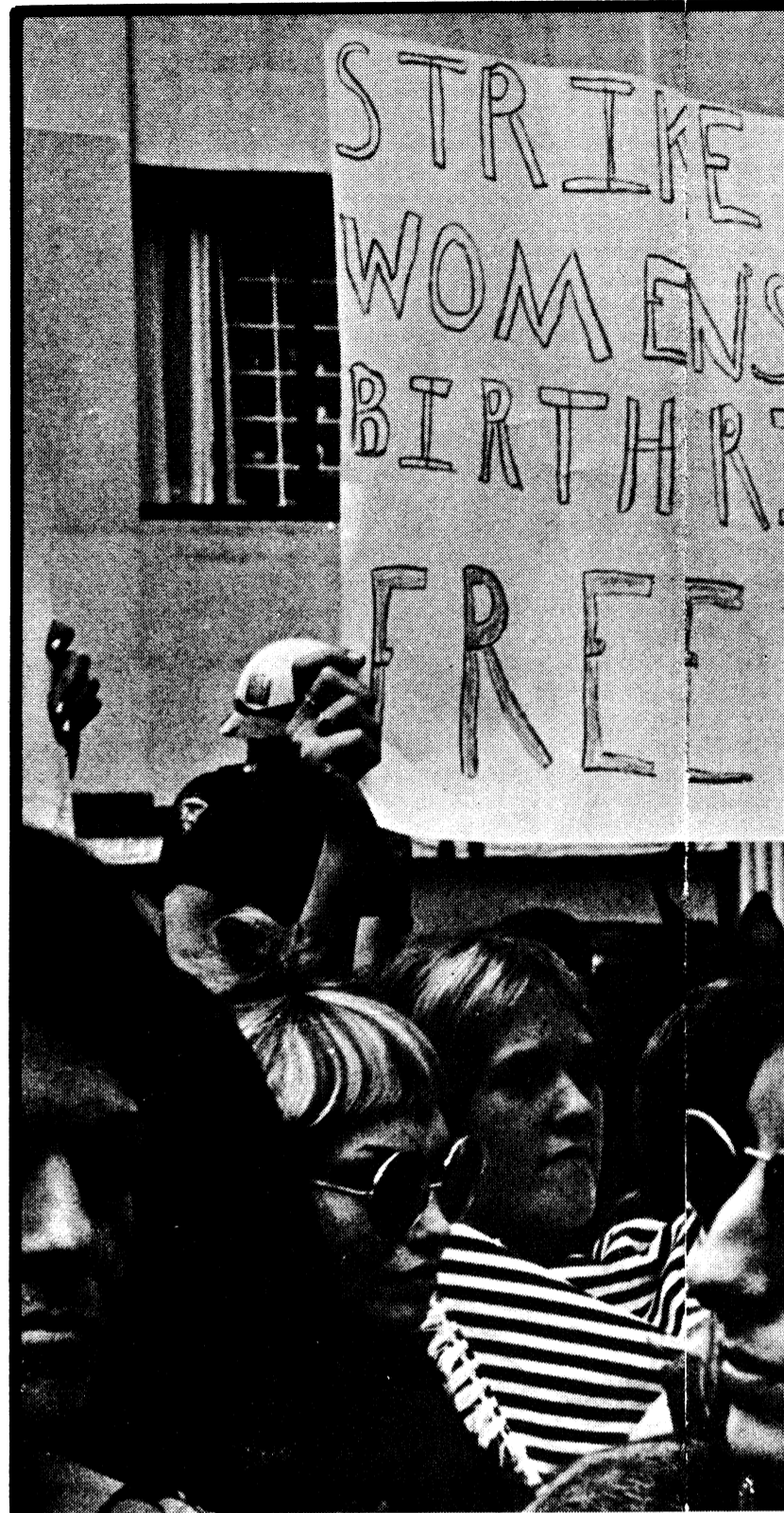
Women were relegated to an inferior social position only with the rise of *class* society—society in which the means of production—land, cattle, boats, (and later slaves, and machines)—passed from communal ownership and control into the hands of individual men. With the division of society into classes—those who owned versus those who did not, those who could live off the work of others versus those who must work to live—the patriarchal family also came into existence as the basic social unit. Women were relegated to domestic servitude and second-class status in society not because it served the needs of men in general, but because it served the needs of those men who owned property. The sexual restrictions on women were designed to assure the paternity of the heirs of private property and uphold the patriarchal family as the main mechanism for the transmission of property. The family also took over what had previously been a social obligation, responsibility for those who could not produce—the children, aged, and sick.

There have been variations in the structure and functions of the family during the millenia it has been in existence. It's role has varied somewhat during the different stages of class society—slavery, feudalism and capitalism—and from one class to another. But the essential function has always remained the same. Like the state apparatus—the armies, police, laws, courts, etc.—the family is a repressive institution designed to perpetuate the unequal distribution of wealth and the division of society into basic subgroups that either own the productive resources or do not.

Just as the family is indispensable to class society, so the suppression of women is indispensable to the maintenance of the family system. If women were freed of responsibility for the care of children, and allowed to enter the productive life of society on an equal footing with men, the family as we know it would cease to exist.

Thus, when Laporte states that she can imagine a society with gross inequality but no female oppression, she is simply saying she does not know what social function the oppression of women plays, either historically or today.


It is because the suppression of women is fundamental to class society that the struggle for



women's liberation is a revolutionary struggle. When we talk about revolution in our era we are not discussing the substitution of a new form of class society for an outmoded one, such as the smashing of feudalism or slavery to make room for the rise of capitalism. We are talking about the destruction of class society in its entirety. We are talking about the abolition of private property and the creation of a system based on production for the use and benefit of all society, not a system designed to produce profits for a few.

Laporte sneeringly asks, "And what would this redistribution of 'ownership' mean to the lowly janitor who sweeps the floor (at General Motors)?" If she were the "lowly janitor," she would probably not be so quick to sneer.

It would mean this janitor, together with other working people, would control the wealth of society and all its institutions. It would mean such "lowly" people could decide to produce the things they need and implement policies in the interests of all. It would mean free 24-hour child care of the best quality all the resources of society could provide; it would mean quality low-cost or free housing for herself and everyone else; it would mean an end to household drudgery on top of working a full-time job, because laundry, cooking, and cleaning would all be socially organized; it would mean free education to whatever level she desired, regardless of her age, or background;



STRIKE FOR
WOMENS
BIRTHRIGHT
FREEDOM

**Are socialism and
women's liberation
related?**



it would mean free medical care covering everything; it would mean an opportunity to work at any job she wanted; and much more. In short, it would be quite clearly in the interests of the "lowly janitor."

Class and sexual oppression

Let's go on to Laporte's next question. "I have tried," she says, "to see what connection there might be between the oppression of the worker and the oppression of woman."

First of all, many women *are* workers, a fact which Laporte doesn't seem to consider very seriously. They have jobs outside their homes, usually in addition to their fulltime housekeeping tasks. The typical worker is not the \$20,000-a-year, middle-aged, white, male plumber Laporte envisions.

Secondly, how are those who must work for a living exploited, whether male or female? In the most immediate economic sense, they are not paid for the full value of what they produce, the rest being appropriated by those who own the factories, machines, land, etc. But the exploitation of the working class is much more than that. The entire economic system is organized to exploit and oppress.

It is a system based on production for the purpose of increasing the individual wealth of a few; a system based not on planned rational production to meet the needs of humanity but on anar-

chic competition to capture markets and maximize profits; a system which *must* produce wars as the ultimate arbiter between the capitalist giants; a system which *must* produce racism, sexism and extreme prejudices of every kind in order to prevent those who produce all the wealth from uniting to demand control of what they produce; a system that *cannot* provide adequate schools, health care, housing or other basic necessities because such services do not bring in enough profit.

The individual worker has absolutely no function in society except to sell her or his labor power at whatever rate is attainable. When you lose your ability to produce—through age, illness or injury—you are socially extraneous. That is why society is literally not concerned with whether you live or die.

Laporte contends all that may have been true under the "pure capitalism" of the eighteenth century, but is no longer so. Fear of revolution *has* forced the rulers to grant certain concessions to social welfare, like Medicare and social security programs. But does Laporte really believe that the welfare system—just to take one example—is really designed to benefit those forced onto its rolls because society has no productive role for them to play?

On the contrary, it is designed to barely keep them alive, and as the current controversy over welfare shows, the rulers are constantly trying to cut back on even that level of social responsibility. It would be hard for Laporte to make a case that welfare, social security and unemployment insurance—which are all paid for out of the workers' pockets anyway—are plans designed to end rather than perpetuate exploitation.

How are women oppressed?

Again it is a question of the entire organization of society. Women are relegated to the role of domestic slave—child rearer, cook, housekeeper—because it is the least costly means for those who control this society to assure that society as a whole has no responsibility for the care of those nonproductive members of society—the children, the elderly, the incapacitated. Everything else follows—the exclusion of women from a central productive role; the economic dependence of women on men or a man; the educational and job discrimination; the psychological conditioning to accept all this, supposedly willingly.

Working women in capitalist society are doubly exploited and oppressed, both as workers and as women. And women of the oppressed national minorities are triply exploited. But Marxists do not deny that all women are oppressed to one degree or another simply as women, regardless of class. That is why the struggle of women for their liberation can involve women of all classes.

But that struggle must be directed against the capitalist system itself—against class society—if women are to achieve their liberation. For that reason, our struggle is against the same enemy that the working class and the oppressed national minorities face. If Laporte wants to dispute that, she will have to prove that capitalism is capable of granting all our demands, that our struggle is not in fundamental contradiction to class society.

But even on the most elementary level it is obvious. Who are we fighting in our struggle to abolish all laws that restrict our right to abortion? Why do we have to *fight* for the right to control our own bodies? Even to gain this most meager reform we are forced to take on the national government, the reactionary religious institutions, the courts. What about our other demands—equal pay, 24-hour child-care facilities for all? Will such demands be granted by those who are trying to roll back even 6 percent pay increases? The answer is evident.

"Male" and "female"

Throughout her article Laporte makes comments that equate "male" with violence, conquest, destruction, and glory-seeking, while "female" is synonymous with peace, privacy and homemaking. Nowhere does she even hint that such character traits, to the extent they have any validity at all, are social, not biological, in origin.

But all the characteristics she accepts as being "male" attributes are in reality characteristics not of men *per se* but of class society, of a competitive system based on each one for herself or himself, a system where the stronger *do* take advantage of the weaker. To place women in power instead of men, without fundamentally changing that *system*, would alter nothing.

Laporte proposes that women should take over the government from men because they know more about "homemaking," and "what is the proper province of government except homemaking on a vast scale?" she asks. Unfortunately, Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Golda Meir are no more peace-loving homemakers than Richard Nixon or Nguyen Van Thieu. That is not because they are

"deformed" women who have made it in a man's world. They are simply women who are committed to the defense of the capitalist world.

What, asks Laporte, would cause the oppression of women to disappear if the capitalist system were destroyed? Wouldn't women still be on the bottom, even if all other inequities were wiped out?

First of all, it would *not* simply disappear on the morrow of the revolution. The myth of female inferiority is far too deeply ingrained for that. But a revolutionary-socialist society would immediately eliminate the material basis of women's oppression, because it would have no economic function. There would be no reason to relegate women to domestic slavery. "Marriage" and "divorce" would become totally personal decisions, subject to no laws, contracts or restrictions. Abortion and contraception would be available on demand. Free 24-hour quality child care and free education would be made available for all. Women would receive equal pay for equal work and a system of preferential hiring and training would be instituted to compensate for the previous discrimination. Free or low-cost laundry, food and cleaning services would be established.

In the United States, with its tremendous wealth, such measures could be taken very rapidly and together they would totally eliminate the economic chains that bind most personal relationships in class society. Then and only then would truly human relations begin to develop.

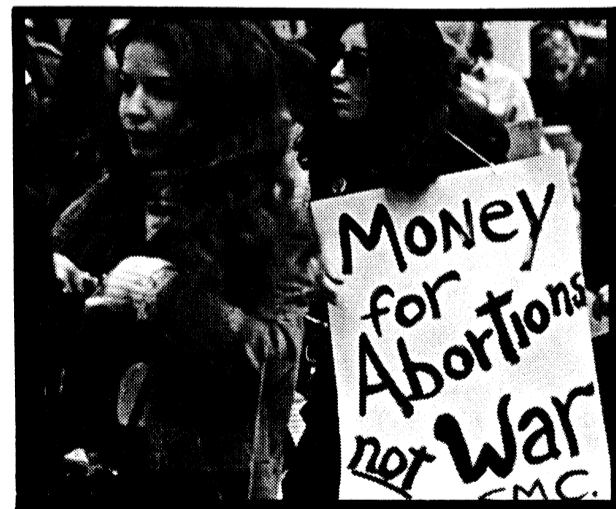
Where are we now?

Laporte raises other questions similar to those already discussed. But they all come back to the key dispute. Is it necessary to abolish the capitalist system in order to liberate women? The answer must be an unequivocal yes. Being a socialist and a feminist is not a contradiction. In fact, becoming a revolutionary Marxist is the only totally consistent position for a feminist. That is why hundreds of women radicalized by the women's liberation struggle have also joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in order to work with other women and men toward the common goal of a socialist revolution.

But that does not mean, as Laporte charges, that the struggle for women's liberation is postponed to some indeterminate socialist future "after the revolution." It means we fight here and now to win every reform, every concession we can. It does not mean that there is no need for a mass women's movement fighting for the basic needs of women. We need both a mass women's movement and a revolutionary party.

The struggle for abortion law repeal provides the best example of the kind of perspective women must have. Our goal must be to build a mass feminist movement. Not just hundreds or thousands of women who are highly conscious, but a movement of millions of women fighting to win concrete demands like abortion law repeal, child care and equal pay. It is in the course of this struggle that the vast majority of women will become convinced that a basic transformation of society is necessary.

That is the revolutionary and feminist perspective for women's liberation.



Photos by Elizabeth Stone (top) and John Gray

WOMEN for JENNESS & PULLEY

Linda Jenness is the first feminist to run for President of the United States in this century. She and her running-mate, Andrew Pulley, are active supporters of the struggle for women's liberation. Linda Jenness' campaign is helping to build a powerful, independent movement of women to fight for our rights. She is the only presidential candidate who has actively supported the November 20 demonstrations in Washington D.C. and San Francisco for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and no contraception laws.

The platform of the Socialist Workers candidates includes the following planks on women's liberation:

- Abolish all anti-abortion laws; no forced sterilization; no contraception laws.
- Free child care centers available at all times to be controlled by those who use them.
- Pass the Equal Rights Amendment; enforce Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; all protective laws beneficial to women should be extended to cover men as well.
- The billions of dollars wasted on war and destruction should be used to build child care centers, abortion clinics, hospitals and decent hous-

ing for all; immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

- Support the struggle of women of all oppressed nationalities--Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Native-Americans, and Asian-Americans--for their human rights. Support the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for liberation and for control of their own communities.
- An end to laws and discrimination against gay women and men.
- For a crash program of government-funded research to develop safe and effective abortion and birth-control methods. Abortion and birth-control devices should be free to all women who want them.
- Review the cases of all women prisoners by a commission of their peers; abolish all laws which victimize women, such as laws against prostitutes.

We endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties, although we do not necessarily agree with all of the planks of the Socialist Workers Party platform. We invite you to join us.

COLORADO

Mary Brant, Colorado College, Colorado Springs
Kathleen Biggins, Community College North, Denver
Pam Diver, Metropolitan State College, Denver
Karen Kordish, Sisters in Solidarity, Denver
Lisbeth Mullin, Coloradans to Abolish All Abortion Laws, Denver
Carmen Muniz, MECHA, University of Colorado, Denver Center
Patricia Watson, Colorado Peace Action Coalition, Denver

GEORGIA

Linda Chafin, W.O.M.E.N., University of Georgia, Athens
Margaret Downie, Georgia Committee for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, Atlanta
Susan Webb, Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition, Atlanta
Katherine Williford, Curriculum and Resource Coordinator, Model Cities Child Development Program, Atlanta

ILLINOIS

Arlene Brennan, De Paul University, Chicago
Bonnie Cole, Chicago Teachers Union
Claudia Cowan, CHOICE, Chicago
Loya Darling, Library Resources, Inc., Chicago
Sue Gutman, Niles North High School, Skokie
Jan Messinger, owner, Harper Galleries, Chicago
Randi Parry, University of Chicago
Pearl Piltz, Chicago Teachers Union
Diane Rupp, Lutheran Women's Caucus, Chicago
Denise Tanzer, Glenbard North High School, Glen Ellyn
Penelope Turner, Infant Welfare, Chicago
Linda Sheppard, Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition, Chicago
Claudia Wirig, Triton College, River Grove
Linda Wooley, Northwestern University, Evanston

MASSACHUSETTS

Lorri Adelewski, University of Massachusetts, Boston
Nancy Charpentier, Boston University Female Liberation, Boston
Frances Clancy, Northeastern University, Boston
Anita DeFelice, Natick-Framingham Women's Liberation, Natick
Maria DeFelice, West Suburban Women for Abortion Action, Wellesley
Kelly Erwin, Belmont High School, Belmont
Carol Henderson Evans, Coordinator, New England Women's Contingent, Boston
Claire Howard, Cambridge Child Care Referendum Committee, Cambridge
Rev. Katherine B. Inglee, First Parish Church, Norwell
Clare Kerr, Mass. Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws, Brookline
Linda Malanchuk, Stonehill College, So. Eaton
Ruth Obernreit, Clark University Student Mobilization Comm., Worcester
Florence Povirk, Boston Architectural Center, Boston
Jane Reitzes, Clark University Women's Liberation, Worcester
Barbara Reyes, Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition, Boston
Joanna Rohrbaugh, Harvard University, Cambridge
Audrey Sharp, North Shore Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Swampscott
Mary Lou Shields, feminist author, Cambridge
Amy Siegle, Copley Square High School, Mattapan
Charlotte Taggart, Worcester Women's Liberation, Worcester
Naomi Vega, Puerto Rican Student Alliance, Waltham
Nancy Williamson, Female Liberation, Roxbury
Elizabeth Wolheim, Clark Abortion Action Group, Worcester
Ethelard R. Wright, Tufts Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Somerville

Maja R. Zimmerman, Radcliffe College, Cambridge

MICHIGAN

Gail Altenburg, Senior Class President, North Farmington High School, Farmington
Claytee Artz, Black Women United for Abortion Law Repeal, Detroit
Charlene Behnke, Michigan Women's Abortion Suit, Detroit
Bonnie Garvin, Director, Detroit Coalition to End the War Now
Pat Lafferty, R.N., Coordinator, Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition
Lillie Noble, Black Moratorium Committee, Detroit
Sue Swope, Womankind, Detroit
Janet Wingo, National Welfare Rights Organization, Detroit

MINNESOTA

Eita Magnusen, University of Minnesota Women's Liberation, Minneapolis
Eleanor O'Connell, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Minneapolis
Jeanne M. Stevens, Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, Minneapolis
Sunny Wolf, Macalester College, St. Paul

NEW YORK

Carol Adams, United Women's Contingent, NYC
Renate Bridenthal, Prof., Brooklyn College, NYC
Debbie Bustin, Student Mobilization Comm., NYC
Cynthia Canty, Phoenix House, NYC
Laura Chasen, New University Conference, New York University, NYC
Katherine Connolly, Hunter College Student Government, NYC
Sharon Friedman, New York University Women's Liberation, NYC
Deborah Glick, Queens College Abortion Action Center, NYC
Kate Kazin, Dalton High School, NYC
Paulette McCormick, Barnard College Women's Liberation, NYC
Sheryl Melar, Grapevine, Brooklyn College, NYC
Rossella Mocerino, Brooklyn College Student Mobilization Committee, NYC
Evelyn Reed, feminist author, NYC
Dr. Annette Rubenstein, NYC
Joan Schneider, News Director, WBCR, Brooklyn College, NYC
Angelina Vega, Puerto Rican Alliance, Brooklyn College, NYC
Rose Weber, Hunter High School, NYC
Delfine Welch, National Women's Liberation Director, Young Socialist Alliance, NYC
Esther Yee, Birth Control Counseling, Brooklyn College, NYC

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Carmen Alegria, Chicana Movement, Berkeley
Susan Bond, Hospital and Institution Workers Local 250, AFL-CIO, San Francisco
Alice Borros, Independent Campus Women, San Francisco State College, San Francisco
Bertha Dertz, Northern California Peace Action Coalition, San Francisco
Linda Goff, Sierra Club, University of California, Berkeley
Barbara Gravelle, Female Liberation, University of California, Berkeley
Luise K. Hall, Alpha Omega Pi Sorority, University of California, Berkeley
Pat Hendricks, Women's Abortion Coalition, San Francisco
Viola Maestas Jimenez, MECHA, Berkeley
Joan Jordan, Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, San Francisco
Linda Knudson, San Francisco Women's Liberation, San Francisco
Jo Ann Mar, Student Mobilization Comm., University of California, Berkeley
Doris Pichey, Retail Clerks Union Local 648, San Francisco

Kathryn Pon, Asian Legal Aid, Berkeley
Linda Tayne, United Women's Contingent, San Francisco
Marilyn Winch, Student Senate, University of California, Berkeley
Lorraine Wong, Daughters of Bilitis, San Francisco
Pat Wood, California Prisoners Union, San Francisco

OHIO

Katie Baird, Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, Cleveland
Rose Brudno, New Politics League, Akron
Robin Cole, Friends High School, Lyndhurst
Sylvia Grossman, Ass't. Prof., Cleveland State University, Cleveland
R. Morgan Hamilton, National Organization for Women, East Cleveland
Karen McKim, Case Western Reserve University Women's Liberation, Cleveland
Berder Morton, National Organization for Women, Cleveland
Helene Sasko, Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, University Heights
Joyce Shatteen, Cuyahoga Community College, East Cleveland
Donna Spooner, Abortion Project Coalition, Cleveland State University, Cleveland
Mary Swindell, National Organization for Women, Cleveland
Jean Y. Tussey, Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53, Cleveland

OREGON

Niki Brorsen, Women's Studies Program, Portland State University, Portland
Lila Hitchcock, National Organization for Women, Portland
Eleanore Hogan, Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

Naomi Berman, Coordinator, Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition, Philadelphia
Nancy J. Cohen, Women's Law Caucus, Temple University, Philadelphia
Dr. Eileen Gersh, Prof., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Roberta Hacker, Women United for Abortion Rights, Philadelphia
Ellen Keyser, Temple University Women's Liberation, Philadelphia
Penny Orderay, Temple University Peace Action Coalition, Philadelphia

RHODE ISLAND

Ellen Augbourg, Homemakers, Inc., Providence
Deborah Awde, Women of Brown United, Providence
Nan Bailey, Afro-American Society, Brown University, Providence
Jill Grossberg, Rhode Island Women's Liberation Union, Providence
Vicki Levy, Brown University Student Mobilization Committee, Providence
Gail Slocum, Rhode Island Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws, Providence

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Sally Anderson, Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Los Angeles
Marilyn E. Ardley, Lesbian Feminists, Los Angeles
Tisa Arteaga, Whittier College Student Mobilization Committee, Whittier
Janice Auren, Out Now Coalition, Los Angeles
Sue Behar, L. A. City College, Los Angeles
Susan Bell, L. A. City College 2 Defense Committee, Los Angeles

Rita Cash, Editor, The Collegian, L. A. City College, Los Angeles
Cynthia Fuller, Sisters United, California State College, Los Angeles
Tina Gardiola, L. A. City College Women's Libera-

tion, Los Angeles
Debbie Jones, East Los Angeles College, Los Angeles
Jane Melton, Pasadena Women's Liberation, Pasadena
Susan Obermiller, Lesbian Feminists, Los Angeles
Karen Sexton, Santa Monica City College, Santa Monica

TENNESSEE

Elizabeth Lariscy, National Organization for Women, Nashville

TEXAS

Sharon Burger, Houston Women's Liberation, Houston
Sunny Foreman, Houston Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Houston
Jo Nelson, Women's Advocate, University of Houston, Houston

UTAH

Frances Farley, University of Utah, Salt Lake City

VIRGINIA

Marian M. Allen, The Reston School, Reston

WASHINGTON

Pamela Havens, University of Washington, Seattle
Judy Moschetto, Student Mobilization Committee, Seattle
Lucy Roedder, Seattle Community College, Seattle
Rita Shaw, Women's Abortion Action Coalition, Seattle
Jane Strader, University of Washington Student Mobilization Committee, Seattle

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Barbara Chis, Washington Area Peace Action Coalition
Lynn Forney, George Washington University
Osa Johnson, Black Moratorium Committee
Holly Russell, Wilson High School Women's Liberation
Betsey Whittaker, Women for Abortion Action

WISCONSIN

Sally Morrow, Madison Student Mobilization Committee, Madison
Kathie Richards, Women's Action Movement, Madison

(List in formation; organization for identification only)

Join us!

--- Add my name to the list of Women for Jenness and Pulley.

--- Send me more information about the SWP '72 Campaign.

--- Enclosed is a financial contribution of \$_____

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Organization/School _____
(for identification only)

Send to: Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, 8th fl., New York, New York 10003; phone: 212-260-4150.

Pulley confronts Muskie

By TONY DUTROW
and MARTY ROTHMAN

LOS ANGELES—According to his campaign office, Senator Edmund Muskie's most important appearance during his recent trip to Southern California was at Whittier College. High school students in the area were bused in to hear him speak.

Muskie spoke for five minutes. He concluded his speech with a defense of capitalism: "I believe this system on it's record is the most clearly committed to the expansion of human rights and equality . . . unparalleled in human history."

He then opened the floor for questions. He was unable, however, to avoid confronting his opposition, which in the Los Angeles area has come primarily from the Raza Unida Party (RUP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice-president, was there and took the floor: "Senator Muskie has said he

would not choose a Black person as a running mate because 'with a Black man on the ticket we would both lose.' Besides being arrogantly racist, the statement reflects a sexist bias. Apparently the thought of a Black woman as a running mate never crossed his mind. With a record like this, I can't understand why he would think a Black person would even want to run on his ticket." Pulley was referring to the statement Muskie made Sept. 8 in Watts.

Pulley was greeted with applause when he criticized Muskie's support of war appropriations for Vietnam and aid for South Africa and Greece. He ended by challenging Muskie to debate either himself or Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate.

Muskie tried to avoid answering Pulley's remarks by commenting on the amount of time Pulley had spent on his presentation (which was longer than Muskie's original five minutes).

When Muskie refused to answer the challenge for a debate with the SWP candidates, a member of the Raza Unida Party angrily demanded that Muskie "answer Pulley." Muskie told the RUP representative to "sit down and shut up. You might learn something."

The questions then came thick and fast. When a member of the Student Mobilization Committee questioned Muskie's stand on the antiwar movement, Muskie stated, "You're not going to advance your cause by marching and shouting." He indicated that working for congressional legislation is the best way to end the war.

A woman in the audience asked Muskie about his stand on abortion and equal rights for homosexuals. On the question of abortions, Muskie sarcastically responded, "I don't know, I haven't had one." He then laughed and brushed aside the question of the oppression of women and gays.

A RUP speaker again took the floor, this time to outline the Democratic Party's long history of betrayals of the Chicano people. Muskie criticized the Raza Unida Party as "an exclusionary party." The RUP speaker then pointed out to Muskie that the Democratic Party has long excluded Chicanos, Blacks and other oppressed peoples. Muskie could not restrain his anger. He wondered out loud why young people wherever he goes are asking him about the questions of war, racism, sexism, abortions and ecology.

The previous day, Muskie had been challenged by Raza Unida supporters when he "toured" the Chicano community campaigning for Democratic state assembly candidate Richard Alatorre.

Pulley's confrontation with Muskie was covered by national and local press.



Photo by Dennis Scarla

SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley confronting Sen. Muskie at Whittier College.

Pulley expresses solidarity with Angela Davis at trial

By BARBARA DEUR

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 15—Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, expressed his solidarity with Angela Davis and all political prisoners while attending the Davis trial at the Marin County Courthouse Nov. 11.

Pulley personally delivered a message to Angela Davis at the defense table. He was greeted warmly by Howard Moore, chief defense counsel for Davis and a former member of the legal defense team for the Ft. Jackson Eight. (Pulley was one of the defendants in the celebrated case of eight antiwar GIs at Fort Jackson, S. C. He spent 60 days in the stockade before the national defense campaign brought about his release and discharge from the Army).

The message from Pulley said, in part, "Dear Sister Angela: I would like to see you and express my solidarity with your heroic struggle for freedom. In my campaign for vice-president, I have spoken in defense of you and all political prisoners. Having been behind bars myself, I know the importance of outside support and mass action."

As Pulley left the courtroom to make his next speaking engagement, Angela Davis raised her clenched fist and Pulley returned the salute.

On Nov. 12, Pulley joined the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) sponsored picket line at the statewide convention of the "Pro-Life" forces. The spirited demonstra-

tion of 200 women and men, part of WONAAC's national campaign to repeal all anti-abortion laws, protested the reactionary attempts by these anti-abortion groups to deny women their basic rights. Pulley urged the demonstrators to join the Nov. 20 march in San Francisco for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization and repeal of all anti-contraception laws.

Among the activists who heard Pulley speak at the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco were sailors from the USS *Coral Sea*, who have repeatedly voiced their opposition to the war. Pulley joined a crowd of 500 demonstrating their solidarity with these sailors when the ship left for Southeast Asia Nov. 12.

Pulley also visited the Fort Ord army base, where he was able to talk to many GIs about his campaign. He distributed campaign brochures and sold copies of *The Militant*.

Successful meetings were held on various campuses and high schools in Northern California, where new campaign supporters signed up to participate in building the Jenness-Pulley campaign. At San Joaquin Delta College in Stockton, Calif., a number of Black students and the president of the student body endorsed the SWP campaign. At Monterey Peninsula College, Pulley spoke to 100 students for over two hours in the student lounge.

A rally was held outside Balboa High School in San Francisco, a pre-

dominantly Black school. Large numbers of campaign supporters who had endorsed the SWP's San Francisco mayoralty campaign were present and their response was enthusiastic.

An SWP campaign banquet was held Nov. 13 in Pulley's honor at the Cafe du Nord in San Francisco. Other speakers included Nat Weinstein, 1971 SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco; Paul Trafficanti, coordinator of the Northern California Peace Action Coalition; and Susan Bond, an activist in the Hospital Workers Union. A message of support was received from Pat Maginnis, an active supporter of the fight to repeal all anti-abortion laws and coauthor of the *Abortion Handbook*. Over \$800 was raised in pledges and contributions at the banquet.

A request by the Northern California SWP campaign committee for Andrew Pulley to visit the prison facilities at San Quentin and talk to inmates was turned down on the ground that prisoners cannot vote. Pulley denounced the present practice of denying the 400,000 inmates of the nation's prison system their right to vote. He labeled this practice unconstitutional and urged support for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) and other groups involved in legal challenges to reactionary election laws.

Pulley will be in Northern California several more days before he goes on to Portland, Ore., and Seattle.

Jenness in tour of East Coast

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 14—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness made a highly successful tour of Washington, D. C., and campuses in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina recently. Her tour began with a Nov. 9 news conference, which was featured the next day in articles in the *Washington Post*, the *Washington News* and the *New York Post*. She was quoted as saying that 1972 will see the biggest socialist campaign "since Eugene V. Debs collected nearly a million votes from a prison cell in 1920." (Debs was jailed for his opposition to War War I.)

Jenness spoke at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va. In addition to students, the audience included a group of GIs from nearby Fort Eustis, where her visit had been announced in the base's underground paper. Women from the Virginia Women's Political Caucus who attended the meeting were very receptive to the SWP's political program.

At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, Jenness spoke to several groups of students and was interviewed on television. She also addressed a student meeting at Davidson College in Davidson, N. C.

Other meetings were held at George Washington University and American University in Washington, D. C., and at the University of Maryland.

Between 40 and 150 people attended each of the campus meetings, many of whom signed up to work for the campaign as Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP).

Jenness spoke to 300 high school students in social studies classes at Washington's Woodrow Wilson High School. Her remarks on the Indochina war in one jam-packed classroom drew loud applause.

At a campaign rally Nov. 12, an audience of over 200 heard Jenness blast the Nixon administration for putting the brunt of the war-induced inflation on the backs of working people by trying to hold down their wages.

She also discussed the SWP election campaign, pointing out that millions will be hearing the truth about socialism in 1972.

Jenness' tour in Washington, D. C., ended with a successful fund raising cocktail party Nov. 13.

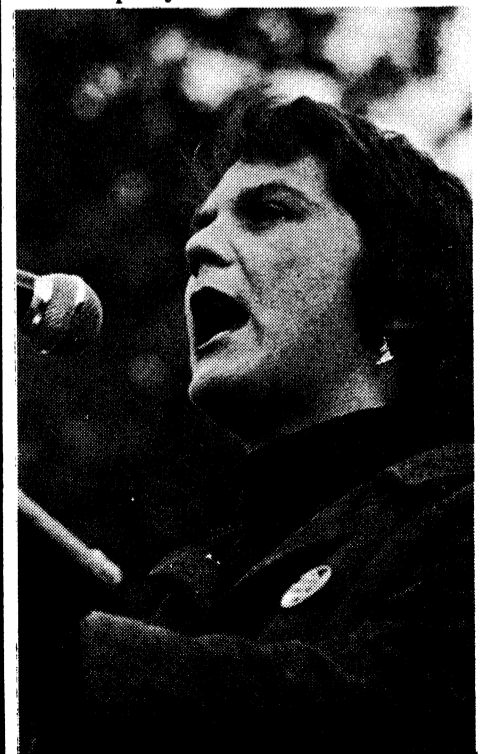


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Linda Jenness addressing Nov. 6 antiwar rally in New York.

By DAVID THORSTAD

Sibylle Plogstedt, a West German student attending Charles University in Prague, was arrested in December 1969 along with 18 other persons and charged with "Trotskyist" and "anti-socialist" activities by the Husak regime. She and the others were accused of being members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia, an organization of young anti-Stalinist activists. (See *The Militant*, July 2, 1971.)

She spent 17 months in prison before she was brought to trial and convicted in March of this year. She

meetings with workers from various factories." The result of this contact was that the workers established coordinating committees for the different factories.

"These meetings took place in the factories and the universities. Up to 100 factories were represented at some of them."

This burgeoning activity was part of a large movement toward self-management that sprang up following the Soviet invasion. It was an outgrowth of the mass mobilizations that first took place in opposition to the invasion. "Concepts of self-management only began to be worked out after the invasion," she said. This trend was

The most dramatic sign of this was the self-immolation of Jan Palach in January 1969. This in itself, she pointed out, represented "an extreme act of demoralization." That it reflected a growing mood was clear from the fact that "although there have never been official statistics, at least 10 or 15 persons immolated themselves after January 1969."

The removal of Dubcek from office in March further contributed to this mood. "With this, it became clear that repression was on the agenda."

It was after her arrival in Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1969 that Plogstedt "by accident" established contact with the Revolutionary Youth Movement. (Its name was subsequently changed to the Revolutionary Socialist Party.) She described RYM's efforts as "an attempt to work out a concept of what socialist society should really be."

It first met to select and translate documents for a theoretical publication, and then held meetings to discuss the ideas contained in these documents. The documents were eventually published in a collection entitled "Bureaucracy, No! Revolution, Yes!" They included texts by such prominent figures in the 1917 Russian revolution as Bukharin, Trotsky, and Kolontai; Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel; and material from Yugoslavia and various groups in France, among them the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. Some of the activists traveled abroad until the right to travel was discontinued by the bureaucracy.

RYM also carried out political work in the student strike movement and in the coordination committees. "But the main work was in beginning to study socialist literature—not just Lenin and Marx, but literature that was difficult to get in Czechoslovakia."

"Our leaflets were reproduced by others we didn't even know about," she went on. During those days, "at even the slightest hint that there was a revolutionary leaflet in the street, within minutes 50 or so people would gather around. In August 1969 alone, 3,600 different leaflets were distributed in Czechoslovakia."

What was the group's reaction to the decision to arrest them and put them on trial? "We were astonished," she replied. "We hadn't realized that we were so effective."

She described an incident that demonstrated the humorous turns the popular resistance to the more conservative Husak regime sometimes took. Husak's name, she said, means more or less the equivalent of "gander-like." So, people sometimes would turn loose a flock of ganders in the city. "And whenever you turned them loose in the streets, you would always see police running after them."

Efforts are being made to make a thorough going analysis of socialism in the workers states and the turbulent events in Czechoslovakia. "Some of the analysis being produced in 1969 was good. It was not in every case a Marxist analysis." Yet any effort at all to arrive at a full understanding and theoretical explanation of these events has been difficult for several reasons. First, as soon as a newspaper published something along these lines, it would be banned. Second, "the necessary consciousness for carrying on such study may be lacking." And finally, it is not easy to continue doing theoretical work if one loses one's job as an intellectual worker and is shifted to a job as a manual worker. In such a case, "the need to do political work among the workers may make it difficult to do theoretical work." She said, by way of example, that more than 600 historians had lost their jobs. "I think this must be close to the total number of historians in the whole country."

Despite the difficulties, however, Plogstedt said that the struggle is continuing. One of the purposes of her tour will be to explain this to American and Canadian audiences.

A Militant Interview

The youth movement in Czechoslovakia



Photo by Gus Horowitz

Czechs at statue of St. Wenceslas reading statements of support from around the world following Soviet invasion.

was expelled from Czechoslovakia last May and is currently on a speaking tour in the U.S. and Canada in defense of the revolutionary socialists in Czechoslovakia, some of whom are still in prison.

Before she began her tour, I spoke briefly with her about the situation in Czechoslovakia following the Soviet invasion in August 1968 and in the months leading up to her arrest.

The resistance movement really got going with the student strikes in November 1968, she said. The strike occurred not only at Charles University, but in other institutions throughout the country. Among its objectives were an end to censorship of the newspapers and radio stations that had been critical of the Soviet invasion, and the banning of media that had supported it. During the strike, the students took over the classrooms and began running the courses themselves.

"The initial aim of the strike was to mobilize and engage the liberal wing of the party leaders in the resistance," Plogstedt explained. The actual result was somewhat different, however. "Instead, it brought about an expression of solidarity by the workers."

During the strike, the students actively sought the support of workers. "When they got in touch with factories, they ended up having regular

most obvious in Slovakia, where the majority of the workers councils were formed after the invasion. The number rose to a total of about 50, where there had only been two or three prior to the invasion.

The movement to develop self-management "became a strong movement," Plogstedt said. Until December 1968, there were around 200 workers councils throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia. "They were only completely banned this year," she added. "The reason they gave for this was that allegedly these councils were not working." She discounted this explanation, however, pointing out that there had been great interest in the discussions leading up to the formation of the workers councils, and that Czech "sociologists have found that the workers took more interest in the workers councils after the invasion than they did before it."

"The workers logically chose the workers councils as places where they could discuss and be active," she continued, because they did not involve the limitations on political activity that were true of the party and the trade unions.

While the high point of the student movement came with the November 1968 strikes, an effort to repeat them the following April was a failure. This was due to a growing demoralization.

MPI offices invaded by U.S. agents

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—At a press conference held here Nov. 12 by the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), Manuel de J. González drew attention to recent attacks on the organization in Puerto Rico.

He described how agents from the U.S. Treasury Department burst into the offices of MPI's weekly newspaper *Claridad* on the morning of Nov. 9. The offices, located in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, were occupied for a couple of hours, while González and others present were held incommunicado.

The agents xeroxed the subscription list and photo files of the newspaper and seized a gun that was part of the staff's self-defense equipment. The offices have been the target of frequent assaults by enemies of the independence movement. In February 1970, an incendiary bomb hurled into the building did extensive damage.

The agents did not bring charges against anyone, despite the fact that their pretext for the entry was to investigate the printing of counterfeit dollar bills.

González, who is a *Claridad* staff writer and member of the political bureau of MPI, said leaflets issued as simulated dollar bills were part of the publicity for the forthcoming eighth congress of MPI. He pointed out that nobody in the U.S. has ever been prosecuted for use of caricatures of the dollar for publicity purposes.

The occupation of the offices was followed two days later by a refusal of the owner of a shop to print the paper. But after demonstrations by students from the nearby campus of the University of Puerto Rico, he relented.

González pointed to growing evidence that the government was planning conspiracy indictments against the leadership of MPI. The possibility of such a frame-up, he said, is indicated by increasing concern of the commonwealth government over MPI's antiwar and antidraft activities. Due to MPI's effort in building a mass antiwar movement, none of the thousands of Puerto Rican youths who have refused the draft have been prosecuted.

The MPI congress, scheduled for Nov. 19-28, will lay the basis, González said, for the transformation of the organization into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

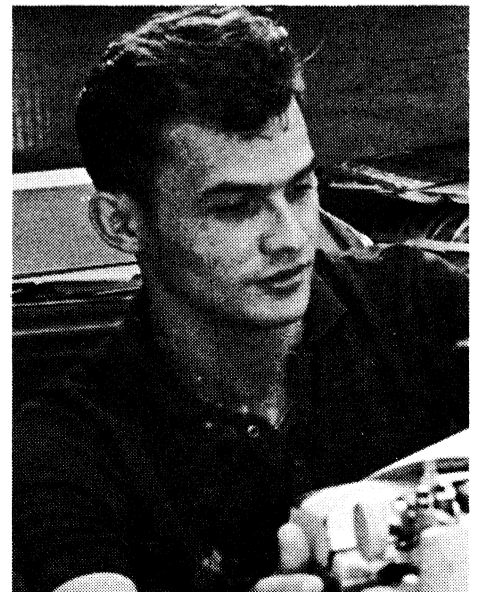


Photo by Linda Jenness

Manuel de J. González

Calif. prepares welfare cutbacks

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—Nearly 1,200 county social workers here are threatened with demotions in job classifications that will mean pay slashes up to approximately \$300 per month.

The California Welfare Reform Act of 1971 has provided the state and county governments with the means for drastically cutting back the number of social workers, replacing them with lower-paid workers in other job categories.

Despite the fact that several key provisions of this "reform" law are being delayed by court action, the counties are getting set to implement the new legislation.

Among the provisions of the act is a "responsible relative" clause that requires adult children of Old Age Security recipients to pay part of the cost of their parents' support. Such payment would be required no matter what relationship existed between parents and children—whether they had seen each other in years or not. Under this provision, welfare workers would become collection agents, hunting down the children of Old Age Security recipients.

An Oct. 14 "Special Information Bulletin" issued by Ellis P. Murphy, director of the L. A. County Welfare Department, claims that the rate of applications for welfare has declined, and on this basis asserts a parallel "marked decline in the need for special services staff."

An "involuntary-transfer policy" has already been implemented, shifting workers all over the county from one

position to another. All this is going on while, according to one district director, the county expects 40,000 to 80,000 new applications for aid as soon as the new rules are implemented.

Administrative confusion has led to compulsory overtime, first to implement new rules, then to reverse them in accordance with court decisions. Welfare workers look in each morning's daily paper to check the current status of their jobs.

Rather than mobilize its members to wage united action against this assault on wages and working conditions, Social Services Union Local 535 has initiated a lawsuit, seeking to have the courts bar layoffs or demotions.

Defense of San Quentin 6 obstructed

By TOM SCHARRET and RUSSELL BLOCK

SAN RAFAEL—In addition to shackling the San Quentin Six with court-appointed lawyers, Judge E. Warren McGuire of Marin County imposed Nov. 5 a series of court orders dealing with what he called "the necessity of avoiding publicity" for the upcoming trial.

The six—Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Willie Tate, Luis Talamantez, Hugo Pinnell and John Spain—are charged with conspiracy and murder. The charges stem from the deaths of three guards and two trustees in connection with the alleged escape attempt of George Jackson at San Quentin prison Aug. 21.

At their arraignment hearing Oct. 29, the six were denied the right to the defense counsel of their choice.

When the hearing resumed Nov. 5, they were brought in one by one, each with a court-appointed counsel.

The arraignment had originally been scheduled for Oct. 19. The defendants appeared without attorneys, however, complaining that prison authorities had not given them an opportunity to select and meet with counsel of their choice.

Judge McGuire granted a postponement to Oct. 29 and issued a court order providing that the defendants be allowed to meet as a group with lawyers George Douglas Vaughn, John Thorne, Charles R. Garry, Elaine Wender, Richard Silver, and Len Holt.

When the lawyers arrived at San Quentin Oct. 20, they found that the meeting had been arranged in a way that made communication with the defendants almost impossible. An affidavit signed by all six of the lawyers described the meeting as "farcical" and "outrageous." The affidavit states that the lawyers and defendants were seated 15 feet apart, divided by a glass partition atop a four- or five-inch wire-mesh screen.

The defendants were handcuffed with their hands to their sides and chained together to the floor in such a way that they couldn't write or handle notes and documents they had brought with them to discuss with their lawyers. The six attorneys demanded that prison officials provide suitable facilities for holding the meeting in accordance with the provisions of the court order. When San Quentin officials refused, the lawyers walked out in protest.

The controversy at the Oct. 29 hearing centered around this meeting. Bruce Bales, Marin County district attorney, produced affidavits by two prison guards denying the charges made by the lawyers. Thorne then stood up and proceeded to point out the contradictions between the guards' statements as well as other "outright falsehoods" within the documents.

Judge McGuire responded by saying those points were "not essential" to the issue at hand, and at the prod-

ing of Bales, asked Thorne to sit down.

The complicity between the judge and the prosecutor was apparent to observers at the arraignment. It was felt that the sabotaged meeting at San Quentin and the courtroom charade were meant to disrupt a coordinated defense of the six by attorneys they could trust.

Under the pretense that the defendants had not been able to agree on legal counsel, McGuire assigned a public defender to each of them.

This was the spectacle presented at the Nov. 5 hearing. So far, the defendants have refused to cooperate with their court-appointed "defenders."

In an attempt to conduct the hearings and the trial under a cloak of secrecy, Judge McGuire ruled at the Nov. 5 hearing to restrict the ability of these "defenders" to make details of the legal proceedings public. The "defenders" made no objection.



George Jackson

LNS photo

By Any Means Necessary

WESLEY PARKS, the young white racist who last May 25 shot down in cold blood Joetha Collier, an 18-year-old African-American, was convicted on the charge of manslaughter, not murder, in Indianola, Miss., Oct. 29. Judge B.B. Wilkes sentenced Parks to 20 years, the maximum possible under the charge. It took the jury of eight Blacks and four whites one hour and 17 minutes to arrive at their decision.

Parks, who is from Memphis, Tenn., was out driving with two other whites on the night of May 25. Since they were drunk, they decided to go "shootin' niggers." So they drove through nearby Drew, Miss., shot at a group of Blacks and sped off. Joetha was on her way home at the time from a graduation ceremony at the newly desegregated high school. Trials have yet to be scheduled for the other two.

ANOTHER INSTANCE of how little value is attached to Black life was provided recently in Memphis. On the night of Oct. 15, three Black youths were driving home in a pickup truck when they suddenly noticed a police car following them. Out of an instinctive dread most Black people have of police, the Black youth driving accelerated the vehicle with hopes of losing the patrol car. Thus began a chase that was to last for two hours. The youths outran and outfoxed the first police car, and several others that joined the pursuit.

The pickup finally came to a halt in front of a road barrier. At this point, scores of cops descended upon the youths, beating one until his head was lumpy. They hit 17-year-old Elton Hayes so hard that they crushed his skull, killing him.

The police subsequently reported Hayes died in an auto crash. But the owner of the vehicle found it unscratched, and the two other youths reported to the press how it really happened. This evidence, coupled with the autopsy, proved the police to be liars. So the city authorities meekly moved to relieve 23 cops of duty while an investigation was conducted. However, the 23 continued to draw full pay.

These events touched off several nights of street

activity by angry Black youths. The city's population of 800,000 is 40 percent Black.

THE AD HOC COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE KILLING OF JOHN HENRY SMITH mobilized over 700 people to attend an Oct. 27 meeting of the San Jose City Council. Smith, a Black man, was shot down by three cops in September. The Ad Hoc Committee was incensed at the council's inaction on demands previously made. These were that the police officers involved in the killing be suspended, and that the council mandate an independent community board to conduct a public investigation of the incident.

At the council meeting, a spokesman for the Contra Costa Central Labor Council read a statement in support of the demands of the Ad Hoc Committee.

The committee is planning a ballot fight for community control of the police.

A "SUPREME TRIBUNAL OF THE PEOPLE'S COURT IN AND FOR THE COMMUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" was held in Brooklyn Oct. 31. The event was sponsored by the Huey Newton wing of the Black Panther Party. Its purpose was to pass judgment on President Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller, Russell Oswald, Vincent Mancusi, and Henry Williams for their roles in the Attica massacre. Rockefeller is the governor of New York state, Oswald is the state commissioner of corrections, Mancusi is the Attica prison warden, and Williams is the state police officer who was in charge of the attack.

About 2,000 people attended. Testimony was given by William Kunstler, civil liberties lawyer and a member of the observers committee inside Attica during the rebellion; Arthur Eve, state assemblyman from Buffalo and a member of the observers committee; Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, who was briefly inside Attica; Brother Abdul, a former Attica inmate; Tom Soto of Youth Against War and Fascism, who was also inside Attica; Jerry Rubin, former Yippie leader; the wife of an Attica inmate; and

a representative from the National Lawyers Guild.

Charles Garry, legal counsel for the Black Panther Party, was the prosecuting attorney. The jury of 50, without any need to deliberate, declared the defendants to be guilty of murder in the first degree.

A CITIZENS' PROSECUTORS' DEFENSE FUND COMMITTEE has been set up to aid recently indicted Illinois State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan and 13 other policemen. They are modestly charged with obstructing justice even though they actually murdered Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

This "defense committee" contains a number of leading figures in Chicago's labor movement. Some of them are: Louis Peick, an international trustee of the Teamsters union; Stephen Lamb, business manager of Local 13 of the Plumbers Union; and Thomas Nayder, president of the Chicago Building Trades Council.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Fred Hampton

Photo by Brian Shannon

Bengali resistance to Yahya Khan grows

By MARCEL BLACK

"It has now been more than seven months since the army began its crackdown in East Pakistan on the Bengali autonomy movement, and nearly every day these days there is skirmishing between troops or policemen and guerrillas in Dacca itself," reported Malcolm W. Browne, *New York Times* correspondent in Dacca, Nov. 4.

Despite the fierce repression—not only in the Indian border areas, but throughout Bangla Desh—Bengali resistance continues to grow. Browne reports that Bengali freedom fighters have sunk a number of ships in the harbors of Dacca and Chittagong and several times demolished the power and water stations in Dacca itself.

Browne indicated that the Pakistani occupation forces in rural areas now mainly depend on Razakars—irregular troops recruited from "loyal" occupants of East Bengal. These forces are so unreliable that the West Pakistanis only arm them "with bolt-action rifles and no more than five cartridges each," according to Browne. The Pakistani fear automatic weapons and machine-guns would fall into the hands of the freedom fighters.

On Nov. 8, reporting from one of the liberated areas, Browne described the extent of the power of the Bengali national liberation forces. He states that "As a rule of thumb, foreign diplomats and military observers consider that about a quarter of the region [Bangla Desh] is controlled by the guerrillas, who claim a force of at least 100,000 men. But even in the heart of enemy-occupied territory, Pakistan control is tenuous."

After his travels in East Bengal, Browne reported that "Seemingly, the entire population other than the troops from West Pakistan are in on the conspiracy [his word for the national liberation struggle]." Riverboats lower their Pakistani flags as soon as they leave the cities, according to Browne,

because of the strength of Bangla Desh forces.

Guerrillas interviewed by Browne attacked the attempts at so-called relief for East Bengal being funneled through the United Nations and private humanitarian groups. They said "everything sent is used by the government as a political tool, with the East Pakistanis getting none of it."

President Yahya Khan's attempt to give a semblance of respectability to his occupation of East Bengal is meeting with failure. While Pakistani liberals like those in Ali Bhutto's People's Party have called for elections to give the Pakistani regime more window dressing, the Pakistani government is showing that it means to have them conducted Saigon-style.

On Nov. 2, according to a dispatch by Browne in the Nov. 3 *Times*, the Pakistani government announced that 53 of the seats formerly held by the nationalist Awami League would be filled by government appointment. This leaves only 25 vacant seats to be contested in special elections that will supposedly be held in December.

"All candidates for these seats," Browne reports, "have been carefully screened by the government." Poli-

cians who support the views of the Awami League, which won a decisive majority in last year's national elections, have been banned and "other potential opposition candidates have been prohibited access to the government-controlled press."

The biggest bloc from the 53 seats to be filled by government appointment go to the extreme right-wing Jamaat-Islami (Moslem Orthodox Party). According to Browne, "It has no appreciable political following in East Pakistan and won no seats in the December [1970] election."

An article in the Oct. 5 issue of the *Red Mole*, a British revolutionary-socialist publication, reports the deepening economic crisis in West Pakistan itself. Mohd Hussein, writing from Karachi, points out that the Pakistani economy has declined due to the war and to the disruption of the colonial economic relations with East Bengal.

He says the unemployment rate for government employees has increased 80-85 percent due to the war. He states that "Since March this year, in the textile industry alone, 400,000 workers have been arbitrarily thrown out of their jobs. Because of the limited

development of industry in general, once a worker is thrown out of a job, the likelihood of his finding another is negligible."

Added to lockouts is massive inflation. In the last three months, according to Hussein, raw cotton has gone up 50 percent, cloth 25 percent and meat 100 percent.

Peasants are being pushed off their lands by landholders, and according to Hussein, "Armed clashes between tenants have taken place in the North West Frontier Province."

Despite the fact that strikes are illegal, Pakistani workers are struggling against the repressive working conditions they face. In a pharmaceutical plant in Hyderabad, 250 workers struck against martial law, for more pay and better working conditions, and for the rehiring of a fired worker. When union bureaucrats and government officials intervened, gas, and telephone and telegraph workers threatened to strike, forcing the company and the government to concede to the workers' demands.

In both East Bengal and West Pakistan, the crisis faced by the Pakistani rulers has in no way been ended.



Bengalis demonstrating against West Pakistani occupation

Quebec union rally attacked

The following article is reprinted from the Nov. 8 *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.

By PHIL COURNEYEUR

"It's murder, plain murder."

That's how Louis Laberge, president of the Québec Federation of Labor (QFL), described the death of Michele Gauthier during the police assault on the October 29 labor demonstration in Montréal against *La Presse*.

The massive demonstration, estimated between ten and fifteen thousand strong, was organized by the three main labor federations of Québec—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), the Corporation of Québec Teachers, and the QFL.

The police confronted the demonstrators with a "wall of shame" at Viger Square—solid lines of cops who stopped the demonstration and then charged into the crowd. Hundreds of people, including Laberge, were clubbed. Michele Gauthier suffocated to death after she fell in the face of the police assault.

Québec-Press, the labor weekly, reports that hundreds were wounded and says that two, possibly three died. Only Gauthier's death has been confirmed.

The police assault on the peaceful demonstration was carried out on or-

ders from Mayor Jean Drapeau. Drapeau acted on the basis of a municipal antidemonstration bylaw which has been declared invalid by the Québec Superior Court.

Drapeau and the Montréal police acted directly to protect the interests of the financial empire of Paul Desmarais and his Power Corporation, owners of *La Presse*. Laberge, commenting on the political impact of the police assault, stated: "Things will never be the same for the workers. . . . What I know is that the police were there not to protect the population, but to club people and to protect the interests of the rich."

The *La Presse* demonstration came two-and-a-half months after the August 19 lockout of some 400 workers in five unions. Support for the locked-out *La Presse* workers grew across Québec, making the *La Presse* struggle the focal point of current labor struggles in Québec. On October 27 the *La Presse* workers declared a strike, and the editors suspended publication.

On November 1 the union movement announced that the striking *La Presse* unions will publish a daily tabloid, beginning with a run of 100,000 copies. Published on the premises of *Québec-Press*, the new tabloid challenges the Québec labor movement with the possibility of a continuing labor daily.

Québec labor's response to Drapeau's assault was immediate.

A massive protest rally of 12,000 in the Montréal Forum November 2, sponsored by the three labor federations and chaired by Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal CNTU, heard militant anticapitalist speeches denouncing the antilabor drive and the war in Vietnam and in support of the struggle for French language rights in Québec.

The *La Presse* strike brings the boss-government antilabor drive in Québec to a head. Labor's defense—with mass demonstrations, rallies, and a fighting labor daily—shows that Québec labor is not about to take the attack sitting down.

Juan Farinas fights frame-up

BY TONY THOMAS

NEW YORK—In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Juan Farinas discussed plans to take his case to the U.S. Supreme Court after an unfavorable ruling by the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals on Sept. 29.

Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League, faces two years in prison for allegedly "disrupting" the Selective Service System. When called for induction in the summer of 1968, Farinas announced his willingness to serve in the Army. When he appeared at the Whitehall Induction Center in downtown New York City, he handed out leaflets attacking the U.S. war in Indochina. Selective Service officials ordered him to desist and then tried to make him say that he was refusing induction. Farinas, however, refused to either submit to these unconstitutional orders or to claim he was resisting the draft.

Shortly afterward, he was arrested by FBI agents on several charges, including "failure to cease and desist

leafletting," "unruly and boisterous behavior," "refusing to submit for induction," and disruption of the Selective Service.

During his trial in December 1970 and January 1971, Farinas and the Juan Farinas Defense Committee stated that his indictment was an attack on the antiwar and socialist movements. The defense charged that it is unconstitutional for the Selective Service to limit the freedom of speech of inductees or to assume military powers over civilians like Farinas.

The U.S. government's case rested on false claims that Farinas intended to resist induction. The prosecutor demanded that no bail be set since Farinas (who is Cuban) is "Spanish-speaking and can melt into the population."

Government witnesses gave highly conflicting evidence. One claimed he had total recall of the entire details of Farinas' induction, while forgetting that Farinas has a heavy Spanish accent.

This farcical trial found Farinas guilty and sentenced him to two years in federal prison. The conviction was appealed to the Second Circuit Appeals Court in New York, where the denial of First Amendment rights by the Selective Service System and the lack of real evidence in the initial trial were restated. On Sept. 29 this appeal was rejected.

Farinas said there is now an attempt to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, which will decide within the next month whether to hear the case. He contrasted his own treatment with Nixon's intervention in the case of Lt. William Calley, an admitted mass murderer.

Letters of support and contributions can be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th St., New York, N. Y. 10011.

Thousands welcome Castro in streets of Chile; U.S. uneasy about nationalizations

By DAVID THORSTAD

NOV. 14—Hundreds of thousands of Chileans turned out to welcome Cuban Premier Fidel Castro when he arrived in Santiago Nov. 10. The trip, which is scheduled to last for at least 10 days, is Castro's first to Latin America in over 11 years. It is a dramatic sign of the growing breakdown in the U.S.-inspired efforts to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America.

Everywhere the reception was enthusiastic. In one shantytown, wrote Juan de Onís in the Nov. 11 *New York Times*, "the crowd poured through the restraining ropes and men held small children on their shoulders to see Mr. Castro."

De Onís reported Castro told a news conference that his visit did not signify a change in Cuban foreign policy, but that "exterior conditions are changing for Cuba."

Chile's President Salvador Allende has chosen to interpret the visit as a Cuban stamp of approval on the policies of his ruling Popular Unity coalition. He told a news conference Nov. 9 that Castro's visit indicates public recognition by Cuba that "Chile is living a revolutionary process under a revolutionary government, although with tactics different from those used in Cuba."

Allende took the occasion of Castro's visit to submit to Congress a proposal to replace the present legislature with a unicameral "People's Assembly." If the proposal is defeated in the opposition-controlled legislature, Allende could call a plebiscite on the question. He has stated that if he were to lose such a plebiscite, he would resign.

According to a report in the Nov. 12 *New York Times*, Allende's proposal also includes "the extension of social security to all Chileans, equal rights for women, the elimination of legal penalties on those born out of wedlock and obligatory financial aid for unwed mothers and their offsprings by the children's fathers."

Castro's trip to Chile is taking place at a time when Washington, D.C., is making increasingly menacing noises about Chile's nationalization of U.S.-owned copper companies. The first indication that the U.S. was exerting pressure on Chile came last Aug. 11 when the Export-Import Bank rejected a six-month-old Chilean request for a \$21-million loan and loan guarantee for the purchase of three Boeing jets. Henry Kearns, president of the bank, said that Chile could expect no loans from U.S. lending agencies until it agreed to pay what the U.S. considered satisfactory compensation for its nationalization of three copper companies: Cerro, Kennecott and Anaconda. The mounting economic pressure on Chile is also reflected in the fact that during the past year private foreign companies have virtually ended any investment in Chile.

U.S. press accounts of Chile's nationalization of the U.S. copper companies have tended to paint a picture of David giving Goliath a raw deal. A cursory reading of the accounts might give the impression that Chile has just taken over U.S. companies and told the U.S. to go fly a kite—which, of course, it has every right to do.

However, this is actually somewhat misleading. Chile has already nationalized a number of local U.S. holdings and agreed to pay compensation for them on terms acceptable to the companies. This is true of Bethlehem Steel, the Bank of North America, the North Indiana Brass Company, and others. Chile also agreed to pay the Cerro Corporation around \$14-million when it was nationalized. In addition, a contract was signed with the Cerro Corporation providing that the supply and maintenance of operating equipment would be granted exclusively to its subsidiary, Cerro Sales. The contract requires minimum monthly payments of \$50,000, and stipulates that in case of conflict, disputes will be referred to the jurisdiction of the State of New York and dealt with according to the procedures of the American Arbitration Association!

Moreover, Chile has agreed to take over the foreign debts of the nationalized copper companies. These are said to amount to more than \$770-million.

The Sept. 28 announcement of Chile's decision not to pay compensation to two of the copper companies, Kennecott and Anaconda, set off the loudest saber rattling in Washington. Allende said

the two companies had made "excess profits" since 1955 totaling \$774-million ("excess profits" are profits exceeding 10 percent annually). Since the book value of the companies—on which any compensation would be based—was set at \$640-million, the companies would actually end up owing Chile \$134-million.

Following a "private conversation" with presidential assistant Henry Kissinger in Washington, Chilean Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda hinted Oct. 7 that Chile might consider using a lower figure. He suggested that perhaps only \$300- or \$400-million in "excess profits" (rather than \$774-million) would be charged to the companies because the Chilean government had been co-owner of the nationalized mines with the U.S. companies. In this case, Chile would owe the U.S. companies \$240- to \$340-million—in addition to being responsible for their foreign debts.

Despite all this, Secretary of State William Rogers sharply attacked Chile Oct. 13, accusing it of a "serious departure from accepted standards of international law," and threatened to invoke the Hickel-Amundson Amendment, which requires an immediate cutoff of aid, loans and credit to countries that expropriate American-owned property without compensation acceptable to the imperialists. "Actually," observed *Time* magazine Nov. 15, however, "invocation of the amendment for the first time in Latin America would probably hurt the U.S. more than Chile, which is no longer receiving any significant American aid."

Still, the increasing imperialist pressures on Chile are having an effect. In the past year, Chile's foreign reserves of approximately \$400-million have been reduced by more than \$250-million through increased imports and the imperialist squeeze on credit. In a move to avert a currency crisis, Allende ordered at the beginning of November that imports be restricted to essentials. On Nov. 2, Chile's central bank expanded the list of imports subject to a 10,000 percent "prior deposit charge" to include 75 percent of all imported goods. "Under the restriction," explained the *Wall Street Journal* Nov. 3, "a company that wants to import \$500 of goods must deposit \$50,000 with the central bank when requesting an import permit."

Then, on Nov. 9, Allende decided to ask Chile's foreign creditors to renegotiate payment of debts totaling more than \$3-billion. (This proposed renegotiation does not include the debts Chile took over from the copper companies.) More than half of Chile's foreign debt is concentrated in the U.S. "And," observes the Nov. 15 *Newsweek*, "there is serious doubt whether the U.S. will agree to renegotiation until Chile agrees to compensate the copper companies that it nationalized."



Chilean poster reads: "Chile has put on long pants . . . now copper is Chilean."

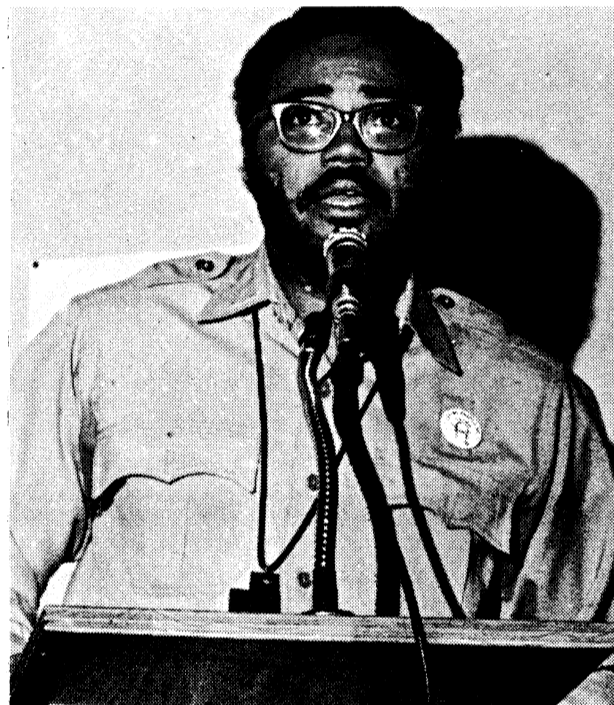
St. Louis Black leader framed on gun charge

By DERRICK MORRISON

Bob Williams, head of the St. Louis United Front and national coordinator for the Cairo, Ill., United Front, was convicted Nov. 1 by an all-white, middle-aged jury in Cape Girardeau, Mo., for violating the Federal Firearms Act.

The alleged violation occurred on May 25 when Williams bought two rifles at a shopping center in Cape Girardeau. According to a United Front press release, Williams informed the sales clerk that he had previously been convicted of a felony and sentenced to one year in prison. The clerk made a telephone call and then assured Williams he could purchase the rifles since he hadn't been sentenced to more than one year.

However, the clerk, who is now assistant manager of the shopping center, claimed at the trial that Williams never told him of any previous conviction. On the basis of this claim and the prosecution's additional charge that Williams wasn't living in the state at the time of the purchase, he was declared guilty.



Bob Williams

Photo by Carl Hampton

The contention of nonresidence is very shallow. Williams' Cape Girardeau voting address was at a house he was making payments on. But the mortgage was foreclosed May 21, four days before the rifle purchase.

This patent frame-up is similar to what went down on the previous conviction Williams is now appealing. At that time, Williams bought a pistol from a sporting goods store. He had already obtained a permit for the pistol from the Cape Girardeau county sheriff. When he made the purchase, a Cape Girardeau police officer was on the scene. He and the officer exchanged amenities, and then Williams went on his way. But in the course of driving home with the unloaded pistol in plain sight on the dashboard of the car, he was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon!

The conviction for this charge is now before the Missouri Appellate Court and will hopefully be struck down. Sentencing of Williams for violating the Firearms Act is slated for Nov. 29.

The Front press release provides a brief sketch of Williams. "He is a graduate of Vashone High School, St. Louis, Mo., attended Harris Teachers College for two years and received his Bachelor of Education degree from Southeast Missouri State College in Cape Girardeau . . . and did graduate work in community development at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill." He has also worked in community organizations in Cape Girardeau and St. Louis.

The St. Louis Front is asking people to write letters of support to Williams' defense counsel and to the probation officer who is conducting the presentencing investigation.

Letters and telegrams of support should be sent to: Mr. Robert J. Lenzini, U.S. Probation Officer, 104 U.S. Court House, 114 Market St., St. Louis, Mo. 63101; and Attorney Dan Reardon, 7 N. 7th St., St. Louis, Mo. 63101.

In Review

Theater

Ain't Supposed To Die A Natural Death

Ain't Supposed To Die A Natural Death. Book, words and music by Melvin Van Peebles. Directed by Gilbert Moses. Produced by Eugene V. Wolsk, Charles Blackwell, Emanuel Azenberg and Robert Malina. Ambassador Theatre. New York.

Ain't Supposed To Die A Natural Death is subtitled "Tunes from Blackness." The "tunes" are 19 brief glimpses into the everyday lives of various people in virtually any Black community. And, as the title suggests, the tunes depict a life where it is next to impossible for Black people to die a natural death—or live a "natural" life. The setting for the play is "here" and the time is now.

This is Van Peebles' first presentation since his controversial film *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*. The great popularity of *Sweetback* and the recognition Van Peebles earned for it helped lay the groundwork for this Broadway piece. Van Peebles, though, has largely taken the material for it from an early record album of his by the same name.

In this collection, Van Peebles broadens and further elaborates his view of life in the Black community. His stark presentation is characteristically free of both falsely imposed white ideals and Black fantasies of genie-like omnipotence. Consequently, because of his straightforward approach, Van Peebles is often harshly berated by white and Black critics alike for having, in *Sweetback*, capriciously exaggerated Black life at best, and

having portrayed some kind of white man's nigger at worst. Despite these critics' disapproval of his style, Brother Van Peebles shows in *Ain't Supposed To Die A Natural Death* that he has no intention of presenting anything less than a truthful characterization of Black existence. This is evident from the opening scene to the last.

This work, which is often quite humorous, contains, among others, episodes depicting a wino begging for money, a pimp abusing his prostitute, cops accepting graft, a gambler at the fights, a Muslim selling his papers, a dude on junk, and a militant buying bullets. Especially good is Van Peebles' constant exposure of the supposed role of cops as "servants and protectors" of the people.

In one scene, which deals with that role while providing a revealing commentary on the political attitude of Black America, a sister is shown climbing steps to a balcony for a breath of fresh air and a white cop scrambles up to save her from leaping off: "Take your hands off me! I don't need your help. If I didn't leap when Medgar got your message, or Malcolm, or Martin Luther King, I ain't gon' leap now. Don't touch me. This is the coolest place in town."

Van Peebles also treats two other subjects sometimes overlooked by Black playwrights: the Black prisoner and the Black homosexual. In one scene, a prisoner who has killed his girlfriend for going out with another man is portrayed as a victim of warped society. In another, entitled "Tenth and Greenwich," a lesbian is seen calling out to her lover, who is in jail for the "infamous crime" of homosexual behavior, reassuring her that everything is OK.

A recurring theme throughout the work is the idea that behind virtually everything a Black person does, be it positive or "negative," there is a money-hungry whitey above it all, checking it out. This point is graphically made throughout the play by an actor wearing a white mask standing on a ledge overlooking different scenes. The final scene brings this state of affairs to a fitting conclusion when all the actresses and actors symbolically break the chain of white domination by tearing down the strips of paper that tie the ledge where the white man is to each of the Black people on the stage below.

The work conveys a fairly thorough overview of Black life. However, while the spotlight is on

one scene, often other side stories are simultaneously occurring. This technique gives the viewer more than enough to look at, but it also makes it difficult to take in everything in one sitting.

The cast, all of whom have had prior TV, film or Broadway experience, are accomplished and talented. Each member plays her or his role as if they had known it "by heart."

—BAXTER SMITH



Photo by Bert Andrews

Barbara Alston and Ralph Wilcox in "Ain't Supposed To Die A Natural Death."

Magazines

Progressive Woman

Progressive Woman. October 1971 issue. Middlebury, Ind. 56 pp. 75c.

The emergence of today's feminist movement and the rapidly changing consciousness of women throughout the world are becoming more and more of a problem for the rulers of this country. Cries from the mass media of "manhaters," "braburners" and "lesbians" have not succeeded in warding off the influence of feminist ideas.

Thousands of women are now active in organizing the women's movement, and thousands more are identifying with the struggle against their oppression as women.

What the defenders of our sexist social system want is some alternative they can present to a mass, independent feminist movement. Just as they have attempted with the Black liberation movement, they want some vehicle to divert the women's movement into channels less threatening to the status quo. A variation of the grotesque spectacle of racist Lyndon Baines Johnson declaring "We shall overcome" will be repeated this year as capitalist politicians and the capitalist-controlled media begin to mouth their concern for women's rights.

One such example of an attempt to divert the women's liberation movement through pretended sympathy with it is a new, slick magazine called *Progressive Woman*. The postscript to the cover letter that comes with the magazine states: "The

publishers of *Progressive Woman* are proponents of the women's movement. Our goal, however, is to help aspiring women *earn* equality, rather than urging them to demand."

How does one *earn* abortion law repeal and the other changes needed by women? This statement by *Progressive Woman* implies that women must *deserve* the inequalities that exist now.

The copy I received claims to be the fourth issue of "the magazine women have been requesting for years." One article explains what to do when your children have grown up and left home. You can grow flowers, get involved in civic activities, etc.—no mention of the women's liberation movement. And never question the system that got you into the mother-housewife syndrome to begin with.

Irene Steigerwald, in "How to Be a Saint in a Business Office," lays it on the line. "In your day-to-day work you have many chances to make or break a friend or co-worker, to improve your own business relationships, to be a traitor to your firm or boss—and equally as many chances to prove your worth!"

Naturally, no woman would want to be a "traitor" to a firm that pays her 58 percent of what men make, and that keeps her in her place as a female and a sex object. The question is asked in this article, "Are you loyal to your employer?" We are then told, "You take his money; it is only fair to give him full measure of loyalty in return."

How about equal pay? "If you agreed to work for a certain sum, there it is, that was the bargain, wasn't it? It's a hard world, but that's the way it goes in business."

And finally, "If you have a hard time tolerating others, perhaps you need to consult with your clergyman or a trained psychologist. It may be

your own secret ills which are preventing you from getting ahead at the office, rather than the foibles of other people which so annoy you."

Clearly, this article and others in magazines like *Progressive Woman* won't attract feminists, nor deceive many potential feminists as to the nature of the women's movement. Steigerwald's advice is so crudely and blatantly anti-female that it is hard to believe any woman could read it without feeling some healthy feminist anger.

But it is likely that these magazines will eventually become more subtle, picking up the language of women's liberation in order to better achieve their fundamental goal: to blunt the feminist movement's indictment of this sexist system, to divert it from independent struggle against the government for women's needs, and to bring it into "constructive," "responsible" activities to achieve "gradual change" through "education" and through working in the Democratic and Republican parties.

The National Women's Political Caucus is promoted by *Progressive Woman* in a full-page display. Leaders of the caucus believe that capitalism can be reformed to meet the needs of women. Their goal is for women to throw themselves wholeheartedly into working for, and trying to get powerful positions in, the sexist Democratic and Republican parties, in the hopes that we will be recognized and rewarded for our efforts.

Magazines like *Progressive Woman* refuse to discuss the system that is responsible for women's oppression. They blame inequalities on "attitudes," without recognizing that these "attitudes" are a result of the oppression of women that is built into our social system and cannot be eradicated without fundamental social change.

—JEANNE LAFFERTY

Houston SWP makes big impact

By DAVID BLISS

HOUSTON—Two issues raised by the Socialist Workers Party candidates here have become the focal point for all the candidates in the Nov. 20 municipal elections. They are the loyalty oath, which the socialist candidates for mayor, City Council and School Board have refused to sign, and the firing of Police Chief Herman Short.

On Oct. 27, the four socialist candidates won a suit in federal court against the Houston city ordinance requiring the candidates to file exorbitant fees and the state law requiring them to swear a loyalty oath. Mayor Louie Welch responded to this victory by launching a widespread public campaign against the SWP candidates, attempting even to drag in Fred Hofheinz, who poses as the liberal candidate for mayor.

In several paid political advertisements, the Welch campaign stated, "One of the candidates even said he would take up arms against this country and fight for Russia. If this isn't reason enough for increased law enforcement, what is?" These advertisements have been broadcast hourly on many Houston radio stations.

At a news conference Nov. 4, SWP mayoral candidate Debby Leonard challenged Welch to debate his accusations. That evening, at a forum for the candidates sponsored by the League of Women Voters, Leonard approached Welch in person with the offer to debate. He refused with the sexist reply that he would have his daughter debate the SWP candidate because "she is prettier than I am and you are prettier than I am."

Debby Leonard was given a special interview by a local television station to answer Welch's witch-hunting tactics. She explained her reasons for

refusing to sign a loyalty oath. "I do not believe we have a representative government, and so I could never sign an oath declaring I would oppose any efforts to change it."

Another paid political broadcast by Welch said, "With these far-out socialists running in the election, the only candidate to vote for is the one who is strongest to keep Police Chief Herman Short in office. Even Freddy Hofheinz has refused to say whether he will keep Herman Short as his police chief."

The SWP candidates have made the firing of this racist police chief and community control of the police one of the major issues of their campaign. Short has been responsible for the beating to death of Bobby Joe Connor, the shooting of Carl Hampton of Peoples Party II, and most recently, the beating of Ovide Duncantell, a Black candidate for City Council who was arrested for a traffic violation.

"The police department has become the major issue in a mayor's race that has been given added spice by radicals running for public office here for the first time," reported the *New York Times* Nov. 14. Pointing out that the radicals running are the candidates of the SWP, it went on to discuss their impact on the Houston race: "Mrs. Leonard, 29, a child welfare case worker, has been the most outspoken of the candidates. She has labeled the city administration 'racist' and has said that one of her first acts as mayor would be to oust Chief Short."

"She says the chief consorts with the Ku Klux Klan."

In a debate broadcast Nov. 14 over KCOH, the largest Black-operated radio station in Houston, Leonard, Hofheinz and Welch had their first public confrontation. A large audience of Blacks attended and fired questions at the candidates.

In a mayoral candidates' debate at the University of Houston Nov. 12, Welch was booed for his position in favor of Police Chief Short. Even Hofheinz accused him of "hiding behind his police chief's badge."

On Nov. 11, Debby Leonard was invited to speak to the employees at the Maxwell House Coffee Factory. More than 1,000 employees, mostly

Blacks, Chicanos and women, met Leonard in the plant parking lot. The company set up a display table at the entrance gate with campaign literature workers could take during the shift change. Leonard and Jeanne Shaffer, a campaign supporter, spent most of the day discussing the election issues with the employees.

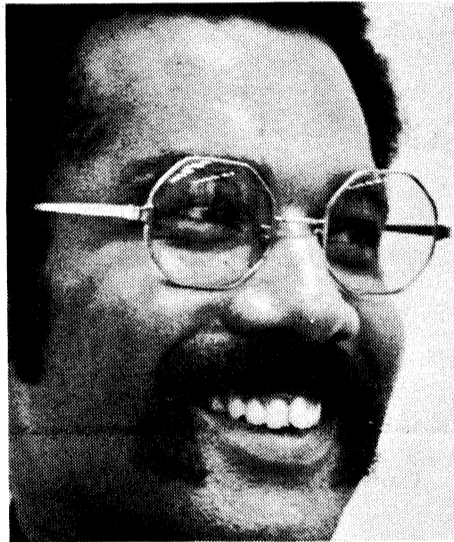
Gains for SWP in D.C. election

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Socialist Workers Party made significant gains from its participation in the District of Columbia school board elections.

Keith Jones, 25-year-old Black veteran and antiwar activist, received 2.3 percent of the vote on Nov. 2. Although he ran last in a field of four candidates (all of whom were Black), Jones' impact shouldn't be measured by arithmetic alone.

For one thing, the campaign was



Keith Jones

moved decidedly to the left by the SWP program. The *Washington Post* said Jones "considered his campaign successful in that other candidates were using some of his ideas in their campaigns," things like free child and medical care in the schools. All the other candidates opposed or equivocated on Jones' call for community control of education.

Marion Barry, who heads Pride Inc., a federally financed program to aid Black businessmen, won the election. He was supported by the liberal Democratic establishment, including D.C. Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, who is attempting to build a political machine in the District. The defeated candidates, incumbent school board president Anita Allen and teacher Ira Mosley, are regarded as conservatives.

Jones spoke to student assemblies at the 16 District high schools, which have a more than 90 percent Black enrollment. He was usually accompanied by members of the Black Moratorium Committee and the Third World Task Force of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, who talked with students about the fall antiwar actions and the Nov. 20 abortion demonstration.

Jones and his supporters led the way in protesting a discriminatory regulation prohibiting the distribution of campaign material at the school assemblies. Other candidates followed suit, and school officials soon gave up their attempts to enforce the ban.

Jones appeared on six television and two radio candidate forums.

A high point of the campaign was a forum sponsored by the D.C. Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). Jones was the only candidate to receive prolonged applause, a standing ovation, and the active support of three GAA members—including the campaign manager for Dr. Franklin Kameny, the candidate who ran on a platform of homosexual rights in last spring's D.C. delegate race.

Jones' appearance at predominantly Black Howard University received TV coverage. After he spoke to a social science class, the professor, Becky Nyangoni, said she intended to vote for Jones because "he made more sense than any other candidate."

¡La Raza en Acción!



"WE LOVE OUR MESKINS": We recently received a post card from one of our readers in South Texas showing scores of *mexicanos* harvesting carrots in the lower Rio Grande Valley. The caption on the back reads, in part: "Scenes like the one featured are frequent throughout the Valley. There is an abundant supply of native labor, Mexican in descent, which has been proved by experience to be quick to learn hand skills, industrious, and home-loving by nature." The post card is published by Frank Whaley, a gringo from Corpus Christi who figures that as long as *mexicano* workers are being exploited anyway, he might as well get in on the action by taking their pictures.

PATENT ON SELF DEFENSE?: Alma Canales, a MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) leader in Austin, Texas, and a recently elected committeewoman to the state executive committee of the Texas Raza Unida Party, makes the following observation. It refers to a discussion in a class taught by José Angel Gutiérrez at the University of Texas.

"It is always interesting to see which qualities are attributed, and by whom, to either sex.

"The latest example is the claiming for the male sex of all rights to self-defense by a white male student in José Angel Gutiérrez's class 'The Chicano and His Culture.' During a discussion of the changing roles and relationships of Chicanos and Chicanas, this student said that Chicanos accept as potential leadership those Chicanas who demonstrate manly traits. To exemplify, he pointed to 'those women who wear bullet belts across their chests and defend things.'

"Manly!

"Since when do men have a patent on defending?"

"This guy further explained, 'well, you know, the Chicanas who aren't fragile, feminine. . . .'

"Well, that is a figment of someone's imagination (male?) because that Chicana never existed. Oh yes, the image was manufactured and many women were herded into playing that role. But it was just that—manufactured."

Her comments appeared as an article in the October issue of *El Despertador de Tejas*, a U of T MAYO newsletter.

ATTACK ON ILLEGAL ALIENS INTENSIFIES: The Nov. 9 *Los Angeles Times* reports that California Governor Ronald Reagan signed a bill "making it a misdemeanor, punishable by a minimum fine of \$200, for an employer to 'knowingly' hire an illegal alien whose employment would have 'an adverse effect on lawful resident workers.'"

The bill was passed by the Democratic Party-controlled state legislature as part of the continuing campaign to drive some 1.5 million *mexicano* and *latino* illegal aliens out of the country and thereby out of the labor market. In the past year, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, 117,000 illegal aliens were caught and sent back to Mexico. It is estimated that there are approximately 200,000 to 300,000 illegals in the Los Angeles area.

Reagan stated openly the intent of the new bill. As he sees it, "this legislation can help to improve job opportunities for thousands of legitimate [sic] California residents who earnestly seek employment in our temporarily depressed labor market." In other words, the ruling class is attempting to ease the effect of unemployment on U.S. workers, who are already expressing their dissatisfaction with Nixon's antilabor policies, by forcing the bulk of the unemployment on Raza workers not fortunate enough to have "papers." It also makes

mexicano and *latino* nationals ready scapegoats for the economic hardships of other sections of the U.S. working class.

Another effect of the bill is that it dovetails with California's new welfare law, which "limits alien welfare benefits to only those who reside in California legally." This is reminiscent of the wholesale deportations carried out during the 1930s in order to get *mexicanos*, both legal and illegal, off relief at a savings of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the state.

This law not only puts in danger those *mexicanos* who have recently come into the United States but also thousands who have been working and living in the U.S. for years, sometimes 20 or 30 years, without taking out citizenship papers.

SIXTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION: Nov. 20 will mark the sixty-first anniversary of the start of the Mexican revolution of 1910. On that date Francisco Madero, "Apostle of the Revolution" and one of the ten richest capitalists and landowners of Mexico, crossed the *Rio Bravo* (Rio Grande), leaving San Antonio, Texas, where he had been headquartered. (He stopped at the hacienda *El Indio*, not far from Crystal City, to water his horses). Although he was forced to return to Texas immediately—the men who were supposed to meet him never showed up—Madero's call to arms to overthrow dictator Porfirio Díaz was heeded by others. One of those, far to the south in the state of Morelos, was Emiliano Zapata, who stated, "The land free, the land free for all, land without overseers and without masters, is the war cry of the revolution."

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

IN THE DECEMBER

International socialist review

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

by Evelyn Reed

"Females in nature suffer no disabilities compared to males. . . . It was with the rise of patriarchal class society that the biological makeup of women became the ideological pretext for . . . keeping them in a servile status."

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THE MILITANT

China's UN delegate outlines policy of 'peaceful coexistence'

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

On Nov. 15, the representatives of the People's Republic of China took their seats in the General Assembly of the United Nations, and chief delegate Chiao Kuan-hua made his opening address to the Assembly.

The major theme of his remarks was that the revolutionary tide is on the rise around the world; that the people of China stand foursquare on the side of those struggling for independence, self-determination and revolution; and that Peking will always oppose the two great nuclear superpowers and side with small nations struggling to take their destinies into their own hands.

Chiao stressed that the seating of the People's Republic of China represented a defeat for U.S. imperialism and its allies. This is true. Despite an intense diplomatic pressure campaign by the U.S. government, the large majority of states voted Oct. 25 to expel the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government.

While that outcome was definitely not the one favored by the Nixon administration, it was a decision Washington was willing to accept as a modest price to be paid for the benefits anticipated from the new policy of rapprochement with Peking. Thus Nixon pushed on with his planned trip to China, even though it was almost inevitable that the logic of this course of action would bring defeat for the U.S. fight to keep Chiang Kai-shek's regime in the U.N.

In short, Washington had it both ways. Nixon will still pay his respects to Chairman Mao. Peking has been

mile territorial claims of the Latin American governments, and added, "The Chinese government and people resolutely support the people of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, and resolutely support the people of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against the white colonialist rule and racial discrimination."

But, conspicuous by its absence was any mention of the liberation struggle of Bangla Desh. Nor was there any mention of the struggles against the dictatorships in Ethiopia, the Sudan or Iran—to name a few other omissions. The reason is obvious. Despite the rhetoric, these are national liberation struggles Peking does not support because the Mao regime has subordinated the needs of the revolutionary struggles in those countries to its own narrow, national interests.

For the sake of its diplomatic ties to the Yahya Kahn government, Peking denounces the Bangla Desh liberation struggle and provides economic and military aid to help crush the Mukti Bahini.

In its haste to improve diplomatic relations with Ceylon, Peking has praised the government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike for its brutal suppression of last spring's youth rebellion, which left an admitted 1,200 dead and over 14,000 still in jail. Chou En-lai labeled the uprising the work of reactionaries and foreign agents.

The Shah of Iran recently became a great friend of "the Chinese people"—but nothing is said about his murderous dictatorship over the Ira-



Pro-Peking demonstration in New York City following admission of China into UN.

seated in the UN. And Washington can protest it never wanted Chiang Kai-shek expelled.

Like Nixon's decision to visit Peking, the UN decision represents a qualitative break in the wall of isolation surrounding the People's Republic of China since 1949. It reflects a new weakening of imperialism for which the Vietnamese people can take most of the credit.

But there is another side to China's new UN seat as well. Chiao Kuan-hua, in his opening address to the General Assembly, carefully listed the various liberation struggles his government supports and whose cause China will presumably champion in the UN. He talked about Indochina, Korea, Palestine, the 200-nautical-

nian people.

There is nothing in principle wrong with China establishing diplomatic ties to even the most reactionary regimes. But the real nature of Peking's foreign policy is evident in the fact that the needs of the revolutionary struggles within those countries are sacrificed to the short-term interests of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Therein lies the dangerous side of Peking's entry into the United Nations. It adds a certain "left" prestige and cover to the organization, making it easier for the UN to play its worldwide counterrevolutionary role.

The danger is particularly real in relation to the Bangla Desh struggle. Another UN "peacekeeping" mission

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L.A. Raza campaign confronts Democrats

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—The Raza Unida Party escalated its attack on the Democratic Party last week by confronting Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) when he came to town to campaign for Richard Alatorre, Democratic candidate in the 48th State Assembly District. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 19.)

This week, Alatorre again needed outside help. Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), California State Senator David Roberti, and State Assembly majority leader Walter Karabian announced they would walk the precincts with their "friend" Richard Alatorre. These *politicos*, however, never went on the tour. They probably reconsidered when they were met at the Alatorre campaign headquarters on Sunset Boulevard by Raza Unida supporters chanting "Raza Si, Democrats No!" and cars with sound equipment explaining the role of the Democrats in oppressing Chicanos. The loudspeakers blared, "The Democratic Party is the party of Mayor Yorty and Mayor Daley, and Richard Alatorre is a Democrat."

campaign.)

Prior to the picket, the Raza Unida Party had distributed leaflets in the El Sereno district, which stated in part: "We have a great potential in the Southwest to create changes for ourselves and our children, but we can't do it through the Democratic Party. This has already been proven. Those Spanish-surnamed individuals in Congress whom we have put so much hope in have failed us. We still have the worst education, housing and health, and freeways cutting up our community, and many other abuses.

"One individual alone cannot create changes, but a political party of our people which addresses itself directly to our needs can create changes. It's already happened in Colorado, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. It's time to take our destiny into our hands and unite under *el Partido de La Raza Unida*."

Following the picket, the young Chicanos returned to the Raza Unida Party headquarters, where they organized teams to go precinct walking for Raul Ruiz, the Raza Unida candidate for the 48th assembly seat. They

NEWSFLASH: Los Angeles, Nov. 17—The following are the results from the Nov. 16 runoff election in the California 48th State Assembly District:

Bill Brophy (Republican)	16,346 (46.71%)
Richard Alatorre (Democrat)	14,759 (42.17%)
Raul Ruiz (Raza Unida)	2,778 (7.93%)
John Blaine (Peace and Freedom)	1,108 (3.16%)

A very spirited picket composed mostly of young people continued around the Alatorre headquarters for two hours.

Raza Unida Party activists carried signs that read, "The Democratic and Republican Parties are rip-offs," "Vote Raza Unida," and "No More Potholders!" The last slogan referred to the thousands of potholders distributed by Alatorre as a campaign gimmick. (This has earned him the nickname of "Potholder Cacciatore" since he has also attempted to pass himself off as Italian from time to time during the

passed out literature and talked to voters about the importance of voting for Ruiz. During the week, the Raza Unida Party supporters distributed over 35,000 copies of an eight-page campaign newspaper explaining the purpose of the party and the Raul Ruiz campaign.

Alatorre, who has received the endorsement of most of the Democratic Party leadership, has also gained the endorsement of COPE (Council on Political Education), the political arm of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

U.S. antiwar leaders meet with Vietnamese

PARIS—Two leaders of the American antiwar movement, Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, and Geoff Mirelowitz of the national staff of the Student Mobilization Committee, addressed a mass meeting of the French antiwar movement here Nov. 10 and met with representatives of the Vietnamese.

The mass meeting, held in the Mutualité, was attended by more than 2,500 people. The purpose of the meeting was to bring together American antiwar leaders and representatives of the liberation struggles in Indochina. The speakers list included: Jerry Gordon; Al Hubbard, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Dr. Le van Loch, representing the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government to the Paris talks; Boum Sang, a leader of the Laotian Student Association; Pham The Truc, a former anti-Thieu deputy in the Saigon government, who is now living in Paris; Le Van Sinh, representing the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris; and Pytoureth, speaking for the Cambodian liberation forces in Paris. The meeting was chaired by Madeleine Reberieux, a

history professor at Vincennes University and Dr. Francis Kahn, a leading figure in the Indochinese Solidarity Front (FSI). The FSI, a coalition of a number of French organizations opposed to the war, sponsored the meeting as well as a 20,000-strong demonstration here Nov. 6.

In their remarks, the Vietnamese speakers expressed their appreciation to the FSI for organizing the meeting and noted the success of the Nov. 6 demonstration in France as well as in the United States.

The Nov. 6 demonstration and the meeting on Nov. 10 marked a resurgence for the French antiwar movement. The FSI intends to continue to build mass demonstrations against the war and in solidarity with the Indochinese people's struggle for self-determination.

Before leaving Paris, Gordon and Mirelowitz met for two-and-a-half hours Nov. 12 with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam. Other meetings were also held with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Paris and with a representative of the Saigon anti-Thieu forces.