

THE MILITANT

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

Thousands march for right to abortion

— page 4, 5



March on Washington, D. C., Nov. 20 to repeal all abortion laws

Photo by Lora Eckert

ATTEND NAT'L ANTIWAR CONVENTION, DEC. 3-5

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PUERTO RICANS FORM SOCIALIST PARTY: The following report comes from Dick Garza: SAN JUAN, P. R. — On Sunday, Nov. 21, the plenary session of the Eighth National Assembly (convention) of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (Pro-Independence Movement—MPI), meeting here, unanimously approved the founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The vote consummated months of intensive discussion on the need to build a revolutionary party along Leninist lines in order to win independence and establish socialism. More than 280 delegates from all of the major cities in Puerto Rico and from many small towns, as well as from Connecticut and New York, worked on the many documents, resolutions and organization statutes before the assembly.

The founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is a historic step for Latin America as well as for Puerto Rico. It signifies a new stage in the development of left-wing thinking among Latin American revolutionaries.

On Nov. 28, the new party will present the results of all its deliberations to a mass rally of members and sympathizers. The rally, which the organizers expect to be the largest of its kind in Puerto Rican history, will also hear the PSP's position on electoral policy for 1972.

Carlos Altamarino, secretary of the Chilean Socialist Party, had accepted an invitation to attend the convention, but was denied a visa by the U. S. State Department.

The Militant will continue to cover this important development for its readers.

KENT TRIAL: The trial of the first of the Kent 25 opened Nov. 22 with tight restrictions clamped on news coverage of the trial and on demonstrations "in, at, or near" the court. Common Pleas Judge Edwin W. Jones posted a three-page list of rules as the trial of 23-year-old Jerry Rupe, charged with "riot," and "arson" and other offenses, opened. A small group of students defied the ban on demonstrations until they were ordered to disperse by a sheriff. Standing outside the courthouse, the students carried signs saying "Stop the Trial" and "Sieg Heil, Judge Jones."

PERSICO TRIAL: New York Supreme Court Justice George Postel couldn't make good his initial threats to throw reporters "in the can" if they wrote stories on the trial of Carmine ("The Snake") Persico that included information not disclosed in court. He did manage, however, to bar the press from the rest of the trial after reporters ignored his bullying threats. Now five reporters are suing on behalf of a committee of journalists to reopen the Persico trial to news coverage, arguing the issue is a constitutional question involving freedom of the press.

TWO LEGION OF JUSTICE THUGS CHARGED WITH DYNAMITE POSSESSION: According to the Nov. 19 *Chicago Daily News*, Thomas Stewart and his brother were arrested that day and charged with illegal possession of dynamite. Thomas Stewart still faces charges of armed robbery and aggravated assault for his role in the Legion of Justice (LOJ) attack on the Socialist Workers Party offices Nov. 1, 1969. His brother, Robert Stewart, is also associated with the ultraright LOJ, a gang of goons headed by reactionary Chicago attorney S. Thomas Sutton. Sutton represented the pair at a hearing on the dynamite charge. Bond was set at \$4,000 for Thomas and \$2,000 for Robert. Sutton claimed Robert operated the "American Colonial Armament Company" and was a licensed firearms and explosives dealer. The charges stem from the sale of 13 sticks of dynamite last month to an undercover federal agent in northwest Chicago.

DRAMATIC ESCAPE: Driving an armored car they made by fitting 10-gauge metal shields on a fork-lift truck, two inmates at Raiford Prison in Florida crashed through the gates in a hail of gunfire Nov. 13 and escaped. They are still free.

GREEK JUNTA HIT IN BOOK: A collection of writings by 23 Greek authors, five of whom the junta has previously detained or arrested and two of whom it still holds in jail, has been published by seven intellectuals in Athens according to the Nov. 16 *New York Times*. The collection, entitled *New Texts 2*, contains writings directly critical of the military regime.

MERGER? The Nov. 7 *New York Times*, in reporting the National Tenants Organization (NTO) convention, quotes NTO Director Jesse Gray as saying a merger between his organization and the National Welfare Rights Organization is a realistic possibility. The combined group, Gray said, would have "tremendous influence across this country and could play a key role in 1972."

"SOCIALIZED MEDICINE": The Nov. 11 *Boston Globe* reports a study showing 81 percent of the Harvard Medical School's 1971 graduating class favor creating a system of national health insurance.

INTELLECT AND EMOTION: Arguing before the Supreme Court Nov. 17 for the curbing of suits such as those filed by conservation groups to stop the government from wrecking the environment, U. S. Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold said persons having no more than "an intellectual or emotional interest" in government actions should be barred from challenging such actions in court.

BOSTON CONFERENCE: More than 100 persons attended the Boston socialist educational conference Nov. 12-14 to hear speeches by Pat Galligan on women's liberation, by Frank Lovell on the wage freeze, by Tony Thomas on Black liberation, by Les Evans on Chile, and by Larry Seigle on socialist electoral policy and the 1972 elections.

TERESA HEINZ FOR OUT NOW: The Nov. 17 *Washington Post* quotes Teresa Heinz as saying of herself and of her husband, John Heinz III, pickle-and-ketchup millionaire Republican congressman from Pennsylvania: "He's more pragmatic and I'm very idealistic . . . I was constantly arguing, for example, why can't we get out of Vietnam tomorrow."

H. L. HUNT GLOOMY: Reactionary oil billionaire H. L. Hunt is quoted in a Nov. 14 UPI dispatch as saying he gives the U. S. "two or three years before the Communists take over."

THANKSGIVING DAY OF MOURNING: The United American Indians of New England have called for a Thanksgiving protest in Plymouth, Mass., at a ceremony that is part of the 15-month-long celebration of the 350th anniversary of the Pilgrim's landing on Plymouth Rock. "Racism, bigotry, intolerance, poverty and pollution were all brought here by the Pilgrims," says the call for the action. "Our people lived here for 2,500 years without any of these concepts."

BUREAU OF CAUCASIAN AFFAIRS: The newspaper of the United Native Americans Inc. (UNA), *The Warpath*, in Volume 4, No. 7, carries an item that begins: "UNA is proud to announce that it has bought the state of California from the whites and is throwing it open to settlement."

"UNA bought California from three winos found wandering in San Francisco. UNA decided the winos were the spokesmen for the whites of California. These winos promptly signed the treaty, which was written in Sioux, and sold California for three bottles of wine, one bottle of gin and four cases of beer."

The *Warpath* can be obtained by writing to UNA, P. O. Box 26149, San Francisco, Calif. 94126.

B'NAI B'RITH REPORTS "EXTREMISM": The so-called Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has issued another of its reports defaming groups and individuals who hold a principled, revolutionary opposition to Zionism. According to the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are among the left-wing groups the ADL's Nov. 22 report lumps together with anti-Semites and fascists such as the National Youth Alliance. The *Times* did not indicate whether the racist Jewish Defense League was among the "extremist" groups listed by the ADL.

A MILLION AND A HALF NEW TEXAS VOTERS: That's about how many young people will be eligible to vote in Texas in 1972 who weren't eligible in 1968, according to the University of Texas in Austin population research—more precisely, 1,477,729.

WELFARE ROLLS SLASHED BY 84,000: The *New York Times* reported Nov. 13 that there had been a net drop of 84,000 in the number of people receiving welfare in July. A Health, Education and Welfare Department spokesman said the main reason for the cuts seemed to be the "extraordinary cost rise" of providing for what amounts to a fraction of people's needs.

CHINESE DELEGATES IN FUN CITY: Included in a portfolio presented to the Chinese UN delegation by the New York Commission to the UN was a card with the following advice: "Always lock the outside doors of your home" and "Do not open your door to strangers. We do not advise buying from door-to-door salesmen."

— LEE SMITH

Final push in drive for 30,000 subs

By BAXTER SMITH

NOV. 23—With only one week remaining in the campaign for 30,000 new subscribers to *The Militant*, 26,495 subs have now been obtained. As the scoreboard indicates, the drive is still behind schedule, although the gap between what we need in order to be on time and what we actually have was narrowed slightly last week. At least 3,505 subscriptions must be sold by Dec. 1 in order to reach the goal.

Several new areas requested sub quotas last week to help out with the final push. They include Waterloo, Iowa, Sciota, Pa., and Tuscaloosa, Ala. Another area, Gainesville, Fla., raised its quota from 15 to 100. Pullman, Wash., Twin Cities, Minn., New Brunswick, N.J., and Worcester,

Mass., have now fulfilled their quotas. All of them plan to continue selling subs to help increase the national total.

An indication of the receptiveness to *The Militant* was seen in the high sales at the Nov. 20 demonstrations for repeal of all anti-abortion laws. In Washington, D.C., over 880 single issues were sold, as well as 50 subs. In San Francisco, over 350 *Militants* were sold, along with 80 subscriptions. All sellers reported that the crowd was especially interested in the feature article on the relation between the fight for women's liberation and socialism.

Areas around the country are preparing for the final push, with sub blitz teams going out every day and evening. Local sub teams will also

be out on the road for several days at a time until the final deadline.

Detroit writes that in one week their regional team "obtained 220 new subscriptions to *The Militant* and 20 *International Socialist Review* subscriptions. A team of four traveled to Kalamazoo College and Western Michigan University and was able to obtain 150 *Militant* and 14 *ISR* subs in a two-day period. The response we received was tremendous. Five people indicated they wanted to join the Young Socialist Alliance and more than 40 signed up for more information on the Jenness-Pulley campaign."

It is now up to those areas that have yet to make their quotas to put all their efforts into an energetic campaign in the final week.

International Socialist Review

The *International Socialist Review* gained 340 new readers over the past week, bringing the total of new subs to 2,303. Although this is still far behind the goal of 5,000 new readers by Dec. 1, it surpasses the total of 2,231 subs received in the fall 1970 sub drive.

ISR sales received a big boost at the Nov. 20 demonstrations, with 103 sold in San Francisco and well over 250 sold in Washington, D.C. Women were especially attracted to the article "Is Biology Women's Destiny?" by Evelyn Reed.

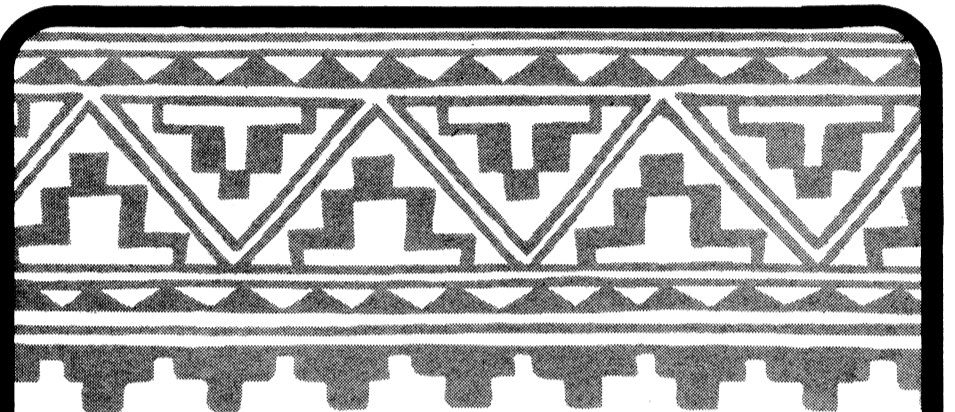
The socialist educational conferences cosponsored by the *ISR* should result in many more new subscriptions, especially from those people who have just bought new *Militant* subs.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	%
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	25	37	148.0
Erie, Pa.	5	7	140.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	13	130.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	51	127.5
Paterson, N.J.	25	29	116.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	112	112.0
Geneseo, N.Y.	20	22	110.0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	1,213	100.8
New Brunswick, N.J.	15	15	100.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	200	100.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	38	95.0
Boston, Mass.	2,000	1,816	90.8
Travis A.F.B., Calif.	40	36	90.0
Seattle, Wash.	600	527	87.8
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	13	86.7
Connecticut	200	171	85.5
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	854	85.4
North Andover, Mass.	20	17	85.0
San Diego, Calif.	200	170	85.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	17	85.0
Denver, Colo.	700	583	84.0
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	1,322	82.6
Bloomington, Ind.	150	123	82.0
Madison, Wis.	300	246	82.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	970	80.8
Amherst, Mass.	100	80	80.0
Nashville, Tenn.	45	36	80.0
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	1,588	79.4
Austin, Texas	375	295	78.7
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	944	75.5
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	908	72.6
Gainesville, Fla.	100	71	71.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	20	14	70.0
Marietta, Ohio	10	7	70.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	28	70.0
Houston, Texas	600	417	69.5
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	855	68.4
Milwaukee, Wis.	80	54	67.5
Washington, D.C.	600	397	66.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	1,024	66.1
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	633	63.3
Eugene, Ore.	40	25	62.5
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	61	61.0
Logan, Utah	100	60	60.0
Manchester, N.H.	15	9	60.0
Providence, R.I.	200	121	60.5
Atlanta, Ga.	750	435	58.0
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	733	56.4
Chapel Hill, N.C.	30	16	53.3
Durham, N.H.	40	21	52.5
Edinboro, Pa.	25	13	52.0
Baton Rouge, La.	10	5	50.0
Davenport, Iowa	10	5	50.0
State College, Pa.	20	10	50.0
Tucson, Ariz.	20	10	50.0
Long Island, N.Y.	200	99	49.5
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	44	44.0
Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
Portland, Ore.	400	166	41.5
Albuquerque, N.M.	5	2	40.0
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	10	4	40.0
El Paso, Texas	50	18	36.0
Tallahassee, Fla.	200	72	36.0
Lubbock, Texas	25	8	32.0
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	8	32.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	28	28.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	13	21.7
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	4	20.0
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Gary, Ind.	10	2	20.0
Lawton, Okla.	5	1	20.0
Waterloo, Iowa	10	2	20.0
Wichita, Kan.	20	4	20.0
Tampa, Fla.	150	26	17.3
Kansas City, Mo.	200	34	17.0
Modesto, Calif.	30	4	13.3
DeKalb, Ill.	100	11	11.0
Kingston, R.I.	20	2	10.0
Oxford, Ohio	75	5	6.7
Sciota, Pa.	5	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6,000	8,003	133.4
Mid-Atlantic	(2,346)		
Southern	(2,172)		
Western	(1,809)		
Southwest	(1,676)		
General	325	446	136.1
TOTAL TO DATE		26,495	88.3
SHOULD BE		27,270	90.9
GOAL		30,000	100.0

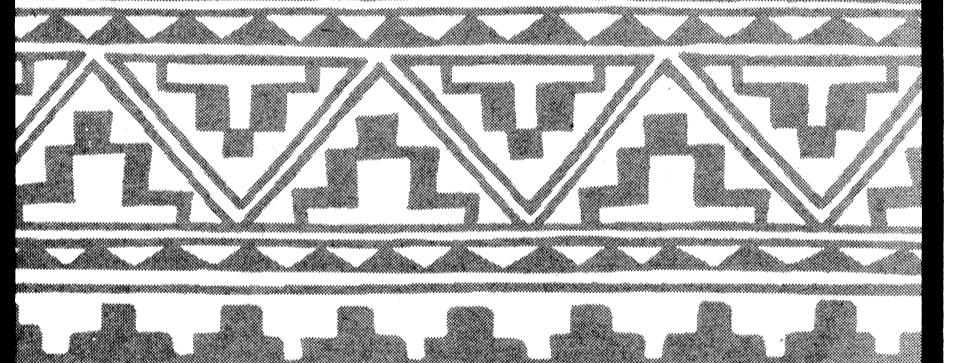


Photo by Dave Warren



LA RAZA

reads *The Militant*



The *Militant* was the first national paper to bring its readers the inside story about the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party and has continued to publicize and support the RUP campaigns in Texas and other parts of the country.

The *Militant* had extensive coverage of the Chicano Moratorium demonstrations in Los Angeles Aug. 29, 1970.

The *Militant* featured firsthand coverage of the first national Chicana conference, held in Houston, Texas, this spring.

The *Militant* covered all three Chicano Youth Liberation Conferences hosted in Denver by the Crusade for Justice.

The *Militant* features in-depth articles on key issues within the Chicano movement, including interviews with leading activists.

The *Militant* carries a regular column, *La Raza en Accion*.

The *Militant* has recently opened a Southwest Bureau in Los Angeles and has added Antonio Camejo, well-known activist-writer in the Chicano movement, to the staff to further expand its coverage of the Chicano struggle.

Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- () Enclosed is \$2 for three months of the *International Socialist Review* and 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- () I'm a GI. Send me six months of *The Militant* for \$1.50.

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Nov. 20 spurs int'l abortion struggle



San Francisco

Photo by Ron Payne

San Francisco

Photo by Pennie Warren

Washington, D. C.

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Washington

By CAROLINE LUND

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On Nov. 20, over 3,000 women and men marched here in the first feminist march on Washington since 5,000 women demonstrated for the right to vote in 1913.

The march down Pennsylvania Avenue was loud and spirited, with chants of "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide," "One, two, three, four, we want abortions, not the war," "Free Shirley Wheeler," and, from the Black Task Force contingent, "Black sisterhood is powerful."

Banners identified abortion groups or women's liberation groups from Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Houston, Austin, Akron and Cleveland. Tallahassee, Miami, Minneapolis, Detroit, Madison, Wis., and Murray, Ky., were also represented, as well as many other cities. Several carloads came from Atlanta, and several buses from New Haven, Conn.

Banners also identified "women in the medical professions," "high school women," "Catholics for abortion law repeal," and "gay women for abortion law repeal." Women from the United Women's Contingent marched with antiwar banners.

Conversations with some of the marchers revealed the geographical breadth of participation. Yvonne Williams, a member of Ft. Worth, Texas, NOW, came all the way to Washington by herself. She thought the action was "definitely a good idea."

Sarah Miles, a Black woman, told me that six or eight members of her union, Dry Cleaners Local 239 in Brooklyn, N. Y., had come down for the march after hearing about it at their union meeting.

Dr. Virginia Downes came to the demonstration from Birmingham, Ala. A veteran of the struggle for the right of women to control their bodies, she said she had worked with pioneer birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger.

Nancy Goldberg and Marcia Clark, both 13 years old, came to the demonstration after a man opposed to abortion told them about it the morning of the action. "At least people are saying what they think now," said Marcia Clark. "But if my mother knew I was here, she would chop my head off!"

As the marchers streamed into the rally site near the west steps of the Capitol, they were greeted with the excellent rock music and women's liberation songs of the New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national project director of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), opened the rally. "Nov. 20 will go down in history," she said, "because, for the first time, masses of women have gathered together to tell this government in no uncertain terms that we will no longer tolerate laws that degrade, mutilate and murder women."

Marsha Coleman, director of the Black Task Force of WONAAC, condemned the forced sterilization of poor Black women, declaring "Babies do not cause poverty!" She spoke of the need of Black women to control their own bodies in order to be able to participate fully in the Black liberation struggle. "We are not going to be the breeders; we are going to be the leaders!" she stated.

Shirley Wheeler, the Florida woman convicted of manslaughter for having an abortion, was greeted with a standing ovation when she rose to speak. "Sisters, we must unite to fight for repeal of restrictive abortion laws," she stated. "If we do not, more women might be subject to the same treatment I have had to endure."

The remarks by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, were well received. She spoke about what we can learn from the suffragists, who were, as Jenness put it, "women who knew how to fight." She noted that the vote had been won "through massive, united resistance and action," and declared that the right to abortion will have to be won the same way.

Many people came to the SWP election campaign literature table and said they liked Jenness' speech. About 90 signed up as endorsers of the Linda Jenness-Andrew Pulley ticket.

Other speakers at the rally included: Beulah Sanders, chairwoman of the National Welfare Rights Organization; Lana Clarke Phelan, Western vice-president of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws; attorney Nancy Stearns; Joyce Brown, international representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union; Dr. Anne Clay, president-elect of Dade County, Fla., NOW; Marge Sloan of the Chicago Gay Women's Caucus; Susan Sternberg from Wilson High School in Washington, D. C., and others.

Messages of solidarity with the demonstrators came from Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinem, Jeannette Rankin, suffragist Florence Luscomb, Canadian MP Grace MacInnis, Nottingham Women's Liberation in England, the Wellington, New Zealand, Abortion Law Reform Association, and the Women's Liberation Movement in Rome, Italy.

San Francisco

By CYNTHIA BURKE

SAN FRANCISCO — Black, Raza, Asian-American and Native American women led a demonstration of 3,000 in San Francisco on Nov. 20 demanding repeal of all anti-abortion laws. Women and men came from all over the western states—from as far as Albuquerque, N.M., Denver and Portland—to participate in the first demonstration called and organized by the West Coast Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

A wide variety of organizations were

represented in the demonstration, including Female Liberation from UC Berkeley, Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, Independent Campus Women at San Francisco State College, National Organization for Women (NOW), Daughters of Bilitis, San Francisco and Berkeley Women's Health Collective, the United Prisoners Union, and many others.

In addition to attacks on the demonstration by "right-to-life" groups, there were problems in obtaining a permit for the march. The liberal Democratic president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Diane Feinstein, cast the deciding vote against granting WONAAC the permit. She said she didn't think the expected size

Judy Syfers, co-coordinator of WONAAC-West, drew applause when she said, "WONAAC is going to win. We will take control of that which is ours—our own lives and our own bodies."

Mirta Vidal spoke representing Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential ticket.

Joyce Maupin, shop steward of Local 29 of the Office and Professional Employees union and a member of Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, spoke for free abortion on demand, and emphasized the importance of the demand for repeal of restrictive contraception laws, and no forced sterilization.

Anti-abortion forces mobilize Nov. 20

Nov. 20 saw a confrontation of views for and against the right of women to abortion on demand. As the demonstration for repeal of abortion laws rallied on one side of the Capitol in Washington, D. C., a demonstration of several hundred against abortion took place on the other side. The latter demonstration was organized by a group called Mothers for the Unborn.

On the same day, anti-abortion groups marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City. Estimates of the size ranged from a figure of 1,500 by ABC-TV to 5,000 by the *New York Daily News*. Many of the marchers in New York were school-age children, presumably mobilized from Catholic schools. The marchers demanded repeal of the liberal New York abortion law, which went into effect last year, and a return to the old, restrictive law. The demonstrators marched under a large banner reading "Abortion is death."

Between 50 and 100 opponents of the right to abortion rallied in Union Square in San Francisco amid displays of pickled fetuses and photographs of fetal development.

of the demonstration was worth inconveniencing San Franciscans by closing off the street.

Feinstein's opposition was especially disturbing to many members of NOW, who had supported her in the elections. Both San Francisco and Berkeley NOW are endorsers of WONAAC and Nov. 20.

The tremendous spirit of the demonstrators was evidenced by the constant clapping, singing and chanting along the march route. Women chanted, "Chicana power!" "Two, four, six, eight, separate the church and state!" "Sisters, unite; stand up and fight; abortion is our right."

Many chants were directed at the shoppers, such as "Off the sidewalks, into the streets. Repeal abortion laws." The sight of thousands of women and men demonstrating for abortion law repeal evoked many responses from onlookers, most of which were very favorable.

The breadth of this new movement was most clearly shown by the individuals who spoke at the rally in the Civic Center Plaza.

Del Martin, a member of NOW and a founder of Daughters of Bilitis, said, "Women need to build their own power base. I urge all women, whatever their political beliefs, to join forces in the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and the Women's Political Caucus."

Pat Maginnis, a member of the Society for Humane Abortions and author of *Abortion Handbook*, spoke about the California abortion laws. Maginnis, a long-time activist in the abortion law repeal movement, was convicted of propagating information about obtaining abortions. The charge resulted from a tour she conducted giving classes on self-abortion techniques. She is presently appealing her conviction and sentence of two years' probation and \$500 fine.

Marcia Martin, Mills College student body president, spoke of the role of Black women in this society. "Black women have always been treated as sexual objects—breeders of workers, breeders of slaves, breeders of whatever this society needs. Historians never acknowledge the role of revolutionary Black women. We will show ourselves as revolutionaries in the abortion struggle."

Among the many inspiring speeches, one of the most eloquent and well-received was given by Chulita Devis, a Chicana activist at Stanislaus State College. She spoke of the role of Chicana feminism in the fight for Chicano liberation. "When the Chicano is approached by women on this issue of liberation, he is perplexed and disturbed, and even angry. The Chicana, he says, is needed in the barrios behind her *macho*. We're saying

The significance of Nov. 20



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Washington, D. C.

By CAROLINE LUND and BETSEY STONE

Now that the Nov. 20 demonstrations for repeal of anti-abortion laws are over, it is important to evaluate the impact of the marches in San Francisco and Washington. What did they accomplish? What were the problems in organizing for Nov. 20?

The most important accomplishment of the campaign was that for the first time women were able to unite on a national basis to put forward their view of the abortion question, and the view of the women's liberation movement. The abortion movement was able to reach large numbers of people with the clear message that the women's movement wants abortion to be a woman's right to choose—not a "population control" measure—and that women want repeal, not just reform, of anti-abortion laws.

Millions of people who saw the TV coverage of the demonstrations, or read the stories in the newspapers, or heard the debates and speak-outs leading up to the action, know now that women are fighting for this right. And they know that women are going to stand up against the anti-abortion forces trying to push back the rights the abortion movement has already won.

The extremely broad endorsement of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and of Nov. 20 demonstrated the desire of large sections of the women's movement, as well as women from other types of organizations, to unite in action on this issue.

Another very significant aspect of Nov. 20 was its international character. The actions in Paris, Canada, New Zealand, and England, as well as here, served to inspire the women's movement around the world by giving us a glimpse of our power as an international movement involved in a common struggle for control over our reproductive lives.

These are some of the gains made in building Nov. 20.

The obvious limitation of the Nov. 20 actions was their relatively small size. Much of the news coverage of Nov. 20 emphasized this fact and even tried to make it appear that the anti-abortion forces were stronger than the pro-abortion marchers, citing the anti-abortion demonstration of several thousand in New York City.

The repeal demonstrations could have been much larger. Why weren't they?

The most important factor limiting the size of the actions was the division within the women's movement over the demonstrations. The largest feminist organization in the country—the National Organization for Women—did not build the action. Some NOW chapters, and individual NOW leaders, such as Betty Friedan, supported the demonstrations; but NOW as an organization did not endorse it and even scheduled its national board meeting for Nov. 20, conflicting with the demonstration.

NOW's lack of participation is a reflection of the turn made at their national conference last September. The conference decided to orient toward the 1972 elections and attempt to get more women elected to office and as delegates to party conventions. Their orientation is almost exclusively toward the Democratic and Republican parties. In doing this, many NOW leaders began to counterpose electoral action to mass demonstrations, speaking in terms of taking the movement "from the streets into the ballot boxes."

WONAAC sent an open letter to the NOW national board, asking them to change the date of the conflicting meeting and inviting NOW to send a speaker to the rally; but the meeting was not changed. The letter appealed for unity of the women's movement in the face of anti-abortion demonstrations planned for Nov. 20, and said: "We count on you to join us, to demonstrate with us on this date, to add yours to the voices of women, not only here in our own country but in Canada, England, and New Zealand as well, who are calling for united action to end these anti-abortion laws."

The many NOW women who came to Washington on Nov. 20 showed that NOW's lack of support for the action did not reflect the feelings of many of its members. The response of Cleveland NOW is an example. According to *Militant* reader Laurie Perkus, when the open let-

ter from WONAAC was read in the Cleveland NOW meeting, the members broke into applause. Cleveland NOW is one of the chapters that has endorsed WONAAC and Nov. 20. But the lack of support—and in many cases even open opposition—from national NOW was very harmful to the action.

In addition to NOW, there were other sections of the women's movement that did not support the Nov. 20 demonstrations. Some opposition came from women who are opposed to holding any kind of demonstrations, and who oriented exclusively toward small-group consciousness-raising and the building of collectives and counter-institutions as the way to win liberation for women.

Other women opposed the demonstration because they felt the demand for repeal of abortion laws was "not radical enough."

Still another factor that hurt the Nov. 20 action was the way in which some groupings in the women's movement expressed their opposition to the action—that is, through red-baiting. The charge was raised by opponents of the demonstration that the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Instead of simply expressing their political disagreements with WONAAC's program of a national action campaign for repeal of abortion laws, repeal of anti-contraception laws, and no forced sterilization, these groupings publicly attacked WONAAC for being "controlled" by the SWP and YSA.

Alleged SWP control of WONAAC is no justification for any woman or any organization to refuse to support the first national demonstration for such a fundamental demand as the right to abortion. Anyone who sincerely supports the struggle for repeal of abortion laws should applaud any organizations actively involved in carrying out this struggle. If they agree with the program of WONAAC, they should be working with WONAAC to help broaden support for the national abortion law repeal campaign, rather than attacking the coalition because two of its supporters are the SWP and YSA. At the same time, discussions to clarify the political differences within the movement should continue.

The wholehearted support of the SWP and YSA for WONAAC is clearly not the real reason for the refusal of a large section of the NOW leadership to build the national abortion campaign. The fact is that NOW never responded to WONAAC's appeals to all sections of the women's movement for help in the decision-making, office work, and all other aspects of building the demonstration. If NOW had wanted to participate in WONAAC and in building Nov. 20, they could easily have had their views very adequately represented. NOW is the largest feminist organization in this country, has the most resources, and certainly is much bigger than the SWP and the YSA combined.

The first massive women's liberation demonstration on Aug. 26, 1970, was built in New York by a coalition in which NOW worked together with the SWP, the YSA, and many other groups. If NOW had put the same amount of energy into Nov. 20 as it did into Aug. 26, 1970, the actions could have been much larger.

It is also significant that none of the groups opposed to Nov. 20, including NOW, offered any alternative way to fight for abortion law repeal and counter the efforts of the "Right to Life" groups. This is another indication that their real concern was not over YSA or SWP "control," but that they were opposed to united actions for repeal of abortion laws.

In the context of these divisions within the women's movement, the significance of Nov. 20 is clear: It was an historic first step. Through building the demonstration, many new women were involved for the first time in the women's movement. The mood of the marchers was one of confidence that they represented far greater numbers than simply themselves, and an understanding of the urgency and centrality of the need for abortion law repeal. And 6,000 women in this country, joined by thousands in France, Canada, and elsewhere, fighting for the right to control their own bodies, is a force to be reckoned with.

what the Chicano is saying to the Anglo: 'Basta!' [enough]. Chicanas say: 'No more behind, but beside, and at times leading and guiding the revolution.' The flowering of the women means the rising of the race. No longer can we allow Chicanas to be restricted to the cleaning, the cooking, the typing and the bedroom. No longer can we allow freedom to be the privilege of one class or race, like the white man has done in America. No longer can we allow freedom as the privilege of one sex. Freedom is for everyone."

During the rally, 700 women signed as co-plaintiffs in the class-action suit against the California abortion law. WONAAC on the West Coast will be continuing the fight for abortion law repeal by backing this suit, and by bringing hundreds of women from the West Coast to the national conference of WONAAC in January.

Canada

By WENDY JOHNSTON

TORONTO—"We here represent not only ourselves; we represent the hundreds of thousands of Canadians who support repeal of the abortion laws." This statement, made by Lorna Grant, staff coordinator of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, summarized the spirit of the actions held across Canada Nov. 20 for repeal of the abortion laws.

Demonstrations were held in six cities across the country and involved more than 1,100 women. More than 400 marched in the federal capital of Ottawa, 400 in Montreal, 150 in Vancouver, and additional actions were held in Regina, Winnipeg and Edmonton.

The actions were organized by coalitions formed at conferences held across Canada in October. They were seen as the beginning of a campaign to mobilize the growing sentiment for abortion law repeal into a powerful movement that will win this goal.

The demonstrations received broad support. In Vancouver, the march was endorsed by the Vancouver district labor council and the British Columbia Family Planning Association, among other groups.

Grace MacInnis of the New Democratic Party, the only woman member of Parliament, had spoken out in behalf of the abortion law repeal movement and the Nov. 20 demonstrations in the House on Nov. 2.

The major project before the abortion law repeal coalitions across the country now is to build the petition campaign in support of the private-members bill presented by Grace MacInnis and Hylliard Chappell, which calls for abortion law repeal. Twenty thousand signatures have already been collected.

France

The largest demonstration for the right to abortion on Nov. 20 took place in Paris, where, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch, "Four to five thousand Parisians demonstrated Saturday against 'the condition of women in society' and against the abortion law. The demonstration was organized by the Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement (Movement for the Right to Abortion), Femmes en Lutte (Women in Struggle), and the Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes (Women's Liberation Movement)."

"With cries of 'Work, family, country—enough!' and of 'Free abortion and contraception on demand,' the cortege marched from the Place de la République to the Place de la Nation in an atmosphere of a street festival."

Among the demonstrators was Simone de Beauvoir. Near the end of the march, as the demonstrators neared a women's prison, they shouted their solidarity with the imprisoned women.

Hands off Bangla Desh

Reports indicate that significant fighting has erupted inside Bangla Desh between the West Pakistani occupation forces and the Mukti Bahini (Bangla Desh liberation forces), which has been receiving material aid from India.

The struggle for self-determination by the people of Bangla Desh is apparently growing stronger and becoming better organized. It is now able to put up a serious resistance to the genocidal slaughter waged against its country by the West Pakistani forces.

In the context of the rising civil war between Bangla Desh and West Pakistan, the U.S. government is looking for some way to crush the revolutionary nationalist struggle of Bangla Desh.

At first the Pentagon sent arms shipments to Yahya Khan. In face of public protest, the State Department announced that the shipments had been cut off. Later it was revealed that this was a lie; that shipments of arms were continuing surreptitiously. Once again it was announced they had been ended.

Now a more subtle ploy is being tried. The *New York Times*, voice of a powerful sector of the American ruling class, called for United Nations intervention in a Nov. 23 editorial. On the following day, the *Times'* top columnist, James Reston, again raised the demand for UN intervention. He called on the "Great Powers" of the Security Council—the U.S., Soviet Union, China, Britain and France—to force a settlement of the conflict.

The *Times* voices fear that a war between India and Pakistan could escalate, eventually involving the U.S.S.R., China and the U.S. Whatever truth there is in this, the real fear felt by ruling circles in the U.S. is that the mobilizations of the people of Bangla Desh could escalate into a revolution. This could lead to the establishment of an independent Bangla Desh and possibly spark a revolutionary upheaval in all of India.

If the UN intervened in Bangla Desh, it would be to crush the Bengali struggle for self-determination, to carry out the interests of the main imperialist powers that control the UN. This role of the so-called UN "peace-keeping" forces was vividly illustrated in the Congo in 1961-64.

In the Congo in 1960, just as in Bangla Desh last December, an election brought to power a nationalist party. In the Congo it was the Congolese National Movement, headed by Patrice Lumumba. A UN "peace-keeping" force, reinforced by white mercenaries financed by the U.S. and Belgium, succeeded in overturning the elected Lumumba government, murdering Lumumba, slaughtering thousands of his supporters, and setting up the pro-imperialist puppet government of Moise Tshombe.

Any UN intervention in the conflict in Bangla Desh would undoubtedly resemble the UN intervention in the Congo; it would support the reactionary, pro-imperialist forces against the popular independence struggle.

It should be added that the interests of the Bangla Desh independence struggle would in no way be served by a war between India and Pakistan. The capitalist government of India doesn't care any more than the capitalist government of Pakistan about the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination.

In fact, the fear of the effect of the Bangla Desh struggle on India's Bengali minority is one of the reasons the Gandhi regime would like to gain leadership of the Bangla Desh independence movement—in order to derail it.

What is needed is an international campaign of protest against the Pakistani occupation of Bangla Desh, against the Pakistani terrorist campaign that has driven nine million refugees into India, against U.S. and Chinese arms shipments to Pakistan, and against any UN intervention in the conflict.

Only the East Bengali people—not the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China, Pakistan or India—have the right to determine the affairs of Bangla Desh.

Miami needs The Militant

Miami needs *The Militant*, and I'm sure I can get a lot of subscriptions. The people here have no voice except for a monthly publication (*The Daily Planet*), which, to my grief, gets about as militant as its record review.

Anyway, I have been selling Atlanta's *The Great Speckled Bird* with a lot of favorable response, and your paper would really be informative and helpful to all the Movement groups.

Please send me 30 copies and 30 subscription blanks to start, and let's work toward a much larger South Florida goal in the sub drive. Thanks and right on!

P. E.

Miami, Fla.

Cool reception

The Nov. 5 issue of *Life* magazine contained an article on Edmund Muskie ("Democratic Frontrunner") in which a rally at the University of Miami in Florida was featured as a typical example of Muskie's "enthusiastic" reception on campuses.

This article was misleading in several respects. First, as an eyewitness, I would estimate the size of the Oct. 21 rally at 1,000 maximum, and not the 4,000 estimated by *Life's* generous reporters; and second, the response to Muskie was a good deal more cool than the Muskie promoters would have us believe.

During the question and answer period, Muskie was "honest" enough to admit that his previous record on Southeast Asia was in no way an antiwar record. Muskie admitted that although he *may* (or may not?) be in favor of withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the withdrawal of military and economic aid from the Thieu regime, the Lon Nol regime, and counterrevolutionary forces in Laos was another matter altogether.

Muskie's "politics of honesty" ground to a halt with a question on Attica. He evaded the question with a few platitudes of remorse. He refrained from calling for an end to the harassment of prisoners at Attica and other prisons. Nor did he call for support to any aspect of the struggle for human rights the Attica prisoners were demanding.

Meanwhile, over 20 subscriptions to *The Militant* were sold during the meeting, and many pieces of campaign literature for the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley were requested by members of the audience who milled around the SWP campaign table.

David Salner

Southern Subscription Team

Are cops workers?

I would like to ask a question of *The Militant*, O.K.?

Constantly you state that you are for the working class, that you are for the working man in America who is being exploited by the State. Yet (and please do not think this letter is a rip-off) you are also set against the working policeman in America.

I feel that the policeman can rightfully be considered a member of the working class. In fact, the policeman's salary is so low (usually around \$6,000 to \$7,000) that he probably earns less than many who proudly proclaim themselves radicals and who are so adept at denouncing the capitalist setup.

The cop is a member of the proletariat who lives on a lowly salary. He helps his brother (of course there are many times when cops are pigs—but they are in the minority)

by working in parts of the inner city where many radicals would be afraid to enter. Why do you hate him so?

J. S.M.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Editor's reply—First, we are not only for the working man, but for the working woman too.

Second, you have a false concept of workers. Cops work, so you conclude that they should be considered part of the working class. FBI and CIA agents also work. The point is that the FBI, CIA, and police are part of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. Their *function* is to defend the interests of the tiny minority of capitalists who run this country against the interests of the American people. That is the nature of their job, no matter what may be the virtues of any individual cop.

The difference between the cops and the working people is similar to that between a foreman and a worker, or an overseer and a slave. The latter are subjected to exploitation and oppression; the former serve as instruments for the maintenance of that oppression.

Militant not allowed

I'm writing this letter to inform you that this prison will no longer permit me to receive my subscription to *The Militant*. The officials here claim that your paper is an underground paper, which they decided not to let in here any more.

However, that isn't the real reason they are not letting in the paper. Ever since the Attica blast, the officials have started to strip the prison of material concerning the world around us.

Well, my friends, I may be deprived of your paper, but by no means can they ever erase the thought and commitment your paper has brought me and other Third World people.

M. B.

State Correctional Institution, Huntingdon, Pa.

Study time cut

I am a prisoner at the Norfolk prison and have read several of your papers.

I go to school here and am in a program called STEP offering college courses. Last year we were allowed a half day for study each day. This time was also used for personal raps with the teachers. I learned more in these talks than in the classroom.

Although we have yet to hear a substantial reason, our study time has been taken away. We were told it was a law that all men must work in the shops for a half day. This is a warped interpretation of a law that says we must do something beneficial for the state.

Isn't my rehabilitation helpful to the state? Now we have *no* study time, which means less learning.

E. L.

Correctional Institution Norfolk, Mass.

Shocked by Amchitka

Your article in the Nov. 12 issue on the film *Sacco and Vanzetti* was excellent, as well as your objective reporting of the plight of the auto workers in the General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio.

I unfortunately did not see any articles concerning the insane activities of our glorious war collaborators—Tricky Nixon and the Pentagon. It was quite a shock to see a hydrogen bomb 250 times the power of the

The Great Society

bomb dropped on Hiroshima, detonated for the illusion of "national security!"

Nixon is celebrating because none of the predicted catastrophic effects—earthquakes, tidal waves, ecological-balance destruction—occurred. But what if they had occurred? What excuse could he have made "perfectly clear"?

Gus Hevia
Gainesville, Fla.

Militant helps in school

I have read one issue of *The Militant*, and I find it interesting and to the point. Ideas are expressed in your newsweekly that I do not hear about everyday. It also helps me in my need for articles expressing strong opinions for my Contemporary Problems class.

I appreciate your help very much.
Marie Desmarteau
Edmonds, Wash.

Crazed?

The deaths that occurred last year in a California courtroom by means of guns allegedly supplied by Angela Davis are as regrettable as the deaths recently of BOTH prisoners and guards at the Attica State Prison in New York State.

I find it hard to imagine how anyone could justify or condone alleged murder in any case under any circumstances. The support rendered by *The Militant* of the "beloved" (?) Angela Davis negates all of the few logical points presented in any of your issues.

It is truly a shame that you identify so closely with the Black community. If one were to take *The Militant* for more than it is worth, a joke, one could easily become a racist.

More power to the people and less to the crazed editors and supporters of *The Militant*.

Let's see you print this! NEVER!
S. A. C.
Somerville, N. J.

Poverty among Jews

Your newspaper has done excellent reportage of the problems of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, gay people and others. Yet it is surprising that I have not read in *The Militant* any articles on the problems of Jewish people.

The following facts might be of interest to your editors and readers:

The median income of American Jews is higher than the general average, but there is almost as much poverty per capita among Jews as among American Protestants and Catholics. Yes, that's right, there are many poor Jews.

In New York City, Jews constitute the third largest poverty group. It is estimated that a quarter of a million Jews subsist below \$3,000 a year, while another 150,000 live on incomes below \$4,500.

Many Jewish people have been active in the left and yet very little attention has been paid by them to the problems of their own poor Jewish people. I hope you will print this letter and, if possible, explore in your newspaper the problems of poor Jewish people.

David Kaback
Syosset, 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.

The American dream—Americans comprise 6 percent of the world's population and own 49.5 percent of the automobiles. Said autos belch forth an estimated annual 66 million tons of carbon monoxide, one million tons of sulphur dioxide, six million tons of nitrogen oxides, and 12 million tons of hydrocarbons. Total cost of operation is about \$3.26 a day. The car, says federal highway administrator Frank Turner, provides "personalized transportation" and "all the things we associate with a good life."

Hooverville to be sinkproof—Reports that there will be tigers and alligators in the moat around the new D.C. FBI building were characterized as "ridiculous" by one of the architects. "It's not really for security," he explained. "The building is located on a slope and the moat is for esthetic reasons. . . . Without it, the building would appear to be sinking into a hill."

Might even close them down—Anthony Harrigan, columnist for the *Brownsville, Texas, Herald*, takes a dim view of the United Prisoners Union. He writes: "Organized crime is an old story in the United

States. . . . But organized convicts is something new and profoundly shocking. . . . Society has no obligation to accord prisoners the kind of due process they enjoyed before they committed crimes. . . . Under no circumstances should federal or state authorities negotiate with a 'union' of prisoners. . . . If government compromises on this point, prisoners will soon run the penitentiaries."

Takes principled stand—Those who were beginning to think there was no basic political difference between Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty and other major party presidential aspirants will be comforted by a headline in the *Texas paper, the Corpus Christi Caller*, which reported: "Yorty backs capitalism in New Hampshire talk."

Social science dep't—Armed with conventional and infrared films and various scanning devices, airborne University of Texas geographers found that homes in middle-income areas are bigger than those in poverty areas. They are set back further from the curb—suggesting larger property holdings—and are surrounded by healthier vegetation. The films disclosed that most middle-income homes

have driveways and garages, while most poor ones don't. According to the scientists, "disadvantaged persons tend to concentrate in areas of sub-standard housing. . . ."

And, besides, it's profitable—"A corporation is not an entity that stands separate and apart from individuals," advises John (Wage-Freeze) Connally. "A corporation is simply a type of arrangement that every free nation has found exceedingly useful in serving the ends of any economic system—the creation of jobs and a rising standard of living." Especially when they lay some people off and freeze the wages of others.

Can't pick their pockets—The government of Uganda is seeking to persuade the Karamojong tribe, nomadic cattle herders in an arid area, to start wearing trousers. The people there reportedly insist that in their circumstances, absence of clothing is cleaner, healthier—and cheaper. The government sees the advent of clothing as a step toward introducing a cash economy, which would, in turn, open the door to the collection of taxes.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

HIGH SCHOOL SPORTS—A number of small but significant victories have been won by women in the past month. One was won by 15-year-old Susan Solomon, who forced the Chicago Board of Education to declare its intention to allow high school women to participate in noncontact sports. Susan Solomon is a chess player, but was barred from her school chess team because of her sex. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, she forced the Board to back down a little. The Board says it wants to "consult" with the Illinois High School Association before it actually opens the doors to female students' participation on chess, swimming and other teams.

Ms. Louis Malis, a Board of Education member, objected that the ruling did not go far enough. She thought women should not be excluded from any sports, including football. Schools Superintendent James F. Redmond attempted to put her down by saying, "I'd be glad to see you on the football field."

One wonders whether the superintendent would do any better than Ms. Malis on the football field!



Susan Solomon

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH—The impact of the ideas of women's liberation within the churches was illustrated

by two recent developments. On Nov. 15 the Anglican Church announced its decision to ordain the first two female priests in the Anglican Church. Approval to ordain female priests was decided by only a one-vote margin at the Anglican Church world conference last February, said the Nov. 16 *New York Times*.

Reform Judaism is also witnessing the revolt of women. "We refuse to be restricted to serving tea and cookies" was the rallying cry of women delegates at the annual convention of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. The women's group charged that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was not moving fast enough to involve women on higher levels in the church.

WOMEN IN NBC—Another victory has been won by women in radio and television. On Nov. 10, the National Broadcasting Company was found guilty of discrimination against women. The suit was filed by 27 women employees under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

In investigating the suit, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission found: only one of 25 managerial jobs at NBC was held by a woman; 5 percent of NBC's female employees were paid over \$15,000 a year, while 43 percent of the male employees made at least that much; and that several job categories, such as the job of announcer, had never been filled by a woman.

CHILI CHAMPIONS—Down in Terlingua, Texas, women for the first time broke into the World Chili Championship Cookoff, and three women, Joyce Newlin, Kathy Harrison and Kay Hankinson, placed third. The Nov. 10 *Corpus Christi Caller* says, "This was the first contest where women were allowed to participate, but the chili bigwigs ignored their success." None of the wire service reports on the contest mentioned that the women came in third.

OPEN ALL PUBLIC PLACES TO WOMEN—The front page of the Nov. 12 *Providence Journal* featured a photograph and article on 25 women from the Women's Liberation Union of Rhode Island who broke the ban against women in Doorley's Tap, a men-only bar. The bar owner agreed to serve them, conceding that restricting bars to men is probably unconstitutional. But later he said he would serve no more women until the state law that prescribes special licenses for men-only bars is ruled unconstitutional.

In New Jersey, the State Division on Civil Rights has filed suit against the Clam Broth House in Newark for not allowing women inside.

With unbelievable logic, John Podesta, co-owner of the Clam House, tried to blame women for his discriminatory policy. He said the only reason wives let their husbands go to the Clam House is because no women are there, and that if women were allowed, the bar would be overrun by prostitutes.

—CAROLINE LUND

In recent months *The Militant* has received many letters from prisoners, reflecting the rise in political interest and consciousness in the prisons. We have decided to devote a full page to communications from prisoners this week, since we are sure our readers will be interested in hearing about the conditions these brothers and sisters face.

We received word from inmates in several prisons that *The Militant* was not being delivered to prisoners who had subscriptions, so recently the *Militant* business office sent a letter to all prisoners on our subscription list, inquiring whether they were receiving the paper. Some of the letters that follow are replies to this inquiry.

Solitary confinement

I read *The Militant* of recent date and as always it was stimulating, educational and straightforward with the spoken truth. The paper is indeed the people's literary manifesto that fully supports the classical saying: "The truth shall make you free."

Presently I'm in solitary confinement, and a noble brother of ours, Paul Lyons, introduced me to *The Militant*. I read his recent published article in *The Militant* (letters column, Oct. 15) and found it to be dynamic in its unquestionable truths. If it isn't too late, I would like to be one among the many inmates who are receiving copies of *The Militant*. Also I would be appreciative of any type of political materials that would be of benefit to my becoming more politically aware. Some years ago (which was also while in prison in another state) I had the opportunity of reading the *Communist Manifesto*, and it left a "lasting impression."

B. J. G.

State Correctional Institution
Huntingdon, Pa.

Very relevant

I am pleased to say that I have received my first issue of *The Militant*, which I find very relevant to myself and others—the Afro-American Society, Black Militant Front and various other groups which are in the struggle.

I want to say we all at this joint appreciated the article in the letters column (Oct. 15) concerning the appeal from prisoner Brother Paul Lyons.

So keep the struggle moving and educate all through *The Militant*. Right on!

U. B.

State Correctional Institution
Dallas, Pa.

Every hellhole

The Militant is most informative and the truth that it reveals should be penetrating every hellhole, not only throughout the country but throughout the world.

For once the little man has on his side someone who is actually concerned about making him aware of those who exploit him and the methods they employ to do so.

Long live *The Militant* and all such papers that are dedicated to the winning of freedom, justice and equality for all peoples of the world.

F. X. B.

State Correctional Institution
Dallas, Pa.

Not receiving Militant

Unfortunately and with regret, I haven't received *The Militant* since the first week in August. The circumstances regarding as to why I'm not receiving *The Militant* haven't as of yet manifested themselves. The procedure used in this camp to handle mail and parcels is so fascist, retarded and subnormal, and mails and parcels are manipulated by so many abnormal, prejudiced and irresponsible elements that it is most difficult to research.

Some other brothers and myself have petitions in court regarding this matter, but to expect to receive justice or have faith in the laws of this sick and corrupt system is unthinkable. I am going to personally present this matter to our senior overseer. Also, I shall intensify surveillance in this matter in hopes of producing some tangible results.

S. A. R.

State Correctional Institution
Graterford, Pa.

Prisoner sister

Yes, I am receiving *The Militant*, and I want to thank you for sending them so faithfully. Your paper helps me to find the truth about the struggles of my brothers and sisters outside these walls, as I cannot believe what I hear on TV or what I read in the "gray press" (newspapers!).

Being in prison, my sources of information are limited, so I'd like your help in a matter. The

Letters from Militant readers in prison



The Tombs, New York City

Photo by Steve Rose/LNS

sisters here, along with our brothers in other prisons in Washington, are trying to get together and form a prisoners revolutionary party. We sisters would like to get in contact with Venceremos, as our brothers are in contact with them and are getting their support. If you can help us with any information on the Venceremos and how we can contact them, we sisters would sincerely appreciate it!

Till I hear from you again, I'm sending you wishes of love and strength. As you struggle from "out there," I shall continue my fight from within these walls! Remember, we are everywhere . . . your struggle is my struggle.

"He who shackles me and calls my slavery lib-

erty must never cease to fear me!"—Beverly Grant.

In revolutionary love, your sister and comrade,
P. B.

Purdy Prison for Women
Gig Harbor, Wash.

Outmoded rules

Most prisons do have outmoded rules that do not permit papers such as *The Militant* and *Tribe* and others to come into prison. I don't think Walla Walla would now subscribe to this old type of system. I know one resident here who is getting his copy of *The Militant*, but he has so many other residents who read it that I do not get a chance to read it. I have not received *The Militant* as of yet, but I feel I will receive it. Thank you for sending me *The Militant*. I will see that it is passed on and that many brothers read it.

F. C.

Walla Walla, Wash.

Better than Arizona Daily Star

Concerning your query about whether we are receiving *The Militant* . . . the paper isn't delivered to each dorm as are letters, but we can go up and ask for it when the mail arrives, the only problem being to make sure about asking for it the day it arrives, otherwise it is thrown away at the end of the day, as is anything else the guards wouldn't normally keep themselves.

We sure appreciate being able to receive *The Militant* while being incarcerated here at Safford, especially [because of] its national scope, as opposed to, say, the *Tribe*. I would hate to be forced to rely upon the *Arizona Daily Star* for our news!

R. W.

Safford, Ariz.

Present conditions in Attica

The following is a letter forwarded to *The Militant* at the request of Husien Sharrieff Ahmad (Richard J. Wright), an Attica prisoner, via the Attica Defense Committee, Box 816 Prudential Bldg., 30 Church St., Buffalo, N. Y. 14202.

This letter is in regard to the present conditions and how we are being treated here in Extension H. B. Z. [Housing Building Z is the name of the isolation section of the Attica prison.] Attached to this letter will also be the names of everyone down here. The names that might not be on the list are the ones who are afraid of these people.

We are as one; "no one is a leader." All of the brothers in H. B. Z. are being put in position to take the weight for 1,200. We are being treated like dogs. They feed us pork and soup six days a week. If they can get pork in our breakfast, we will have it three times a day, every day.

Since we are so aimlessly neglected, we feel that we should identify ourselves to the people and let them know about some of the breaks we are getting.

It was said that we were leaders. Then why weren't we the only ones in the yard? It was said everyone had a chance to stay in or go out of the yard. Twelve hundred of us were said to be down with the uprising, so 1,200 have to stick together. It didn't take 50 to do what was done. This is something that the administration brought on by neglecting our humanity.

Now H. B. Z. is filled up. So they made 6th Co. in A-block the extension of H. B. Z. Some of us here in 6th Co. were picked out by correction officers who dislike some of us. The rest were pointed out by other inmates who did not participate in the uprising or were in the yard until the assault was made on D-Block.

As far as treatment is concerned, some of the brothers who are wounded, they might get medical attention twice a week. They handle our food like we are in a zoo. They don't wash their hands, and they play with what little slop we get.

The next thing that happens is that after 7 p.m. showers—it all depends on which officers are working this block—that we have to go to the showers in the nude. That means we have to walk down the tier, upstairs to the top floor, they give us two-and-a-half seconds in the shower, then they open the windows on the tier. They don't let us dry our bodies off when we come out of the shower.

However, we still have to do this collectively. So all names that are hereby given are those who are in Extension H. B. Z.

(Signed) Richard Wright—Sharrieff, Edward Todd, William R. Broome, George (Che) Nieves, Richard Balello, Rafael (Ray) Soto, Richard Jooner, Eric (Jomo Omowale) Thompson, Wendell Turner, James Murphy, Harold Walker, Raymond (Kingfish) Sumpter, Steven T. Garrett, Louis Crespo, Harry Kyle, Richard Fisher, Thomas Lewis, Andres Figueroa, Thomas H. Foreman, Luis M. Quintana, Steven Barney, Clarence Hunter, Peter Rodriguez.

AFL-CIO convention skirts real issues

By FRANK LOVELL

Nine hundred aged and seasoned delegates purporting to represent nearly 16 million organized workers met at the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., Nov. 18-22. Although held at the plush Americana Hotel, it was a drab affair by all standards.

The script was trite, the actors mediocre and the action anticlimactic. Two brief scenes reflected dimly the economic and social crisis that is the real backdrop of the whole show. AFL-CIO President George Meany and U.S. President Nixon, held center stage while the Black caucus scene was consigned to the wings.

The real questions for working men and women are how to end war, unemployment, and inflation. The convention could reasonably have been expected to deal with these questions. Instead, the action centered upon government wage controls and how these can be imposed "equitably" to the mutual benefit and satisfaction of workers and employers.

The 90-day wage freeze imposed by presidential decree last Aug. 15 robbed workers of an estimated \$4-billion in uncollected wage raises previously negotiated, while prices rose and layoffs continued.

Nixon's real goal was to better the position of U.S. monopolies in world trade and finance while continuing the murderous war in Indochina. Since the beginning of the freeze, Nixon has escalated the combat in Cambodia and Laos, extended the aerial bombardment of Vietnam, and increased the military budget to a projected \$80-billion annually.

Following the initial 90-day wage freeze, the government launched its wage-control machinery for Phase Two of the freeze. This consists of a 15-member Pay Board, with "public," labor, and management representatives; a seven-member Price Commission of "public" representatives; and a Cost of Living Council made up of government officials and headed by Treasury Secretary John B. Connally to oversee the other two panels. All posts were filled by presidential appointment. The avowed purpose of this machinery is to control both prices and wages, hoping in this way to check the inflationary spiral. In effect, it will try to limit annual wage

increases to 5.5 percent.

Five top union officials, including Meany, have agreed to serve on this anti-union government Pay Board, where all contracts between labor and management are reviewed, renegotiated, and revised downward.

One of the issues at the AFL-CIO convention was whether the union officials would or should continue to serve on the Pay Board, which Meany admitted is a "stacked deck." That issue never got to the convention floor. It was decided in advance in the Executive Council, where it was discovered by curious logic that if the union officials refused to serve on the Pay Board, they would then somehow become the "scapegoats" of whatever goes wrong with bipartisan wage-control schemes.

This is the sequence of events leading up to the Bal Harbour performance. The sham battle staged there between Meany and Nixon occurred only over how best to palm off the whole wage-control scheme on the suspicious victims. It was, in fact, part of the deception.

There is agreement among the Republican administration, the Democratic Congressional majority, and the labor bureaucracy that the current economic and social crisis of the capitalist system requires government-enforced wage controls. Their differences are over how to impose these controls and who will benefit from the public debate about them when the votes are cast in the 1972 elections. The labor bureaucrats are not opposed to wage controls, only to the Republican administration. They are out to "defeat Nixon at all costs," and elect a Democrat in his place.

Nixon went to Bal Harbour on Nov. 19 to announce that he will carry through his wage-control program whether or not union officials cooperate. His purpose was to present himself to the nation as the "strong leader" fighting valiantly against inflation and defying the protests and insults of labor aristocrats.

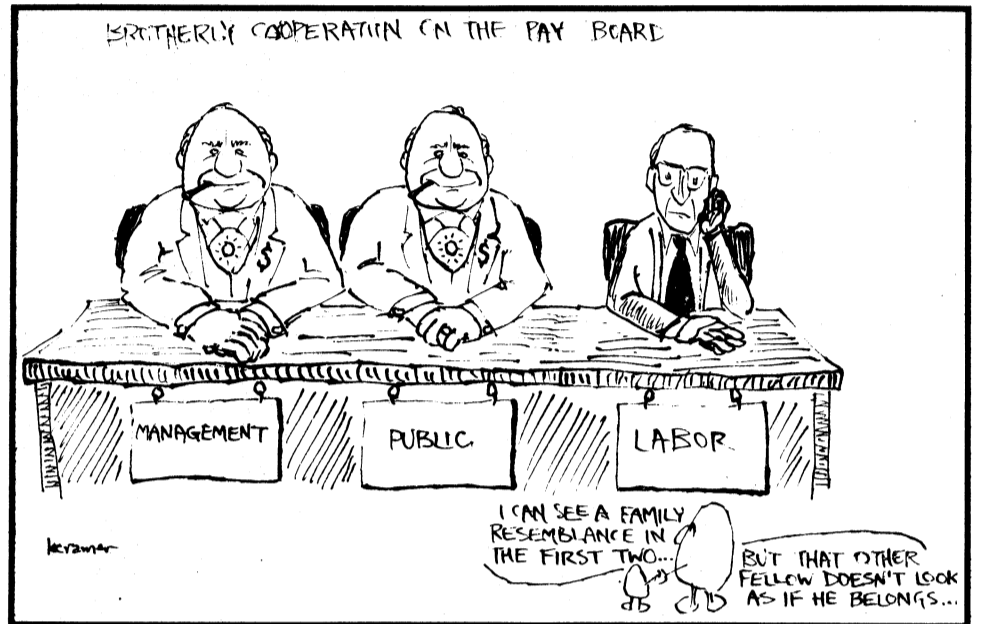
Meany remarked after Nixon had completed his performance, "We will now proceed to Act Two." This "Act Two" unfolds as a sequel to the convention in which the Republican administration and the union officials engage in mutual recriminations,

while expressing "respect." It was on this note that the convention closed with President Meany declaring, "This does not mean that our respect for the president and his office calls for us to submit to something that we consider unjust. Otherwise our pride in America and its institutions would be meaningless."

A resolution on foreign policy adopted by the convention without debate was the usual jingoist statement characteristic of Meany and his pro-war clique. Antiwar resolutions adopted by many AFL-CIO central bodies and sent to the convention were ignored, even though some of the delegates had sponsored such resolutions in their home locals and in state control

porters were sure to question them on the wage-control issue. They all support the bipartisan scheme to drive down wages.

For the first time at an AFL-CIO convention, a Black caucus was formed. The few Black delegates, under the leadership of Charles Hayes, a vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, and veteran AFL-CIO executive A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized the caucus and invited prominent representatives of the Black community to join them. Their purpose was to bring before the convention some proposals to deal with the needs of Black workers facing the problems of war, racism, unemployment, and inflation.



ventions.

The convention did nothing to aid the tens of thousands of workers who are presently on strike—telephone workers, longshoremen, coal miners dissatisfied with the deal their officials signed with the employers. No words were expressed about the struggle of women workers for equal job rights and day-care centers.

The final day of the convention had been reserved for the appearance of Democratic presidential hopefuls, including Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, and McGovern. But with the exception of McGovern, they decided not to put in an appearance because re-

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket, was one of the prominent speakers for the caucus. Although Jackson was not permitted to speak before the delegates as Nixon had done, he spoke at a news conference. He announced that the caucus was trying to get the union movement to oppose the government wage freeze by calling large-scale protest strikes and demonstrations. The caucus also wanted the unions to take direct action to stop layoffs and end unemployment, and called for them to force an end to the war in Vietnam.

As everyone knows, prices were not 'frozen'

By LEE SMITH

NOV. 22—While official administration representatives and double-talking capitalist economists are declaring Nixon's program successful in slowing inflation, the Consumer Price Index for October and other recent price studies confirm the contrary impression of the general public, 90 percent of whom believe prices went up during the "price freeze."

In an interview with the *New York Post* printed Nov. 17, Massachusetts Institute of Technology economist Paul Samuelson said he was "astonished" to see the studies showing that the public was generally aware of widespread freeze violations.

The studies reveal, Samuelson told the *Post*, that "it is difficult for even the most astute shopper to decide what constitutes a price rise." He implied that, lacking the special skills he and his colleagues possess, most workers and consumers are fooled into believing that when a product costs more than it did before, the price has risen.

However, there is considerable evidence to back up what most shoppers know to be true:

● The Consumer Price Index (CPI) rose 0.2 percent in October despite the so-called price freeze. And, as an article in the Nov. 5 *Militant* ex-

plained, the CPI statistics are biased in favor of the employers and can lag as much as three months in registering price increases.

● A *New York Times* analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "Estimated Retail Food Prices by Cities" showed that during the freeze month of September food prices in the New York area rose from 1 to 4 percent on 12 out of 71 items, and up to 1 percent on 17 of the items. Commenting that the federal data confirmed the paper's earlier findings based on state price reports, the Nov. 22 *Times* observed: "This supports the claim of AFL-CIO officials challenged by the administration, that with wages frozen, labor's purchasing power had been eroded by the freeze."

A companion report to the October CPI, released on Nov. 19 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed, according to the Nov. 20 *New York Times*, "that average weekly earnings of rank-and-file wage earners declined two cents in October to \$129.11. With prices up slightly, 'real' earnings were down 16 cents. . . ."

When Samuelson and other capitalist economists assert that the freeze has been successful, they mean successful in holding down wages, not prices. This is clear despite a lot of talk from

them about prices. For example, John Kenneth Galbraith is quoted in the Nov. 17 *New York Post* as having "wryly noted": "Of course, when you are controlling prices in a recession, it is not nearly as difficult as imagined."

But the recession Galbraith refers to, while accompanied by high unemployment that acts as a pressure against wage increases, has not been effective in curbing the continued rise in prices.

C. Jackson Grayson, chairman of the Price Commission, promised today that his agency would not countenance substantial price boosts by major industries during Phase Two even in cases where the Pay Board okayed wage hikes above the 5.5 percent guideline. Earlier indications had been that wage settlements would be used to give a green light to price-gouging in line with the myth that higher wages necessitate higher prices.

How much significance Grayson's promise has will soon be shown when the commission rules on Chrysler's request for a 5.9 percent price increase, Bethlehem Steel's request for a 7.6 percent increase, and the coal industry's request for an increase of approximately 8.5 percent.

Antiwar movement debates strategy for '72

By DAVE FRANKEL

Many commentators, evaluating the turnout for the Nov. 6 regional antiwar actions, noted the role played by the Nixon administration's claim that it is "winding down" the war in Indochina. There can be no doubt that Nixon's program of "Vietnamization," the troop withdrawals, and the lower casualty lists (at least as far as U. S. troops are concerned) have fostered the illusion that the war is ending.

This illusion is strengthened by the impact of the approaching 1972 presidential elections. Millions of people believe that Nixon must end the war before November 1972. If he doesn't, they reason, a Democratic Party "peace candidate" will be elected who will end the war.

The Nov. 6 demonstrations showed that although masses of people can be mobilized in visible protest against the war, significant numbers have been drawn off the streets by Nixon's maneuvers. As the presidential election campaign intensifies, so too will the pressure on the antiwar movement to subordinate itself to the electoral campaign of the Democratic Party nominee.

In view of this, the most important task facing the national antiwar convention in Cleveland Dec. 3-5 will be to adopt a perspective for the election year. Already, two main alternatives have been posed by forces inside the antiwar movement.

A section of the movement has come out openly for support to the Democratic Party as the proper strategy for the antiwar movement in 1972. Rennie Davis of the Mayday wing of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), has said that he will vote for the Democrats in 1972. Together with others who hold this perspective, Davis and the PCPJ have launched a campaign to "Evict Nixon." The latest issue of the PCPJ newsletter, *Movin' Together*, maintains that "A defeat of Nixon could mean the end of the war and more space for radicals and revolutionaries to work."

Is the Vietnam war over?

The approach of the Communist Party (CP) is basically the same but with an added twist. In an article in the Nov. 6 *Daily World*, the issue that was distributed at the demonstrations on that date, Arnold Johnson, secretary of the CP's National Peace Commission, has a full page article

CLEVELAND—Hundreds of antiwar activists are expected to attend the national antiwar convention called by the National Peace Action Coalition to be held here Dec. 3-5. Registration will begin at 3 p.m. Friday, Dec. 3, at the Cuyahoga Campus Center building. A rally Friday evening will open the convention. For further information, write to NPAC's Cleveland office, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, 44115, or call (216) 621-6516.

entitled "The broadening coalition in the peace movement."

Johnson begins his article by claiming that the fall antiwar offensive was organized around the concept of forcing the government to "end the aggressive war in Southeast Asia *this year* and act on the accumulated needs of the people as priorities. Those objectives are ever more urgent and can be achieved." (Emphasis added.)

After outlining some of the growing difficulties for the U. S. in carrying out the war in Indochina, Johnson once again makes the point that: "The above factors as well as other developments made the objective of ending the war this year a correct perspective. . . ."

Johnson then launches an attack on those who

warn of the continuation of the war and recognize the need to continue the struggle against it: "Some forces in the organized peace movement continue to have the concept of endless war," Johnson says, "even though that view coincides with Nixon's program of Vietnamization."

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), despite Johnson's claim, does not have "the concept of endless war." It believes that the war can be ended by successive mass mobilizations of the American people. Johnson's argument that those who believe the war is not on the verge of ending give credence to Nixon's "Vietnamization" program — is simply ludicrous. Nixon himself, when he announced the maintenance of a permanent force of as high as 139,000 U. S. troops, in effect admitted the failure of turning the war over to Vietnamese troops. Also, recent events show that U. S. military "advisers" and air power are necessary to back up the South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the organizers of the fall antiwar offensive never projected the Pollyannaish notion that the fall actions would succeed in forcing an end to the war this year. The actions were a continuation of the seven-year struggle to build a movement powerful enough to force Washington to withdraw all U. S. forces from Indochina.

While PCPJ and the CP both maintain that the defeat of Nixon is the way to end the war, the CP also asserts that the war is ending anyway. These are exactly the kind of illusions that have been responsible for leading a section of the antiwar movement away from the perspective of mass action.

Johnson, after establishing to his satisfaction that the war will be over by the end of this year, proceeds to explain that the PCPJ is "the all-inclusive, multi-issue and multi-tactic section of the peace movement. . . . The NPAC [National Peace Action Coalition] does not provide the road or method for achieving greater unity."

If the war is going to end this year, one may well ask why the antiwar movement is necessary. Under the guise of correcting the "weaknesses" of the antiwar movement, Johnson actually advocates its dissolution. His argument is that in order for the antiwar movement to be relevant to the masses of American people, it must adopt a program to solve the key problems facing workers, develop a strategy to fight racism, and take on the cases of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers, the Attica inmates, and the Harrisburg defendants.

But this is not all. "While it is understandable and correct that primary attention is given to end the U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia, it is not understandable or correct for us to ignore and do virtually nothing to end the Israeli aggression and seizure of territory in the Mideast.

"Somewhat the same can be said in relation to Pakistan and Bangla Desh."

Moreover, "Hundreds have been killed this past year in Guatemala and in the Dominican Republic. Hundreds have been imprisoned in Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and other countries. A program of genocide has been conducted in Brazil.

"We should also give more attention to Greece, to South Africa, to Amchitka Island in Alaska."

The war in Indochina is submerged in the problems of the entire world, and the implication is that the antiwar movement is somehow an accomplice to the crimes of world capitalism if it continues to fight on "only" the issue of the war.

But the antiwar movement need make no apologies. The mass actions it has organized have not only been of enormous importance to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, they have also greatly increased the difficulties the U. S. faces in attempting to suppress other movements for social change, both at home and abroad.

Far from generating mass actions around the issues he mentions, Johnson's approach would succeed only in thwarting the continued organization of mass demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia. The antiwar movement is a coalition of diverse organizations and individuals aimed at mobilizing masses of people against U. S. aggression in Indochina. To insist that everyone agree with the host of additional issues raised by Johnson would only lead to a narrowing of the movement and its eventual demise.

Unfortunately, this is precisely what Johnson and his kind want to see. He fails to see the contradiction between supporting mass antiwar actions and building a pro-Democratic Party "Evict Nixon" campaign. But when the choice is posed between involving hundreds of thousands of young people in mass demonstrations in the streets and the possibility of "evicting Nixon" by electing a Democrat in his stead, Johnson and the CP choose the latter. As Johnson says in the concluding paragraph of his article, "The 12 million new voters of the 18-20 age group and the 13 million of the 21-24 age group who were too young in 1968 can decide many elections—including the eviction of Nixon."

Mislead movement

The strategy of supporting the Democratic Party in the 1972 elections in the hope that its nominee will defeat Nixon and end the war can only mislead the antiwar movement as to what forces can really end the war. Capitalist politicians make all types of "election promises" during their campaigns for office. These promises are rarely fulfilled. There can be no doubt that the Democratic presidential candidate will promise to stop the war—just as Lyndon B. Johnson promised in 1964 that he wouldn't expand it, and Nixon said in 1968 that he had a secret plan to end it.

Those who think that the promises of Democrats are superior to those of Republicans should remember that it was the Democrats under President Kennedy who originally sent troops to Vietnam, and escalated the U. S. intervention into a major war under President Johnson. The Democratic Party has consistently voted war appropriations, which have ensured the continuation of the slaughter. Not one of the prospective Democratic presidential nominees has come out in favor of the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Vietnam.

It is the mass actions of the antiwar movement, organized independently of the two parties responsible for prosecuting the war, that can force delivery on the promises of the politicians *no matter who is in power*. It is this power that has forced Nixon to withdraw the troops he has, and has made a major reescalation of the war almost impossible without a major social explosion at home.

Rather than isolating the militant activists who have been attracted to it—which would be the result of ringing door-bells and licking stamps for some Democratic Party politician—the antiwar movement must continue to present a visible and organized face to the American people. Through continued mass demonstrations, it will be possible to involve the millions who are opposed to the war in actions against the government's policies. At the same time, this would serve to educate masses of people about the relationship of the war to the domestic crisis and inflation.

These issues will be discussed and debated at the national antiwar conference in Cleveland Dec. 3-5. Hopefully, that conference will adopt the perspective of continued mass mobilizations against the war for the coming year, and choose the date for the next national demonstrations this spring.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Fla. young socialist's fight for free speech becomes major battle

By MIKE WEISSMAN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Nov. 19—More than 200 students demonstrated their support for the free speech fight being waged at Florida State University (FSU) around the dismissal of a Young Socialist Alliance activist here by turning out yesterday at a combination class and rally on the FSU campus.

Jack Lieberman, a local YSA leader and the best-known student activist in Florida, was dismissed from FSU earlier this month for allegedly teaching a free university course at the wrong time. Yesterday, he conducted a session of the now-banned class on the campus. Two hundred attended and the class took on the character of a rally.

The Committee for Free Speech at FSU had obtained a temporary restraining order from a federal court against the FSU administration's attempt to prevent yesterday's meeting.

Among those attending the class was Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who

president of the Tallahassee American Civil Liberties Union, the president of the Inter-Fraternity Council, the head of the campus gay liberation group, and the head of a conservative group called the New Right Coalition, among others.

In addition to FSU students, the class was attended by students from the University of Florida at Gainesville, where Lieberman had spoken about his case the night before.

The attention of the entire state was focused on the rally through statewide radio, TV and newspaper coverage. The media have been closely following the development of the FSU struggle for more than a week, billing it as a test of free speech.

Undaunted by the swelling support for Lieberman's rights reflected in the federal court order and the media coverage, the FSU administration appears prepared for all-out battle.

The day before the Nov. 18 class rally, the administration banned the secretary of the free speech committee,

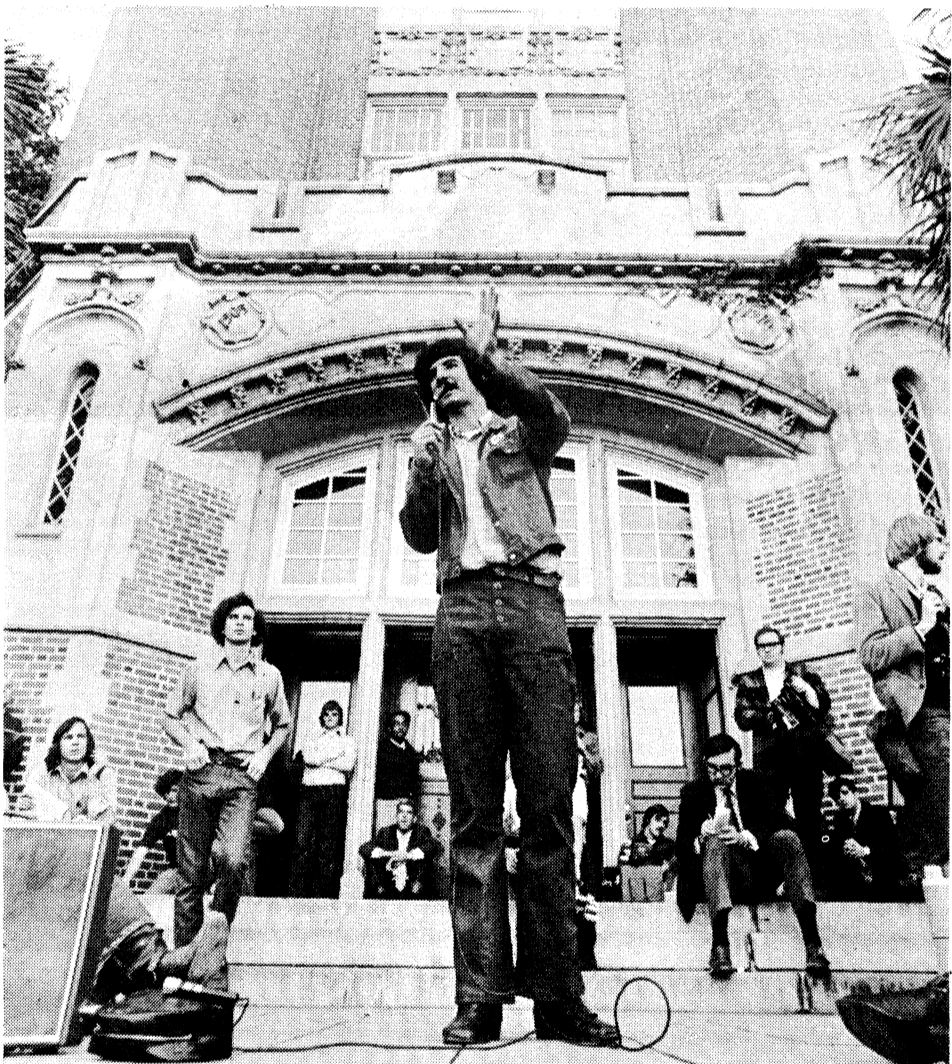


Photo by Ralph Swicard/Florida Flambeau

Jack Lieberman addresses protest rally at Florida State University.

interrupted her New York tour and flew in to show her support for Lieberman and for free speech at FSU.

In arbitrarily dismissing Lieberman, FSU President Stanley Marshall overturned the decisions of two student honor courts. The charge against the YSA leader was that he allegedly held a session of his class on "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." in September. The class on revolution was part of a student-led program called the Center for Participant Education (CPE). At the time of the alleged September session, Marshall had ordered all CPE courses held up for administrative review.

Support at the Nov. 18 class and rally, expressed either in person or in messages of solidarity, came from the president of the student body at FSU, the Black Student Union, the

John Votava, from campus. The rationale was that it would be carrying courtesy to visitors too far to allow school facilities to be used for arranging a lawsuit against the school.

Today, the administration attempted to pressure the student government into kicking the defense committee out of its campus offices. More than that, the state Board of Regents, which met today, declared that since "the healthy elements in the CPE have protected the unhealthy elements," the entire CPE program will be banned for the winter quarter and until further notice.

The Committee for Free Speech at FSU urges that telegrams of protest be sent to President Stanley Marshall, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla., 32306, with copies and messages of support to the committee, c/o Box 3092, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

Socialist youth ready for biggest convention

By LOUISE GOODMAN

NOV. 22—The eleventh Young Socialist national convention is being built on a scale unlike any other in the history of the Young Socialist Alliance. Already 270,000 leaflets and 22,000 posters have been distributed throughout the country, and a new leaflet on the convention and the 1972 elections is being printed this week. A special convention-building brochure urging young people to come to Houston this December and join the YSA should also be out this week. The material produced for this year's convention far surpasses the 45,000 leaflets and 4,000 posters distributed for last year's.

Invitations have been sent to over 50 political organizations in the United States, asking them to send representatives to the convention. A special mailing will be going out to student governments across the country, explaining the importance of this gathering of revolutionary youth and urging them to send students from their campuses who wish to attend. Invitations are also being sent to all Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and to people who have written the YSA national office in the past year.

Special arrangements are being made for a national news conference in Washington, D. C., to announce the convention.

There will be special emphasis at the convention on the role of youth in the 1972 elections. Discussion will focus on how to build support for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. This election campaign urges young people to get involved in the struggles that will really change this country—the antiwar movement, the campaign to repeal all anti-abortion laws, the

struggle for Black and Chicano liberation, the struggles on the campuses and in the high schools, and the growing resistance by American workers to Nixon's wage controls.

Kathy Perkus, press coordinator for the convention, will arrive in Houston next week. Convention packets will be sent to all the underground and campus newspapers in the six-state Southwest region, and photo-ready ads will be available for local areas to place in their own papers. At the time of the first national news conference in early December, YSA locals and YSJP chapters around the country will also hold news conferences.

The latest reports from Ted Stacey, who's on the second leg of his convention-building tour in the South, indicates a high interest in the YSA's ideas and the convention. In Grappling, La., a join-the-YSA meeting drew over 150 predominantly Black students.

Norman Oliver, national Black work director of the YSA and also on a convention-building tour, spoke at a meeting at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., set up by a Black student group. Those at the meeting decided to charter a bus for the Houston convention.

Casa, a Chicano group the *Militant's* national subscription teams met at Highlands University in Las Vegas, N.M., decided to attend the convention and publicize it on their campus.

Response was good at join-the-YSA tables at the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal actions in San Francisco and Washington, D. C. In Washington, people from Hohokus, N. J., Athens, Ohio, and San Antonio, Texas, signed up to attend the convention. Two women from Murray State University in Murray, Ky., took stacks of leaflets and posters.

Which way for youth in the '72 election?

Discuss a real alternative at the Young Socialist National Convention Houston/Dec.28-Jan.1

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

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

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____



Mario Compean

Photo by Howard Petrick

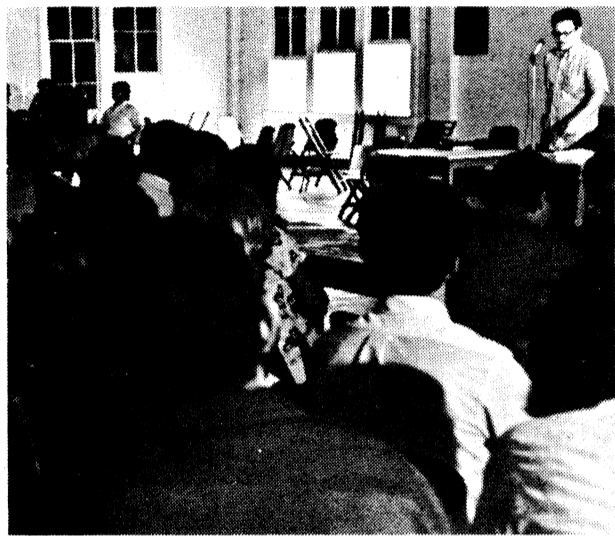


Photo by Howard Petrick

José Angel Gutiérrez addresses Raza Unida State Convention.

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

"I think we Chicanos will never have anything that means anything until we have political power. And I think that the only way that the Chicano will ever have political power is through an independent political party, a Chicano party, La Raza Unida Party."

Thus spoke Mario Compean over a year ago at a MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) meeting of 1,000. He concluded his speech by saying, "In San Antonio, there will be a Raza Unida Party in 1972." Compean, then state chairman of MAYO, has kept his promise. At the Oct. 30, 1971, state convention of the Raza Unida Party in San Antonio, Texas, he successfully argued for the formation of a statewide party that would fight to attain ballot status throughout Texas in 1972. He was later elected state chairman of the party by acclamation.

After freeing himself from the busy schedule of the state convention, a voter-registration conference the next day, and filing the results of the convention with state authorities as required by the Texas election code, Compean granted *The Militant* an interview.

Harry Ring, head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, Tank Barrera, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Houston School Board, and I talked with Compean in his office at Amat Press, a movement print shop he was instrumental in setting up.

Compean, 31, was born in Lockhart, Texas, but spent most of his life in San Antonio, where he now resides. Like thousands of Chicanos in Texas, things weren't easy for him.

"Our family used to migrate all the time to the North. I spent about 15 years migrating, working in the fields. We were 11 in the family, not including my parents. When my father wasn't working in the fields, he was a construction laborer.

"Overall, our economic situation at home was very bad. In high school, I passed out three times because of malnutrition."

Compean spent almost a year in a tuberculosis sanatorium. "For four years I couldn't work. All I could do was rest during the day and go out at night and figure out how to get some money to stay alive."

At that time, he was "brainwashed," as he puts it, and believed in the system. "I felt that if you were going to get anywhere, you had to do it through education and hard work . . . assimilate. So I was very self-conscious. I had an inferiority complex because I couldn't get rid of my accent. I felt very bad because I didn't have a good vocabulary in English.

Compean went to Edgewood High School in San Antonio, one of the poorest school districts in the state. Things haven't changed, he told us. In 1968, fewer than 5 percent of the graduates went on to college, and half of these dropped out the first year.

"Believing in the system," he worked all kinds

of jobs trying to make some "fast" money. "I went to California, and never made it there either, so I came back. I tried selling cars, selling furniture, selling encyclopedias. I finally settled down to working as a shipping clerk." But, he informed us, "I lasted about two and a half months there. They kicked me out because I was talking politics."

When we asked Compean how he became involved in politics, he answered, "By accident." He was asked to help an Anglo candidate running for the School Board in the Edgewood District. "I said, 'Sure, I'll help him.' I didn't know any better. It turned out to be the guy I helped kick out three years later!" That was Compean's first real involvement in electoral politics. In 1966, he participated in Senator Joe Bernal's first campaign. "And he ran with the establishment, the Government League." In 1968, Compean became more deeply involved. "This was with commissioner [Alberto] Peña's campaign. . . . Three months later I was running for office myself."

His involvement with MAYO and the development of nationalist consciousness started, he recalls, when "I ran into José Angel [Gutiérrez] at a picnic, and he started talking to me about the idea of forming MAYO. . . . José Angel's approach was, 'Do you know about the Black movement?' I said, 'Yes, I've been reading about it.'"

"Do you know who Stokely [Carmichael] is?" Compean responded that he did. He was very much influenced by the development of the Black struggle. "Every day I would pick up the paper to see what Stokely was saying. I admired him a lot." In 1967, Compean attended a conference called by Reies López Tijerina in Albuquerque, N.M. "I ran into people from California, from SNCC. Featherstone was there." Compean did not become familiar with Malcolm X until after Malcolm's assassination. "I barely knew the guy when they killed him. So it was after his death that I started reading about him."

It was the Black struggle that started his questioning of the oppression of the Chicano people. "The initial introspection I went through was brought about by that." The meeting with José Angel Gutiérrez led him quickly to nationalist conclusions. "I was almost pushed into it right away. . . . This guy was ten years ahead of me!"

In 1969, Mario Compean ran as an independent candidate for mayor of San Antonio against incumbent Walter McAllister III, one of the most powerful men in San Antonio. He succeeded in coming within 200 votes of a runoff election. This campaign, around a program of community control, set the stage for the first successful Raza Unida Party campaigns the next year in Crystal City.

"We are going to lose everything! Every time they raise that point I tell them to just look and see what we really have. . . . We have nothing."

Now that the state convention voted to get the party on the Texas ballot for 1972, there is much work to be done. We asked Compean how difficult he thought it would be to mobilize young people from around the state to obtain the required number of signatures (about 22,500) for nominating petitions. "I think they're mobilized already to a certain degree. The question now is to keep them together organizationally and also to recruit some more. . . . We will only have 20 days to collect these petitions."

In terms of the goals of the state campaign, Compean stresses a two-pronged approach: both educational as well as going out to win certain offices. "I give equal priority to both things," he said. The chances of winning, especially county offices are very real. "Last year, even though we only won one office in the [November] general election, it was a write-in."

The main educational point Compean hopes to get across is "to turn people on to the idea that they haven't gotten anything from the parties that exist. . . . The structure of the other two parties serves to prevent anyone outside the 'in-group' from getting anywhere. The Democratic Party, by having a majority of the state legislature, controls the election code, the districting, they control everything else."

Compean sees the main obstacle to building the Raza Unida Party coming from liberal Chicano Democrats and those around them. "They are the ones who most often buy the establishment line for not having our own party. Old operatives in the Democratic Party, liberals. Right now we are undergoing a tremendous battle, even though it's quiet. . . . They are giving out the traditional party line, that you have to be elected above anything else. The sole end is getting somebody elected, not whether you get power for anybody else, just as long as you elect one person.

"And they're saying, 'Well, you know, if we go Raza Unida, we're going to hurt the commissioner [Alberto Peña], we're going to hurt the senator



[Joe Bernal] and we are not going to elect them. We are going to lose everything! Every time they raise that point I tell them to just look and see what we really have. Then you will be able to tell what you're losing. We have nothing."

Compean stressed the importance of community control. "I've always said that we really can't have anything unless we control those institutions that are supposed to serve us. For example, the kinds of things that have been accomplished since La Raza Unida took over the Crystal City School Board and the city government have been accomplished because you have control of the majority of the votes on any one question. And this is the only thing that has enabled us to bring about the changes we wanted."

Some people argue the same thing could have been accomplished by electing the same number of Chicanos through the Democratic Party. Compean takes exception to that view. "The point is that you couldn't elect them through the Democratic Party because of all the obstacles, structurally, and those who control it. It is not an open party."

He explained that there were people advocating that "What you need to do is take over the Democratic Party, to field candidates in all the precinct elections, and then you will be able to control the Bexar County Democratic Executive Committee. Then you can really change things!"

In the last general elections, Compean agreed to try it in San Antonio "to show them it couldn't be done." They put up some 30 candidates. Compean himself ran for chairman of District 26 of the Democratic Party. "When you went down to the county convention or the district convention, you always had the establishment calling the shots. In all the other precincts where they had their people, the workers were being paid and they were specifically told, 'If you lose your precinct, you lose your job.'"

Compean, and apparently many others, concluded that "taking over" the Democratic Party is futile. "It's too deep-rooted to break it. They have everything at this time. They control all the jobs, they control all the community resources, and

Interview with



MARIO COMPEAN



to top it all, they control all the structures. There is no way you could penetrate it."

From another angle, the reformists have approached the Raza Unida Party with proposals for a "people's party." Black Democrats wanted "to get together in one party. They didn't like the name 'Raza Unida.' They wanted a 'people's party.' So they had all the liberal politicians in the state, the Ralph Yarborough group, some labor people, and they met in Austin. They called it the 'People's Coalition.'" Compean observed that

"... we really can't have anything unless we control those institutions that are supposed to serve us."

"They were trying to get together a basis, not so much for a new party, but for independent action to reform the Democratic Party, to apply pressure on the Democratic Party for reforms. They weren't saying that, but this is what was coming through. It was also an attempt to defuse the effects of the Raza Unida Party. I responded by not attending. I refused to attend."

Compean believes that the task now is to build an all-Chicano party. "We ourselves have to be together first," he says. "Once we are beyond that point, then we can look beyond. Once we have the organizational power well-knit within our own movement, then we will be ready to establish alliances." He feels confident, however, that many non-Chicanos in the state will support the Raza Unida Party. "There are a lot of people in the state who are very dissatisfied about how the government has been run."

At the Texas Raza Unida Party state convention last month, a discussion took place concerning the advantages and disadvantages of remaining a regional party or going statewide. Compean, who urged that Raza Unida become statewide, elaborated on the question. "Even though I didn't think about it at the time, it would also have been a bad idea to stay regional in terms of what the other states are doing. They would have looked at us and said, 'Well, you know, these guys are

backing out, there must be a reason.'" It would have had a discouraging effect on other areas, he felt.

Compean is very much in favor of seeing the Raza Unida Party develop throughout Aztlan. "It's good to have a Crystal City, but it's a lot better if you can have 20 or 30," he said. One of the goals of the 1972 campaign, according to him, will be to break down "regionalism."

"In my opinion, one of the things that has hurt us is that we are unable to transcend regional

"We are too concerned with our little place here and not concerned enough with the whole state in general or the whole Chicano people."

boundaries, local boundaries, to work together to accomplish an overall goal for the people in general. For example, we talk a lot about the barrio. It is a very real thing and sometimes it takes on a very rigid definition to the point where you forget everything else and you just stay inside those boundaries. . . . We are too concerned with our little place here and not concerned enough with the whole state in general or the whole Chicano people."

By organizing a statewide party, Compean holds, they will be able to provide more help and direction to areas such as West Texas. "If we had stayed regional," he said, "these people would have been without any alternatives. . . . This way, at least we can provide some encouragement for them. If we get on the statewide ballot in 1972, any local county can run a candidate.

"That is one of the reasons other areas have been reluctant to support it. They said, 'Well, it's just regional. It really offers nothing for us.' This is why it was so crucial that we make it a statewide effort."

Another advantage of a statewide party, he stated, is that Raza Unida could in the future elect members to congress or at least to the state legislature. Such Raza Unida party officials could not guarantee the passage of any legislation, but they could be useful. "Probably the biggest benefit," Compean told us, "is that you would have a spokesman. Instead of saying what Montoya and these guys were saying last week [at the National Spanish Speaking Coalition Conference in Washington], you would have somebody supporting Raza Unida." National or state officials could also serve "in terms of helping to get the vote here locally."

Compean strongly believes that the Raza Unida Party must be concerned with the day-to-day problems of La Raza. It cannot just be worried about elections. He is critical of those who hesitate to take stands on issues of immediate concern to the community. "Some people say, 'Well, you can't get involved in this because it is going to hurt you.' Again we go back to the very criticism we are giving the other two parties. They are not involved. In my opinion, you can't face the people that way. You are being just as hypocritical as they [the Democrats and Republicans] are.

In order to achieve the ambitious goals the Texas Raza Unida Party has set for itself, a lot of money will be necessary. Contributions should be sent to: Raza Unida Party, P. O. Box 37305, San Antonio, Texas 78237.

Chicano pamphlets from Pathfinder

- CHICANAS SPEAK OUT
Mirta Vidal 35c
- CHICANO LIBERATION AND
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH
Mirta Vidal 35c
- DOCUMENTS OF THE CHICANO
STRUGGLE
LA RAZA!
a panel discussion including Ro-
dolfo "Corky" Gonzales & Frobén
Lozada 30c
- LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY IN TEXAS
Mario Compean, José Angel Gutié-
rrez 25c

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y.

How Chicano contingent was built

By MIGUEL PENDAS

DENVER—Carrying a 20 foot banner that read, "Raza Si! Guerra No!, Out Now!—Chicano Contingent," nearly 1,000 Chicanos led the Nov. 6 antiwar march of 15,000 here.

The success of the contingent and the Chicano Task Force that organized it once again confirms that the war remains a relevant issue within the Chicano community and that large numbers of Raza can be mobilized around the demand "Bring Our Carnales [brothers] Home Now!" The war remains an important issue because next only to Native Americans, La Raza suffers the most from it, not only in terms of casualties, but also in terms of war-induced inflation and cutbacks in welfare benefits and other federal programs. Nixon's antilabor economic policies, which attempt to force the working class to pay for the war, hit Chicanos even more severely because of their already low wages.

One of the key reasons for the success of the Chicano Task Force, in addition to high antiwar sentiment within the Chicano community, was that the task force was organized and led by Chicanos in close collaboration with the Colorado Peace Action Coalition (CPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)—the groups sponsoring the Nov. 6 action. Both of these organizations supported a separate task force organized by Chicanos in order to best mobilize Raza opposition to the war.

The Chicano Task Force succeeded in building a broad coalition of Chicano activists representing numerous organizations.

Of particular importance to the success of the Chicano contingent was the endorsement and participation of the Crusade for Justice, headed by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Gonzales has been an outspoken opponent of the war since its inception and has participated in and helped build numerous antiwar actions in Denver. He has also spoken at several national antiwar actions in the past.

Last July, the Crusade and the Colorado Raza Unida Party sent representatives to the national antiwar convention sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). Meeting with Raza activists from around the country, they called for support to the Sept. 16 Mexican Independence Day demonstrations in Denver and other cities, which were to include an antiwar theme. The Raza workshop also called for Chicano, Puerto Rican and Latino participation in the fall offensive against the war. Both resolutions were adopted by NPAC.

Organized out of the Chicano workshop at the Rocky Mountain Regional Antiwar Conference in Boulder, Sept. 25, the Chicano Task Force went to work immediately. Space was provided in the offices of CPAC and SMC. Al Baldivia, well-known Chicano activist and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was added to the staff of CPAC to organize the Task Force full-time. A mailing was sent out to Chicano organizations throughout Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Kansas asking for their endorsement and participation. Three thousand posters and 30,000 leaflets in both English and Spanish were printed.

The response was overwhelming, and endorsements began pouring in. Eventually the list grew to include most MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) and UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) chapters in the region; *El Grito del Norte*, the leading Chicano newspaper in New Mexico; the Latin American Research and Development Association (LARADA) in Colorado Springs; *El Gallo* [the leading Chicano newspaper in Colorado]; Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco (Tlatelolco School and College); Marcella Trujillo, director of Chicano Studies at the University of Colorado, Denver Center; State Representatives Betty Benavidez and Roger Valdez; State Senator Roger Cisneros; Chicano trade unionists from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the United Farm Workers, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; and many others.

In the final weeks, planning meetings were held at the Crusade headquarters, concretizing plans, getting leaflets out for distribution and organizing marshals. An Oct. 26 news conference was extremely successful. Held at the Crusade office, the

Continued on page 22

Illegal aliens, not employers, hit by gov't

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—The scene is a small factory. Workers are industriously operating machines, sorting, packing, performing other operations. Suddenly a worker gives a yell and dozens of men and women leap up, run out the back door, climb through windows, and duck into closets and other hiding places.

Uniformed men burst into the shop. They sprint after the fleeing workers, grab as many as they can, and herd them together. They are under arrest. Is this a raid on a heroin processing factory? A film about Nazi Germany? No, the scene was the Ramona Food Products Company near Los Angeles. The uniformed men were agents of the Immigration Department. They were looking for alien Mexican workers who had not cleared U.S. customs. On this particular raid, on Oct. 5, they seized 36 alleged illegal aliens. About 60 more, they said, escaped over a six-foot fence behind the plant.

While the raid put the spotlight on Romana Acosta Bañuelos, owner of the factory, and put a question mark on her appointment as U.S. Treasurer by President Nixon, it also cast light on the far more important question of Mexican nationals within the U.S. labor force.

Over 700,000 people of Mexican origin live in Los Angeles as permanent residents. It is estimated that another 300,000 have arrived from Mexico without going through U.S. Immigration procedures. These are the so-called "wetbacks" or "mojados," who are periodically rounded up and shipped back to Mexico without the formality of a court hearing or even legal counsel. The 36 workers arrested at the Ramona plant were immediately packed aboard buses headed for the Mexican border.

Last year, the Immigration Service rounded up 38,000 alleged illegal aliens in Los Angeles alone and 350,000 of varying nationalities (primari-

ly Mexicans and other Latin Americans) throughout the country. An immigration official in Los Angeles told a reporter, "We have only 25 agents on duty in Los Angeles. . . . If we had 50 investigators, we would double our catch."

For hundreds of thousands of U.S. residents of Mexican origin, as well as Mexican nationals, fear of the immigration agent is as real as fear of the Gestapo was in Nazi Germany. On the street, in the plant, in bed during the early morning hours, a federal agent may seize the suspected alien.

The alleged alien is not protected by the right to bail or an impartial court trial once in the clutches of the Immigration Service. The burden of proof of innocence remains with the victim. There is provision for formal deportation procedures, but this means a stay in jail, an administrative hearing, and then a court-enforced order of deportation. If the alien returns within two years, he or she is subject to an automatic prison term.

Most Mexican nationals simply submit to summary expulsion from the country. This means being packed off to Mexico without any advance notice whatsoever. No time to pack, no chance to notify friends or family, and many times no opportunity to collect wages due them.

Many Mexican nationals who initially crossed the border without the formality of the Immigration Department have been living and working in the U.S. for years. They have married and raised children. If the Immigration Service determines that the parents are here "illegally," the children are also declared to be aliens and are subject to deportation.

Great economic hardships—the result of European and U.S. imperialist exploitation in Mexico—drive the Mexican worker to face clandestine travel, harassment, and the humiliation of arrest to work long hours at sweatshop wages in the U.S. With

wages as low as \$10 a week in some Mexican plants, the U.S. minimum wage of \$1.65 looks relatively good to the Mexican worker.

Why not go through normal immigration procedures? Here a series of hurdles loom before the impoverished Mexican.

Since 1968 the U.S. has imposed a quota of 120,000 immigrants from all countries in the Western hemisphere. To enter under Mexico's part of the quota, the immigrant must submit to careful screening. This means submitting birth certificates, affidavits of good health and character, etc. To obtain any of these documents from corrupt Mexican officials involves endless delay and bribes.

There is a provision for Mexicans to commute daily to jobs in U.S. border towns. These commuters are issued green cards valid only so long as the worker stays on that particular job. To obtain this, the Mexican must first line up the job and then go through all the red tape involved in getting the card.

Labor recruiters will help line up such jobs, for a fee. They will also arrange, or promise to arrange, jobs for Mexicans who cannot overcome the immigration hurdles. A worker can pay a so-called labor recruiter as much as \$500 to get safely across the border and to a waiting job. These recruiters have been notorious for collecting fees and then leaving the Mexican workers stranded.

It is no concern of the Los Angeles factory owner how the Mexican national arrived in Los Angeles—many times, packed like animals in trucks with hidden compartments. To an employer, the hungry Mexican is the ideal worker. Where else could they find a body of workers who will accept almost any wages offered, know nothing of wage-and-hour laws, would not dare to complain about gross violation of health and safety laws, and can be threatened with instant deporta-

tion at the first sign of insubordination? It is not surprising that many small sweatshops, particularly in the garment industry, hire mainly illegals and turn away applicants with resident status.

True, the bosses may be inconvenienced by raids, but not for long. It was reported that Bañuelos replaced her deported workers the very next day. Often the deported workers are able to make their way back to the same job within a week, according to immigration officials. Sometimes the boss is warned of a raid and hides the more "valuable" workers. Likewise it is not uncommon for bosses themselves to place a call to the Immigration Service to get rid of "troublemakers."

The factory owners have little to fear from a raid, even with recent legislation in California making it illegal to "knowingly" hire an illegal alien. The penalties, if they are convicted, are minor. Their real crime, paying sweatshop wages and violating every wage, hour, and safety law on the books, is of no concern to the Immigration Department.

No Justice Department or Labor Department officials ever descend on the plant to check the books, or to interview workers concerning violations of their rights. Instead, the burden of guilt is borne by the Mexican national who has been cruelly exploited and treated as a criminal outcast. This social stigma is all the more galling when it is realized that Mexican nationals have been a key component of the economy of the Southwest, both before and after the territory was ripped off from Mexico in 1848.

Mexican workers not only built the railroads, irrigated the farms, and harvested the crops for the Anglo invaders of the Southwest. They also taught the Easterners the techniques of farming arid land, which alone made possible the large-scale exploitation of the former Mexican provinces.

¡La Raza en Acción!



LOS TRES DEL BARRIO: Three young Chicanos, members of the barrio organization Carnalismo, are presently on trial in Los Angeles on charges of "conspiracy, assault with a deadly weapon with intent to commit murder upon a federal officer, and robbery of \$220 from the person of a custodian of federal monies."

The charges stem from an incident that took place recently in the barrio. Juan Fernández, Alberto Ortiz and Rodolfo Sánchez have been involved in a program to eliminate drugs from the Chicano community. The committee set up to defend the three *carnales* (brothers) explains that the police were aware of the fact that Los Tres were scaring pushers out of the barrio. So they apparently sent an agent into the Chicano community to attempt a frame-up.

Robert Canales, a federal narcotics agent, contacted Rodolfo Sánchez, expressing a desire to purchase some heroin. The Nov. 4 *Eastside Sun* reports that "Sánchez asked Fernández and Ortiz to 'follow him to make sure nothing happened.'"

When they arrived at the meeting place, Canales informed them that he was a pusher, not a user. Fernández then decided to take his money away so that he couldn't make a purchase somewhere else and resell it to young Chicanos in the barrio. When Fernández demanded that Canales turn over his money, the agent made a quick motion, as if reaching for his gun. Fernández drew his own gun in self-defense and fired. Ortiz also fired. According to the *Eastside Sun*, Canales is permanently paralyzed.

The trial began Oct. 19, at which time the jury was selected. Of the 16 members of the panel, only one is Chicano and one is Black. Bail has been set at \$50,000 for each of the defendants.

The charge of robbing a "custodian of federal monies" is based on a law from the days of Jesse James, according to the defense committee. This charge alone carries a sentence of 25 years. In order to insure justice in this case, money will

be needed for legal expenses. Contributions should be sent to: Los Tres del Barrio Legal Defense Fund, P. O. Box 33511, Los Angeles Calif. 90033.

1970 CENSUS "FORGOT" CHICANOS: The Nov. 4 *San Antonio News* reports that "Somewhere down the line in taking the 1970 census, the Bureau of Census lost between 274,000 and 4.8 million Mexican-Americans." The charge was made by



Cartoon by RIUS. Caption by Carta Noticiera

Mario Obledo, executive director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. He challenged the Census Bureau to refute his claim that Chicanos are undercounted, that unemployment among Chicanos is understated, and that the earnings of La Raza are inflated.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION: The Nov. 10 issue of *El Chicano* reprints an interesting article from a recent issue of *The Forum-*

eer, published in San José, Calif., by the G.I. Forum. Pete Chacón, 79th District Assemblyman (D-Calif.), warned the California Democratic Party Reform Convention, according to the article, "of the possible defection of Chicanos from the party ranks. . . . Chicano youth and some of the not-so-young have become disillusioned with the Democratic Party and are looking toward La Raza Unida Party as their hope for equal representation."

The article pointed out why. "In California, Chicanos constitute 15 percent of the population; yet out of 15,650 elected and appointed officials only 310—just 1.98 percent, are Chicanos.

"None of the top 40 state officials are Chicano. None of the top 28 advisors on the staff of Governor Reagan are Chicanos. . . .

"None of the 132 top state court positions—including seven Supreme Court justices, the Judicial Council, the Administrative Office of the Courts, the Commission on Judicial Qualifications, and the State Court of Appeals—are Chicanos!

"None of the four U.S. attorneys or 87 assistant U.S. attorneys in California are Chicanos!

"Out of 40 state senators, none are Chicanos. Out of 80 state assemblymen, two are Mexican-American.

"Out of 40 congressional representatives—38 congressmen and two U.S. senators—only one is Mexican American."

Warning the Democratic Party about the "danger" of the Raza Unida Party, Chacón called for a fair reapportionment plan so that Chicanos would be represented according to their numbers in the population.

The article concludes with the observation that "Chicanos are beginning to realize that their fortunes and their destiny *don't necessarily have to be tied to the successes of the Democratic Party.*" (Emphasis in the original.)

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Jenness sets Fla. ballot petition drive

By JUDY UHL

NOV. 22—Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, canceled meetings in New York City last week to fly to Tallahassee, Fla. She made the special trip to speak in defense of Young Socialist leader Jack Lieberman, who was dismissed from Florida State University for teaching a course on "How to Make a Revolution in the United States" (See story on page 11).

While in Tallahassee, Jenness announced to the news media that the SWP is launching a three-week petition drive Dec. 6 to obtain ballot status in Florida in 1972.

She also told reporters that the SWP will be the plaintiff in a suit to be filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. The suit will challenge the Florida requirement that candidates pay a fee of 10 cents for each name filed on independent nominating petitions. "Filing fees are a cheap trick to keep poorer candidates and radicals not financed by big business off the ballot," she charged.

The campaign to obtain the necessary 27,000 valid signatures is the first SWP attempt to obtain a place on Florida's ballot. Previously, the Florida legislature required that signatures be apportioned

You can help in the campaign to get the SWP 1972 presidential ticket on the ballot in Florida. Clip and send to: YSJP, P. O. Box 9133, Tampa Fla. 33604.

I can come to Tampa for the three-week petition drive.

I am unable to go to Tampa, but send me some petition blanks with instructions.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Organization _____ Phone _____

throughout the state, with signatures from at least 34 counties. Such distribution requirements have been ruled unconstitutional as a result of suits filed by the New Party in Illinois and the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan and New York. The recent change in the Florida statute was an admission by Florida officials that their own law was unconstitutional.

"We're shooting for over 45,000 signatures to be safe," said Tom Vernier, a national coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Vernier added that YSJP campaign supporters throughout Florida are being asked to come to Tampa for the three-week push to get on the ballot. Florida campaign supporters who are unable to spend the three weeks operating from the central petitioning headquarters in Tampa are encouraged to petition in their own cities. Because Florida law requires the signers of each petition sheet to be from a single county, an effort is being made to centralize the petitioning as much as possible.

The SWP campaign has received considerable support in Florida as a result of the *Militant* subscription teams, which in addition to selling over 500 subscriptions at the University of Florida alone, passed out a great quantity of campaign literature. Moreover, the early Florida primary, (March 14) has focused national attention on the state and has increased voter awareness of the 1972 elections.

While in Tampa, petitioners will be housed and fed by campaign supporters. Other political activities and relaxation will be part of the schedule. At the close of the petition drive, most of the petitioners plan to travel to Houston to the Dec. 28-Jan. 1 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

By KARL BERMANN

NEW YORK, Nov. 22—Linda Jenness addressed a meeting of 80 people at Columbia University this evening after visiting Dalton High School, Brooklyn College and Wagner College during the day.

The audience included members of Columbia and Barnard Women's Liberation, which had co-sponsored the meeting along with the Columbia University Board of Managers and Columbia Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Over 10 of those present signed up to endorse the Jenness-Pulley campaign, and several bought subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. Following the meeting, Jenness was interviewed by reporters from *Liberation News*

Service and the *Columbia Spectator*, and taped a half-hour interview for WKRC, Columbia University radio.

The day before, Jenness and a number of campaign supporters distributed literature and talked to women at an all-day conference of the New York Women's Political Caucus. Many of the participants endorsed her campaign or signed up to receive more information.

Last week, Jenness visited three New York City high schools—St. Anne's, Tilden, and Music and Art—where her campaign received a very favorable response.

Ore. Black students hear Pulley speak

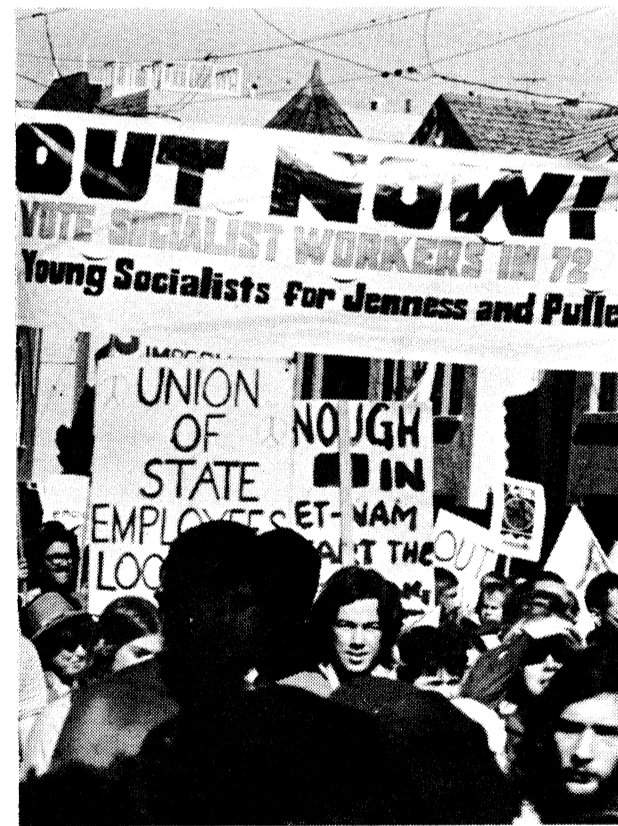
By CURT JOHNSON

PORTLAND, Nov. 21—The growing interest of Black students in the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign was a key aspect of Andrew Pulley's recent tour of Oregon. Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, arrived in Eugene, Ore., Nov. 17, where he held a well-attended news conference. He then spoke to an audience of 75 at the University of Oregon in Eugene at a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the ASUO Cultural Forum. Later that day, he met with members of the Black Student Union (BSU) at Oregon State University in Corvallis.

More than 75 heard Pulley at Linfield College in McMinnville, Ore., where a number of endorsers—including leading members of the Black Student Union—were obtained.

Over 125 students, more than half of whom were Black, turned out to hear Pulley at Pacific University in Forest Grove, Ore. Members of the Black Student Union there had widely publicized Pulley's appearance, and Black students from at least four different campuses attended the meeting. Pulley later had a dinner meeting with members of the BSU.

Pulley also received a warm welcome from more than 600 students at three Portland high schools. Several signed up to support the campaign.



YSJP banner in Nov. 6 antiwar march in S. F.

YSJP head meets with Pa. prisoners

PHILADELPHIA—Inmates at Graterford prison and Holmesburg prison met with John Hawkins, national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, during his tour of the Pennsylvania region last week. Hawkins and Jean Savage, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia in the recent election, were granted

permission to make official fact-finding visits of the two prison facilities.

At Graterford prison, Hawkins and Savage were able to meet with nine inmates who had heard Savage on radio and TV during her campaign. They had written to the Philadelphia SWP campaign headquarters and expressed an interest in learning more about the campaign and meeting with campaign representatives. After the initial arrangements were made, 50 more inmates requested permission to meet with Hawkins and Savage. However, their request was denied by prison officials on the grounds that there was not enough space for that large a meeting.

During the 45-minute meeting, the nine inmates told Hawkins and Savage of the oppressive conditions in the prison. The 1,500 inmates, they were informed, produce approximately \$16-million worth of goods a year, which are turned over to the State of Pennsylvania. In return for their labor, the inmates are paid about 35 cents per day.

The inmates were especially responsive to the part of the SWP program that calls for union-scale wages for the work performed by inmates and for the right of all prisoners to be politically active without control or censorship by the prison authorities. They were most interested in the fact that the SWP candidates are the only ones who give full support to the struggles of all prisoners for their human rights.

The inmates wanted subscriptions to *The Militant* and requested bundles of campaign material to distribute and campaign buttons to wear. They hope to be able to set up a campaign meeting in the prison auditorium with Linda Jenness when she is in the Philadelphia region in mid-December.

Hawkins also spoke to a meeting of 35 at Glassboro State College in southwestern New Jersey, where he outlined how students can support the Jenness-Pulley campaign. A Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley group has been formed on campus.

S.F. socialist winds up mayoral race

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, Nat Weinstein, received 1,541 votes (0.6 percent), placing seventh in a field of 11 candidates in the Nov. 2 election. The SWP had helped initiate a court suit that enabled most of the "minor" candidates to get on the ballot by eliminating prohibitive filing fees.

Among 33 contenders for the Board of Supervisors (city council), the six SWP candidates received from 2 to 4 percent of the vote. The top votes for SWP candidates were 6,345 for Bonnie Sheppard, an antiwar leader at San Francisco City College, and 6,312 for Milton Chee, a bus driver active in organizing the Asian contingent in the Nov. 6 antiwar march.

During the final days of campaigning, Weinstein addressed a candidates' luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce, where he told the assembled business magnates, "You are the enemy!" Most of his remarks, however, were directed not at the diamond-studded gathering but at the working people listening on the radio. Although the newspapers reported Weinstein's speech as "local color," he was actually able to force all the capitalist candidates to clarify their positions on the issues.

According to Alvin Duskin, an independent candidate for supervisor, meetings such as the luncheon made it clear that Weinstein was the only mayoral candidate who dealt with real social issues. Duskin joined Weinstein at the Militant Labor Forum on Oct. 29 to urge a "yes" vote on the municipal proposition he initiated to require a majority vote of the electorate to permit construction of any building over six stories tall.

Passage of the proposition would have halted the speculative building boom, which threatens the ecology and beauty of San Francisco. However, the city's largest corporation and rental agency contributed \$250,000 to the successful drive to defeat the proposition.

On Oct. 30, Weinstein attempted to enter the San Francisco County prison in San Bruno to speak to the prisoners. Campaign supporters accompanying Weinstein included Popeye Jackson, president of the San Francisco United Prisoners Union, which endorsed the campaign. Copies of *The Militant* and the UPU newspaper, the *Anvil*, were distributed to prison visitors while officials mulled over and finally rejected Weinstein's application for admission.

West Coast longshore talks stalled

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 22— On Oct. 6, President Nixon temporarily halted the 100-day strike of the West Coast longshoremen and ship clerks with a Taft-Hartley injunction. The injunction, which provides for an 80-day "cooling-off" period, expires Dec. 25. It is almost certain that by Jan. 2—after the holidays—the strike will resume.

None of the strike issues, with the possible exception of wages, have been resolved. No further coastwide negotiations are scheduled. Negotiations on local issues are hopelessly deadlocked. The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), representing the shipowners, is standing pat on its last offer, which was turned down by the Coast Negotiating Committee of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) over two months ago.

Under the terms of the injunction, a vote will be held on the PMA's last offer between the 60th and 70th day of the cooling-off period. This vote is set for Dec. 10-14. Harry Bridges, international president of the ILWU, has stated officially that he might call for a "yes vote" if the PMA "sweetens the package" with another 15 cents. He found little support.

Local 10 officials, for example, issued a two-page bulletin outlining the PMA's last offer and unanimously urging its rejection. The news media

picked this up and publicized it the day Bridges was to explain his position to a Local 10 meeting.

At this meeting, the local leadership and the rank-and-file leaders insisted that another 15 cents was meaningless. The main issues, they argued, are job security (the 40-hour-week guaranteed wage), and job control (the demand that all jobs must go through the union hiring hall). They contended that the PMA, backed by the government, is out to break the ILWU, and that the membership must prepare for a long, tough struggle when the injunction runs out.

George Kekai, a Local 10 business agent, stated that a militant and successful ILWU strike could demonstrate to the rest of the labor movement how to break the wage freeze. The first step, he said, was to call a conference of the entire labor movement, "right here in our own union hall," to explain the situation and to get the united support of labor to break the wage freeze.

Leo Nitzberg, a rank-and-file member, added from the floor, "next time we'll have a real strike. We won't work any passenger ships, we won't allow any diverted cargo to go to Ensenada [Mexico] or Vancouver [British Columbia], or the East Coast. If necessary, we'll close down Alaska and Hawaii, and if the Army acts up, we'll stop military cargo too."

During the 100-day strike, nearly

100 ships were worked in the small Mexican port of Ensenada. Their cargo was then trucked into the United States. Vancouver, British Columbia, handled even more cargo. This was allowed under Bridges' "strike policy."

Wages are certainly not the main issue in the ILWU strike. The PMA has already offered a 17 percent raise, and has pledged that it will jointly petition Nixon's Pay Board with the ILWU to get this increase. The real goals of the shipowners are to obtain control of the jobs so they can eliminate workers, and to break down safety standards so they can introduce speedup.

The shipowners want to keep the notorious section 9.43 in the contract. This section allows the employers to bypass the job-rotating union hiring hall. All four major West Coast locals of the ILWU have asked that section 9.43 be eliminated from the contract, but Bridges has so far answered that "it's a local issue."

The PMA also offers a three-zone jurisdictional setup, with a tax to go to the union on all cargo-containers that come under ILWU jurisdiction but are loaded elsewhere.

The PMA's offer for a wage guarantee is 36 hours' pay or \$180 for fully registered men ("A" men) and 18 hours' pay or \$90 for those not fully registered ("B" men). Workers will be paid the difference between their earn-

ings and the guarantee every four weeks.

There is a catch, however. The PMA will not pay more than \$6-million per year in guaranteed annual wages. This comes to only \$400 per man, or 80 hours' guaranteed pay per year. Furthermore, the PMA wants this financed from the container-tax fund. That is, it wants the union to pay its own guaranteed wage.

The delegated coastwide ILWU conference that set the strike demands and strategies last summer voted that all local issues should be settled before coast negotiations began. Under the prodding of the federal government, however, the Coast Negotiating Committee ignored this vote.

The locals are angry about this. Experience has shown that if coastwide issues are voted on first, local issues get lost in the arbitrator's briefcase.

The crucial period for the union will come when the employers' last offer is rejected. Can joint strategy be worked out between the East and West Coast longshore workers? Will a conference of labor be called? Will the dissident local leaderships be able to unite on a coastwide basis to push the Bridges pro-PMA leadership aside and conduct the type of strike that can win?

The rank and file, especially the younger workers, want to fight it out, but a unified and consistent leadership is still lacking.

The National Picket Line

ON NOV. 17, the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen negotiators and the nation's railroads signed a wage agreement providing a 46 percent increase in wages and benefits for 11,000 of its members over a three-year period. The contract has still to be ratified by the membership. It is not yet known which of the work rules, won over years of fighting, have been given up, so immediate ratification is not a foregone conclusion.

The new contract will raise the pay of these workers from \$3.78 per hour to \$5.52, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1970, and will run through July 1, 1973.

In October, during the wage freeze, the Electrical Workers and the Boilermakers came to terms with the railroads, gaining increases of 46 percent over three years. These increases are still frozen.

Prior to the freeze, the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers signed an agreement providing for a 42 percent wage hike.

While the Nixon administration is likely to consider these improved earnings for rail workers too high and therefore "inflationary," they are anything but that. The truth is that rail workers, once among the highest paid workers, today rank only 35th in average pay on the nation's wage scale.

UNDER THE ELABORATE SYSTEM of government controls that has emerged since the enactment of the 1926 Railway Labor Act, rail workers were supposed to have greater job security. They were promised steady jobs to compensate for low pay. But now the job-security part of the whole crooked deal is being scuttled by the government agency most responsible for the op-

eration of the rail industry, the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The ICC's efforts to disregard the legal rights of rail workers have been temporarily thwarted, however, by a recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. The high court upheld by a four-to-three decision a lower-court ruling that the ICC is responsible for guarding the rights of workers who either lost their jobs or were demoted in railroad mergers.

This particular case involved a suit brought by 25 workers who lost their jobs or their rank when the Pennsylvania Railroad sold the Nickel-Plate and Sandusky Line to the Norfolk and Western railroad. During the sale negotiations, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen signed an agreement with Norfolk and Western substantially lowering wages.

This agreement provided terms under which Norfolk and Western would supplement the wages of its workers for the year of the merger (1964) up to the levels they would have earned under the old contract. However, the line insisted on including all pay earned by the affected men, whether they worked in another occupation or for some other rail line.

Under federal law, the ICC is supposed to take into consideration the effect of any merger on all employees of the merged lines. The statute at issue provides that before the commission can approve any merger, it must "require fair and equitable arrangements for the protection of the employee who would be thrown out of work or otherwise hurt by the merger." The law also provides that the ICC must "include in its approval of a merger conditions that will protect the work-

ers for four years from being 'in a worse position' after the merger than before."

The ICC does not want this responsibility and sent its lawyers to fight the suit brought by the 25 Sandusky workers in both the lower courts and before the Supreme Court.

The idea that no worker should be laid off and that all workers are entitled to a job at union wages should be one of the central goals of the trade-union movement, their way to end unemployment. The unions could popularize this idea, win support to the union movement as the champion of it, and demand in all contracts that no workers be laid off.

THE NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY continues to try to gull the public that the 19-week-old strike of the New York Communications Workers of America (CWA) locals is not affecting service, especially in New York City.

This publicity campaign is aimed at diminishing the impact of the telephone workers' fight for a decent wage. Here are a few facts that belie the company's campaign:

In New York City alone, there are more than 100,000 subscribers without service because their phones have gone out of order or because they have moved. A number of these now isolated persons are seriously ill and need access to immediate help.

The backlog of unfilled orders is 215,000, half of them in Fun City.

It took the dilemma faced by a giant corporation, Dow Jones, before the New York Times sent a reporter to investigate the situation. The Dow Jones corporation is not only part of the blood stream of Wall Street, but also publishes the financial world's mouthpiece, the Wall Street Journal.

Dow Jones was to have moved into a plush new building in October. Everything was ready for business except that vital tool—communication.

The New York State telephone workers refused to ratify the national agreement that settled the CWA strike against the Bell System last July. They are demanding a \$9-a-week supplement to their wages to enable them to live in costly New York City. They are still holding strong. Negotiations have been completely broken off.

The company hopes eventually to starve the strikers back to work, regardless of the consequences.

—MARVEL SCHOLL



Trains halted by signalmen's strike last May

W. Va. miners bitter at union bureaucracy

The following is the second of two articles written by Militant reporter Calvin Goddard from Morgantown, West Va., on the background to the recent coal miners' strike.

A new contract was signed Nov. 14 between the United Mine Workers and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association that would raise the daily wage of the average miner from about \$34.25 a day now to \$43.25 at the end of the three-year contract.

By CALVIN GODDARD

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Automation in the coal industry has resulted in layoffs for thousands of life-long miners. From 450,000 miners at the end of World War II, the number has plunged to about 120,000 today.

The National Bituminous Wage Agreement of 1950 provided impetus for the layoff drive. Under this agreement, the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) gave the operators the go-ahead for mechanization of the mine industry in exchange for an industry-wide guarantee of 40 cents per ton to the UMW's Welfare and Retirement Fund.

Over time, this royalty became a vested interest for the union bureaucrats, making them almost as concerned as the owners and managers in the uninterrupted, maximum production of coal.

The Welfare and Retirement Fund was initially won in a bitter, two-month strike in 1946 that included government seizure of the mines. Today, miners looking ahead to their retirement fear the bureaucratic mismanagement of the fund by the leadership of UMW President W. A. (Tony) Boyle. William Fox, one of the striking miners I talked to here last month, said: "Maybe by the time I retire, there won't be any retirement fund."

Fox, who is 44, is not exaggerating. At the present rate of income and expenditure, the fund will be bankrupt by 1975.

Fox, president of UMW Local 4043 in Morgantown, said when members of the local learned the kind of retirement benefits being drawn by UMW district officials, there was an uproar. "It made us madder than hell," Fox said, "to find out that these people are retiring at \$500, \$600, and \$700 a month." He said one member called the officials "Boyle's bandits."

The allocation of generous benefits to themselves by the bureaucrats is only a part of the problem in the fund's depletion. Another factor, of course, is the bite taken by inflation in the 40-cent per ton royalty. But these elements have been compounded by such shady deals as the granting of large, interest-free loans to capitalist politicians and to coal companies!

Last February, a court injunction forced Boyle to give up his trustee-

ship of the fund. Boyle had transferred \$70-million from the fund to the checking account of the UMW-owned bank in Washington, D. C. The court ordered the money withdrawn from the account and invested.

The rank and file's lack of a voice in the collective bargaining process and in all union matters was a recurring complaint among the miners I talked to in Morgantown. John Pringle, chairman (shop steward) of Local 4043's mine committee, said, "In the last two contracts, no one has even known what they're negotiating for."

In the 1969 election that returned Boyle to office, he was opposed by his long-time lieutenant, Joseph (Jock) Yablonski, who was murdered less than a month after the election.

The insurgent Miners for Democracy (MFD) was initially formed to support Yablonski's campaign and dissidents who were running in the UMW's only fully autonomous district, western Pennsylvania's District 5. (As last week's article pointed out, 19 of the UMW's 25 districts are held in trusteeship by the international.)

Pringle said, "At the time [of the election] I saw the thing as just a power struggle within the international. I didn't see how a man [Yablonski] could stay in there for 29 years and all of a sudden be a goody-goody. But now I don't know—maybe the man was right."

Fox said the MFD is "fighting for the same things we're going to fight for. The UMW is always preaching unity, but as far as I'm concerned, we have no unity with the districts and the international. The only place we have unity is among the locals and if it weren't for us, the whole union would fall apart."

Pringle said some of the UMW leaders in Washington "who are supposed to be representing us" have not seen the inside of a coal mine in 35 years.

"They worked in the mines when they were driving ponies and mules," Pringle said. He said some of them were as old as 80, because they had removed the compulsory retirement-at-65 clause from the UMW constitution. "These are the people who sit in Washington telling us what we can do and what we can't do," he said, "what we're going to get and what we're not going to get."

During the recent strike, the MFD offered as a basis for negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association demands for a pension increase, guaranteed pensions for disabled miners, sick pay, a six-hour day with one shift in six devoted to mine safety, more power for safety committees, fairer grievance procedures, one- or two-year contracts in place of three-year contracts, and membership ratification of contracts.

Keith Fox, William Fox's son and a miner for five years, said, "We should have a 30-day sick leave. We get nothing now and we even need a doctor's slip if we miss just two days. When miners retire, they're too sick to do anything. The way they breathe is something awful."

Joseph Tritchler from Local 2122 in Morgantown has been a miner for 44 years. He has emphysema, for which he receives no benefits. "I don't see how a miner could keep away from disease," Tritchler said. "You come out of the mines every day spitting up black dust." Tritchler said the current pension (\$150 per month) needs to be doubled at least if a miner is going to live decently in retirement.

William Fox considers himself lucky to be getting state disability payments and union hospitalization for a job injury to his back sustained 16 months ago. Other miners are less fortunate, he said. Those laid off by heart attacks, black lung and other ailments have their "hospital cards" taken from them after a year.

"I have a friend," Fox said, "who has had three heart attacks and applied for black lung compensation [administered by the Social Security Administration] and Social Security disability last May. Social Security didn't give him his disability because they said they were waiting to see how much, if anything, he would get from his black lung claim. They say you're not supposed to be penalized if you sign up for black lung, but if this isn't being penalized, I don't know what is."

"The Social Security people in town," Fox continued, "practically threw him out of their office. And the welfare office refused to give him food stamps."

The Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 was enacted as a result of a massive walkout in the coalfields that year. Similar actions have been necessary to move forward on the enforcement of these regulations.

"The new law was supposed to cut dust to three percent, but you can't see your hand in front of your face down there," Fox said. "The mine inspectors look the other way."

Fox said one of the "tricks" used by the inspectors is the sampling of the sections of the mine with the least dust.

In February and March of last year, 95 percent of West Virginia's 55,000 miners staged a wildcat strike over the disease-causing dust levels in the mines. West Virginia was the birthplace of the Black Lung Association (BLA), which has now spread to six other states. The BLA demands strict enforcement of health standards and an end to the exclusive use of X-rays in determining the presence of black lung.

In the summer of 1970, the Disabled Miners and Widows of Southern West Virginia staged a five-week wildcat to protest the UMW's "unresponsiveness" to their demands for welfare, medical aid and pension benefits.



Pennsylvania miners on way home from work

LNS photo

Gay activist exposes corruption in N.Y. Senate

By DAVID THORSTAD

NOV. 15—Albert Loftus, a gay activist from Albany, N. Y., last week decided to make public information he claims demonstrates "corruption which exists in the New York State legislature." Loftus, who is an active member of the Gay Liberation Front of the Tri-Cities, was an aide to the secretary of the state senate, Albert J. Abrams, during last year's legislative session until he quit on April 17, 1971. It was in that capacity that he discovered the corruption, he said.

Loftus contends that last Feb. 2, while he was on the senate payroll as an aide to Abrams, he was sent to Brooklyn to work on the special election campaign of Republican Nathaniel Hendricks. He worked on Hendricks' campaign until Feb. 8, the day before the election, when he returned to Albany. "I was continued

on the State Senate payroll during this period," he charged in a signed affidavit.

Loftus also stated that "I personally received the keys for State Car No. 999. This car is registered to the New York State Finance Committee. I personally helped load six Senate typewriters and office supplies into the auto and delivered them to the Hendricks campaign headquarters in the Bossert Hotel, Brooklyn, New York."

In addition, he charged, he received a New York State credit card and was reimbursed for expenses during the campaign. He also named four other State Senate employees who he said worked on all or a portion of the Hendricks campaign.

He also quoted Hendricks as having told him, "Don't let anyone find out you're from the Senate. If they do, say you're on vacation."

Loftus is asking the State Investigating Commission to investigate his charges. He told *The Militant* that he had decided to make public his information on corruption in spite of the fact that he has been warned by an aide to Abrams that if he does, homosexual rights legislation in the legislature "doesn't stand as much chance as a 'snowball in hell.'" He said he was ignoring the threat because "I think that corruption should be exposed—especially if it's in the state legislature."

He also said he has received several phone calls to the effect that "If you continue with your charges, we'll break your neck."

Asked why he decided to reveal the information now, he replied, "When I was working in the legislature, I was a sort of gung-ho Republican. Then when I got involved in gay liberation, I got my head together."

British hypocrisy on torture in N. Ireland

From *Intercontinental Press*

"The Government reject any suggestion that the methods currently authorized for interrogation contain any element of cruelty or brutality," said Reginald Mauling, the Home Secretary. "The report of the committee confirms this view."

This statement, reported in the November 17 issue of the *New York Times*, was Mauling's response to the report of an official commission set up by the British government to investigate reports that alleged Irish nationalists, arbitrarily arrested and confined under the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act, were being systematically tortured.

Before this committee made its report, rather detailed accounts of the interrogation techniques in use had already been published in the big English papers.

For example, in its October 17 issue, the London *Sunday Times* discussed statements by eleven prisoners that had been smuggled out of the detention camps. The paper also reported the results of its own investigations.

"The technique was the same for all eleven men. They had been rounded up at various points in the province—mostly at Girdwood Barracks in the centre of Belfast. All were blindfolded by having a hood, two layers of fabric thick, placed over their heads. These hoods remained on their heads for up to six days.

"Each man was then flown by helicopter to an unknown destination—

in fact, Palace Barracks. During the period of their interrogation, they were continuously hooded, barefoot, dressed only in an over-large boiler suit, and spread-eagled against a wall—leaning on their fingertips like the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle.

"The only sound that filled the room was a high-pitched throb, which the detainees usually liken to an air compressor. The noise literally drove them out of their minds. . . .

"The statements of the 11 after their experience are jumbled and often incoherent. (One, subsequently released, is now under treatment for mental disorder.)"

The method of interrogation, the *Sunday Times* discovered, was not left up to the whim or imagination of the local police:

"The 'disorientation' technique of interrogation is among the most secret areas of the British armed services' training techniques. Using Russian brainwash techniques, it was refined for British service use by an RAF [Royal Air Force] wing-commander, who committed suicide later. It is taught to select military personnel at the Joint Services Interrogation Centre, whose location is an official secret.

"The interrogation at Palace Barracks was organised, so far as we have been able to ascertain, by men from the Joint Services Interrogation Centre."

The charges of systematic torture were all the more serious because 980 people have been arrested under the Special Powers Act since it was in-

voked August 9. Of these, 508 have already been released, according to the *New York Times* of November 17.

Some 472 persons are still being held, of whom only 278 have even been formally "interned" under the act, which permits indefinite imprisonment on the grounds of suspicion alone.

The size of these roundups—980 arrests is a large number since they have been directed exclusively at a nationalist community of only about half a million persons—indicates an attempt to intimidate a whole people.

In its report made public November 8, Amnesty International, a respected civil-liberties organization, noted that the testimony of many internees in Northern Ireland conjured up "a familiar picture of activities employed by an army of occupation against a hostile population."

Amnesty charged that a group of twelve internees "were subjected to calculated cruelties imposed on them solely for the entertainment of their captors." Another nine internees testified to "extremely brutal physical cruelties coupled with psychologically disorienting techniques to break the will." Five "were beaten and forced to do exercises for many hours, including running around the camp and being forced to urinate while running in place."

The British commission report, as quoted by the November 17 *New York Times*, admitted: "Detainees were required to be kept fully hooded except when interrogated or in rooms by themselves" and "while detainees

were held together pending interrogation or between interrogations, they were subjected to a continuous hissing noise, or electronic 'muuh,' loud enough to mask extraneous sounds and prevent effective oral communications."

The report also conceded: "We find ill-treatment in the diet of one round of bread and one pint of water every six hours for men who were being exhausted by other measures at the same time. It was confirmed that it was the general policy to deprive the men of opportunity of sleep during the early days of the operation."

Regarding some means of "exhaustion," the official report said that compulsory exercise, for example, "must have caused hardship but we prefer to take the view that the exercises were devised to counteract the cold and stiffness of which some of the arrested persons complained."

The head of the commission, Sir Edmund Compton, summarized: "Where we have concluded that physical ill-treatment took place, we are not making a finding of brutality. We consider that brutality is an inhuman or savage form of cruelty. We do not think that happened here."

It remains to be seen if these reassuring conclusions will quiet the growing outcry over the methods of the British army in Ireland. When Home Secretary Mauling referred to them in his speech to parliament, the November 17 *New York Times* noted, he faced an "unruly House of Commons."

By Any Means Necessary

RHODESIANS SUPPRESS HISTORY—"It's a real puzzler for the proponents of apartheid, according to Tony Clifton and Ronald Legge of the *Sunday Times* of London. The Rhodesian National Tourist Board begs the question in its brochures, noting simply that 'the ruins are the subject of wonder, whoever their builders may have been.'"

This excerpt from a brief introduction, and the article by Clifton and Legge, are in the November issue of *Atlas* magazine. The article concerns the Zimbabwe ruins in Rhodesia. Ever since these ruins were discovered by European archaeologists in 1868, they have been the subject of controversy.

Clifton and Legge write that the ruins cover an area of about 60 acres. Their "most striking features are an elliptical enclosure in a valley with 30-foot stone walls known as the Temple, and a series of stone-walled enclosures on a granite outcrop known as the Acropolis. The ruins are so massive and exotic-looking that early explorers did not believe they could have been built by the ancestors of the simple black tribesmen they found in the area."

Early speculation had it that maybe Arabs, or Phoenicians, or maybe one of the lost tribes of Israel, built the civilization whose remains are now the ruins. But after beating around the bush for decades, the archaeologists have now come to the irrevocable and unavoidable conclusion that the builders were a Bantu-speaking people, i.e., Black Africans. The civilization, known as Zimbabwe, reached its zenith in the fifteenth century and was referred to by the Portuguese as the "Empire of Monomotapa."

These facts are now accepted by everyone—except the white settlers who presently run Rhodesia. The white settler government has officially shrouded the builders of the ruins in mystery and conjecture. For if the five million Africans now dominated by 240,000 whites had a glorious past, then what does that imply about the present and the future? One Rhodesian magazine opined, "If

the claims (about black builders) were justified, there would be no opposition to a black takeover of the country. It is no accident that banned nationalist groups refer to Rhodesia as Zimbabwe." Thus, in order for the white government to uphold its right to rule forever over the Blacks, it must weave a mythology that Africans never governed themselves and never held power.

SICKLE-CELL ANEMIA—On Nov. 18-19, the Medical Society of the County of New York, the National Foundation-March of Dimes, and the Foundation for Research and Education in Sickle-Cell Disease held a symposium on sickle-cell anemia.

The disease primarily afflicts Black people, and is prevalent in Africa, Mediterranean countries, and Central and South America, among other areas. In this country, the disease afflicts one of every 400 African-Americans. Ten percent, or two million Blacks, possess the sickle-cell trait. According to an article on the symposium in the Nov. 20 *New York Times*, "The trait, or carrier state, exists when a person has just one sickle gene. . . . In the overwhelming majority of cases no health hazard exists for the person with sickle-cell trait, doctors emphasized at the symposium."

But the offspring of two people possessing the trait will have a one-out-of-four chance of developing the disease, or anemia. Thus, the anemia results from a double dose of the sickling gene. And when it develops, the victim dies, either in childhood or by the time he or she reaches middle age.

A double dose of the trait causes red blood cells to lose their normal circular shape and sickle, i.e., become knife-like. The sickling cells clog the small arteries, cutting off the oxygen the red blood cells carry to such organs as the kidney, lung, or brain.

The disease was largely ignored by doctors until Blacks began to make it an issue. President Nixon has allocated \$6-million to sickle-cell research and clinics. But this is a drop in the bucket. No known

cure exists for the disease, but tests have been developed to determine whether a person has the disease or just the trait.

The trait is believed to be rooted in the African ancestry of Blacks. According to the *Times* article, "In recent decades, scientists have noted that the sickling trait in some unknown way interferes with the malarial parasite's ability to invade human red cells. Though patients with the sickling trait do get malaria, their chance of dying from the parasitic disease are less than that for someone who does not have sickle-cell trait."

Malaria is endemic to West Africa, the area from which most Blacks were kidnapped by European slavers.

On the other hand, this fact may explain why Europeans, lacking the trait, died in droves upon first contact with West Africa and parts of the Caribbean.

— DERRICK MORRISON



Part of ruins that were thought to be "anything but African."

Bangla Desh freedom forces grow stronger

From Intercontinental Press

By JON ROTHSCILD

The U.S. State Department announced November 8 that \$3,600,000 worth of military aid to Yahya Khan would be immediately halted. In the day's routine news briefing, Charles W. Bray III said that the sale of \$1,500,000 in equipment held in Defense Department depots would be canceled, and \$2,100,000 worth of export licenses granted before last March 25 would be revoked. The \$160,000 worth of spare parts already passed by U.S. Customs but held up in New York because of a longshoremen's strike will not be affected. Bray said the U.S. action had been taken with the "mutual consent" of the Pakistan government.

The history of State Department pronouncements on Pakistan aid compels one to view Bray's announcement with a certain skepticism. When Yahya launched the war against Bangla Desh last March, the U.S. government proclaimed an embargo on military shipments to Pakistan. But it soon became known that the embargo was a fraud. In late June, the State Department conceded that ammunition was being sent, but insisted that this was a "nonlethal" item. When asked when shells and bullets became lethal, a department spokesman replied: "This is a theological question."

On June 28 Christopher Van Hollen, a State Department representative testifying before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, conceded that earlier department statements on Pakistan aid had been "confusing" and "misleading." In fact, he said, the United States planned to continue military aid to Yahya.

The magnitude of that aid has been estimated at between \$9,000,000 (according to Senator Edward Kennedy) and \$35,000,000 (according to Senator Frank Church).

Besides direct U.S. shipments, Nixon has also used international agen-

cies such as the United Nations to channel military hardware into East Bengal. For example, the first project of a so-called rehabilitation team sent during the summer was to help "Pakistan restore communications and remobilize the province's [East Bengal] private fleet of 40,000 river boats and 10,000 trucks."

As Washington bowed, at least verbally, to massive pressure against continuing to aid Yahya's genocidal war, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, head of the [West] Pakistan People's party, was in Peking discussing "mutual political problems" with Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders. On November 7 Bhutto announced that the three days of talks had ended "in complete agreement" on every issue.

Speaking at a November 7 banquet, Chinese Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei said, "Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese government and people will as always resolutely support the Pakistan government and people in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty and national independence."

But the reiteration of Mao's support for Yahya's campaign against the Bengali people seemed to be somewhat tempered this time. In the same speech, Chi strongly urged the Pakistan regime to find some solution to the current civil war and stressed that China would like to see a negotiated settlement between India and Pakistan.

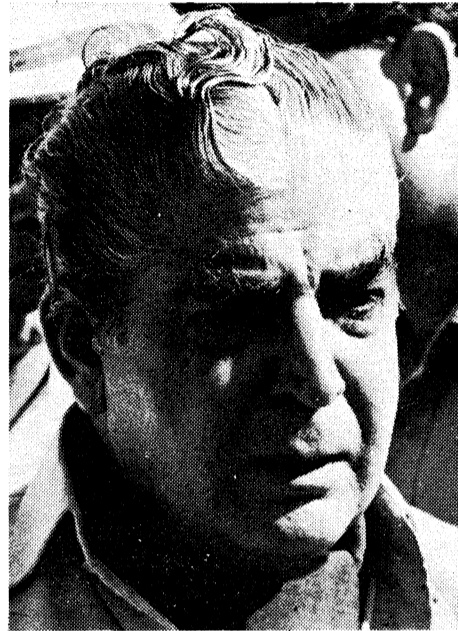
As the border situation continued to deteriorate, Mao seemed to be hedging his bets. An Indian ping-pong team was unexpectedly invited to participate in the "Afro-Asian table-tennis friendship invitational tournament" in China. (News accounts of the tournament dominated official Hsinhua releases from November 5 to 8: "... players of various countries exchanged experience and further deepened their friendship through the me-

dium of the small snow-white ball," said one story November 4.)

Border incidents between India and East Bengal escalated sharply during the second week of November.

In the November 8 *New York Times*, Sydney Schanberg reported that "unimpeachable Indian sources" told him that Indian forces had twice crossed the border to retaliate against Pakistani shellings of Indian towns. This was the first Indian acknowledgment that this step had been taken.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi denies that such crossings have occurred, but upon returning from a three-week foreign tour, she said that Pakistani provocations were becoming "less and less tolerable."



Yahya Khan

According to the November 12 *New York Times*, U.S. military intelligence claimed November 11 that three Soviet merchant ships left the Soviet Union the previous week loaded with 5,000 tons of India-bound military equipment. In addition, the last of ten heavy Soviet transport planes carrying spare parts for earlier equipment landed at

New Delhi November 3.

U.S.-China support for Yahya and the apparent Soviet commitment to help India threaten to transform any war between India and Pakistan into a tripolar confrontation of great powers. This may be one reason that Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, summoned the Indian and Pakistani ambassadors to the United States to a special meeting in Washington November 11.

A State Department spokesman told reporters: "Our reports indicate a very sharp deterioration of the military situation in the last four to five days." The prospects of an India-Pakistan full-scale war were "measurably more pessimistic" than the week before, he added.

Secretary of State William Rogers, speaking November 12 to the journalistic society Sigma Delta Chi, said that the U.S. government had "urgently counseled both sides to follow maximum restraint" and was "quietly trying to defuse the situation."

Behind the military-diplomatic machinations of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India, and Pakistan lies the continuing struggle of the Bengali people for self-determination. In the November 13 *New York Times* Kasturi Rangan described his visit to one of the liberated zones in East Bengal.

"Talking to the commandant and other leaders of the force known as Mukti Bahini, the Bengal liberation army, one gets the impression that their group, generally regarded by outsiders as loose and undisciplined, is now fairly well organized along the lines of the Indian or Pakistani armies," Rangan wrote. The Mukti Bahini is divided into sectors, each being responsible for activity in a specific region of East Bengal. Bengali leaders told Rangan that they were getting "some support" from India, "but not as much as we need."

French paper 'Rouge' fined in frame-up trial

From Intercontinental Press

On November 9 Charles Michaloux, executive editor of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League—French section of the Fourth International], was found guilty on four counts of defaming the French police. He was acquitted on one count.

The charges, which were clearly exposed as fraudulent during the trial, stemmed from five separate articles published in *Rouge* over a five-month period.

The verdict was an indication of Pompidou's unflinching efforts to stifle the far-left press. But the relatively small fines imposed (totaling about \$1,300) represented a victory for the mass defense campaign that had been waged by the Ligue.

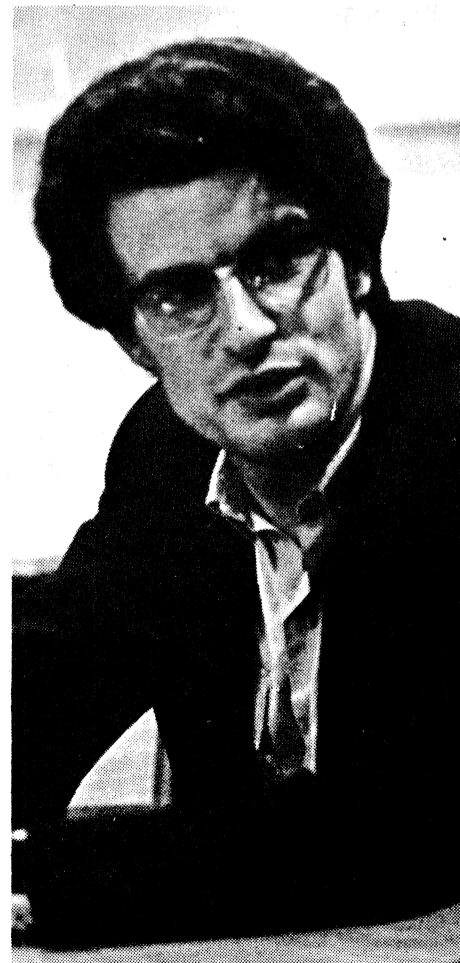
The court's decisions on the various articles were as follows:

For an October 12, 1970, review of the antipolice movie "Un condé," both Michaloux and Patrick Rotman, author of the article, were fined 1,500 francs [one franc equals US\$0.18].

For a December 14 piece entitled "La police, la justice et le pouvoir" [The police, justice, and the regime], both were fined 1,200 francs.

For a January 4, 1971, article charging Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin with complicity in deporting Spanish refugees back to Spain, Michaloux was fined 800 francs.

For a March 15 report on a meeting of the neofascist Ordre Nouveau charging that police had cooperated



Alain Krivine

Photo by Brian Shannon

with the fascists in assaulting anti-fascist demonstrators, Michaloux was ordered to pay a 1,000-franc fine.

The court's statement explaining its decision to acquit Michaloux on one charge was, probably unintentionally, a tacit confirmation of what *Rouge* (and many others) have consistently said about the cops. The article in question dealt with the so-called Thévenin affair—the case of a young worker who died under mysterious circumstances while in police custody.

Rouge had questioned the police claim that Thévenin had killed himself. The court ruling said:

"The press in general widely echoed the uneasiness raised by the death of this young man in the Chambéry police station. This uneasiness was born of certain elements that could have appeared contradictory to anyone who posed questions in an area where public opinion is always, and justifiably, on the alert.

"It appeared that the article was written in a sincere manner to inform readers of these confusing elements, of certain peculiarities, in a moderate style in comparison with the paper's general tone.

"Because of this, and since the article did not clearly demonstrate a desire to defame the police, the court admits the good faith of the accused."

Five days before the *Rouge* verdict was announced, as if to show that no

truce had been declared, the French government arrested Alain Krivine, one of the leaders of the Ligue Communiste, under the notorious "anti-wrecker law."

The charges stem from an October 5 demonstration against the Vietnam election farce. Allegedly, some damage was done to the U.S. embassy in Paris during the action, of which Krivine was one of the organizers.

Thirteen other members of the Ligue had been seized by the police on October 21 in connection with an investigation of the incident, but were released without being charged.

Krivine was released shortly after his arrest and will be interrogated later, in the presence of his lawyer, Yves Jouffa.

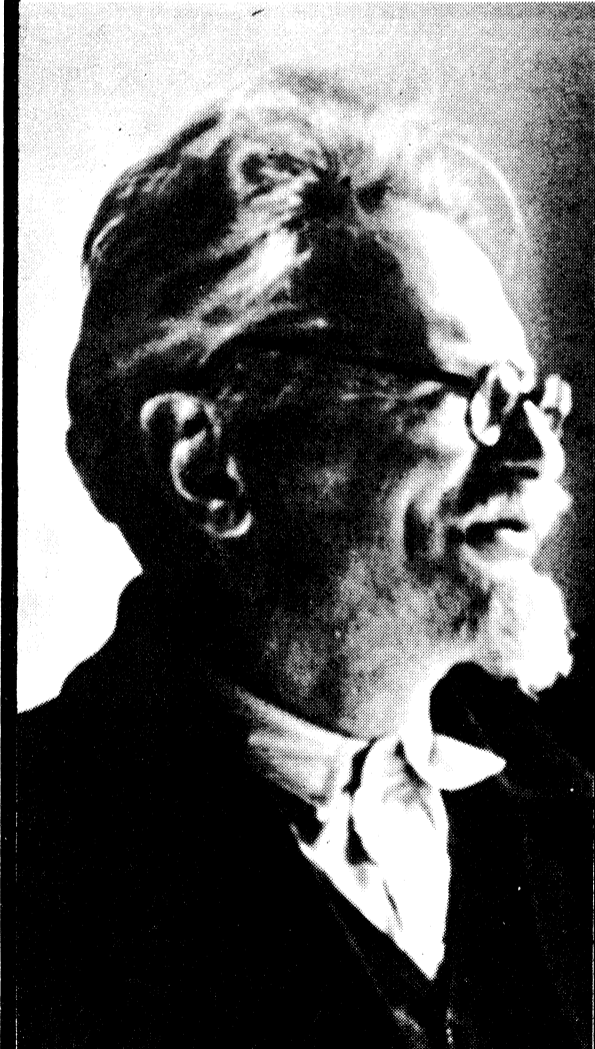
The November 6 *Rouge* published a statement on the arrest which said, in part:

"The government has thus confirmed its solidarity with U.S. imperialism. It acts on a few broken windows, but stands mute on the genocide against the Indochinese people. This provocation will receive the response it deserves. From this moment on, all those who support the Indochinese revolution will unite and mobilize to force the regime to withdraw the charge. Eventually, if it dares bring our comrade to trial, that trial will be transformed into a trial of U.S. imperialism and its French accomplices."

In Review

Pamphlets

Leon Trotsky on Europe and America



Europe and America: Two Speeches on Imperialism by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 63pp. 95 cents.

What were the historical roots of the unprecedented expansion enjoyed by the advanced capitalist countries following the Second World War? How is it that this expansion has now been undermined to such an extent that the international monetary system is in crisis, a world trade war threatens, and Nixon, in a desperate effort to improve the competitive position of U.S. imperialism in world trade, jeopardizes the political relations between the U.S. and Western Europe and Japan and risks upsetting class equilibrium at home by launching a major offensive against the living standards of American workers?

For anyone seeking the answers to these and related questions, a study of Trotsky's pamphlet *Europe and America: Two Speeches on Imperialism* is strongly recommended. This is so despite the fact that the pamphlet consists of two speeches given more than 40 years ago, in 1924 and 1926.

Both speeches focus on the enormous impact of the First World War on world economic equilibrium and on the consequent relations between classes and states. Trotsky's analysis of the shifting relations between Europe and the U.S., so lucidly presented in this pamphlet, is extraordinarily relevant to an understanding of similar and equally significant shifts taking place today.

Impact of WW I

The First World War, Trotsky explains, not only revolutionized mass consciousness but had a profoundly destabilizing impact on the economic foundations underlying state and class relations. Prior to 1914, world capitalism had experienced a long period of almost uninterrupted expansion. The productive forces—factories, mines, etc.—grew rapidly both in Europe and the United States. The war resulted in vast destruction of the productive forces of Europe, while at the same time creating a huge demand for U.S. goods, which greatly stimulated U.S. production.

The U.S. emerged from the war a full-blown imperialist power whose saturated home markets and bloated productive capacity required the export of both capital and commodities. Europe, on the other hand, had to import on a massive scale in order to rebuild industrial plants and feed its hungry population.

Normally, a country pays for its imports out of what it earns from its exports to other countries. But the countries of Europe had been so impoverished by the war that essential goods imported from the United States were paid for not out of current production in the form of exports but out of previously accumulated social wealth, leading to further impoverishment. This economic disequilibrium could not go on indefinitely without provoking the most acute economic and social crises, Trotsky explained.

Why didn't the U.S. launch a Marshall Plan-type aid program as it did following World War II, making billions of dollars worth of grants and long-term loans available to Europe, thereby creating a market for American goods and capital and at the same time helping Europe recover from the devastation of the war?

Such a plan was not even contemplated by the U.S. because, contrary to the situation after the Second World War, Europe, though severely weakened, still represented a potent competitive threat to the U.S. In addition, the extreme weakness of the Soviet Union in the 1920s did not generate in the minds of the imperialists the acute fear of impending European revolution backed by Soviet power that the Soviet victory over German imperialism produced after World War II.

Rations for Europe

The United States followed a quite different course. Here is how Trotsky describes it in *Europe and America*: "... American capitalism is compelled not to render Europe capable of competition; it cannot allow England, and all the more so Germany and France . . . to regain their world markets inasmuch as American capitalism finds itself hemmed in, because it is now an export-

ing capitalism. . . . This means that Europe will be permitted to rise again, but within limits set in advance, with certain restricted sections of the world market allotted to it. American capitalism is now issuing commands, giving instructions to its diplomats. In exactly the same way it is preparing and is ready to issue instructions to European banks and trusts, to the European bourgeoisie as a whole. . . . It will divide up the market into sectors; it will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists. If we wish to give clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants, we must say: *It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations.*" (Trotsky's emphasis.)

This is a remarkably accurate description of what the United States is trying to do today, with its arrogant ultimatums to Japan and other Asian countries to limit their textile exports, and its demand, backed by a 10 percent import surcharge, that the currencies of its imperialist rivals be revalued upward, thereby enhancing the U.S. competitive position.

The attempt to "put Europe on rations" in the 1920s only deepened the economic disequilibrium issuing from the First World War. Even the booming U.S. economy could not long escape being dragged down.

The capitalist rulers were totally incapable of resolving the crisis without a showdown with the working class. Every effort to restore harmonious economic relations between countries—by slashing wages for instance—sharpened the class struggle within each country, while attempts to maintain class peace required measures, such as unlimited printing of money, that deepened economic instability. Such were the contradictions that were to produce revolutionary upheavals and a great world depression in the years following the war.

Here is how Trotsky in *Europe and America* summed up the revolutionary prospects arising from the world situation as he saw it in 1926: "I spoke previously of the power of the U.S. vis-à-vis weakened Europe and the economically backward colonial peoples. But precisely in this power of the U.S. is its Achilles' heel; in this power lies its growing dependence upon countries and continents economically and politically unstable. . . . In order to maintain internal equilibrium, the U.S. requires a larger and larger outlet abroad; but its outlet abroad introduces into its economic order more and more elements of European and Asiatic disorder. Under these conditions a victorious revolution in Europe and in Asia would inevitably inaugurate a revolutionary epoch in the U.S. and we need not doubt that once the revolution in the U.S. has begun, it will develop with a truly American speed."

Though revolutionary struggles were inevitable, given the basic contradictions rending world capitalism, Trotsky did not rule out the possibility that these struggles could end in defeats that would lay the basis for the restabilization of capitalism. In his classic "Report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International" presented at the Third World Congress of the CI in 1921, Trotsky said: "If we grant . . . that the working class fails to rise in revolutionary struggle, but allows the bourgeoisie the opportunity to rule the world's destiny for a long number of years, say two or three decades, then assuredly some sort of new equilibrium will be established. Europe will be thrown violently into reverse gear. Millions of European workers will die from unemployment and malnutrition. The U.S. will be compelled to reorient itself on the world market, reconvert its industry, and suffer curtailment for a considerable period. Afterward, after a new world division of labor is thus established in agony for 15-20 years, a new epoch of capitalist upswing might perhaps ensue."

As it turned out, history did not follow either road—revolutionary victory or working class defeat—to the exclusion of the other. The history of the following "two or three decades" combined both victories and defeats for the anti-capitalist forces. But with the rise of Stalinism, the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and the crushing of the workers organizations in Europe by victorious fascism, the road of defeat and retreat, with important exceptions, was realized in its essentials.

Fifteen years of depression and war violently threw Europe into reverse gear with not millions but scores of millions of Europeans dying. The new world division of labor, established in the greatest agony humankind had ever suffered, laid the basis for "a new epoch of capitalist upswing" that was to last more than 25 years following World War II.

This outcome seems at first to completely contradict Trotsky's analysis of the impact of the First World War. Why is it that the Second World War didn't produce an even greater disequilibrium in the world capitalist economy than that brought about by the First World War?

It is true that, like its predecessor, the second worldwide imperialist slaughter produced revolutionary upsurges all over the world. But in the economic sphere, the Second World War, ironically, had an outcome opposite to that of the First World War. The U.S. again came out of an imperialist war strengthened. But this time, Europe and Japan were so devastated that they were *virtually eliminated* as competitors for many years to come. This outcome provided the foundation for a new world division of labor, based on a huge flow of goods and capital from the U.S. to Europe and Japan.

This potentially complementary relationship between Europe and the U.S. was brought to fruition by Marshall Plan aid amounting to tens of billions of dollars. The economic expansion, once underway, was further supported by huge U.S. military expenditures at home and abroad and by a mushrooming of U.S. public and private debt.

On the political side, the Soviet victory over German imperialism in World War II had a contradictory character. In the short run, it strengthened the reactionary influence and power of the world Stalinist movement, whose collaboration was essential for the revival of capitalism in Western Europe.

But in the long run, the Soviet victory in the war represented a victory for the world anticapitalist struggle, as did the overturning of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe and Asia. These extensions of the Russian revolution, though they were distorted by Stalinist leaderships, represented a realization of the revolutionary perspective Trotsky projected in *Europe and America*. As such, they constituted a key contradiction to the restabilization of capitalism taking place in the advanced countries.

The post-World War II colonial revolution, sparked by the victory in China, represented another major contradiction to the restabilization of world capitalism. It has, in fact, been the main arena of revolutionary struggle for the past 25 years. Trotsky's expectation that the revolutionary "disorder" of Asia and Africa would have revolutionary consequences for the United States was confirmed with the development of the Black liberation struggle and then the youth radicalization in the U.S.

The most recent manifestation of this "disorder"—the Vietnamese liberation struggle—has played a key role in promoting the youth radicalization around the world.

Another turning point

The Vietnam war, with its huge cost and accompanying inflation, has had an important impact in the economic sphere as well, exacerbating contradictions that were beginning to develop in the long postwar expansion. The war, in fact, marks another great turning point in the evolution of the world capitalist economy.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, U.S. corporations, driven by the need for profitable investment outlets, expanded their banking, manufacturing and retailing operations abroad at a frantic pace, invading one market after another. Direct U.S. investment in Europe more than doubled between 1960 and 1965. This "American challenge," as it came to be called, provoked a sharply stepped-up pace of corporate mergers in Europe and Japan, a multiplication of joint projects such as the European supersonic transport, and a speeding up of the development of the Common Market.

The resulting increased productivity and competitive muscle of European and Japanese cor-

porations, combined with a large (huge in the case of Japan) wage differential in their favor, made it possible for them to hit their U.S. competitors where they were most vulnerable—in the U.S. market itself. The flow of cheap foreign goods into the United States began to increase rapidly.

In the middle and late 1960s, the aggressive foreign investment drive of the U.S. monopolies went on unabated while the intensified inflation caused by the Vietnam war made U.S.-produced goods even less competitive than before, resulting in a veritable flood of foreign imports into the U.S. The fat trade surplus the U.S. had enjoyed in the early 60s was steadily eroded until in 1971 it disappeared altogether and was transformed into a deficit. Three factors—loss of this trade surplus, the massive outflow of dollars caused by Vietnam war expenditures and the continued high rate of foreign investment, and the war inflation—combined to produce a U.S. balance of payments crisis of such dimensions that the international monetary system set up at the end of World War II was virtually wrecked.

The international monetary crisis and the economic disequilibrium it mirrors are thus basically the result of the reemergence of Western Europe and Japan as exporting nations in direct competition with the U.S., but with a crucially important competitive advantage in the form of sharply lower wage costs.

The single most important factor needed to bring U.S. trade and investment relations with Europe and Japan back into equilibrium, within the framework of the imperialist system, is for this wage gap to be drastically reduced. Nixon's New Economic Policies announced Aug. 15 are designed above all else to bring this about.

These policies attack the wage gap from both directions. On the one side, the wage freeze was imposed to directly reduce the real wages of U.S. workers. On the other side, U.S. moves to force the upward revaluation of major foreign currencies—i.e., increasing their value relative to the dollar—are aimed at increasing the labor costs in terms of dollars of foreign corporations producing goods for the U.S. market.

But these efforts to restore economic equilibrium between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals carry grave risks for the U.S. rulers. They threaten to upset the relatively stable class relations that have existed in the U.S. for some 25 years, and spread the radicalization into the working class in a decisive way. The forced realignment of currency exchange rates risks setting off a spiral of retaliations by other countries, leading to an international trade war.

Striking parallels

Thus we see there are a number of striking parallels between the world economic situation Trotsky describes in *Europe and America* and the one today, though there are also important differences. In the first place, a prolonged capitalist expansion is today being transformed into economic stagnation and chronic instability.

With regard to state relations, competition and conflict are more and more taking the place of relatively harmonious cooperation. A world trade war threatens. The United States again seeks to place Europe (and Japan) on "rations."

Thirdly, the power of the U.S. colossus is today more than ever its Achilles' heel, the U.S. being dependent as never before on a world that is racked with "instability" and "disorder."

Finally, the world situation today is even more explosive than the one Trotsky describes in *Europe and America*. The capitalist world is much more constricted now, with large areas in addition to the Soviet Union—East Europe, China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba—torn out of the imperialist orbit entirely.

In summary, a world economic disequilibrium similar to that analyzed by Trotsky in *Europe and America* is rapidly developing. It will bring acute social crises to the advanced capitalist powers as its predecessor did. The relative class stability within the imperialist countries is being more and more undermined. The prerevolutionary situation of May 1968 in France was a precursor of things to come. Great revolutionary struggles in Europe and America loom ahead.

—JON BRITTON



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Calendar

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

SOLIDARITY WITH BANGLA DESH. Speakers: Rafiqur Rahman, chairman of the American League for Bangla Desh; Richard Hill, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m., at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

BOSTON

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, will speak on "The Crisis in American Politics" Mon., Nov. 29, 7:30 p.m., at Tufts University, Baker Hall, Room 01.

VOICES OF DISSENT. A collage of Nov. 20—March for Abortion Law Repeal. Wed., Dec. 1, 8 p.m., WTBS, 88.1 FM.

DENVER

COLORADO AND MOUNTAIN STATES SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Hear Andrew Pulley, Evelyn Reed and George Novack. Thurs.-Sat., Dec. 2-4. Thurs., 8 p.m.: "The Wage Freeze and How to Thaw It." A panel of socialists, antiwar activists, economists and trade unionists speak out. International House, 1600 Logan.

Fri., 7 p.m.: Campaign Banquet. Hear Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, speak on "The Next Step for Black America." Banquet main course is carne picada con chili verde y queso. Joe's Buffet, 753 Santa Fe.

Sat.: All sessions at International House. 11 a.m.: "The Radical Press: Media and the Coming Revolution." Speakers from RIP, Pathfinder Press, PNS, International Socialist Review, Chinoak, C.U. Daily, and The Militant. 1 p.m.: "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" Speaker: Evelyn Reed. 3 p.m.: "Chicanos and the Power of Independent Political Action in 1972." Speakers: Miguel Pendas, SWP Congressional candidate; Tom Pino, former leader of the New Hispano Party; a representative from el Partido de la Raza Unida de Colorado. 5 p.m.: "The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View." Speaker: George Novack. Party Saturday night, live music. 1100 Champa St., at 9 p.m. Tickets: \$5 (includes all sessions, party and banquet). Tickets also available for individual sessions.

LOS ANGELES

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The Truth Behind the Prague Trials. Speaker: Sibylle Plogstedt. Sat., Dec. 4, 7:30 p.m., at 2936 W. 8th St., Channing Hall. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Sibylle Plogstedt Tour Committee. For further information, call (213) 465-1841.

Houston socialist campaign wins wide support

By SUSAN LAMONT

HOUSTON, Nov. 22—The Socialist Workers Party candidates in Houston finished their campaign with a signifi-

cant showing in the Nov. 20 elections. Despite attempts by the city administration to red-bait the candidates and challenge their ballot status, thousands cast their votes for the socialist candidates, consciously voting for fundamental change of both Houston and the United States.

Jeannette Tracy led the slate with 10,534 votes, 6.9 percent of the total vote, for City Council District D. She was followed by Paul McKnight with 7,813 votes, 4.4 percent, for the City Council At-large Position Two, and Maren Jasin with 7,036 votes, 3.8 percent, for City Council Position One. Tank Barrera received 1,329 votes for the School Board, while Debbie Leonard, who was running for mayor, received 3,245 votes, 1.5 percent.

The mayoral race was hotly contested. Incumbent Louie Welch was challenged for the first time in his four mayoral campaigns by a major opponent, Fred Hofheinz. Welch campaigned on a law-and-order platform, which centered on retaining his police chief, Herman Short.

Chief Short has refused to stop the racist attacks of his officers on individuals in the Black community of Houston, the latest of which was the brutal beating of Ovid Duncantelle, a Black candidate for City Council.

Although Hofheinz attempted to project a liberal image in the Black and Chicano communities, he refused to take a stand on firing Herman Short. Leonard exposed Hofheinz's reactionary stance on the police issue in several interviews that were held for all mayoral candidates in the last week of the campaign.

At a debate before 1,000 students at the University of Houston, Bates College of Law, the students demanded that Leonard be seated on the platform with Welch, Hofheinz and another candidate for mayor, although the dean of the law school told her the meeting was open only to "major candidates." It was evident at this debate and at another on KUH-TV that Hofheinz and Welch were uncomfortable with Leonard's socialist analysis of Houston's problems.

In the last weeks of the campaign, the SWP candidates talked to dozens of groups and hundreds of people, spoke on KILT, KPRH, KPFT, and KFMK radio stations, and appeared on two Houston TV stations. They also spoke at the YWCA, the Jewish Community Center, Sharpestown High School, a businessmen's and engineer's breakfast, a business and professional club, and the Martin Luther King Community Center, to name just a few.

As commentator Garvin Berry of

Channel 13 expressed it election night, "This is the beginning, but only the beginning, of the SWP campaign in Texas."

...Denver

Continued from page 13

conference included Marcella Trujillo; Art Córdova, a teacher at Tlatelolco; and Al Baldivia. It received wide coverage in both of Denver's major papers, on three TV stations and one radio station.

The Chicano speakers at the rally on Nov. 6 were Corky Gonzales, Al Baldivia, and Rosalio Muñoz of the Chicano Moratorium Committee. They

were well received by the crowd. Muñoz called for continued opposition to the war in the form of Chicano Moratoriums.

The Chicano Task Force now has the immediate goal of bringing as many activists as possible to the national antiwar convention in Cleveland, Dec. 3-5. There we will be able to get together with other activists who helped build Raza contingents in other cities on Nov. 6 and to map plans for mobilizing even larger numbers of Raza in visible opposition to this racist war. Those interested in the convention should contact: Chicano Task Force, 831 14th St., Room 400, Denver, Colo. 80204. Telephone: (303) 244-4948.



INVEST IN SOCIALISM.

The Young Socialist Alliance—America's largest, fastest growing revolutionary youth organization—must raise \$45,000 by Dec. 18. We are rapidly expanding all of our activities—building mass movements against the war, for women's liberation and the repeal of all laws against abortion, for the self-determination of oppressed national minorities, and getting out our ideas to hundreds of thousands of radicalizing youth. This year we are building for the biggest convention of socialist youth ever held in the United States, in Houston, Texas, from Dec. 28-Jan. 1. We are organizing for the socialist revolution. To carry out these activities requires money. We are asking for your help.

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ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.
 Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
 Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
 Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
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THE MILITANT

New U.S.-Saigon invasion of Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 23—"U.S. tactical fighter-bombers, B-52 heavy bombers and helicopters are backing up the South Vietnamese" in the new invasion of Cambodia, the Associated Press revealed Nov. 22. At least 5,000 Saigon troops and U.S. military "advisers" took part in the initial attack which was shrouded in secrecy.

"South Vietnamese officers refused to allow newsmen into the forward headquarters of Military Region III or the headquarters of the 25th Division in Tay Ninh from which the operation into Cambodia is being directed," Fox Butterfield reported in the *New York Times*, Nov. 23.

Butterfield continued, "All requests by newsmen for transportation to the scene of the operation were also denied, and American advisers with the South Vietnamese troops refused to comment on the campaign."

The Pentagon's secrecy on the new invasion of Cambodia is hardly a surprise considering the U.S. Congress has passed laws, signed by Nixon, that supposedly forbid the use of U.S. troops in Cambodian battle. But Nixon has consistently ignored this Congressional legislation.

More significant, however, are the realities of the military situation in Southeast Asia underlined by the new attack on Cambodia. *U.S. News & World Report*, a magazine that reflects the opinion of the top military brass, discusses the importance of the war in Cambodia in its Nov. 29 issue.

"A collapse in Cambodia—or even a serious worsening of the military situation—could reverse U.S. confidence about Saigon's chances of survival and slow the American withdrawal," *U.S. News & World Report* states. "Simply put, top American officials doubt that Saigon, without U.S. combat help, would have a chance if Hanoi regains unhampered use of Cambodian base areas, its sanctuaries and supply routes.

"On top of that, it is evident that Cambodia—teetering from one crisis to another after 18 months of war—cannot stand by itself. It is completely dependent on hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of military and economic aid from the U.S., on military guidance from Americans, and on a helping hand from South Vietnamese troops."

When Nixon ordered the massive U.S. invasion of Cambodia 19 months ago, there were relatively few North Vietnamese troops in the country and even fewer forces in the Khmer Rouge. Today there are thousands of forces in both revolutionary armies and they control most of Cambodia.

"If it were not for U.S. air power and 10,000 South Vietnamese soldiers now in Cambodia," *U.S.*

News & World Report continues, "Pnompenh's troops would be no match for veteran Red forces that already control huge sections of the country. . . . Although not publicized—and purposely so—U.S. involvement in Cambodia is of some consequence, even though no U.S. ground-combat troops are here [the article is datelined Pnompenh]."

"U.S. fighter-bombers fly about 1,000 combat missions a month in Cambodia, mainly from bases in South Vietnam. B-52 bombers are called in from Thailand, and American helicopter gunships based in Vietnam give daily support to Cambodian and South Vietnamese ground operations."

It is obvious that Nixon is further from stabilizing a pro-imperialist regime in Pnompenh today than when he first ordered the attack on Cambodia in May 1970. This is why the Joint Chiefs of Staff have requested major increases in U.S. funds for Cambodia. The "foreign aid" bill passed in the U.S. Senate Nov. 11 provided Nixon with \$341-million for military aid to Cambodia in fiscal year 1972 (beginning last July 1), compared to \$281-million in fiscal year 1971 and only \$8.9-million in fiscal year 1970.

The military coup in Bangkok, Thailand, Nov. 17, is another reflection of the inexorable logic of the U.S. counterrevolutionary role in Indochina. Far from democratizing the Southeast Asian governments, Washington's escalated attack has driven the regimes of its supporters to military dictatorship. President Nguyen Van Thieu's one-man "election" in Saigon Oct. 3 and Premier Lon Nol's disbanding of the Cambodian parliament Oct. 18 are part of the same pattern.

An AP dispatch from Bangkok Nov. 22 stated that "Thailand's ruling National Executive Council decreed today that all violators of the nation's anti-Communist laws would be tried by military courts, which can order the death penalty. The order applies to all such offenses 'committed after or before the martial-law decree' imposed Wednesday night [Nov. 17] by Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn."

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 22, "The 'revolutionaries' explained that the coup was necessitated by external and internal problems, ranging from Communist terrorism in the countryside to 'obstructionism' and use of 'vile' language by legislators. Diplomats tend to agree that Thailand does have serious problems: persistent insurgency troubles, a declining economic growth rate, glaring disparities between urban luxury and rural poverty, widespread corruption, administrative inefficiency. . . ."



U.S. fighter-bomber in Cambodian operations, January 1971.

A little-known factor is the use of Thai mercenary armies, paid by the CIA, in Washington's secret war in northern Laos. Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) stated in the U.S. Senate Oct. 4: "During the last session of the Congress, a law was passed prohibiting U.S. support for Vietnamese or other free world forces—this is the law—in actions designed to provide military support and assistance to the government of Cambodia or Laos." The intent of the sponsors of this legislation . . . was to preclude U.S. financing of Thai forces to fight in Laos.

"Despite the passage of this law, it has now become public information that there are thousands of Thai fighting in Laos. . . ." (*Congressional Record*, p. S15765.)

Black Caucus exposes military racism

By DERRICK MORRISON

A three-day hearing sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) on race relations in the U.S. military made it abundantly clear that the racist abuses and repression heaped upon Black GIs are growing, not lessening as claimed by the Pentagon.

Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP who toured U.S. military bases in West Germany earlier this year, testified on the first day, Nov. 16, and pointed to "the administration of justice as the most intense problem."

He was quoted in the Nov. 17 *New York Times* as having observed that, "The feeling is widespread among Black troops . . . that they will not receive a fair shake because it is white controlled. The near total absence of Black judges and total absence of Black military lawyers reinforces this perception of the system."

Later on, according to the Dec. 2 *Jet*, Representative Shirley Chisholm's legal assistant, Thaddeus Garrett, just returned from Europe, revealed that in many cases Black GIs make up as much as 65 percent of the prison population, and account for as much as 83 percent of the GIs court-martialed each month. Black GIs in all of Europe number only 14 percent of U.S. forces there.

Frank Render, who was deputy assistant secretary of defense for civil rights until fired last August, cited the disparity between the Pentagon's "equal opportunity regulations" and the actual practice. Render, who was officially in charge of

investigating the racist abuses meted out to Black GIs, was fired because, in the words of one Defense Department official, the "rate of complaints about the maladministration of military justice had not decreased." This piece of logic is like blaming the one who yells "Fire!" for actually setting the blaze.

The hearings were chaired by Representative Chisholm (D-N.Y.) and Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). During the first day of the hearings, Dellums caused a stir in the Pentagon by releasing classified communications about an agreement between the Icelandic and U.S. governments to limit the number of Black troops stationed in Iceland.

Other members of the CBC reported on their one-day hearings held at military bases around the country Nov. 15 to gather materials for the Washington hearing. Base commanders grudgingly allowed them to record the grievances of Black GIs.

During the three-day hearing, testimony was also heard from a Black veteran who had organized GI groups in West Germany. A Black Army officer representing a group from Ft. Devens, Mass., told the CBC "time is running out."

At the end of the hearing, Dellums reported that the demands the CBC would try to implement called for federal court jurisdiction in the cases of victimized GIs, more Black officers, and an evaluation of military regulations, programs, and training procedures.

It's significant that the same day members of the CBC were out visiting various military installations, a struggle led by Black WACs (Women's Army Corps) erupted at Ft. McClellan, Ala. The Monday morning eruption capped a weekend of protests by Black WACs and GIs against abuses.

According to the Nov. 17 *New York Post*, a fight broke out between a Black GI and a white bus driver Saturday night, Nov. 13, on the base. This led to a spontaneous march by Black GIs and WACs through the base.

On Sunday, the protesting Blacks obtained a permit to march through the fort.

To dramatize the brass' inaction on demands they had submitted some time ago, about 60 Black WACs refused to don their uniforms to attend classes Monday morning. Instead, they headed to the football field to stage a protest meeting. Other WACs and GIs joined along the way.

The Nov. 16 *Washington Post* reports that the base commanding officer attempted to address the gathering. He ended up by ordering MPs and regular troops to arrest the Blacks. The *Post* says that of the 138 arrested, 68 were WACs. The Blacks are being held incommunicado and some have been flown to detention facilities at Ft. Bragg, N.C., and Ft. Benning, Ga. They will probably face frame-up charges of disorderly conduct, breach of the peace, and failure to obey an order.

There are no reports that members of the CBC went to Ft. McClellan to check out the situation.