

THE MILITANT

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

A firsthand report

The Attica massacre

BY DERRICK MORRISON

ATTICA, N.Y., Sept. 15—"Time would have meant nothing here but lives, and I thought lives were more important than four days or eight days or 10 days. . . . They (the inmates) told us yesterday (Sunday) no hostages would be harmed if the police did not come in. They (hostages) would have been alive, the ones who died, right now."

These words, by the prominent civil liberties attorney William Kunstler, spoken to me and other reporters out-

side the Attica Correctional Facility Monday, Sept. 13, around 11 a.m., rang truer and truer as the hours passed. Today the *Buffalo Courier Express* carried a bulletin reading: "State Correction Commissioner Russell G. Oswald confirmed Tuesday night that nine of the 10 hostages who died in the Attica prison riot succumbed to gunshot wounds fired by state police during the retaking of the maximum security facility Monday morning. He said that earlier reports that the hostages died of cut throats

were false."

Oswald's denial of "throat-slittings" and "castrations" and other "atrocities" was forced in the wake of an autopsy report from the Monroe County Medical Examiner's office in Rochester. That report held that nine of the 10 hostages died of gunshot wounds.

This sensational disclosure clearly demonstrates that the blood, the willful and deliberate murder of 32 inmates and 10 guards and civilian

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Prison rebels at Attica Sept. 10. For story see p. 5; editorial on p. 6.

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MAJORITY OF NEW VOTERS ARE NONCOLLEGE YOUTH: Of the 11 million Americans between the ages of 18 and 21, four million are college students and 900,000 are high school students. Of the rest, over four million are workers, 800,000 are GIs, one million are housewives and 600,000 are in prisons or hospitals. A story in the Sept. 9 Los Angeles Times reports that both capitalist parties are stumped over how to reach the seven million voters not on campuses. A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee says "because it's harder to identify them, it's harder to reach them." A Republican spokeswoman says, "If you can find out how to get to these noncollege people, let me know." But we asked a representative of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and she said, "For us, it's no big mystery. Young workers and GIs and housewives and prisoners and high school students are concerned with the same issues we talk to college students about—the war, Black and Brown liberation, women's liberation, GI rights, high school rights and the need for socialism."

THE CASE OF BILLY SMITH: An appeal from the Billy Smith Defense Committee reports that Smith is a Black GI framed up for a "fragging" incident in Vietnam. He is being held in solitary confinement at Ft. Ord and faces the death penalty if he is convicted. The Army's evidence is that Smith had a grenade pin in his pocket (hardly unusual among GIs who are issued and use grenades in combat) and that he has a "bad attitude"—i.e., he hates the war and hates the Army. For more information and to help, write the defense committee at 288 Alvarado St., Monterey, Calif. 93730 or call (408) 373-2305.

SIT-IN GETS RESULTS IN SPAIN: Eighteen days of sit-ins, involving up to 2,000 doctors, forced Madrid medical authorities to back down from their plans to reduce the number of beds for psychiatric patients at the Francisco Franco Medical Center there, the New York Times reported Sept. 14. Not only were the beds kept and discharged staff people rehired, but a commission including doctors' representatives has been set up to determine future policy at the center as a result of the sit-in.

CAPITALIST CAMPAIGN WRITEOFFS: Representative Samuel Devine (R-Ohio) revealed some evidence of one way capitalist candidates trim their campaign budgets when he inserted figures on airline writeoffs for 1968 Republican and Democratic presidential aspirants in the Congressional Record Sept. 8. Some of the figures include writeoffs from American Airlines of \$69,376 for Nixon, \$138,762 for Humphrey, \$135,872 for McCarthy, and \$415,120 for Robert Kennedy. United Airlines wrote off bills of \$75,000 for Nixon and Agnew, \$79,000 for Humphrey and Muskie and \$12,651 for Kennedy. TWA wrote off close to \$250,000 for Humphrey, \$6,000 for McCarthy and \$13,000 for the Republican National Committee.

STUDENT VOTERS WIN RULING: A U.S. District Court told registrars in New Haven, Conn., Sept. 13 to stop discriminating against students in determining the resident status of voter applicants. If an applicant is 18, has lived in New Haven for six months and regards it as his or her home, the judge said, then it must be presumed that the applicant is a resident.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS FOR PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT WORKERS: An investigating team of legislators from Puerto Rico, headed by Senator Ernesto Cannasquillo, is in the U.S. for two weeks to inspect the living and working conditions of Puerto Ricans here. When Cannasquillo's team went to look at migrant labor camps in New Jersey Sept. 11-12, the state Migrant Labor Bureau had an itinerary all drawn up that would have taken the team to atypical, better-than-average camps. Cannasquillo brushed aside the planned tour and refused to accept New Jersey's request that reporters not be brought along. The reporters and investigators went to camps where workers with open sores on their feet, earn-

ing \$135 a month, were provided with pest-ridden, squalid eating and sleeping quarters and "recreation centers" containing coin-operated pool tables and pinball machines. Cannasquillo charged that conditions were "inhuman," but Frank J. Jill, an owner of several of the worst camps, had a ready answer when he was contacted by reporters: "I doubt very much that those conditions exist," Jill told reporters who had just seen the camps with their own eyes.

FILIPINO MASS ACTION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES: A Reuters dispatch dated Sept. 13 reports that about 15,000 persons marched in six columns through Manila in the Philippines to Plaza Miranda, demanding the immediate restoration of habeas corpus and the release of political prisoners. According to the dispatch, the action was organized by a coalition of 70 organizations called the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and was participated in by nuns, priests, farmers, students and workers.

NO REASON FOR PRISONS: An article by Jim Stingley from the Los Angeles Times that was carried in the Sept. 8 Washington Post tries to show the reader how things look from the prison guards' point of view. Most of the interviews are just what one would expect, but one of the guards, without meaning to, touched the heart of the matter. "I think the thinking of the people outside needs correcting," he said. "I mean, there doesn't seem to be any real reason for having a prison any more. . . ."

VEG-O-MATIC: It's a small comfort, but late last month the Federal Trade Commission finally got around to telling Popeil Brothers Inc. that their "works-like-magic" food slicer isn't good for slicing much. The company signed a consent order agreeing not to engage in "false and deceptive advertising," but a company spokesman said Popeil Brothers felt no change in their existing advertising was called for. More newsworthy than the toothlessness of the FTC is the way the agency happened to act against the Veg-O-Matic commercial. An FTC employee purchased one after seeing it demonstrated on late TV. When he bought one and tried to slice a tomato, he said, "It splattered all over everything. It was as if it had exploded."

PRISON LEGION POST: The New York Daily News reported Sept. 11 that 37 inmates at the Colorado state prison in Canon City had been granted a charter by the American Legion and allowed by the prison administration to set up a post at the institution. It sounds good to us, not because of the Legion but because of the precedent involved. If these prisoners can set up a Legion post, other inmates should be allowed to set up chapters of antiwar veterans organizations—or of Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano nationalist organizations or any other kind of organization with which they wish to affiliate.

BEING GAY NO SECURITY RISK, JUDGE SAYS: District Judge John H. Pratt ruled in Washington, D. C., Sept. 13 that government security evaluators cannot deny clearance to applicants because they are homosexuals. The ruling came on three suits brought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of three men who had been suspended from their work on the basis of their sexuality—a linguist and two scientists.

DELIVERED FROM TEMPTATION: The Sept. 13 Newsweek magazine reported that Billy Graham, in Amsterdam to attend an evangelists convention, donned a cap and shades to see what life was like in the city's notorious red-light district. Graham admitted that he was "strongly tempted" on his visit, Newsweek says. "I was inclined to stand in the middle of the street and shout, 'People, there is salvation for you! God loves you!'" the ace Bible-beater told a Dutch reporter. He restrained himself, however, because, "After all, it wasn't a suitable occasion." We agree, but we can't think of any occasion that would be suitable for such crazy behavior.

— LEE SMITH

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Good start toward goal of 30,000 new readers

By FLAX HERMES

SEPT. 14—Tomorrow the drive for 30,000 new readers to *The Militant* officially opens. The national subscription teams got an early start, however, and were already out on the road last week. The initial reports indicate that they are off to a good start.

After one day in Albany, N. Y., the Mid-Atlantic team of Debby Woodrooffe and Sally Moore from N. Y. and Fred White from Boston reported selling 40 subs in several hours. They would have stayed longer, but YSA members in Albany wanted to continue on their own.

Dave Salner from Cleveland, Terry Hillman and Nat London from N. Y., and Carl Wilke from Detroit made Richmond, Va., their first stop through the South. They called in Sunday to report they sold 95 subscriptions and 80 single issues their first two days. Interest was high for information about the fall antiwar and abortion repeal actions and the team requested that more literature be sent to them special delivery. Black students were especially receptive and the team is planning to stop at a number of all-Black colleges and universities throughout the South.

Hurricane Fern slowed down one of the Southwest teams momentarily. Steve Bloom from Denver, Mareen Jasin and Dorinda Sanchez from Texas, and Peter Herreshoff from Los Angeles said they would wait for the winds to die down before heading out to Brownsville, Texas, their first stop. But they didn't think they would have any problems making up the lost time by the end of next week.

The second Western team of Mike

Arnall and Claire Fraenzl from Berkeley, Eva Chertov from N. Y., and Pam Hunt from Los Angeles was on its way to Sacramento, Calif., at the end of the week.

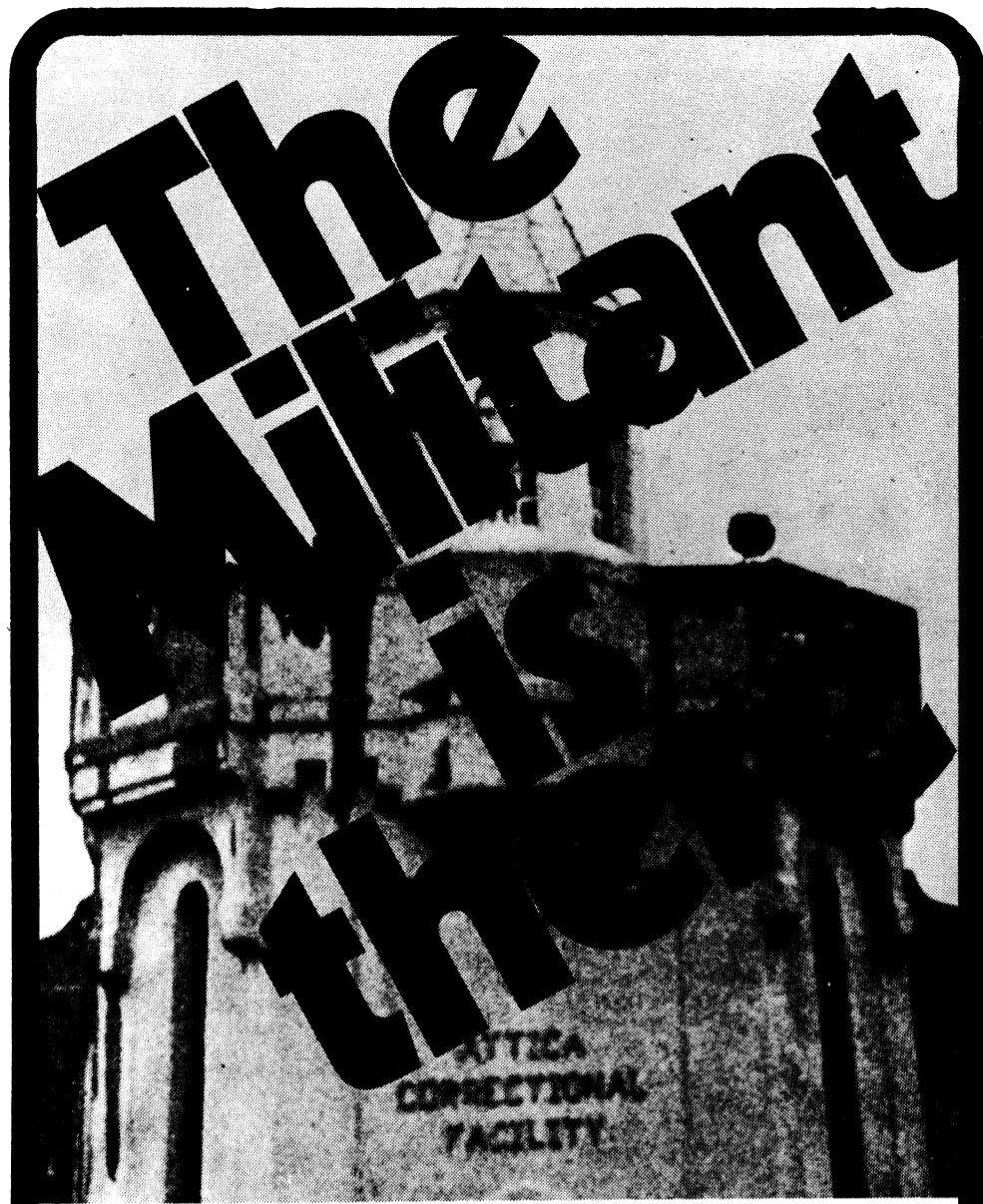
All of the teams expect to make a good showing on our first scoreboard, which will be made up on Tuesday, Sept. 21, and printed in next week's issue of *The Militant*.

A number of areas have written to us outlining their plans to meet their quotas for the sub drive. Jim Kendrick, sub drive director in Oakland-Berkeley, said they plan to make two-thirds of their quota by the halfway mark of the drive. He indicated they "view the quota (of 1,000) as a modest one—a quota not to be met, but to be exceeded!"

Kendall Green, sub director in Atlanta, Ga., sent in a list of the weekend trips to outlying campuses they have scheduled. New York also plans to send teams of sub sellers into the surrounding areas. If the experiences of the national teams are an indication of what to expect, these weekend trips should prove very fruitful.

Twin Cities, Minn., and Oakland-Berkeley sent in the first big batches of subs: 135 from the Twin Cities towards their quota of 1,000 and 100 from Oakland-Berkeley towards their goal of 1,000.

Readers who want to help sell subscriptions this fall should let the *Militant* business office know the size quota you want to take. The latest request for a quota came from a GI stationed at Travis AFB in California who took a quota of eight subs and has already sent in five.



THE MILITANT IS THERE . . .

bringing you on-the-spot coverage of the Attica prison revolt and massacre. Our reporter, Derrick Morrison, flew to Attica to gather firsthand information on the prisoners and the events leading to the massacre.

The Militant not only brings you the facts about the inhuman conditions of the prisons but is also increasingly read by prisoners. Recently our "Letters" section has printed correspondence from inmates who look to *The Militant* for support in their fight against oppression.

In the coming weeks, *The Militant* will follow the developments in the prisons and the reaction to the Attica massacre, along with continued coverage of the trial of Angela Davis and the murder of George Jackson.

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Hush over new U.S. offensive in Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

"Quangtri is the acid test of Vietnamization," a U. S. military official told *New York Times* reporter Iver Peterson Sept. 8.

"The performance of the South Vietnamese without American ground support will provide observers here with indications of the success of the Vietnamization program," correspondent Peterson wrote.

But that is practically the last word that has appeared in leading newspapers about the 10,000-man U. S.-Saigon offensive launched near the Laos border in the northernmost region of South Vietnam Sept. 7.

According to Peterson, "Troop-carrying helicopters, artillery, air strikes, and transportation of war supplies are being provided by United States forces though no U. S. ground troops are participating in the sweep."

According to a Reuters dispatch, Sept. 8, Defense Department spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim stated that

"United States forces supporting the South Vietnamese drive are playing a security role that is consistent with Vietnamization."

In Saigon, Associated Press reporter George Esper talked to Col. Phillip H. Stevens, a spokesman for Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, commander of U. S. forces in Vietnam. "Active defense is what we're conducting," said Stevens. The AP dispatch was carried in the *New York Post* Sept. 8.

Col. Stevens continued, "A passive defense is sitting and waiting for something to happen."

An Associated Press dispatch from Saigon, which noted the 58th officially admitted U. S. air strike against North Vietnam in 1971, also reported official recognition of the Quangtri campaign:

"At United States headquarters here, Maj. Richard Gardner, in the first official comment on the American role in the South Vietnamese campaign, acknowledged that as many as 1,500

to 2,000 United States troops are supporting it. 'These are personnel involved in the air and artillery support of the operation,' he said." The Quangtri campaign was preceded by three weeks of massive U. S. bombing of the area.

Meanwhile, an informative assessment of the real meaning of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies appeared in the *Le Monde Weekly English Edition* of Sept. 11. (This weekly news summary by the influential Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde* now appears as a supplement to the British weekly magazine *The Manchester Guardian*.)

According to *Le Monde* correspondent Jacques Decornoy, "Nothing . . . indicates that Washington has lost interest in the future of South Vietnam or that it has stopped propping up its protégés there.

"The truth is quite the contrary. In the last few months, a number of studies have been made on the Vietnamization of the economy, with the pur-

pose of discovering the conditions under which a viable South Vietnam economy, closely meshed with that of the 'free world,' could be built.

"One of these studies was carried out for the Institute of Defense Analysis, a Pentagon-financed group, by Arthur Smithies—whose links with the CIA are well known.

"More recently, on May 28 this year, the State Department gave Columbia University a research contract to investigate the ways international organizations can be associated with the reconstruction of South Vietnam. The survey is expected to last seven months, will cost \$42,935, and will be carried out by the same Mr. Smithies and by Professor Allan Goodman, who has written several articles on the economy of an independent South Vietnam.

"There is also the report prepared by Professor E. Benoit of Columbia University on the South Vietnamese

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Bipartisan support to post-freeze controls

By FRANK LOVELL

All accounts from Washington confirm that there was general bipartisan approval on Capitol Hill when Nixon appeared before the joint session of Congress on Sept. 9 to deliver his state-of-the-economy speech. He said nothing new that had not been said by him or others of the Republican administration several times since his Aug. 15 announcement of the 90-day wage freeze and his proclamation of the "new economic policy." He projected a "system of wage and price stabilization" following the freeze, urged the cooperation of all "interested groups"—including business and labor—and reiterated the "work ethic" philosophy propounded earlier in his Labor Day message.

On the international arena, he promised, by implication, to use U.S. military and industrial superiority to "keep America No. 1 in the world economically." This was submitted by Nixon as the way "to meet the challenges of peace."

These facets of the Nixon speech constitute the three prongs of attack by the employing class upon the union movement and upon the living standards of the working class.

Few policies of government in the past have had such near unanimity of support as this one. The only complaints lodged by Democrats against Nixon's plan of attack were by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who seeks the presidential nomination, and by Congressmen Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) and Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.). All three said Nixon should have extended the wage freeze beyond Nov. 13.

NOW convention votes to oppose wage freeze

The following resolution in opposition to Nixon's wage freeze was passed by the Sept. 4-6 national convention of the National Organization for Women. The resolution was presented to the convention by the Resolutions Committee.

Whereas, roughly two-thirds of the American people over the age of 16 who live in poverty are women; and

Whereas, the impact of inflation on women in this country is particularly severe; and

Whereas, NOW is opposed to a wage-price freeze without controls on profit and interest while the government continues to hand out tax rebates to big business,

Be it resolved, that NOW call on women and the labor movement to take the initiative in formulating a more effective and equitable program for combating inflation than that which is embodied in the administration's economic stabilization package; specifically, a more equitable program should rectify the two weaknesses of the existing government policy: 1) that it favors the interests of profit receivers over those of wage earners, and 2) that it freezes the existing wage structure with its many inequities, and in particular those which discriminate against women; Be it further resolved, that any structure set up to deal with this problem should reflect the sex composition of the population, as well as consumers, labor and so forth.

The new 'work ethic'

"Hard work is what made America great," Nixon declared. "Let us get rid of a system where going on welfare is more profitable than going to work."

Such demagogic appeals to right-wing ignorance and prejudice are expressions of the "work ethic" which Nixon chose as a theme of his Labor Day message. When stripped of the rhetoric and platitudes, it is the standard demand of all bosses that workers should be on time, take pride in their work, compete with their fellow workers to produce more for lower wages, and be happy about it. This individualistic, highly competitive "work ethic" is another name for the profit motive which employers long ago learned to apply by firing those who failed to keep up the pace and replacing them with younger, leaner and hungrier workers from the vast reserve army of the unemployed.

Nixon announced to Congress that "The system of wage and price stabilization that follows the freeze will require the fullest possible cooperation, not only between the executive and legislative branches, but also by all Americans."

The cooperation of the executive and legislative branches of government is assured by the bipartisan support of the new economic policy. The support of employers is assured because they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. The support of "all Americans" is in doubt because the working class is the vast majority and they have everything to lose and nothing to gain.

The Nixon administration hopes to use the present leaders of the union movement to hold wages in check in the immediate period ahead, and is busy now working out the details of this operation.

Nixon told Congress, "This new era is a time of new relationships in the world; of a changed balance of economic power; of new challenges to our leadership and to our standards of living."

To Nixon and the employers, this means that the rate of productivity in U.S. industry must rise and the real wages of U.S. labor must drop if they are to retain their present high profits and continue to compete successfully in the world market.

Lee A. Iacocca, president of the Ford Motor Company, told the Sales Executives Club of New York on Sept. 10, one day after Nixon's speech, "there is no way that we at Ford can invent enough processes and techniques to increase productivity enough to offset the increases in labor costs that are baked into our labor contracts, not to mention absenteeism, and featherbedding."

The goal that Nixon has set and that Iacocca explained, has a special meaning for all workers including those at Ford. For all of them, it means more work for less pay.

Union officials respond

In his Labor Day statement, AFL-CIO President George Meany argued that workers' wages are low while prices and profits are high. ("Compared with government standards, workers are making \$85 a week less than a moderate standard of living and \$12 short of a minimum standard of living.") He demanded "economic justice" and "full employment." ("For only full employment will produce prosperity for all Americans.")

Meany, however, doesn't answer the question: How will "economic justice" and "full employment" be brought about?

The employing class in one voice says it can and will solve the economic crisis. But their solution is increased attacks on workers. What alternative can the working class offer?

Meany states, "The AFL-CIO has time and again, since February 1966, said that if the economic situation warrants extraordinary overall stabilization measures, the AFL-CIO would cooperate so long as restraints were equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents, and executive compensation, as well as employes' wages and salaries."

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, is seeking support in Congress for the establishment of a government "review board"—comprised of labor, management and "public" representatives—to investigate wages, prices and profits.

These are the traditional "statesman-like" things for labor leaders to do and say in situations such as the present.

These labor bureaucrats make a bad mistake because under this system of private ownership of the banks and factories and mines and the means of transportation and distribution, there is no basis for cooperation between capital and labor to bring about "economic justice."

The present gang of labor officials who have grown old in office propose to restore "economic justice" by reviving the half-forgotten World War II tripartite economic stabilization boards comprised of employers, labor and "the public"—all appointed by the president of the United States. Under wartime conditions, these government boards held down wages, tried to deprive unions of the right to strike, and froze workers to their jobs. That was not "economic justice." It was a way of building a huge armaments industry quickly and cheaply for the enrichment of the employing class.

Last March, the craft union officials in the building trades, prodded by Meany, consented to submit all subsequent wage settlements to a government-sponsored tripartite board, the Construction In-

dustry Stabilization Committee. The purpose of this committee is to hold down wages in the industry.

If this is the pattern for the "cooperation" Meany and Woodcock now offer the employers, it can serve only to hold down wages in the same way. Such "cooperation" will not and cannot hold down "prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation. . . ."

The union movement can force restraints on profits, but only if it uses the class struggle methods of the 1930s when it broke the "open shop" and forced the employers to cooperate on a new basis.

This is what is needed now.

The union movement has great social weight and economic power. However, it is threatened by the decline of the U.S. economy. Unemployment is undermining the unions, sapping the strength of the working class, pitting those out of work against others on the job, breaking down conditions of work, and lowering the standard of living.

The union movement has demanded a federal public works program to create jobs. This is necessary, but an adequate program will not be won so long as the unions rely on the parties of big business, the Republicans and Democrats. In addition to a much needed public works program, unions should fight for a reduction in the workweek from 40 hours to 30 with no loss in weekly take-home pay. The unions cannot wait for Congress or plead with the employers to reduce hours. The shorter workweek was won in the past and will be won again only when the organized workers refuse to work the longer hours.

The affects of inflation are also hurting workers, and like unemployment can be solved only by them.

Unions can protect workers against the ravages of inflation by forcing all employers to peg wages to consumer prices. If the prices rise, then wages must go up accordingly. This demand—advanced for all workers—can be enforced only by the unions, not by wage-price control boards appointed by the government.

For the union movement to win this, it must retain the right to strike and remain independent of all government-controlled "economic stabilization" machinery.

The immediate cause of the present intensified inflation is the war in Southeast Asia. This can be brought to a halt by the massive participation of the union movement in the antiwar struggle. Nixon claims to be "winding down" the war, but a quarter-million troops still remain in Vietnam, and the war spending continues. Ending the war would provide significant funds to begin the process of rebuilding in this country, immediately creating more jobs.

These demands are discussed and debated now within the union movement—informally at emergency conferences such as that held by the American Federation of Teachers Sept. 8, and possibly more decisively at the scheduled UAW convention Nov. 22. These discussions are important, but the union movement can best mobilize its massive forces and win the support of its indispensable allies if it convenes a congress of labor for the purpose of drafting a program of action around these basic demands.



"I don't know much about 'work ethic'—I just wish I could get a job." Herblock

Rockefeller orders mass slaughter of prisoners

Continued from page 1

employees is on the hands of Oswald and New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, as well as President Nixon, who sanctioned the attack.

This disclosure also strongly suggests that there are many other important facts about the massacre that are being withheld from the public. This indicates the need for a broad, national committee to investigate every aspect of this tragic event and bring the facts before the American people.

According to an unidentified state policeman, the orders handed down before the assault were to "shoot to kill," and this order was savagely carried out by the 600 state police, sheriff deputies, and prison guards, and the 400 National Guardsmen who stormed the prison at 8:45 Monday morning. Any inmate who resisted or raised his hand was cut down in the hail of rifle fire.

Since no reporters or onlookers witnessed the assault, the police and guardsmen acted without restraint. The Attica massacre has so far claimed 42 lives. Eight inmates remain unaccounted for. Only a partial list of the prisoners murdered has been made public.

Revolt against oppression

The Attica prison rebellion was the biggest to date. More than 1,200 of the 2,254 inmates participated. It is reported to have begun Thursday morning, Sept. 9, when a group of inmates refused to form into ranks to go on a work detail. Of the four cell blocks, the rebelling inmates seized total control of "D" and partial control of "B". They held 41 guards and civilian workers as hostages.

The regular superintendent or warden of Attica, Vincent R. Mancusi, was so much a part of inmate grievances that he could not participate in subsequent negotiations. So the state commissioner, Oswald, came onto the scene.

He went into Cellblock D—along with University of Buffalo law professor Herman Schwartz, who is a persistent critic of prison authorities—not so much to negotiate as to demand the release of all hostages and that the rebels cease and desist.

To Oswald's surprise, however, he found himself returning and carrying out inmate orders to bring back a couple of newsmen with him.

At the second meeting, inmate leaders read a statement which captured the essence of their action. It said in part, "The entire incident that has erupted here at Attica is a result . . . of the unmitigated oppression wrought by the racist administration network of this prison. . . . We are men. . . . We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed. We will not compromise on any terms except those that are agreeable to us. We call upon all the conscientious citizens of America to assist us in putting an end to this situation that threatens not only us but each and every person in the United States as well."

By the time of this meeting, the inmates had also drawn up a set of demands. This set of demands, as it evolved, became the most comprehensive expression yet to issue out of a prison rebellion.

The inmates called for the provision

of adequate food, water and shelter for all of the inmates; the application of the New York State minimum wage law standards to all work done by inmates; provision of a healthy diet by reducing the number of pork dishes and increasing the amount of fresh fruit daily; the provision of adequate medical treatment and the engagement of either a Spanish-speaking doctor or interpreters who will accompany Spanish-speaking inmates to medical interviews; modernization of the inmate education system, including the establishment of a Spanish library; true religious freedom; the provision of adequate legal assistance to all inmates requesting it, or permission for them to use inmate legal assistance of their choice in any proceedings whatsoever, and that in all such proceedings, inmates should be entitled to appropriate due process of law; ending of approved lists for correspondents and visitors; institution of a program for the recruitment and employment of a significant number of Black and Spanish-speaking officers.

There was a demand asking for passage to a "nonimperialist country," for leaders of the rebellion, but according to Kunstler this demand had only a few adherents.

Other demands related to giving the inmates some measure of control over their situation. One such demand called for the establishment of an inmate grievance commission, comprised of one elected inmate from each company, which is authorized to speak to the administration concerning grievances and develop other procedures for inmate participation in the operation and decision-making processes of the institution.

A further measure was to establish the freedom of all New York State prisoners to be politically active without intimidation or reprisal. Concomitant with this was the demand to end censorship of newspapers, magazines and other material from publishers.

These two measures would have granted inmates the right to set up political clubs and study groups and publish their own newspapers.

Along with these demands, the inmates wanted complete physical, administrative, and criminal amnesty, and the removal of Warden Mancusi. Physical amnesty related to beatings that the guards might administer after the prisoners returned to their cells. Administrative amnesty related to no prosecution of prisoners because of property damage, no solitary confinement or tampering with the status of prisoners slated for parole. And criminal amnesty involved no prosecution for the taking of hostages or any other act taken during the rebellion.

In other words, what the inmates were saying was that the state, which created the prison system, take full responsibility for the monstrosity which it erected; that the victims not suffer further victimization.

During the four-day rebellion, the state was obliged to feign some culpability for prison conditions. After all, the previous prison and jail revolts, the articles and books published by inmates and ex-inmates, and the government's own studies of the prisons, have sensitized the public to the human agony, torture and death experienced in the nation's penal system.

Observer committee

So when Attica, which is 85 percent Black and Puerto Rican, revolted, the demands of the inmates found im-

mediate reception. They could not be dismissed or tossed aside. The inmates not only demanded that the news media spotlight the negotiations, since they had nothing to hide, but listed specific individuals who they wanted to act as an observer committee, as a liaison between them and the state.

This observer committee came to include, at one time or another, Kunstler; Juan Ortiz of the Young Lords Party; Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party; Minister Jaybar Kenyatta of the Los Angeles Muslim Mosque; Clarence Jones, the Black publisher of the *Amsterdam News* in New York City; Representative Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.); State Senator John R. Dunne, a Republican from Long Island who was on the Penal Codes Committee of the legislature; William Gaiter, director of BUILD, a Buffalo antipoverty organization; and others.

After Oswald was threatened with being taken as hostage on the first day of the revolt, he never again entered the liberated area of the prison. So the observer committee became the sole link between the inmates and the state. Through this committee, word of a number of grievances got out—like inmates being forced to work for 25 cents a day, and how Puerto Rican prisoners who spoke only Spanish were refused treatment by prison doctors.

The committee members noted that the inmates were well organized. They treated the hostages and the committee members better than they treated themselves. Two hostages who had been injured in the initial stages of the rebellion were released on Saturday. One died of his injuries.

As the negotiations proceeded, it became evident that prison authorities were engaging in double-talk—purporting to agree with the demands, while preparing the police assault force. In fact, Oswald claimed on Sunday, in a statement to the press, that he was in agreement with 28 of the 30 demands. The demands he would not even verbally agree to were those demands for criminal amnesty and the removal of Mancusi.

Oswald and Rockefeller claimed they had no constitutional power to grant amnesty. Yet a court order had been obtained by Professor Schwartz barring administrative reprisal for the rebellion. Although the inmates tore the court order up because it did not have the judge's seal on it, it illustrated that the inmates had legal advisers amongst themselves, who knew the law and the powers of state officials. All types of pardons, commutations of sentences, and amnesty grants have come from the governor's chair in the past, so their demand was not without precedent.

As the storm clouds indicating an assault began to gather, the committee and inmates asked for more time to consider Oswald's "agreement." They also asked for the presence of Rockefeller in order to thoroughly discuss his rejection of criminal amnesty, a demand which would resolve them of any criminal prosecution in relation to the rebellion.

Seale, who had entered the liberated area Saturday night and then flew back to Oakland, Calif., telephoned Oswald Sunday afternoon to tell him he was returning Monday morning because the inmates wanted to consult with him. Seale asked for time, and Oswald responded affirmatively.

To stay any efforts at an invasion,

Continued on page 22



'Unity at Attica'

New York Times columnist Tom Wicker was one of the few reporters inside the prison during the rebellion. He had an opportunity to observe and talk with a few of the Attica rebels. Some of his articles have given a little of the feel of what the rebellion was like. The following observations were made in his Sept. 15 article entitled "'Unity!' A Haunting Echo from Attica":

Late Sunday afternoon . . . a Black prisoner seized the microphone.

"To oppressed people all over the world," he shouted, "We got the solution! The solution is unity!"

The Black inmate's impassioned cry also suggests several other aspects of that strange society—its strikingly effective organization, its fierce political radicalism, its submergence of racial animosity in class solidarity. . . .

Time and again, one or another of [the] leaders evoked convincing evidence of prisoners' unity. . . .

Their organization was most evident in excellent security arrangements. . . .

Human chains of men with linked arms maintained effective crowd control.

The only weapons in evidence were baseball bats, iron pipes, and one tear gas launcher in the possession of a masked security man.

That kind of organization, not to mention the unity displayed by the prisoners, would have been impossible if there had been racial discord in Block D. None was apparent to the observers. The human security chains were interracial; the leadership committee featured at least three white men, although the rebelling inmates must have been at least 85 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

Once, when a Black prisoner was orating at a high pitch about the disadvantages suffered by Blacks in America, an inmate shouted back at him in a heavy Puerto Rican accent: "Don't forget our white brothers! They're in this, too!" . . .

Racial harmony, evident as it was, was not so prominent in Block D as were radical class and political views. Every orator pictured the rebelling prisoners as political victims, men at the bottom of the heap for whom society cared nothing, to whom it gave the worst of treatment and offered no redress of grievance.

The prisoners referred to themselves constantly as "brothers" and stressed time and again their determination to stand together.

"When you don't give a damn, you don't have nothing to give up but your life!" one speaker shouted. And another reminded them that Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader, had said that "if you gon' make a revolution, you got to believe."

In Our Opinion

'We are human beings'

"We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed."—from the Sept. 9 statement of the Attica rebels.

"We no longer wish to be treated as statistics, as numbers. We want to be treated as human beings. If we cannot live as people, we will at least try to die like men."—Brother Flip (Charles Horatio Crowley)

"(The hostages are) sleeping on mattresses, but I ain't sleeping on no mattress. They treat us like animals, we take care of them. Well I ask you, does animals take care of people or does people take care of animals?"—Brother Champ

From Attica, New York, last week the rebellion of a significant segment of humanity, demanding to be treated as human beings, shook this country to its very marrow. It marked another turning point in the deepening, spreading radicalization.

Within hours after the brutal slaughter of dozens of helpless victims of white ruling-class "justice" in America, the selfsame rulers were exposed, caught once again in their own cynical web of lies. The hostages had all been killed by bullets—fired by troopers attempting to retake the prison with naked force.

Responsibility for the unspeakable atrocity of the Attica prison massacre lies squarely on the shoulders of the highest government officials from Nelson Rockefeller on up to Richard Nixon himself.

Like the Black ghetto rebellions, the Kent and Jackson State murders, the Mylai massacre, the revelations of the Pentagon papers, and similar events of the last few years, the shock waves emanating from Attica will reverberate for some time.

The common theme running through the statements of the Attica rebels, both written and spoken, was the assertion of their humanity. They were demanding their right to be treated like human beings, rejecting the category of despised non-humans, to which they had been relegated as "prisoners" and "inmates."

In asserting their humanity and demanding their rights, the Attica rebels were expressing one of the most fundamental aspects of the process of radicalization taking place in the United States today. They were proving once again that there is no sector of the population too downtrodden, too outcast, to stand up and fight, to lash out against the oppression they suffer and assert their dignity as human beings. Millions of young people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, women and others identified with that assertion of humanity and knew that the Attica rebels were fighting for all of us.

And for millions of Americans who had not believed it or had not wanted to believe it before, the indescribable inhumanity of the assault on the Attica rebels opened their eyes to the reality of who are the criminals, the murderers in this society.

Pious liberals, reacting to the ruthless butchering of the Attica rebels, decry the violence while proclaiming the justness of most of the prisoners' demands—then quickly add, as did the Sept. 15 *New York Times*, "It was the prisoners' intransigence when confronted with a final appeal 'to achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation' that left the prison strewn with the dead."

With equal truth, the *Times* might claim that slaves brought massacres on themselves by rebelling against their slave masters.

When the mass of humanity begins to take its destiny into its own hands, the only relevant question is, "Which side are you on?"

New York State "Correction" Commissioner Russell G. Oswald told reporters—while the massacre was taking place within the prison—"Armed rebellion of this type we have faced threatens the destruction of our free society. We cannot permit that destruction to happen."

It is true that the rebellion at Attica shook the very foundations of this inhuman capitalist society, just as slave rebellions threatened the very foundations of a society built on slavery. But with every day that passes, more and more Americans are coming to the conclusion that if the prison of Attica is a foundation of our society as the Rockefellers and Nixons rightly proclaim, then the society that rests on Attica, Soledad and San Quentin should go up in flames along with those institutions.

Attica is indeed a pillar of the corrupt, brutal, dehumanizing society in which we live, and the human beings incarcerated there are simply the victims of that society. The prisons of any society in its death agony are similar, and history has proven over and over that in times of social ferment and radicalization, the masses of people become increasingly aware of that fact. One of the first and most far-reaching acts of every revolution is the "storming of the Bastille."

Despite the gruesome price the brothers of Attica paid in standing up for their own identity as human beings, they struck a blow for all of humanity.

Letters

Political prisoner

I received your letter [from the *Militant* business office] and *The Militant*. I was very happy to hear from you. Only one thing was wrong with your letter—you called this a "correctional" institution. It's not; it's a slave camp, where the strong rule over the weak and poor.

I would like for you to print these few words which I would like to write to sisters and brothers in the struggle.

Political prisoner
State Correctional Institution
Huntington, Pa.

Steel mill town

Life in a mill town is hard at best. Life in a steel mill town like Gary, Ind., besides being hard, is never secure.

Once again "the mills are down." Of the 27,000 people who normally worked in the huge Gary mills of the U. S. Steel Corp. before the shutdown in anticipation of the Aug. 1 steel strike, only 8,000 were called back after the settlement, leaving the remaining 19,000 workers on lay-off until, in the words of the mill owners, "new orders begin coming in." Those new orders may be a long time in coming, because along with the slow rate of the economy in general a great amount of steel was stockpiled for several months in advance of the expected strike.

The workers of Gary are again confronted with a situation of chronic unemployment. After 25 years, the monetary scheme devised at Bretton Woods has proven itself to be a complete failure and is in a state of collapse. The capitalist countries of the world are once again deeply engaged in trade wars.

The fate of the world hangs on the ability of the workers of the world to prevent the capitalists from engaging in military action in order to secure their markets. The only force powerful enough to do that is a gigantic, massive antiwar movement. It is now more important than ever that we all go out and help build a mighty antiwar movement now!

Ray Gervais
New York, N. Y.

Summer of '42

In my review of the film *Summer of '42*, which appeared in the Sept. 3 *Militant*, an error was introduced during the editing process which has the effect of rather thoroughly altering my evaluation of the film.

The sentence containing the error reads, "it is the conflict between sexual objectification and the human warmth expressed through sexual tenderness that gives this film *whatever quality it possesses*." The portion I have italicized read in my original version: "its quality of depth and profundity."

Summer of '42 deserves this praise in my opinion. It depicts seriously and penetratingly the sexual misery of adolescence. It is a profound, deep and moving film of great quality.

Arthur Maglin
New York, N. Y.

Ellsberg case

At least one capitalist politician shows signs of learning from the antiwar movement and understanding the dynamic of our struggles. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas—the Republican national chairman, no less—has noticed that rather than convincing the American people that we are a thoroughly bad lot, persecuting antiwar activists actually persuades them to join us.

Discussing a possible indictment of Daniel Ellsberg, who allegedly made the Pentagon Papers available to the *New York Times*, Dole made the following observation (*Times*, July 16): "That would heat up the whole antiwar feeling again. Prosecuting Ellsberg would attract attention and give the antiwar group new momentum, new force. That would not be an asset for the Republicans."

Dole's astute observation took on greater significance when the Nixon administration, acting through a Los Angeles grand jury, *did* indict Ellsberg.

An unprecedentedly large section of Americans will be persuaded by Ellsberg's defense. And their anger at the government will intensify as it continues both its war and its lying. It will express itself in the streets this November, as hundreds of thousands of new antiwar activists act out Senator Dole's prediction.

Robin Hunter
New York, N. Y.

Missed Linda Jenness

I caught it too late to hear Miss Linda Jenness speak at Ft. Collins, Colo., in late August. I want to be sure to be notified in time should she speak again in this state. I have friends who I'm sure would appreciate hearing her. Would also appreciate hearing the SWP vice-presidential candidate, should he speak in this vicinity.

Our Constitution was minus one word when it was written. It specifies "Of, For and By the People." It should have specified "Of, For and By *all* the People"—not just by a few outlaws. Power to *all* the people, for peace in this old world.

J. B.
Greeley, Colo.

Irish Republican office

The Irish Republican Clubs, U. S. A. and Canada, wish to announce the opening of a national headquarters at 37-76 64th Street, Woodside, N. Y. The Irish Republican Clubs are chartered to support the Official IRA and Sinn Fein. Our office will also serve as a National Irish Republican Information Bureau and a National Irish Refugee Relief Center. We wish to thank the people of the Woodside area whose generous donations of clothes have already made it possible for us to send a large shipment to Ireland.

We would also like to thank all those who have donated money to our Prisoners Fund. All contributions have been sent to the Irish Republican Prisoners Defense and Aid Fund, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin. Anyone wishing to contribute to this fund may send donations to us at our new office address in Woodside. Mary Cotter, Irish Republican Clubs, U. S. A. and Canada, Sean Kenny, Irish Republican Army

The Great Society

Sex discrimination fight

As you may know, the University of Pittsburgh has been under investigation by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for charges of sex discrimination filed by the University Committee for Women's Rights. Over one year has passed since HEW's "review" began, during which time we have had many cases reported of women being forced out, not hired, threatened, or fired. We cannot believe that it is a coincidence that all of our officers and spokespersons from last year, and more from this year, are no longer, or soon will not be, in the university community.

It is clear that the situation at Pitt is critical for women all over the country. Because of HEW's biased and ineffective procedures, every university currently or possibly undergoing investigation for sex discrimination will be permitted to maintain the status quo if we do not take serious legal action immediately.

An AP wire release has already circulated around the country which states that although HEW has the power to withhold federal funds from universities which discriminate, that department seldom, if ever, does so.

UCWR has retained legal counsel to continue the fight at whatever level necessary to stop Pitt and other institutions from denying all university women (staff, students and faculty) their equality. We have an attorney who is charging us the least possible amount of money, but she still estimates our costs at approximately \$3,000. If UCWR cannot raise this amount, the consequences for hundreds of thousands of women will be grave indeed.

We're asking concerned persons to donate \$5 or \$10, or more, if it is at all possible. Without enough money, the fight for equality between the sexes will be set back many years.

*Judy Kapsal, President
UCWR Legal Defense Fund
374 Meyran Ave.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213*

Woodhull and Douglass

In 1872, the Equal Rights Party nominated Victoria Woodhull, an outstanding feminist, and Frederick Douglass, a leader of the Black liberation struggle, for the presidency and vice-presidency. Good luck to Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in their 1972 campaign!

*George Dolph
Denver, Colo.*

Interested

From the Fifth of June Society in Beirut I got a reprint from the interview *The Militant* had with Arie Bober in May and July of 1970. I thought they were very good articles, and I am very interested in *The Militant*. I want to ask you to tell me the subscription rate and to send me a sample copy.

*A. S.
Rotterdam, Netherlands*

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 Botulism Twins?—William Goodrich retired as general counsel to the Food and Drug Administration and became president of a food industry group, the Institute of Shortenings and Edible Oils. The next day, Goodrich's FDA job was filled by Peter Hutt, former counsel to the shortening association. Both men assured that the exchange of hats was purely coincidental.

Most unheard of thing he ever heard of—Arthur Okun, a chief economic adviser to LBJ, advised Congress that any attempt to limit profits would only encourage expense padding and perhaps even downright cheating. Besides, he added, it's not a good idea to begin with. He was dismayed that some labor officials even broached the idea. "Why such measures should have the slightest appeal to American workers is simply beyond my comprehension," he said.

Unflagging zeal—The American Legion convention asked Congress to make it a crime to fly the flag of any country or revolutionary group hostile to the U.S. We haven't seen the text of the resolution, so we're not certain if this would apply merely within the borders of the U.S. and its

possessions, or in the countries of origin of the offending flags as well.

Time to count his blessings—George Baker, 30, a California truck driver, was brought into court for ignoring four jury-duty summons. He reportedly explained he didn't believe in jury duty or "any other American institution." The judge advised him to thank God he wasn't in Roosha, where he might well be sent to the salt mines for such an offense. Baker explained he didn't believe in God. The judge gave him 30 days.

Funniest story of the week—William Ruckelshaus, federal environmental protection administrator, confided to reporters that the secretary of commerce and other officials feel that he's going too fast and being too strict in cracking down on air and water polluters.

Un-German activities—The West German spy agency reports that the East German spy agency has a new recruiting gimmick—low-interest loans. West German government employees who seem unsuited to go out in the cold have their loan applications rejected. Now if the CIA could work out a deal with Household Finance, they could

show those Germans a trick or two.

For openers, smaller pay envelopes?—"If we want more of the quality of life, we're going to have to demand less," says former interior secretary Stewart Udall. "My advice to you," he told one graduating class, "is to think small and stay small."

Moderate radical—On the eve of a visit to the U.S., Japanese Prince Hitachi said the efforts of young people to get back to nature was a good thing. "But," he added, "when they band together in street demonstrations, that's going too far."

Thought for the week—"One may ask if the disappearance of odor from the human species isn't related to sexual repression to the extent that the sense of smell is vanishing as an erotic and pleasure vehicle. Body hygiene is a human advance, but its exaggeration may be creating a model of individual who is clean, odorless, innocuous and quick to adapt to the establishment."—Argentine sociologist Ana Maria Fuentes, responding to Agentinians who sniff at the French for a reportedly low consumption of deodorants.

—HARRY RING

The National Picket Line

It has taken less than two weeks of the wage and "price" freeze imposed by the Nixon administration Aug. 15, to prove every word in the Aug. 24 statement by Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate. (See Sept. 3 *Militant*.)

Nixon has extended the freeze of wages for 600,000 blue collar government workers beyond the 90-day period to July 1, 1972.

This is more than a broad hint of the actions the president and his class intend to take after the Nov. 13 wage-freeze deadline has passed.

Significantly, on Sept. 3 the Department of Labor announced the increase in the wholesale price index for August at 0.7 percent, the highest rise in six months.

So far, Nixon has not been able to get a favorable response to his plea to striking unions to call off their walkouts. The West Coast longshoremen and the New York State communications workers, involved in the biggest strikes at present, have rejected his plea.

A broad clue to Nixon's plans appeared as long ago as last June when *The Nation* published an article entitled "Labor's New Blood—the Insubordinate Rank and File." The article, by Sander M. Polster, views with alarm the growing percentage of "good" contracts negotiated by top labor bureaucrats and recommended by them for acceptance, which have been rejected by the memberships affected. The trend started in 1964 with 8.7 percent of such agreements rejected and rose to 11.2 percent for the first six months of 1971.

All of the "labor experts" (mediators and arbitrators) agree that one of the basic problems faced by the top leadership of the organized labor movement is the changing composition of the labor unions. Today's membership is young. Fifty percent of the 20 million union members are 30 years old or younger. And half of these are in their early 20s.

These young men and women are far more interested in their pay checks, which are to be used today, than they are in the many fringe benefit gimmicks which the bureaucracy used to be able to sell to its memberships. To a young worker, a pension appears very remote.

There is a growing tendency for these workers to tell their leaders, "Go back and shake the tree some more."

The "experts" are joined by the labor bureaucracy in blaming the Landrum-Griffin Act for this new independence of the rank and file. They claim that this essentially antilabor act is "undermining the leadership control of the rank and file. . . . The impression (has been)

created that the union leadership can be brought to book by the membership. . . . it created mistrust of the union and union leadership."

Vincent McDonnell, chairman of the N.Y. State Mediation Board, offers a different and more accurate view. He says the new militancy of the rank and file stems from the general way of life which has been developing during the past decade. "A good deal of it started in the civil rights movement, then expanded to the schools, and now it's expanded into the labor unions. . . ."

Solutions offered by all these "experts," however, almost all go in the direction of more stringent laws governing unions and proposed contracts as well as the right to strike.

McDonnell says, "There should be a law requiring union leadership to settle a contract without membership ratification, and if the members don't like the results they can vote the leaders out of office."

Julius Manson, former executive director of the N.Y. State Mediation Board, suggests that "one possible solution would be to develop 'restraints' . . . where it would be made plain that rejected contracts simply won't be changed. . . . There is another way to handle it, to have acceptance of a proposal by a majority vote, but no strike action can occur without a three-quarter vote." (Emphasis added.)

Howard Kheel, also from the N.Y. State Mediation Board and also an active participant in many national contract negotiations, does not look to any form of mandated action. He has another solution.

"I don't see the rank and file changing, but I do see the professionalism of leadership changing. Every action must have a reaction. You have to teach the rank and file the importance of following, and teach the leadership the importance of leading. The solution of the problem is development of leadership that will be followed. You just don't legislate leadership."

Kheel is not talking about the same kind of leadership we are when we call for a congress of labor to fight Nixon's entire "new economic policy" as well as his foreign policy.

When the second and third year raises already a part of union contracts fall due and are not forthcoming, the reported "satisfaction" with Mr. Nixon's edict freezing wages will, we hope, take a sudden shift and Tricky Dicky and his class will see some militancy they never dreamed possible.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Army brass worried about GI morale



Photo by Kent Garrett/Liberator

By LEE SMITH

"The military forces of the United States," says a former commander of the 82nd Airborne Division and the Eighth Army, "face a disciplinary situation which, if not already critical, is at least one of rapidly growing proportions. Should senior commanders not be able to reverse the trend toward indiscipline, this country will, not long from now, lose its status as the world's first power and stand almost helpless against those who would humble it or destroy it."

Retired General Hamilton H. Howze was quoted as saying the above in a long article by B. Drummond Ayres Jr. in the Sept. 5 *New York Times*. Ayres' account of the "morale crisis" in the armed forces makes clear that the top brass view the breakdown of military discipline as an extremely serious problem. The predominate view in the Pentagon seems to be that the military power of U.S. imperialism has already been significantly undermined by a process it doesn't know how to stop.

While top officials remain cautious about openly expressing such views, Ayres reports, "Privately, the talk is much more candid. A brigadier general in the Pentagon waits until an aide has left his office, then leans forward and says:

"Okay, let's face it. We have units today that simply are not fit to go if the balloon goes up. . . ."

Another article by Ayres in the Sept. 13 *New York Times* further backs up the contention of this brigadier general, reporting that "at least nine of the 11 divisions on active duty outside Southeast Asia are incapable of waging immediate, full-scale war. . . ." The unpreparedness "stems mainly from shortages in manpower and training," Ayres writes, but "morale and disciplinary problems caused by the unpopularity of the war and the draft have aggravated the situation. So, too, have race and drug problems."

Actually, the manpower and training shortages themselves are also partly consequences of the antiwar movement and antiwar sentiment, as Ayres implicitly admits: "The deterioration in readiness began about five years ago when the Johnson administration, *taking politics and economics into consideration*, decided to expand the Vietnam fighting force without calling up the inactive reserves and without huge draft levies. . . . *because of continuing political and economic pressures*, many of the men coming back have been discharged rather than sent to units short of troops." (Emphasis add-

ed.) Thus, the question of the shortages cannot really be separated from the antiwar sentiment at the root of the "morale crisis."

A high percentage of the men in below-strength divisions outside of Vietnam are short-timers—Vietnam combat veterans who have less than six months to serve before discharge. The Fourth Mechanized Division at Ft. Carson, Colo., for example, operates today with 11,000 men—6,000 men below its authorized strength—and half of them are short-timers.

"The Army says that short-timers seldom acquire any sense of belonging to the Fourth," Ayres writes in his Sept. 13 article. "Many have been embittered by Vietnam and the draft and are willing to soldier only enough to get by until their discharge arrives."

Veterans of Vietnam are undoubtedly especially bitter, but Ayres' Sept. 5 article reveals that they are far from being the only GIs whose morale has gone downhill because of the war.

Some of the statistics reported by Ayres help to explain the distress the brass hats are feeling. Over the last 12 months, 177 out of every 1,000 GIs have gone AWOL more than once. The figure for men who stayed away long enough to qualify as deserters (one month) was 74 out of every 1,000 for the same 12 months. Contrasted with the rates for 1966, when 57 of every 1,000 GIs went AWOL and 15 out of every 1,000 deserted, the current rates are three and four times higher.

Black GIs

Black GIs are not only among the strongest opponents of the war, but they increasingly manifest a deepening nationalist consciousness in Black solidarity and in heightened, often organized, resistance against racism in the army. Ayres and the brass refer to this phenomenon as "racial tensions" and "polarized" relations between Black and white GIs. No records are kept of "minor racial incidents," but those which required "significant" police action from September 1970 to August 1971 numbered 18, according to Ayres. This was 10 more than during the previous 12 months.

"Court-martial convictions for insubordination, mutiny, and refusals to obey orders climbed from 230 in 1968 to 294 in 1969 to 331 last year," Ayres reports. "This year, convictions may exceed 450." However, as the *Times* reporter is quick to point out, "No statistics are kept on the less serious incidents, which occur almost daily in many units."

These "less serious incidents" are

solved by discussions in which officers and the men or units refusing an order agree on some alternative plan. This practice is widespread today, having begun in Vietnam where it continues. There, officers who don't go along with the practice risk being "fraggged," that is, having fragmentation bombs thrown at them by their own men.

The number of actual or possible fraggings has risen from 126 in 1969 to 271 in 1970, "and this year it probably will exceed 425," Ayres writes.

Reenlistment among volunteers has dropped off to a current figure of one man in five from one in four before the escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965. Among draftees, reenlistment has dropped from 10 percent to less than 5 percent in the same period. Among ROTC graduates, the reenlistment figure has dropped from one in three in 1961 to one in five today, and the number of college students who enroll in ROTC programs has dropped from 165,000 to 74,000 in the same 10 years. The number of U.S. Military Academy graduates who fail to reenlist after five years has nearly doubled since 1961—from 15 percent to 28 percent.

Against all of these statistics—and others, including a sharp rise in drug addiction—the optimism of Pentagon Pollyannas is unconvincing. "We've touched bottom with the troublemakers and are heading up," Fourth Division commander Maj. Gen. John Bennett told Ayres. But no real evidence exists that relaxed discipline, beer machines, better hours, and improved barracks have done anything to halt the trend apparent in the above statistics.

Ayres observes that the "troublemakers" are "primarily draftees . . . and draft-motivated volunteers." Since these categories account for 80 percent of the Army's front-line strength and take in noncoms and junior officers, the brass has no reason to be reassured by this observation. Moreover, not all of the "troublemakers" fall into the majority categories of draftees and draft-motivated volunteers.

Col. Anthony Herbert

One "troublemaker" who clearly falls outside these categories is Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert, who last spring formally charged Maj. Gen. John Barnes and Lt. Col. J. Ross Franklin with covering up war crimes committed under their command in Vietnam.

In a Sept. 10 editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* observed, "In many ways, the case of Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert is a more damaging reflection on the present leadership of

the United States Army than was the case of Lt. W. L. Calley." Indeed, the picture that emerges from an article on Herbert by James T. Wooten in the Sept. 5 Sunday *New York Times Magazine* and an earlier article in the July 9 *Life* magazine by Donald Jackson is one that damns the government with a peculiar force. What makes the case of Col. Herbert especially powerful is that the man virtually embodies the imperialists' propaganda ideal. Having risen from the ranks after being chosen the Army's most decorated enlisted man in the Korean war, Col. Herbert is a kind of flesh-and-blood recruiting poster, a real-life version of Karl Malden's Omar Bradley in Hollywood's *Patton*.

Herbert evidently maintained an ingenuous trust in the humanitarian motives of the United States in Vietnam. Thus, when he took command of a battalion there in 1969, he was genuinely horrified to find atrocities being committed. When this happened in his own command, he stopped it or, when he was too late, punished the offenders. When he saw it outside his own jurisdiction, he reported it to his superiors and pressed for an investigation. His persistence led his superiors, Barnes and Franklin, to vilify him in a report and relieve him of his command in April 1969. That led him to file formal charges that these men were covering up atrocities, and the filing of charges has led to headlines.

Disillusioned and angry, he told Donald Jackson, "This stuff [atrocities] would stop if we'd hang a couple of senior commanders. . . . If you don't tell a soldier what's right, then he thinks whatever is tacitly condoned is what you want, and that's what he does. It's not brave to be cruel." He told Wooten he just didn't understand why he was being drummed out, then he corrected himself: "Hell, that's not true. I understand it, but I just don't want to admit that I'm being systematically screwed by the Army. I don't want to admit that. I chose the Army as the expression of my life. I gave to it, took from it, believed in it. Now this."

The colonel is far from a typical antiwar GI, of course. But his experience has obviously shaken the beliefs he hewed to for so long. He concluded his interview with Jackson by saying: "If it [the war] doesn't stop, they'll eventually all be exterminated. We're telling those people that our way is the right way of living. If we torture—what's right?"

National support for Nov. 6 keeps growing

By LEE SMITH

SEPT. 14 — In the atmosphere created by Nixon's wage freeze and his renewed military offensive in Indochina, support continues to grow for the mass antiwar marches scheduled to take place in 16 cities Nov. 6. The list of endorsers for Nov. 6 and for the build-up actions, including the Oct. 13 moratorium, is already impressive with campuses in most parts of the country just beginning fall classes.

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has published 100,000 copies of a special issue of *The Student Mobilizer* that focuses on the war as the cause of the freeze and urges students to build antiwar activities on the campuses the week preceding the Nov. 6 actions. Bundles of these *Mobilizers* have been mailed to local SMC chapters across the country where they are being distributed to students as they arrive on campus.

A National Peace Action Coalition Steering Committee meeting is scheduled for Sept. 18 at the Eugene V. Debs Hall of Local 1199, Drug and

Rayburn Stephens, president of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1565; Ralph Worrell, Atlanta national representative of the National Council of Distributive Workers; Tony Zivalich, Atlanta director of the Alliance for Labor Action; Herb Green, United Auto Workers international representative for Southern Region 8, Community Action Program; and Annie Blaylock, president of AFSCME District Council 14.

Speaking at the news conference, held in the ALA hall, were Tom Evans, an organizer for the ALA; Joyce Brown of AFSCME; Cliff Conner, AFT Local 1565 Executive Board; and Kitty Cone, director of Atlanta PAC.

All of the speakers declared support for Nov. 6. Evans said, "There is no way in the world to check the price of a can of beans, but every employer is all too glad to freeze wages."

The news conference received good coverage, including broadcasts on five radio stations and two TV news programs. The evening news on WQXI,

conference, also signers of the statement, were Ian MacEwan, president of UAW Local 420; Richard Niebur, general vice-president of the United Electrical Workers union; Sam Pollock, president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 427; and John Yates, president of UAW Local 1045.

Yates told the news conference, "Now is the time for the local leaders and the rank-and-file to get involved, not just to say that we are opposed, but to demonstrate our feelings by becoming a part of these legal, peaceful and orderly protests."

Los Angeles

Speaking at a news conference of the Out Now Coalition's Labor Task Force at the L.A. Press Club Sept. 9, NPAC coordinator and Teamster organizer John T. Williams said, "We as trade unionists must make our demands clear — *Out Now!* — whenever necessary in order to enforce and maintain our negotiated gains. . . . The war has created burdens upon us which we cannot negotiate in our contracts."

in Minneapolis, the City Council passed a resolution endorsing Nov. 6 and declaring it Peace Action Day in Minneapolis. The resolution, put forward by Alderman Louis DeMars from the predominantly student Fifth Ward near the University of Minnesota, passed overwhelmingly despite a red-baiting attack unleashed against MPAC at the council meeting by Twelfth Ward Alderman Vern Anderson. Quoting J. Edgar Hoover's assertions that NPAC was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, Anderson said, "I cannot support an action or resolution that has as its main supporter the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition." DeMars countered the red-baiting, stating, "I am happy to be part of this action against the war and in support of a single-issue antiwar organization which has socialists in it."

The resolution then passed by a vote of 11 to two.

A similar resolution for the April 24 demonstration in Washington, D.C., won support from only one alderman and failed to be brought to the council floor last spring.

Philadelphia

Signers of the NPAC trade-union statement in Philadelphia include David Neifeld, president of Retail Clerks Local 415, and Wendell Young, president of Retail Clerks Local 1357.

Neifeld appeared at a Sept. 9 news conference with local PAC coordinator Diana Tasciotti. Neifeld said, "Labor cannot live with wage controls that freeze poverty into the system." Tasciotti said, "To check inflation, we must end the war in Vietnam." Both speakers urged large-scale participation by working people in the Nov. 6 actions.

San Francisco

The Bay Area Concerned Military held a news conference in San Francisco Sept. 10, announcing plans for a Military Rights and Antiwar Convention to be hosted by BACOM Oct. 23.

Speakers at the conference were Navy Lt. (JG) Gordon Piland from the Mare Island Naval Station, army veteran Paul Hansen and Pvt. Ed



Workers join students in May 1970 antiwar protest. SMCs this fall will organize reach-out for larger-than-ever labor participation Nov. 6.

Photo by Howard Petrick

Hospital Union, in New York City. On the agenda of the meeting is a panel of prominent trade unionists discussing the freeze and the war, including Sam Meyers, president of UAW Local 259; David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers; Henry Foner, Joint Board, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers; John T. Williams, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Hilton Hanna, international president's assistant, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and others.

Also on the agenda of the NPAC Steering Committee meeting is a report by NPAC Coordinator James Lafferty on his recent trip to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Discussion at the meeting was scheduled to center on progress toward building the Nov. 6 actions in the different areas.

Below is a partial roundup of antiwar activity in various parts of the country.

Atlanta

Atlanta PAC sponsored a news conference Sept. 9 to announce local support for the NPAC trade-union statement on the wage freeze and the war. Signers of the statement in Atlanta included Roy Williams, secretary-treasurer and business representative of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 442; Claude Holt, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644;

Atlanta's major TV station, opened with a statement by Nixon and was followed by the news conference, introduced by the commentator as "Atlanta labor's answer to the freeze."

The broadcast carried Cone's statement that Nov. 6 in Atlanta "will be the biggest antiwar action the South has ever seen."

Cleveland

At a Sept. 9 news conference in the Cleveland hall of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, four officials representing 18,000 workers made statements urging trade unionists to march on Nov. 6 and announced the names of Cleveland area signers of the NPAC trade-union statement.

Among the signers were Holmes Bowden, secretary of the Lake County AFL-CIO; Donald H. Coleman, UAW Local 756; Joe DiNunzio, UAW Local 311; Leo Fenster, secretary of the Cleveland District Auto Council; Columbus Henry, UAW Local 296; Mike Horvarth, UAW Local 843; Raymond T. Lamont, Local 36-124 of the Bindery Workers union; John Osters, president of the Lake County AFL-CIO; Michael Pohorence, UAW Local 425; Auda Romine, Meat Cutters Executive Board; Dorothy Sain, Cleveland Newspaper Guild; Frank Tate, manager of the Cleveland Joint Textile Board; and Tony Zone, UAW Local 1112.

The four representatives at the news

Minneapolis

Reporters from the four major TV stations and from radio stations and newspapers attended the Minnesota PAC Labor Task Force's Sept. 9 news conference in Minneapolis.

Speakers at the conference were MPAC Labor Task Force Coordinator Bill Peterson, a member of the United Transportation Union; Joe Miller, field representative for UE Local 1139; and Elvis Swan, international representative of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union.

Swan told the reporters: "The wage freeze is a real gimmick to better the rich. There is no freeze on profits, stocks or bonds. To fight the freeze effectively, we must end the war in Southeast Asia now!"

The statement read by Miller said, in part, "The labor movement and millions of its members have no choice but to mount a united struggle to defeat this attack that the president and the corporations have unleashed on them." He continued, "Only a complete end to the war and a reshaping of our national priorities will end the inflationary spiral. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America urge all of organized labor to take part in this fall's demonstrations against the war, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition."

In another important development

The following resolution was adopted Sept. 10 by the Minneapolis City Council:

Whereas numerous distinguished citizens and various church, academic and labor organizations throughout 15 major cities within these United States and acting in concert with similar peaceful assemblages throughout Canada and Europe/ And whereas the citizens of this city and state have evinced a deep desire that there be an end to the war in Vietnam and an end to the killing/ And whereas such strivings for peace coincide with the deep aspiration of the people of our city/ Therefore be it resolved that Nov. 6 be designated as Peace Action Day in our city and that where possible, our citizens and their representatives participate in the peace assemblies on that day.

Jurenas from the Presidio military base.

Jurenas said the Oct. 23 convention would "bring together servicemen from around the world to discuss our common interests and opposition to the war." He continued, "Two weeks later, on Nov. 6, we expect to see the most massive turnout of active-duty servicemen in any antiwar protest to date."

Atlanta election campaign launched

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Sept. 10 was a historic day for revolutionary-socialist politics in the Southeast. The Georgia Socialist Workers Party announced its candidates for the 1972 election; and Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president, spoke at a banquet and rally that marked the launching of a socialist presidential campaign in the tradition of Eugene V. Debs, who ran for president from Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in 1920.

Preceding the banquet, virtually all the major news media here attended a news conference at which Alice Conner, who has been a spokeswoman for the Georgia Coalition for the Repeal of Abortion Laws and an antiwar activist, announced her socialist campaign for U. S. Senate from Georgia, and Frank Grinnon, a leader of the Atlanta antiwar movement, announced his candidacy for Congress from Atlanta's Fifth District.

Jenness told the news media that she plans to get on the ballot in every state of the South.

Since the Black Panthers last week stated their intention to move their national office to Atlanta, all the major political figures in the city have been trying to outdo each other in their condemnations of the Panthers. Grinnon was asked by WSB-TV what he thinks of the Panthers' intended move. He replied, "We welcome them to Atlanta and hope they'll join us in build-



Alice Conner

Photo by Steve Dash

ing the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration as well as the Coalition for Repeal of Abortion Laws." Grinnon characterized as "racist," liberal Atlanta Mayor Sam Massell's statement that the Panthers are the same as the Ku Klux Klan. In reply to Congressman Ben Blackburn's open threat that "the DeKalb County police will make the Panthers feel unwelcome," Grinnon said, "We will defend the Panthers, and anyone else in the Black community, against police attacks."

The banquet was held in the newly constructed Georgia SWP headquarters at 68 Peachtree Street in downtown Atlanta. The new headquarters is only two blocks from Georgia State University, one block from the main city bus terminus, and in the midst of the downtown shopping district.

In addition to the three candidates, speakers at the banquet included Ilona Stanton, chairwoman of the Georgia SWP, and Meg Rose of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

The highlights of the evening were the speeches by Linda Jenness and Alice Conner. Jenness received a standing ovation after a hard-hitting speech explaining that all the capitalist politicians, without exception, are attempting to make the working people pay for the Vietnam war with the wage freeze, unemployment and inflation.

Alice Conner is running for the Senate seat against most of the big names

in Georgia politics. Three former governors—Maddox, Sanders, and Vandiver—as well as incumbent Senator David Gambrell, State Treasurer Bill Burson, Labor Commissioner Caldwell, and Congressmen Fletcher Thompson and Bill Stuckey. Stuckey is the millionaire owner of the Stuckey's roadside pecan franchises.

All of her opponents, Conner pointed out, have endorsed Nixon's wage freeze, favor bonanzas for Lockheed Aircraft, and claim that the war for them is a non-issue.

"As a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party," Conner said, "I would approach the problems of war-spending and unemployment from the opposite direction. First, my election program calls for a 100 percent tax on war profits! That means that Lockheed's profits would be taxed 100 percent—that Lockheed's owners would receive exactly zero profit from war production.

The news that Linda Jenness is the SWP candidate for president was especially welcomed by the radical movement and the news media in Georgia. Her campaigns for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and governor of Georgia in 1970 have made her name a household word in Georgia. Following announcement of her candidacy last month, WAGA-TV, the CBS affiliate in Atlanta, reported, "Our favorite rebel is at it again."

SWP candidate visits prison

By BOB GAHTAN

NORFOLK, Mass.—"If I had my way, there would be no prisons." That was the response of Anthony Lostis, a 25-year-old Black inmate of Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Norfolk when asked about prison reform by John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston.

Powers and several campaign supporters visited Lostis at the prison Sept. 14. Lostis had written the campaign headquarters and invited Powers to visit the prison after seeing him on TV. In his letter, he stated, "I feel you are very capable to handle the situation in the Black community. . . . I know a lot of other inmates who saw the program along with me who felt the same way."

There are 800 prisoners at Norfolk, which is considered a model prison, the most liberal in the state. Despite this, Lostis reported that the majority of its 300 Black inmates feel that they have been subject to arbitrary legal action and unduly harsh sentences. Lostis said that about one-third of the inmates were Vietnam veterans. Of these, perhaps one-half were in on drug charges. The lightest sentence that he knew of was three to five years for possession of a single joint. Most drug sentences were five to 10 years.

Inmates at Norfolk have relatively easy access to the media, and have followed the revolt and massacre at Attica very closely. Lostis remarked that the events had "shaken up the guards a lot."

Asked about the reaction to the murder of George Jackson, he said that a large number of Black inmates had put on red arm bands in mourning. Despite some harassment from white prisoners, they wore them until the day of Jackson's funeral, when they held their own memorial service.

Lostis, who says that he has "been in and out of trouble since I was 11," feels that things are changing in prisons. "Ever since about 1968, there is a new breed of prisoner coming in, who is just not going to put up with being treated like an animal. They

just don't put up with any crap coming down." Even the newer, younger guards have been affected, and tend to leave the prisoners alone much more. Lostis said that political interest in the prison is very high, especially around election time. One thing which really bothers the prisoners is their loss of political rights, especially the right to vote.

A Black action group called ACT exists at Norfolk to help prisoners with legal battles, and to fight internal prison grievances—the lousy food and the constant presence of roaches and other vermin were high on the list. ACT also conducts classes, runs a Black library, and can invite outside speakers. Lostis said he had heard of *The Militant* and knew a number of inmates who would like to receive it. He was enthusiastic about the possibility of Black and socialist speakers coming to address the inmates.

L.A. news conference for Linda Jenness

By LAURA MOORHEAD

LOS ANGELES—At a news conference here Sept. 9, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness attacked President Nixon's wage freeze, the war in Vietnam, and the murder of George Jackson. The conference was attended by the *Los Angeles Times*, KMET radio, and Channel 5 television.

Jenness said that "Nixon's wage freeze is a direct assault on the working conditions and rights of the working people. . . ." She said the fight against inflation had to begin with an immediate end to the Vietnam war, and she called on the "top leaders of the union movement, along with the rank and file and their allies in the mass movements, to call a congress of labor."

When asked why she thought the killing of George Jackson was an indication of the oppression of Black people in the United States, Jenness replied: "George Jackson should never have been in prison in the first place. . . . He was sentenced to one year to life on a charge of robbing a gas station of \$70 which has never been proven. His imprisonment and murder show the injustice and brutality of this society. . . ."

She was asked to respond to the series of articles in the *L.A. Times* Sept. 4-5 on the recent National Organization for Women convention by Arlene Van Breem. The articles recounted statements labeling the SWP and YSA as "predatory" and "divisive" in the women's movement. "Miss Van Breem picked up some slanderous and unsubstantiated statements made by some NOW women at the conference and neglected to report that the overwhelming majority of NOW women rejected the slander," Jenness said. "None of the charges, such as the SWP and YSA stealing money, mailing lists, and taking over organizations, was ever backed up with any facts. . . . The accusation that the SWP seeks to disrupt the women's movement is a resort to smear tactics rather than a clear political discussion on the different approaches of the two groups."

Why was Jenness making such a big issue out of the death of George Jackson by calling for an independent investigation by the Black community, including ex-prisoners and Black inmates of San Quentin, one reporter asked. "George Jackson was no ordinary Black man," Jenness explained. "Ordinary Black men are killed every day, and this society doesn't make

a big deal out of it. But it is precisely because George Jackson was no ordinary Black man to the Black community, but was a spokesman for that community and for Black people in prison—he wrote a book about it—that his murder is so important to me. . . ." She added that the reports by the authorities of Jackson's "escape" were too contradictory to lead her to any conclusion other than that he was murdered.

Houston SWP opens new offices

By ANNE SPRINGER

HOUSTON—The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee hosted a grand opening of the new Houston SWP campaign headquarters and Pathfinder Bookstore here Sept. 11. More than 60 campaign supporters attended the celebration. They heard speeches by SWP mayoral candidate Debby Leonard and City Council candidates Paul McKnight and Jeannette Tracy.

In addition, Manuel "Tank" Barrera, a 19-year-old student at the University of Houston, announced his candidacy for School Board. Barrera plans to file a suit challenging the present requirement that School Board candidates be at least 21 years old. "I am running as a youth candidate and as a nationalist," he stated. "As a consistent nationalist, I am running on a socialist ticket."

A few weeks earlier, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign sponsored a rally at the University of Houston for 18-year-old voters. About 150 people heard the SWP candidates speak.

The opening of a new campaign headquarters marks an important step forward in reasserting the right of the Houston SWP to function from a public headquarters. The previous campaign headquarters had been bombed on March 12 and machine-gunned on

The Sept. 3 Militant carried a special four-page feature on the launching of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential election campaign. Single copies of this special supplement are free. It can be ordered in quantity—100 for \$1.50; 500 for \$6—from the Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, 8th floor, N.Y., 10003. Tel. (212) 260-4150.

May 14 by night-riding, right-wing terrorists. (Two members of the United Klans of America are under indictment for the bombing.)

In the wake of these attacks on the SWP, insurance companies in Houston refused to insure any building which the SWP used as a campaign headquarters. Although dozens of landlords were approached, none would rent to the SWP. The fact that the SWP was finally able to secure a headquarters in Houston was in itself a victory for civil liberties in this city.

Debby Leonard announced plans to go to the office of Assistant District Attorney Neil McKay Sept. 13 to initiate the process of securing peace bonds against specific Klan members who have in the past been connected with right-wing terrorism in Houston. With a peace bond in effect, these individuals could be arrested if they entered or in any way harmed the new headquarters. "We want to make it clear that we are not going to permit any more harassment or intimidation from these hooligans," Leonard stated.

Pulley blasts Rockefeller for Attica massacre; to tour U.S. bases in Europe

By LAURA MILLER

NEW YORK—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, blasted New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties for the massacre of thirty-two inmates of the Attica prison, at a news conference called to announce a fact-finding mission to Europe.

The European tour, scheduled from September 14 to September 25, will take Pulley to U.S. Army bases all over West Germany to investigate charges of harassment and discrimination against Black GIs. Pulley, who made national headlines in 1969 as one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, court-martialed for their antiwar activities, will be accompanied on the tour by Joe Miles, presently a candidate for Cambridge City Council on the SWP ticket. Miles is also an ex-antiwar GI who helped found GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg.

Both candidates are also scheduled to make brief tours of Northern Ireland and France, to investigate political developments in those countries.

When questioned about the SWP campaign's position on the Attica prison revolt, Pulley gave full support to the demand for amnesty for the Attica prisoners. He told the press:

"The blood of Attica's victims is on the hands of Governor Rockefeller, and every other politician of the Democratic and Republican parties. It is these politicians who are responsible for maintaining a prison system which is based on human degradation, on racial oppression, and on violence."

At the news conference, Pulley, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance's National Committee, released copies of a letter sent to the national office of the YSA by a prisoner currently confined in the Attica prison. In the letter, which Pulley cited as an example of the increasing radicalization of young victims of the U.S. prison system, the Attica prisoner describes his growing interest in revolutionary politics and requests socialist literature.

B. R. Washington, SWP candidate for Congress from New York's 18th Congressional District, was also present at the news conference and made a statement about the Attica prison massacre:

"Governor Rockefeller stands guilty of murder. He refused to grant amnesty to the prisoners and then gave the go-ahead for the massacre. . . . Once again, the victim is made to seem the criminal. The real criminals are those like Rockefeller who control and uphold the racist legal and penal system. The victims are the Black and Puerto Rican communities."

The following statement was made by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, at a news conference in New York Sept. 14.

The murderous assault on the prisoners of the Attica prison, resulting in numerous deaths, is a crime that will be recorded as one of the most calculated and barbaric massacres in the history of this country. The blood of Attica's victims is on the hands of Governor Rockefeller and every other politician of the Democratic and Republican parties. It is these politicians who are responsible for maintaining a prison system which is based on inhuman degradation, on racial oppression, and on violence.

It is no accident that over half of Attica's prisoners are Black and Puerto Rican. Justice for Black citizens, inside and outside the prison walls, is non-existent in this racist society.

The heroic struggle of the Attica prisoners for elementary democratic and human rights is a part of the movement sweeping this country's prisons. Prisoners everywhere, especially Black and Brown inmates, inspired by the mass movements for social change throughout this country, are standing up for their rights.

The entire penal system is an institution of capitalist repression against Blacks, Browns, and other working people. The Attica prisoners, like all others, are victims of a totally unjust and discriminatory system of police, courts, jails and laws. The Socialist Workers Party is 100 percent behind the demands of the Attica prisoners.

The system which produced the Attica massacre is the same system which murdered George Jackson at San Quentin only three weeks ago. Jackson had served 10

years of his life in prison under California's indeterminate sentencing law for allegedly stealing \$70. Yet politicians who have stolen millions of dollars run around scot-free! Who can deny that it was because he was Black that George Jackson was incarcerated?

The politicians responsible for the Attica deaths are also responsible for the detention of Angela Davis. The fate of Angela Davis is one more proof that this society is incapable of justice to Afro-Americans. Lt. Calley, a convicted mass murderer, is under house arrest in his apartment, while Angela Davis, who has been convicted of no crime, is denied bail!

Black Panthers and others fighting for Black liberation are gunned down and jailed on frame-up charges, while the criminals responsible go free. Edward Hanrahan, Mayor Daley's handpicked lieutenant, who personally ordered the murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago, continues to serve as Cook County state's attorney, even though a grand jury has finally indicted him for conspiring to obstruct justice.

I myself have been before the capitalist courts and have

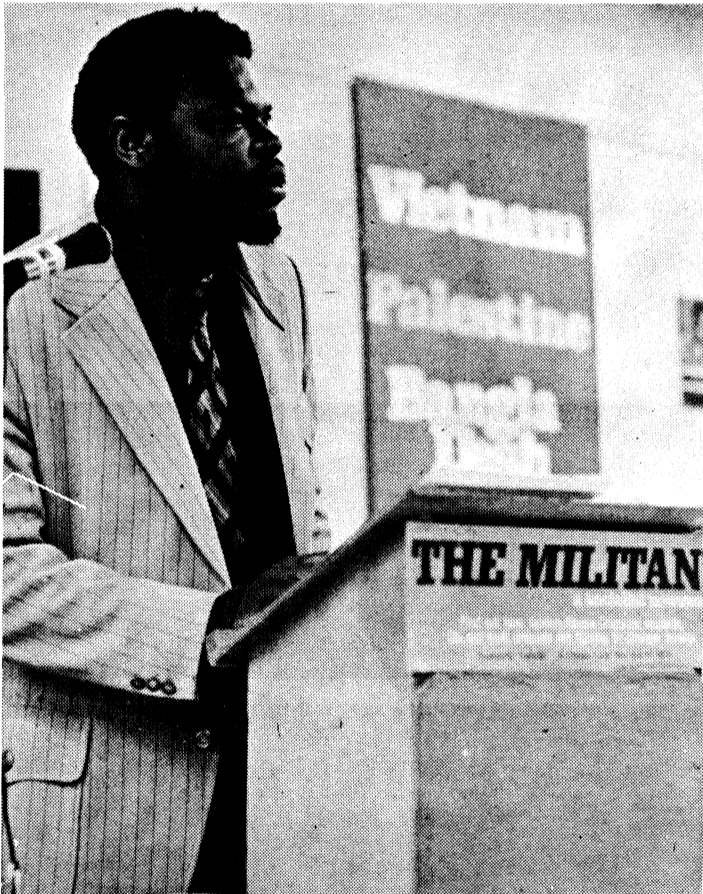


Photo by Mark Satinoff

Andrew Pulley addressing Sept. 11 campaign rally in New York.

been forced behind bars. While in high school, I was arrested and charged with "inciting to riot" for participating in a high school protest of the gunning down of Martin Luther King, Jr.

I was given the choice of going to jail or going into the Army. I chose the Army, but it did not take me long to discover that the rights of Black people are trampled on by the military as everywhere else in this society. I was arrested in 1969 at Fort Jackson, S. C., for helping to lead other GIs in a protest against the war. As one of the Fort Jackson Eight, I served 60 days in the army stockade before being released as a result of massive public outcry.

So I know from firsthand experience what capitalist justice means for Black people. That is why I will take my campaign for vice-president into the prisons, to fight for the rights of all prisoners to be politically active, without control or censorship by the prison authorities. Campaign supporters in prison everywhere will be distributing literature on my campaign and the campaign of Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

The Socialist Workers Party demands that those government officials, including Governor Rockefeller, who are responsible for the massacre at Attica, be brought to justice! Support the Attica prisoners' totally just demands for political and human rights! Freedom for Angela Davis and all political prisoners!

S.F. SWP launches mayoral campaign

By SANDY PECK

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party launched its municipal election campaign in San Francisco Sept. 8 with a rally attended by more than 130 people.

Nat Weinstein, mayoralty candidate and long-time trade unionist, said he felt honored to run as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party because of the record of the party in responding to every revolutionary situation that has arisen in the past. "The SWP has taken the issues of the most oppressed, denigrated sectors of the population—taken their aspirations, and made them its own."

The San Francisco campaign is fielding a full slate of candidates for the Board of Supervisors (city council) election. Six positions are open. The SWP candidates are: Laura Dertz, Jeff Berchenko, Jane Sica, Milton Chee, Bonnie Sheppard, and Mark Schneider. These candidates are all activists in the antiwar and women's liberation movements.

One important aspect of the campaign will be involving newly enfranchised 18-20-year-old voters. Three of the Board of Supervisors candidates are under 21.

Part of the campaign will be winning support not only for the 1971 municipal election but also for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential campaign in 1972. This rally marked the beginning of the 1972 SWP campaign in San Francisco with Linda Jenness as the keynote speaker.

The SWP candidates are the only ones to condemn the wage freeze and the only ones to put the blame for the severe inflation where it belongs—on the war and not on the working class. Jenness spoke about the wage freeze and the antiwar movement. "This fall antiwar action gives the antiwar movement the chance to become allies of labor, Blacks, Chicanos, gays, women, poor people, welfare mothers, in a united struggle to stop the war," she said. "The antiwar movement has to inscribe on its banners the slogan 'Freeze the War—Not Wages!' And the poster that was put out for April 24 with the slogan 'No Vietnamese Ever Froze My Wages' is certainly more opportune now than ever before."

Jenness also stated that, "One of the most politically backward aspects of this society is that Black people vote for a racist party, women vote for a sexist party, and workers vote for a capitalist party. Thank God for the Chicanos, who have the guts to stand up like human beings and say, 'We're going to vote for our own interests, and not be fooled and tricked by the Democratic Party anymore.'"

When she said this, she was cheered by the audience, which included leading members of MECHA (Movement of Chicano Students of Aztlan) from Berkeley.

The candidates held a news conference that morning to announce their candidacies and to file for the election. They were filmed for television when Nat Weinstein was not allowed to file because he refused to pay the \$837 filing fee. Part of the campaign will be a legal attack on the restrictive and undemocratic nature of the filing fees, which were instituted in 1968 because "too many" candidates had run in the previous election.

Women's liberation and political power



Aug. 26, 1971, women's march in New York City

Photo by Caroline Lund

By CAROLINE LUND

The main theme of the Aug. 26 women's march in New York was that the women's movement must move toward winning greater political power for women. As Betty Friedan put it in her speech at the New York rally, "We are now moving from women's liberation to women's participation in equal political power." Friedan, who was keynote speaker at the rally, spoke as a leader of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC).

The National Organization for Women, the largest feminist organization in this country, has also decided upon a turn toward winning political power for women. The theme of its Sept. 4-6 national convention in Los Angeles was "Revolution: From the Doll's House to the White House." The NOW convention voted to support the NWPC and to encourage its members to build women's political caucuses on a state level.

This question of how to win greater political power for women is indeed very important to the struggle for liberation. As it now stands, there are only 11 women out of 435 members of the House of Representatives, and only one woman out of 100 U.S. senators. This miniscule representation of women is also true in state legislatures and municipal governments.

Through the myriad ways of keeping women in an inferior status, which are upheld and encouraged by all the institutions and laws of this

country, half of the population is prevented from having an equal voice in the way this country is run. The clearest examples of this injustice are the laws prohibiting or restricting the right to abortion—laws which are maintained by male legislators but affect only women.

In addition to building a mass movement of women fighting for specific demands like the right to abortion, child care, and equal jobs and education, it is important for women to think out how we, in alliance with other oppressed sectors of the population, can move toward taking over the government and transforming society.

How does the National Women's Political Caucus think women can win political power? Its main goal, says the NWPC Statement of Purpose, is the election "of women candidates—federal, state and local—who declare themselves ready to fight for the rights and needs of women, and of all underrepresented groups."

'Nonpartisan'

A statement of the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Women's Political Caucus says: "We are a *nonpartisan* organization, mobilizing women of all political persuasions for active participation and power in political parties and government. We are determined to elect a just proportion of women delegates to political party conventions, and to have an equitable number of women can-

didates on the slates of political parties at all levels."

The WPC claims to be "nonpartisan" and open to women from "all political persuasions," and, presumably, wants to maximize women's participation in all political parties, as well as in the government.

To win political power for women is an important aspect of the fight for liberation, but to attempt to win representation in all political parties is something quite different. The crucial question to ask is: which political parties represent the interests of women?

Although the official statements of the NWPC are very vague on this question—demanding equal participation for women in all parties "with whom we are in reasonable agreement"—in actuality the thrust of their orientation appears to be toward participation in the Democratic and Republican parties. An immediate goal of the NWPC, for example, is to press for the right of women to make up one half of the delegates to the 1972 conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Also, Betty Friedan has publicly urged a woman to run against Representative Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn in next year's Democratic primary, since Celler is a leading opponent of the women's Equal Rights Amendment.

This perspective—of encouraging women to participate in the Democratic and Republican parties and to support candidates of those parties—will do nothing to promote the struggle of women for liberation, and in fact will hinder that struggle. We cannot fight for liberation by joining and supporting the parties of our oppressors.

The ruling class has attempted to convince everyone that in order to change anything in this country you must be "realistic," and work toward influencing the two "major" parties. They try to convince us that our only "responsible" option is to pick a lesser of two evils from these parties, both of which are based on a general program of defending the racist and sexist system this country is based on: capitalism.

The programs, policies and candidates of these two parties are not determined by the millions of people who vote for them and support them. They are not decided by open discussion, debate and democratic vote of delegates representative of the millions of voters. Rather, they are determined from the top, in behind-the-scenes deals between the millionaires and billionaires who finance these parties.

The capitalist system—which the Democratic and Republican parties defend at all cost—cannot operate without racism, sexism, war, pollution, poverty, and all other forms of oppression and exploitation. These features of our society are a necessary and inevitable part of capitalism because the mainspring of the capitalist system is the drive for profits. To pay women lower wages than men is very profitable. To keep women in the position of a reserve army of labor is profitable. To make women pay extraordinary amounts for abortions—where they are available at all—and for medical care in general, is profitable. Wars are profitable and serve to protect or extend profitable foreign investment. And for the government to provide adequate care for all children through public, 24-hour child-care centers would be very unprofitable.

A system based on private property and competition for profits cannot provide the conditions necessary for the full liberation of women. We need, as Nancy Williamson from Boston Female Liberation put it, "a society that is life-protecting rather than life-destroying." We need a society based on cooperation and production for people's needs, not production for profits and war. That system is socialism.

The real program of both the Democratic and Republican parties—despite words and promises at election time—has been demonstrated during the decades that they have been running this country. These parties have maintained the oppression of women except when they have been forced by the power of an independent mass movement of women—such as the suffrage movement—to make concessions. They have done the same in maintaining the oppression of Black people and other nationalities, and in maintaining the war economy and the policy of military aggression against other peoples, such as in Korea, Lebanon, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Southeast Asia.

The NWPC says it will only support candidates who conform to certain guidelines, including opposition to "racism," and support for the Equal Rights Amendment, free, comprehensive child care, adequate shelter for all Americans, and an end to the Indochina war. But even if women candidates are elected who support these demands, they

will have no power to achieve them because they will be ultimately controlled by their parties—the Democratic or Republican party—which do not support these goals.

Thus, women like Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) and Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), who claim they are trying to win gains for women by working inside and reforming the Democratic Party—only have the effect of helping to trick women into placing their confidence in the Democratic Party. Although Abzug and Chisholm favor the right of women to abortion and child care, they ask women to support the political party of Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy, who oppose the right to abortion. They are asking women to support the party of Edmund Muskie who recently said he would never run with a Black person on his ticket. They are asking women to support the party which is just as responsible as the Republicans for initiating and continuing the slaughter in Southeast Asia.

The Democratic and Republican parties both represent the ruling capitalist class, not the masses of women. They are in actuality only two factions of one party based on defense of capitalism.

But how, then, can women win political power—power that can force an end to our oppression as well as an end to war, poverty and the special oppression of nationalities and of all workers?

Mass movement

First of all, we must continue to build a mass, independent movement, uniting all women, fighting around specific issues of the women's liberation movement. We must build the women's movement into a mass movement, involving women from all sectors of society. And we can best do this by organizing mass struggles for specific, immediate needs of women, such as the struggle for the right to abortion on demand. The massive marches for abortion law repeal on Nov. 20 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco will be an important step in this direction.

Such a mass movement of women fighting for their rights and needs is a *political* movement. It makes demands on the government and can force it in some cases to make concessions to our demands. Any attempt to win political power for women must be based on support to this growing mass movement of women. It cannot be counterposed to the mass movement, as Betty Friedan's speech on Aug. 26 seemed to imply.

Black, Chicano and labor parties

Rather than supporting the Democratic and Republican parties, the NWPC should devote itself to building a political party and movement based on the interests of and controlled by those who do not own the major wealth of this country and who therefore have no interest in maintaining this racist and sexist system based on private ownership of industry and banks. Women should support, or help initiate, the formation of a labor party, based on the trade unions. Strong participation of women could insure that such a labor party would include in its program demands for the right to abortion, child care, equal pay, and other demands of the women's liberation movement.

Women are already in the forefront of shaking up the conservatized trade union leaderships, by demanding that the unions support the rights of women workers, and by their example of militant struggle. As further attacks on workers occur like Nixon's wage freeze, more and more working people—both men and women—will begin considering alternatives to the Democratic and Republican parties. A political party based on and controlled by working people would be a powerful ally of women in our struggle for liberation.

Another type of political party which could tremendously aid the struggle of women for liberation would be a party based on the Black community or the Chicano community. Examples of this type of party are the Raza Unida parties in Texas, Colorado and California. These parties run candidates against the Democratic and Republican party candidates, candidates who are responsible only to the Chicano community. Chicana women have been in the forefront of building the Raza Unida parties, and are fighting through it for their own special needs.

Similarly, Black women could greatly aid their struggle for liberation by supporting the formation of an independent Black political party, which would mobilize the entire Black community, including women, in struggle for control over their own communities and for self-determination.

Such a labor party or party of Black people or Chicano people would not simply be active at election time, but will be born out of, and be involved in, struggles the year around to change this rotten system.

The only party which embodies this entire perspective of uncompromising struggle against the rulers of this country and their parties is the Socialist Workers Party. It is the only party which

supports the women's liberation movement, the struggle of oppressed nationalities for self-determination, and the antiwar movement and at the same time fights for a total transformation of this system, from capitalism to socialism.

To win liberation, women must ultimately participate in building such a socialist party. Only a socialist revolution can bring about a total change to a system based on satisfying the needs of humanity, the needs of women, rather than a system based on competition, profits, racism, sexism, poverty and war.

An anticapitalist political party—a Black party, a Chicano party, a labor party, or a socialist party—is difficult to build. The capitalist rulers have used the education system to make people believe that the Democratic and Republican parties actually provide people with all the choices they need. We are taught to believe that having only two capitalist parties is the "American way,"—that the "two-party system" is the way this country works best. But it works best only for the industrialists and bankers who rule this country.

The real role of this "two-party system" can be clearly seen in the attitude of the American rulers to the elections in Vietnam. The Nixon administration wants a candidate to run against Thieu in South Vietnam even though there would be no basic difference between them. It wants two candidates only for appearances—to make both Americans and the Vietnamese believe that there is really a choice.

Women cannot move toward achieving liberation by supporting the parties of our oppressors. We must fight the Democratic and Republican parties through building a mass movement of women in the streets, and we must fight them on the electoral arena as well. To win political power, women must ally themselves with, and spearhead, the political struggles of the working class and of the oppressed nationalities.

For the 1972 elections, the Socialist Workers Party is running Linda Jenness for president. Her campaign is totally supporting the fight for women's liberation and is exposing the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. If the National Women's Political Caucus is serious about wanting to support candidates who will fight uncompromisingly for the needs of women, against the war in Southeast Asia, and against all forms of oppression, then they should consider throwing their resources and energies behind the campaign of Linda Jenness and local SWP candidates throughout the country.

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Until now, the women's liberation movement has spread mainly to the advanced capitalist countries around the world, but sisters from the colonial and former colonial world are also beginning to fight for their rights as women. In the June 11 *Militant*, I reported in this column about a women's liberation demonstration in the Philippines. It should also be reported that according to the *New York Daily News* there was a demonstration in Malaysia Sept. 6 of 500 nurses demanding equal pay. The *Daily News* said it was Malaysia's first women's liberation demonstration. The nurses picketed the Ministry of Health demanding equal wages to those of male nurses.

Every woman knows what it's like to be harassed by "girl watchers" on the street. Even if you are lucky enough to get by without being pinched or without being bombarded with the various standard sexual noises and comments, just feeling those eyes on you is enough to make you feel like a piece of meat on display.

Women in City Government United (WCGU) in New York City are trying to do something about this disgusting practice of harassment of women, which is especially bad in the City Hall area of lower Manhattan, where these sisters work.

Women in City Government United was started three years ago, and has 50 active members plus many others who are interested. Their major goal is to fight sex discrimination against women in city government.

WCGU began a campaign to publicize incidents of harassment, and succeeded in prompting the *New York Times* to run a major story on this problem. What moved the women from WCGU to begin this campaign was the recent crackdown on prostitutes by the city government because of supposed harassment of men by women!

One woman city employee told the *Times*: "Once when I was approached I told the man, 'If you were female, you'd be arrested.' He called me Communist. A man can say whatever he chooses. If a woman does, she's arrested."

Some women in WCGU are planning to bring men who harass them to court. Another member told the *Times* that in her view, "if somebody says something to me it's a personal insult, but I can't get excited about it. The fact that a woman can't approach a man without being arrested, the fact that women can't get jobs, that they have to go on welfare is more important.

"You're not going to change a construction worker's mind, so if they don't mug me I consider myself very lucky."

Women are winning gains in many areas through legal suits. A Seattle waitress, Linda Hanson, has filed a suit charging that Washington state unemployment compensation laws discriminate against women—particularly pregnant women. Washington law presently denies pregnant women unemployment compensation from the seventeenth week before delivery until the sixth week afterwards.

Linda Hanson's employer laid her off because of lack of business, so she began to draw unemployment benefits and continued to draw them after she subsequently became pregnant. According to the Aug. 20 *Seattle Times*, the state is now demanding she pay back about \$800 she received during the period that unemployment compensation is denied by law.

Ruth Barnes, attorney for Linda Hanson, pointed out that the present law benefits the employers, "who don't have to pay into the state (unemployment compensation) fund because the pregnant woman is disqualified" from benefits.

In another case, a U.S. Foreign Service officer, Alison Palmer, won a sex-discrimination suit against the State Department—the first such suit in its history.

Palmer charged that there was a "pattern of discrimination" in the Foreign Service, and cited the fact that she was refused appointments to posts in the embassies in Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia because of her sex. "It was formerly held," reports the Aug. 26 *Los Angeles Times* in an article on this case, "that in countries where women are considered inferior, a female diplomat's sex might interfere with her ability to operate effectively." If the ruling in Alison Palmer's case is enforced, it would outlaw discrimination against women in this manner.

Ambassador Edward Korry wrote to the State Department that Palmer should not be assigned to the post in Ethiopia because the job involved dealing with Ethiopian labor leaders. "Believe me," wrote Korry, "the savages in the labor movement would not be receptive to Miss Palmer, except perhaps her natural endowments."

— CAROLINE LUND

Klansmen arrested in Mich. bombings

By ERNIE HARSCH

PONTIAC, Mich. — Six Klansmen, including Robert Miles, the Grand Dragon of the Michigan Ku Klux Klan, were arrested on Sept. 10 in the bombing of 10 school buses which the Pontiac Board of Education planned to use to carry out a federal court school desegregation order. Ten thousand of Pontiac's 24,000 public school children were to be bused in the program.

The 10 buses were destroyed with dynamite Aug. 30, a few days before they were to begin operation. These bombings touched off more than a week of right-wing protests against the busing program.

On the first day of school, 70 persons tried to block the remaining buses from leaving the parking lot. For several days, pickets patrolled the gates to the lot, intimidating the bus drivers and making half-veiled threats of further sabotage.

On Sept. 8, a demonstration of 5,000 took place in Pontiac in protest of the busing program. The organized right-wing was very much in evidence, with members of the American Independent Party, the National Youth Alliance, and the KKK carrying signs and passing out leaflets.

Despite the size of the demonstration, the picketing at the bus parking lot gates afterward didn't increase. About 40 to 50 persons took part, with fewer people showing up each consecutive day. Several people were arrested for chaining themselves to the parking lot fence, and when one of them was arrested he gave the Nazi salute.

The FBI charged that the plan for the bombings originated at a statewide meeting of the KKK in Vassar, Mich. July 4, at which Robert Shelton of Alabama, the Imperial Wizard of the Klan, was also present. This was followed by several other meetings that discussed the specific arrangements of the bombings.

Six days after the bombings, the KKK held a regular meeting at Miles' home in which the effects of the bombings were evaluated. The FBI said Miles "expressed pleasure that no physical evidence of their deed had been found."

When arrested, Wallace Fruit, the Great Titan of the Fifth Province of the KKK, denied any knowledge of the bombings. He said, "I don't know who could have done the bombing except the NAACP. They're the only ones who stand to gain. Now they'll be able to bring in federal troops, and that's what they want."

The bus bombings shocked many Michigan residents into the realization that the South isn't the only breeding ground for right-wing terrorism. They now have to face it close to home.

Robert Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the Klan, has called the Michigan KKK the strongest Klan organization outside of the South. One police intelligence officer said, "The Klan is growing in Michigan and it's growing fast."

Mpls gas workers continue strike

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS—The way the White House sees it, all strikes for higher wages are off. But you can't sell that to the 800 members of the Minneapolis Gas Employees Union that walked off the job before the wage freeze and haven't been back since. And the union isn't going back, says union president Howard Siple, until it gets a fair contract—wage freeze or not.

At strike headquarters, Siple and his aides are busy dispatching pickets to local gas company offices, apparently unmoved by President Nixon's appeal to labor for an end to work stoppages. "Just because he issues this type of request doesn't mean we

should abide by it," he said in an interview.

Siple's attitude is not atypical among elements in the lower echelons of the labor officialdom in the face of Nixon's wage-freeze bombshell. Many unions on strike when the freeze was announced have not gone back to work.

Interviews with Twin Cities union officials last week confirmed that there's a new mood afoot in the trade unions, cautious but restive, and less inclined to obediently genuflect when the commander in chief asks labor to toe the line.

The Minneapolis Gas Employees are backed by their International, the United Association of Pipe Fitters and Plumbers, and have also won significant local support.

Some 15 unions have refused to cross the gas workers' picket lines and 260 office workers in the company headquarters have remained out in sympathy with the striking local.

And the strike is still solid. The union wants a 72 cent increase over a two-year period. Current base pay is \$4.80 an hour.

"We just had a special membership meeting," Siple said, "and it was a unanimous backing of the negotiation committee to maintain our position."

The only direct government pressure to return to work, says Siple, came a few days after Nixon announced the freeze. The director of the Federal Mediation Service in Chicago sent a telegram and then phoned asking the union to end the strike.

"We ignored the request," said Siple.

The union is currently picketing 13 sites that include offices and plants in the Minneapolis area. Some picketing is only during the day, while at a number of service plants where supervisors are working through the night, picket lines are set up on an around-the-clock basis.

A few union members have been put at the disposal of the company to repair emergency gas leaks.

Siple remains largely mute on the freeze itself, having been advised by the International union not to discuss it with reporters.

But the sentiment among the rank and file runs against the Nixon policy.

Asked if he felt Nixon had a right to appeal to unions to hold off on strikes, Siple was curt: "I don't think he has a right to do a lot of things."

China backs Sudan butchers

China's Maoist leaders further extended their policy of blatant support to such reactionary actions as Pakistan's suppression of Bangla Desh and the repression by the Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon with their gestures of friendship to Sudan's President Nimeiry during his recent bloody repression of Communists and other dissidents. In July, a coup by leftist military officers in Sudan failed. Following his return to power, Nimeiry has murdered thousands of Communists, trade unionists, and women and youth activists, and banned all dissident political groups.

While all this was taking place, Mao Tse-Tung was rolling out the red carpet for this reactionary regime.

On August 5, the Sudanese newspaper *Al-Sahafa* reported that a high level Sudanese government team would visit China to discuss ways of improving relations between the two countries.

On Aug. 23, Sudan Foreign Minister Mansour Khaled announced that an economic and technical agreement would soon be signed with the Mao regime.

Two weeks earlier, Khaled had revealed that the Sudanese-Chinese Friendship Society, an official organization, organized demonstrations in support of General Nimeiry, while the latter had been in the custody of leftist army officers July 19-22.

On Aug. 5, UPI reported that Nimeiry had sent a note of "thanks" to Mao and Chou En-lai because of China's refusal to join in the widespread condemnation of the Sudan bloodbath and witch-hunt against the left.

By allying himself with Nimeiry, Mao has gone on record supporting the elimination of the largest Communist Party in the Arab world.

¡La Raza en Acción!

The extent of police brutality in the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities has been brought into sharp relief by a succession of events throughout the summer. Also evident is the determination of the barrio to resist this constant harassment and violence of racist cops, backed by racist Democratic and Republican party politicians.

In Hoboken, N.J., the Puerto Rican community exploded on the weekend of Sept. 4-5 when two Puerto Rican brothers were beaten by cops who "thought" the men were holding up a store. On Saturday night, reports the Sept. 7 *New York Times*, a group of Puerto Ricans were seized and clubbed as they attempted to march to the police headquarters in protest. Many were arrested.

In response to the arrests, another incident took place on Sunday evening, and there were more arrests and beatings. Two of the people arrested showed two-inch gashes on their heads caused by police clubs.

On Sept. 8, 35 people arrested during the weekend were released, but new eruptions occurred when a group of "law and order" representatives singing "God Bless America" and waving American flags went to City Hall to protest their release.

Following a meeting with city officials, they marched to the Puerto Rican community, thus provoking the rock-and-bottle-throwing incident that ensued.

On Sept. 9, the banner of racist reaction was picked up by the Hoboken Young Democrats, who, led by their president James Farina, marched to City Hall to also protest the release of the 35.

As in most cases, a contributing factor to the pent-up anger of the community is the high rate of unemployment. Forty percent of Hoboken's population of 47,000 are Puerto Rican, more than 25 percent of whom are unemployed.

On Sept. 10 in Santa Fe, N.M. 100 National Guardsmen were called in to help state and city police spray tear gas on Chicano youth because, as the Sept. 8 *New York Times* reports, an "apparent" fight broke out following the annual fiesta. It seems the cops got a little nervous when they tried to break up the fight and met with resistance.

A committee has been formed to defend those arrested in Pharr, Texas, during

a demonstration last Feb. 6, when police attacked Chicano demonstrators protesting police brutality, and murdered Alfonso (Poncho) Flores.

The July 17 issue of *Ya Merol*, published in McAllen, Texas, reports that the committee, formed by a group of political activists and religious clergy, includes a number of prominent people, among them Senator Jose Bernal of San Antonio and Carlos Guerra, national president of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization). The committee will raise funds and support for those now facing trial.

An article in the Aug. 29 issue of *Claridad*, published in Puerto Rico, reported that studies done recently in New York showed that Puerto Ricans are two or three times more likely to live in poverty than all the families in the city.

In addition, Puerto Ricans have the largest average number of children per family, the lowest education level, the worst jobs, and the highest rate of unemployment.

Some of the figures cited to prove the point were the following: 33 percent of all Puerto Rican families are headed by women, as opposed to 10 percent of families in general, "a fact which demonstrates," adds *Claridad*, "the acute disintegration of the family among boricua (Puerto Rican) families."

The educational level for four out of five males and three out of four women, 18 years or older, is below high school.

In terms of income, twice as many Puerto Rican families in proportion to all New York families—or one out of two—make \$5,000 or less a year.

"Law and order" in Texas won another round of its battle with democracy when the Harlingen Court of County Commissioners recently authorized their county sheriff, Boynton Fleming, to declare a state of emergency without their approval.

Under this law, the August 28 *Ya Merol* explains, Fleming may request the intervention of police and military forces from other parts of the country in cases which he personally judges as emergencies.

Fleming has acquired a bad reputation amongst Chicanos in that area, especially since the murder of a young Chicano by deputy Nem Bryan. Bryan was found not guilty by a court after being praised by Fleming.

—MIRTA VIDAL

The following article is the first of a series that will analyze Progressive Labor Party's break with Maoism and its present policies and activities.

By TONY THOMAS

The Nov. 1971 issue of *Progressive Labor* magazine announces the complete repudiation of Maoism and of support to the Chinese government by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which for nearly 10 years has been the largest and most important Maoist organization in the U.S. Articles in previous issues of *PL* magazine and the PLP newspaper, *Challenge-Desafio*, had criticized the Chinese government's actions in Ceylon and Pakistan and the proposed Nixon trip to China.

But this most recent article goes beyond criticisms and reverses PLP's analysis of China and Maoism. China

ly, Spring 1963) It was just as uncritical of the Kremlin bureaucrats as it later became of the Mao Tse-tung team. For a comprehensive analysis of the origins and history of PLP until 1969 see *Maoism in the U.S., a Critical History of PLP*, by Militant editor Mary-Alice Waters (Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, N.Y., N.Y., 50 cents).

When PL was Maoist

In its first comprehensive statement "Road to Revolution I," published in 1963, the founders of PLM adopted a position of support to the Chinese Communist Party as leaders of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale. "When the Chinese Communist Party began to provide political and ideological leadership for the world Marxist movement, it was warmly welcomed by true Marxist-Leninists, because it accurately generalized and confirmed their own

experiences and tested CPC [Chinese Communist Party] will succeed in its new historic endeavor.

"The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the summarization of the experiences of the Chinese revolution. It points the way for the revolutionary process everywhere." (*Revolution Today: U.S.A.*, pages 198-99)

However, as far back as 1967, PLP began to take positions at variance with the Mao bureaucracy. These did not offer a revolutionary Marxist alternative to the reformist policies of Maoism. Rather, most of these differences stemmed from opposition to the revolutionary implications of the nationalism of oppressed people, and an increasingly sectarian attitude to any united action with the "Soviet revisionists." However, on none of these questions did PLP ever explicitly state that its views differed from the Chinese leadership's, nor did it openly attack

Moscow-Peking debate, "the Chinese continued to maintain *effective unity* of action with the Soviet Union in delivering arms to Vietnam over the Chinese railroads. At no time did the Chinese engage in public polemics against Soviet aid." (Nov. 1971 *PL*, p. 42, original emphasis)

Furthermore, the Chinese Maoists are now attacked for allegedly preventing Chinese ultralefts from wrecking trains carrying Russian aid to Vietnam. PLP claims that, "A large organized movement developed against Soviet aid to Vietnam. Shipment after shipment of Soviet arms was derailed by left forces in the GPCR [the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution]. *The purpose of these actions was to show revolutionary solidarity with the people of Vietnam by opposing the machinations of the revisionists. . . .* Only the direct, violent intervention of the Mao Tse-tung-controlled PLA [People's Liberation Army] was able to put a stop to this movement." (Nov. 1971, *PL*, p. 17, emphasis added), from an article entitled "Road to Revolution III")

Nationalism

Since early 1969, the PLP has been officially opposed to all forms of nationalism—whether of oppressed or oppressor nations—even though this is contrary to the stated positions of the Chinese CP leadership. A June 1969 PLP statement indicated: "For many years, we in the Progressive Labor Party held to the idea of two types of nationalism: revolutionary and reactionary. But a look at world reality shows there's no such thing. Nationalism is either the path to oppression by an outside imperialism or the road back to capitalism from socialism." ("Revolutionaries Must Fight Nationalism," editorial dated June 1969 published in the PLP pamphlet *Black Liberation*.)

Bourgeois nationalists and revolutionary nationalists like Malcolm X, who they once hailed, were now branded as capitalist "sellouts."

The Chinese Maoists have maintained a different attitude toward nationalist struggles. First, a prominent part of their strategy is support to national capitalists in the colonial world who they have friendly diplomatic relations with. This is justified on the basis of the reformist two-stage theory of revolution developed by Stalin which calls for victory by the national democratic forces—usually led by or including capitalists—before socialism (the second stage) can be won.

In addition, the Chinese CP gives verbal support to noncapitalist elements of the nationalist struggles of oppressed peoples for the purpose of exerting a reformist influence on these struggles and to provide Peking with left cover.

PLP has rejected the two-stage theory at least since 1969. The Aug. 1969 *Progressive Labor* states: "It is wrong for Communists to advocate two-stage struggle. Communists have no business advocating national liberation movements that do not openly proclaim socialism as a goal."

In its most recent positions, PLP attacks outright and falsifies Lenin's position of extending support to the national liberation struggles of oppressed nations and nationalities. It further states: "From the point of view of workers, peasants, and other oppressed people, there is no way to 'sell out' a struggle for national liberation—because this struggle itself is a sellout in its very conception." (Nov. 1971 *PL*, p. 60)

PLP's first *open* attacks on the Maoist leaders came in the wake of Peking's support and aid to the Pakistani dictatorship that launched the genocidal repression against Bangla Desh.

The May 1 *Challenge-Desafio* carries an article opposed to the Pakistani rulers entitled "Pakistani Bosses Use Nationalism to Slaughter Workers." It attacks Chou-En-lai for

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PL breaks with Maoism; brands China capitalist



People's Liberation Army commanders celebrating third anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's dip in Yangtze. "The thought of Mao Tse-tung . . . points the way for the revolutionary process everywhere," PL wrote before it discovered that China had gone "capitalist."

is now branded as a capitalist state. Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China are termed "revisionists" and part of the Chinese "red bourgeoisie." The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in the late 1960s, which PLP formerly lauded as a success in preventing "capitalist" elements from taking power in China, is now viewed as a victory for the "red bourgeoisie."

Progressive Labor also denounces traditional aspects of Maoist politics such as the Mao personality cult, the two-stage theory of revolution, and the "new democracy." While PLP still defends much of Stalin's "accomplishments" it now criticizes many of the policies taken by the Third International under Stalin, including the "people's front" strategy first adopted at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935.

PLP, first called the Progressive Labor Movement, was founded in 1962. Its founders were almost exclusively ex-members of the Communist Party who wanted to return to what they termed the "revolutionary heritage" of the CP under Stalin in the early 1930s. It initially took no position on the Moscow-Peking split and in fact criticized the Socialist Workers Party for "its hostility to the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc. . . ." (*Marxist-Leninist Quarter-*

experiences." (*Revolution Today: U.S.A.*, p. 138)

At that time, PLP supported nationalist currents in the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. as well as national capitalist regimes in countries like Indonesia and Cambodia. The Oct. 1965 issue of *PL* for example, even carried an article by President Sukarno on "The Road Since Bandung."

Later, during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," 1966-69, PLP quickly followed Mao Tse-tung in denouncing the Soviet leaders as capitalists as well as "revisionists." The U.S.S.R. was no longer considered a workers state but an imperialist state. This was explained in its second major policy statement, "Road to Revolution II" published in Dec. 1966.

This document states: ". . . the revisionists have contempt for and fear of the Chinese masses. They hate the Chinese Communist Party and its great leader Mao Tse-tung. Their hate is born of the fear that the Chinese Communist Party and people are the most powerful revolutionary force in the world. . . ."

"It's [the cultural revolution's] every success is a key defeat for U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism. We have great confidence that by utilizing the thought of Mao Tse-tung the

the Maoist bureaucracy until the last few months.

One of the most obvious points of disagreement was over Vietnam. In 1967, PLP adopted the view that the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front of South Vietnam leaders "backslid" into "revisionism" when they agreed to negotiate with the U.S. (*Vietnam, Defeat U.S. Imperialism*, p. 25)

PLP further argued that the Feb. 1968 Tet offensive in South Vietnam, which dealt a heavy blow to the U.S.-Saigon military effort, was "a lot of wheeling and dealing . . . a lot of scheming instead of revolutionary struggle. . . . The Tet offensive was just part of a sellout maneuver to pressure Johnson. . . ." (p. 29) Although PLP did not attack the Chinese CP at the time, these positions were clearly contrary to those held by the Chinese government.

For a long time, the PLP has taken a sectarian attitude toward "revisionist" aid from the U.S.S.R. being sent to North Vietnam. It opposes such aid on the grounds that it will deepen the "revisionism" of the NLF and the North Vietnamese government.

Now in its most recent statement, PLP goes much further and charges that "throughout the period of bitter back and forth polemics," during the

Labor unity is theme of UE convention

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (UE) held here Aug. 30-Sept. 3 was one of the first union conventions held since Nixon's anti-labor wage freeze. The proceedings and the presence of officers of several other unions indicated some recognition in official union circles of the need for united labor resistance to Nixon's program.

The most newsworthy feature of the convention of some 400 delegates was the presence as guest speakers of Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, and Paul Jennings, president of the UE's long-time rival, the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO.

Woodcock and Jennings, along with Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremens Union, joined with UE officials in blasting the wage freeze as a move designed to further enrich U.S. corporations at the expense of working people. They agreed that primary responsibility for inflation stems from the Vietnam war and that wages far from causing inflation have failed to keep pace with it. They all urged resistance to any moves to curb the right to strike.

In addition, Woodcock told the assembled delegates that he felt the UAW had been wrong back in 1949 when it had joined in the witch-hunt expulsion of the UE and other unions from the CIO as allegedly "Communist-dominated."

Describing the wage freeze as "a noose around our collective necks," Woodcock declared there is now an urgent need for "maximum and effective labor unity."

Referring to the 1949 expulsions from the CIO, Woodcock said, "Possibly we should never have been split asunder and we in my union helped cause that splitting asunder. But if we have made an error in the past, then that error should be corrected based on the needs and demands of today."

He reiterated a previous declaration that if the administration sought to continue the wage freeze beyond the 90 days the UAW would consider its contracts "null and void" and thereby free itself to strike where necessary.

Unity was also the central theme of the speech by Paul Jennings, president of the IUE. His union had been organized by the CIO after the UE was expelled. Its function was to try to destroy the UE as the principal union in the electric industry. For years its primary tactic in seeking to achieve this goal was raiding efforts against UE locals conducted with the most disgraceful kind of red-baiting.

(The reactionary expulsion of the UE from the CIO was not without a certain bitter irony since the union, whose policies had been significantly influenced by the Communist Party, had played a key role in shaping the class-collaborationist policies of the CIO officialdom. During World War

II, for example, it broke with established CIO policy and signed contracts introducing "incentive pay" speedup. It was a leading proponent of the wartime "no-strike" pledge.)

Unity

It was only in the 1969-70 General Electric strike that for the first time working unity developed between the IUE, the UE and several other unions holding contracts with GE. For years the giant corporation, along with Westinghouse, had successfully exploited the disunity and division among the electrical unions to impose ever worse contracts on them. It came as a major surprise to GE when the previously contending unions united in negotiations and successfully resisted corporation efforts to deny them elementary wage and hour demands.

Jennings stressed the great value of the agreement made by the IUE and UE since the GE strike which bars

politician from either major party had been invited to speak.

The convention itself could not be properly characterized as particularly dynamic. Actual convention business consisted of acting on a series of resolutions, amending the union constitution, and election of officers. There was little visible dissent among the delegates.

Fitzgerald, who has served as union president for the past 30 years, was reelected by acclamation, as was long-time Secretary-Treasurer James Matles.

The only contest was in the election for the third principal post in the union, director of organization. A vacancy was created by the withdrawal for health reasons of the previous director, Robert Kirkwood.

There were two nominees for the post, Hugh Harley, a long-time international representative, and William (Jack) Burch, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois-area District 11. Harley

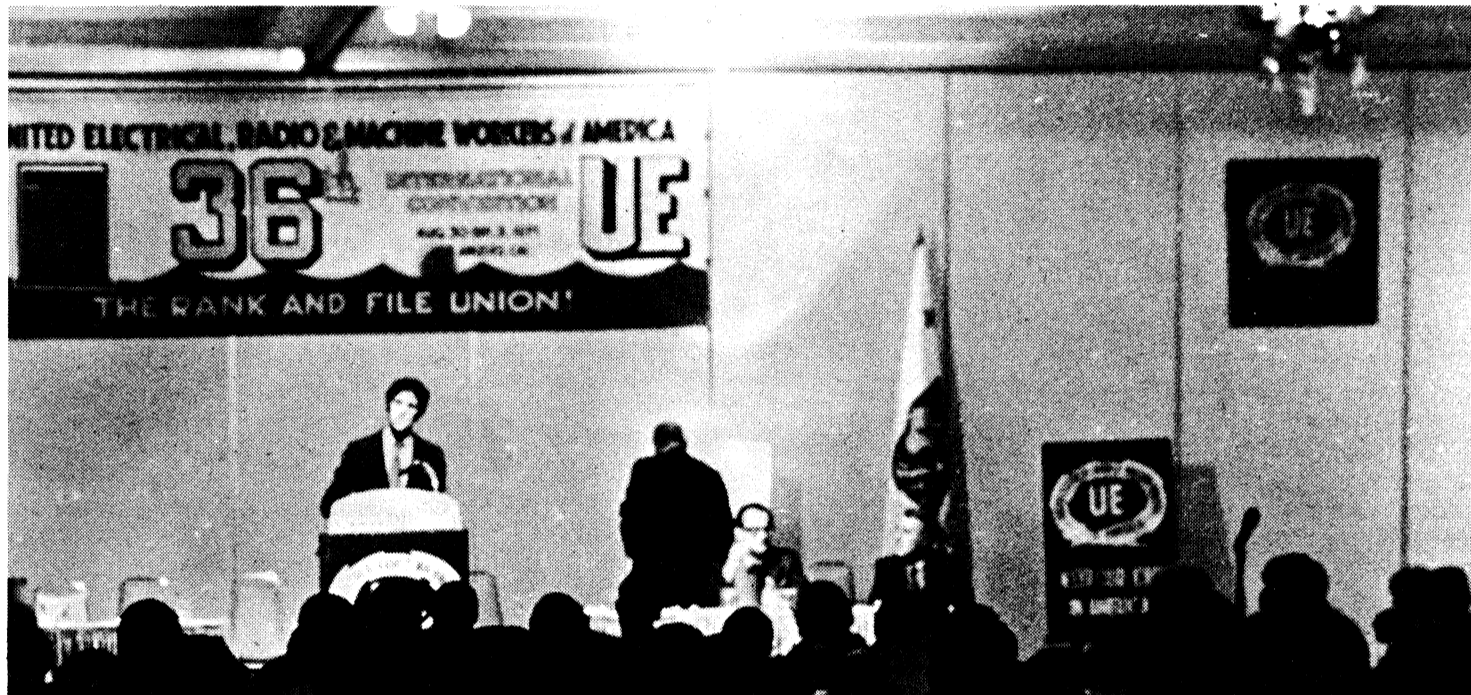
CIO united with the AFL that year.)

Those he referred to were obviously supporting the line of the Communist Party, which at that time openly proclaimed the need for the expelled unions to find their way back into "the mainstream."

This brought factional warfare within the union, Matles recalled, with a number of locals breaking away to join the IUE or other unions. Matles said that he, Fitzgerald and others had resisted the move toward the IUE on the ground that it was not the "mainstream" but a "polluted sewer."

A resolution adopted on labor unity does not mention any proposed merger with the IUE. Instead, it speaks of "united action of all unions in the electrical industry" and "joint activities on basic issues."

The long years of isolation of the union was reflected in the composition of the convention. The electrical industry is a low-paying one with a large component of women and Black and



UE convention session

Photo by Harry Ring

raiding between the two unions and provides for consultation and cooperation to reduce rival efforts in organizing the unorganized.

Jennings also said his executive board discussed the wage freeze. "We decided we're going to function as if it didn't exist. We're going to negotiate contracts, we're going to strike. We're going to get for the workers what's coming to them."

Afterward, Jennings was interviewed by Harry Bernstein, labor editor of the *Los Angeles Times*. According to Bernstein, Jennings stated that the two unions are "holding continuing discussion which I am convinced will lead to a merger."

Albert Fitzgerald, president of UE, responded to this report by telling the convention, "Your officers have been authorized by our previous convention and by our general executive board to seek unity and cooperation with any union we can have unity and cooperation with. We have not been authorized to talk merger with any other union and we will not talk merger with any other union unless we are instructed to do so."

Regarding the wage freeze, Fitzgerald warned that after the 90 days it was likely that a federal board would be created to initiate wage-price guidelines. "I hope," he said, "that the labor leaders of this country do not permit themselves to be taken 'into camp.'"

"Certainly," he added, "one thing must never be permitted to happen during these 90 days or after these 90 days—we must not permit in this country any president or any presidential board to take away the right to strike of the American working people."

In an added note of militancy, Fitzgerald called the delegates' attention to the fact that at this convention no

had the support of the international officers while Burch was nominated by Ernest DeMaio, chairman of District 11. Harley was elected by a vote of 340.6 to 166.3 for Burch.

(DeMaio also introduced, unsuccessfully, a constitutional amendment which would have taken effect in 1974 and provided for compulsory retirement of international union officers at age 65.)

Modest gains

With the GE strike as a turning point, the UE now seems to be making modest gains after the long, difficult period of cold-war isolation which reduced it from one of the key CIO unions to one of the smaller independent unions. Its present membership is estimated at 65,000, nearly half of which has been gained since 1965.

The expulsion from the CIO, defections within the union in the period that followed, and other related difficulties have weighed heavily on the union and its leadership.

In several speeches to the convention, both Matles and Fitzgerald indicated that while they favored further steps along the road of united actions with other unions, they were not without hesitations about the prospects of actual merger with the IUE.

At one point, Matles reviewed the difficulties which the union had survived. After the original period of witch-hunting and raiding by other unions, he said, the situation began to turn for the better in 1955 as the McCarthy era drew to a close. Precisely at that point, he said, elements within the leadership of the union began pressing for unity at any cost with the IUE as a means of getting back into "the mainstream" of labor. (The

Brown workers. Yet the largest single group of delegates and officers were older, white males.

The leadership seemed either uncertain as to how to cope with this problem, or hesitant to do so. A resolution was introduced by Oakland, Calif., Local 1412 which noted that at the time of its inception, 95 percent of the UE leadership was under 25 and today the situation is reversed. The resolution said that, "In every shop . . . there is a growing bloc of young members with little or no representation."

The resolution came to the floor from the resolutions committee with this sentence deleted and was then referred to the executive board for further consideration.

A series of resolutions were adopted calling for a shorter workweek; contractual stipulations to improve the lot of women workers; support to the West Coast longshore strike; the right to strike; a program to combat inflation and provide jobs; etc.

The Vietnam resolution from the resolutions committee and adopted by the convention urged that "the president make possible the release of all prisoners of war by setting a date for withdrawing from the war. . . ."

This was a substitute for a resolution presented by District Council 7, Cleveland, which concluded: "RESOLVED that the UE Officers, District Councils and Locals call for an end to the war in Indochina now, and that full support be given to all actions that will help bring peace to America and the world."

In the discussion on Vietnam, Dick Niebur, chairman of District 7, strongly urged support to the National Peace Action Coalition and the fall antiwar offensive. (See Sept. 17 *Militant*.)

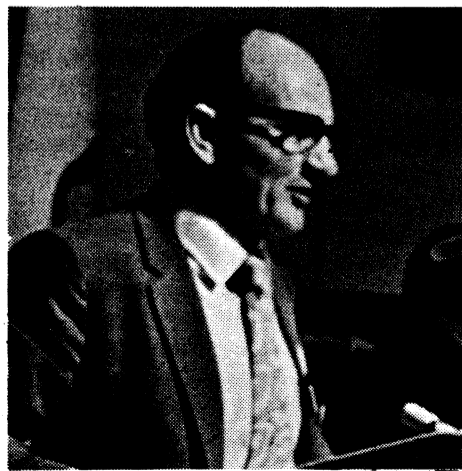


Photo by Harry Ring

Dick Niebur, president District 7 UE

AFT projects no fight against wage freeze

By TIM CRAINE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—On Sept. 8 and 9, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) held an emergency conference here to launch a counter-attack against Nixon's wage freeze. The program presented to the conference by AFT President David Selden, determined in advance by his Executive Council, was one of attempting to seek "more equitable" wage controls through lobbying Congress. The conference was addressed by prominent figures in the Democratic Party.

Delegates returned to their locals with instructions to initiate letter-writing campaigns to members of Congress and to start a drive to raise \$1-million for the 1972 election campaigns. Many left the conference with the uneasy feeling that little had been done to formulate an effective policy to fight the freeze, and that by concentrating on teachers' salaries alone the AFT was isolating teachers from other workers.

At the opening session of the conference, two representatives of the Office of Emergency Preparedness were grilled by the conference participants. Since Aug. 15, this agency has been issuing various "interpretations" of the president's order. By the time of the conference, it was clear that teachers would be hit particularly hard in two respects.

First, teachers are usually paid according to a salary scale that rises by annual increments for a number of years until the teacher reaches the maximum. These increments have never been considered "raises" and were left undisturbed even during World War II. The freezing of increments actually results in a net cut in the salary scale.

The timing of the freeze is also particularly unfair to teachers. Coming on Aug. 15, just prior to the opening of school, it denies raises that were scheduled for September. Officials of the AFT have suggested that the effective date of the freeze be extended to Sept. 15 to correct this injustice, although it is not clear how such juggling of the freeze date would benefit others.

Thus, most of the questions raised at the opening session dealt with these two aspects—increments and the effective date—rather than the wage freeze as it affects the working class as a whole. On the following day, it was these same two issues that were stressed in lobbying with members of Congress.

On the first evening, Andrew BeMiller, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO, addressed the conference. He admitted that the AFL-CIO, along with the liberal wing of the Demo-

cratic Party, had supported the 1970 act that enabled the president to impose the freeze, but rationalized this action on the grounds that the AFL-CIO had testified in favor of including profits, along with wages and prices. He also discussed legislative proposals which the AFL-CIO will present to Congress next week: closing tax loopholes, eliminating the 50 percent tax exemption on capital gains, and an "excess" profit tax.

The next morning session seemed like a preview of the 1972 Democratic Party convention. Presidential aspirants Kennedy, McGovern and Jackson addressed the gathering, while messages were read from Humphrey and various other members of Congress.

While acknowledging in various ways that teachers might suffer from certain "inequities," none of these politicians opposed the wage freeze. Senator Ellender, Dixiecrat from Louisiana, was the most forthright in maintaining that the freeze "is a darn good thing and should have come long ago."

While delegates went off to lobby Congress, AFT President Selden met with the Cost-of-Living Council that afternoon. He returned to report to the conference and the press that the council had agreed to reconsider the

question of increments—a "victory" which some AFT leaders attributed to a demonstration by the 250 conference delegates on the steps of the Capitol. He also announced that the AFT will seek to exempt teachers from any legislation Congress passes extending the freeze beyond Nov. 13. This tends to contradict the AFT's stated policy of opposition to the entire freeze for all workers.

The official AFL-CIO position paper on the freeze says that "where . . . contractual provisions are impaired and members suffer losses . . . these contracts have been nullified by the president of the United States. Such contracts should be subject to renegotiation at the first opportunity."

This passage is widely interpreted as authorizing a possible wave of strikes after the 90-day freeze expires on Nov. 13. Yet most delegates either placed blind faith in the ability of the AFT to obtain favorable legislation and administrative rulings between now and then, or they expressed a deep cynicism about the effectiveness of any action after Nov. 13. They implicitly recognized that it is futile to take the employers on one at a time and that a response to Nixon's attack on the entire working class will have to involve all unions on a nationwide level.

By Any Means Necessary

The boycott of Budweiser, Michelob, and Busch Bavarian beers continues. The boycott is being organized by the Black Brewery Workers of Newark. These workers are among the 75 Black and Puerto Rican employees at the Newark plant of the Anheuser-Busch company. This plant, which operates in a city that is officially 60 percent Black and 10 percent Puerto Rican, has a labor force that is 80 percent white!

This blank-out of the oppressed nationalities is effected through a system of book workers and temporary workers. Anheuser-Busch requires that new employees hired as temporary workers work 225 consecutive days—not including weekends—to get a book. Thereafter, he or she is assured of permanent employment, starting at \$6.23 an hour. This is almost two dollars more than what temporaries get.

This 225-day period amounts to working for almost one year before becoming a permanent employee. And according to spokesmen from the BBW, if a worker misses one or two days the cycle has to be repeated all over again. They said that for white workers, the average time for getting a book is one year to 15 months. But for Black and Puerto Rican workers, this average time is three years! Thus, this time factor and the pay differential between temporaries and book workers enables Anheuser-Busch to reap super-profits.

The BBW was formed in June of last year to redress this situation. They went first to the New Jersey Division of Civil Rights. The NJDCR compiled information and evidence until October and then promised hearings on the matter the next year.

Angered by the dilly-dallying and foot-dragging methods of the Division, the BBW got in contact with the Committee For a Unified Newark in January of this year. This led to support from other community organizations such as the Congress of African People—of which CFUN is a member organization—and Operation Breadbasket.

When the Division slated hearings for April, these community organizations mobilized people to attend. After it became evident that the hearings were designed to let off steam, not redress grievances, the BBW and its supporters called a press conference July 13 and announced a national boycott of Anheuser-Busch products. The company fired several workers associated with the boycott. But this measure only helped fan the flames of discontent.

Since the announcement of the boycott, brothers and sisters from CFUN and other organizations have staged marches in downtown Newark, stopping in stores to make known the boycott.

At this point, Locals 843 and 153 of the Teamsters at Anheuser-Busch have refused to support the boycott or the struggles of Black workers against racism in the plant.

Anheuser-Busch tried to cool-out the action in July by giving \$10,000 to the Essex County Urban League to administer a summer jobs program for youth. But at the press conference at which it was presented, representatives from the BBW showed up and exposed the "gift" for what it was—a token gesture.

The essential thrust of the demands of the BBW is that the company hire back workers fired for their activities in the boycott, and that Blacks and Puerto Ricans be hired and upgraded in proportion to their numbers in the city population.

Frank W. Render II, the Black deputy assistant secretary of defense for equal opportunity, was forced out of his job by the Defense Department on Aug. 25. However, the Pentagon chose to obfuscate the matter by saying that it was not satisfied with Render's progress in the solution of racial problems within the armed forces. To further cloud the issue, it asked that NAACP legal counsel Nathaniel Jones—who headed up a team from that organization that investigated the complaints of Black GIs in West Germany—take Render's job.

But the truth of the matter is that Render dug too deep, uncovered a little bit too much for the brass in the Pentagon. Render toured U. S. garrisons in Europe last fall and in a subsequent report stated, "We did not anticipate

finding such acute frustration and such volatile anger as we found among the Blacks. . . ." The revelations of this tour forced the Pentagon to issue a few perfunctory statements denouncing racial discrimination. And later on, the brass even went so far as to discipline some high ranking officers for letting the racial situation get out of hand.

Then, in March and April of this year, Render and a team of others visited U. S. garrisons in Japan, Okinawa, Korea, and the Philippines. Render related at an early August press conference, "We gathered the impression from the behavior of some of the men that the conditions that affected them were so overwhelming that it was producing a verbal paralysis. We encountered Marines who, while attempting to tell us what was wrong, burst out in tears."

This disclosure went too far. It made shambles of armed forces propaganda about young men experiencing "Fun, Travel, and Adventure." It came at a time when the overseers of the "green machine" were trying to refurbish their sagging and sinking public image.

The Pentagon's response to "uppity" Black GIs is to give them an immediate dishonorable discharge. The same measure was applied to Render because he let too much get out. However, Render being the liberal that he is, did not have enough spine to link his "discharge" with that of the brothers below him. In fact, he seemed to enter a state of "verbal paralysis."

In an attempt to quell subversion of "the green machine," the U. S. military has banned Sister Freda Payne's recording of "Bring The Boys Home" from the Armed Forces Radio. Such action is only indicative of how uptight the brass has become.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Struggle by Black GIs is on the rise. Here GIs in Vietnam honor Martin Luther King's birthday, Jan. 15, 1971.

Quebec frame-up charges dropped

The following article, from the Aug. 23 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto, is reprinted from the Sept. 13 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

The Québec government has dropped most of the remaining charges laid last fall under the War Measures Act. Thirty-four of the accused received the news August 14 by registered mail—the only formal "announcement" the embarrassed Justice ministry could muster itself to make. The rest was a telling "no comment" from Premier [Robert] Bourassa.

Both Trudeau and Québec Justice Minister [Jérôme] Chôquette were conveniently out of the country. Pressed by reporters' questions, the latter's ministry finally issued a statement saying that the expiry of the Public Order Act made it difficult to continue judicial procedures.

No further charges are pending against three of the leading defendants — Michel Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, and Charles Gagnon. But Pierre Vallières, now seriously ill, still faces a charge of seditious conspiracy and Jacques Larue-Langlois is charged with assault and membership in the Front de Libération du Québec [FLQ — Québec Liberation Front], even though the FLQ is no longer an illegal organization since the expiry of the Public Order Act.

The withdrawal of charges marks a further victory for the mass movement in both Québec and English Canada that developed in opposition to these witch-hunt trials and the Trudeau government's repressive legislation. The governments concerned have been utterly incapable of sustaining their claims of "apprehended insurrection" last October. Five hundred were arrested, but most of them were later released. All five of fourteen persons charged with seditious offenses who have come to trial have been acquitted. Six of the seven persons tried for membership in the FLQ have been acquitted.

As defense lawyer Bernard Mergler stated, "Probably in every single one of the cases that has been dropped the accused would have been acquitted."

The Citizens' Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act, slated to hold its first press conference in Ottawa August 19, now has before it the most damning indictment of all — the evidence of judicial conspiracy against democratic rights by Ottawa and Québec City.

The slate is not yet clean. What about Côme Leblanc, behind bars for "promoting the aims of the FLQ" (he distributed leaflets outside a high school)? And François Mercier who was jailed in Granby for "membership in the FLQ"? What about the jail sentences for "contempt of court" meted out to Michel Chartrand and Jean Boisjoly when they protested the unjust proceedings?

The sentences against Leblanc and Mercier must be revoked. The contempt sentences must be reversed.

Drop all proceedings against Larue-Langlois and Vallières. Compensate

all those accused under this frame-up legislation. Reveal the truth about the real conspiracy behind the October crisis — the conspiracy of Trudeau and Bourassa.

Soviet novelist protests police raid

From Intercontinental Press

In an open letter to the head of the Soviet political police, KGB, novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has protested an illegal search of his country cottage and a brutal assault on a friend of Solzhenitsyn's who accidentally interrupted the search.

The letter was written on August 13, one day after the incident. It was addressed to KGB chief Yuri V. Andropov. The novelist also sent a copy to Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin.

Excerpts from Solzhenitsyn's protest were reported from Moscow by Bernard Gwertzman in the August 15 *New York Times*.

"For many years," Solzhenitsyn wrote to Andropov, "I have borne in silence the lawlessness of your employees, the inspection of all my correspondence, the confiscation of half of it, the search of the homes and the official and administrative persecution of my correspondents, the spying around my house, the shadowing of visitors, the tapping of telephone conversations, the drilling of holes in ceilings, the placing of recording apparatus in my city apartment and at my cottage, and a persistent slander campaign against me from speakers' platforms when they are offered to employees of your ministry.

"But after the raid yesterday, I will no longer be silent."

Solzhenitsyn said that he had been ill in Moscow and had asked a friend, Aleksandr Gorlov, to go to the novelist's cottage in the village of Rozhdestvo to get a part for his car. When Gorlov arrived, he found the cottage occupied by some ten men in civilian clothes. He asked them for their identification cards.

"On command of the senior officer — To the woods with him! — Silence him! — they bound Gorlov, knocked him down, and dragged him face down into the woods and beat him viciously. Simultaneously, others were running by a circuitous route through the bushes to their car, carrying packages, papers, objects (perhaps also a part from the apparatus they had brought themselves).

"However, Gorlov fought back vigorously and yelled, summoning witnesses. Neighbors from other garden plots came running in response to his shouts and barred the robbers' way to the highway and demanded their documents. Then one of the robbers presented a red identification card and the neighbors let them pass.

"They led Gorlov, his face mutilated and his suit torn to ribbons, to the car. Fine methods you have, he said to those who led him. We are on an operation and we can do anything, he was told."

Led by a Captain Ivanov, the agents took Gorlov to the local police station.

"Then Ivanov asked Gorlov for a written explanation of what had hap-

pened. Although he had been fiercely beaten, Gorlov put in writing the purpose of his trip and all the circumstances. After that the senior robber demanded that Gorlov sign an oath of secrecy. Gorlov refused.

"Then they set off for Moscow, and on the way the senior robber kept telling Gorlov, 'If Solzhenitsyn finds out what took place at the dacha, it will be all over with you. Your official career — Gorlov is a candidate of engineering sciences, has presented a doctoral dissertation for defense and works in the State Institute of Experimental Housing Design and Research — will go no further, you will not be able to defend any dissertation. This will affect your family and children and, if necessary, we will put you in prison.'

"Those who know our way of life are aware that these threats can be realized. But Gorlov did not give in to them, refused to sign the pledge, and now he is threatened with reprisal.

"I demand from you, Citizen Minister, the public identification of the robbers, their punishment as criminals and an explanation of this incident.

"Otherwise I can only believe that you sent them."

In the copy of the letter sent to Kosygin, Solzhenitsyn added that "unless the Government of the U.S.S.R. had a part in these actions of Minister Andropov, I will expect an investigation."

According to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the September 10 *New York Times*, Solzhenitsyn received a telephone call from a colonel in the KGB after he sent his letter to Andropov. The KGB spokesman, Gwertzman reports, claimed that the assault on Gorlov was "the mistake" of local policemen and that the KGB was not involved. "The colonel said, according to the novelist's friends, that the local police were staking out the dacha in the expectation that it would be burglarized and mistook Mr. Gorlov for a criminal."

14,400 have been arrested in Ceylon

From Intercontinental Press

An indication of the extent of the witch-hunt unleashed by the Ceylon government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike last April appeared in the August 14 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

B. H. S. Jayewardene reported from Colombo that 14,400 people have been arrested since the beginning of April. Most of these are "educated unemployed, peasants, and a few hundred teachers and university students."

Home Affairs Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike has estimated that 5,000 of those arrested will be tried for offenses ranging from murder and treason to unauthorized possession of arms and ammunition.

Jayewardene named three figures in the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP — one of the parties of the ruling coalition) who have been implicated as being directly involved in the rebellion: Vasudeva Nanayakkara, a youth league leader of the party; S. D.

Bandaranayake, a former member of parliament; and Susil Siriwardena, a senior civil servant.

While the Bandaranaike regime proceeds against the rebel youth, there are signs of a rift appearing between the government and the Communist party.

The CP has one minister in the government — the party's secretary-general Pieter Keuneman. He fully supported the campaign against the youth.

On August 28, the government announced that it had decided to cease sending official statements to the CP's daily paper, because of criticisms of the regime that had appeared in its columns.

In late August Keuneman went to the Soviet Union, and shortly thereafter seventeen other members of the CP applied for Soviet visas — all for "reasons of health" or "personal reasons."

The seventeen were denied visas, and rumors began to circulate that the CP was preparing to withdraw support from the government.

The September 2 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* published a statement by an unnamed CP spokesman denying that his party was considering breaking with Bandaranaike.

"It is no secret that certain leaders of the party are now in the Soviet Union, but only for medical treatments, not for secret discussions."

Ceylon offers aid to Yahya Khan

From Intercontinental Press

Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike wrote a letter to Yahya Khan some weeks ago inquiring if the services of the Ceylon government could be used "to ease tensions resulting from the general situation in East Pakistan and the proposed trial of Awami League leader Mujibur Rahman," according to a report in the September 2 *Ceylon News*:

"There has been a positive response from Pakistan's president who, it is understood, has said he would welcome any concrete proposals from Ceylon to ease tensions," the *Ceylon News* continued.

The newspaper indicated that Bandaranaike would reply within the week to the butcher of the Bangla Desh masses. Bandaranaike's views are as follows, according to the same source:

"It is understood that while Ceylon feels that the situation in Pakistan is basically an internal matter, there are certain humanitarian aspects to the problem, such as the question of refugees and resultant difficulties, that must be taken note of. This situation has caused a threat to peace in the region and Ceylon feels that definite steps should be taken to arrive at a solution to the present problems."

A fitting climax to this bit of political theater would be a letter from Yahya Khan to Bandaranaike discreetly noting that while it was "basically an internal matter," still the massacre of Ceylon's youth recently conducted by the Ceylonese prime minister was not without "certain humanitarian aspects" which had led him to ask how his services could be utilized "to ease tensions."

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

By DICK ROBERTS

National Liberation Front guerrillas attacked a U.S. military compound at Pleiku, South Vietnam, Feb. 6, 1965. The Pentagon papers describe Washington's reaction:

"The first flash from Saigon about the assault came on the ticker at the National Military Command Center at the Pentagon at 2:38 p.m., Saturday, Feb. 6, Washington time.

"It triggered a swift, though long-contemplated presidential decision to give an 'appropriate and fitting' response.

"Within less than 14 hours, by 4 p.m. Sunday,

"Washington's sense of crumbling in the military situation was heightened when Saigon's army suffered a 'highly visible' setback in a ferocious battle at Binhgia, southeast of the capital, between Dec. 26 and Jan. 2 [1964-65]. Vietcong guerrillas nearly destroyed two South Vietnamese battalions.

"All evidence pointed to a situation in which a final collapse of the GVN [South Vietnamese government] appeared probable and a victorious consolidation of VC power a distinct possibility,' the [Pentagon] narrative says."

2) The bombing attack on North Vietnam was launched in the hope of blackmailing Hanoi into exerting pressure on the South Vietnamese revolutionaries to surrender. There was no significant "infiltration" of North Vietnamese troops to the South. As just stated, the guerrillas themselves, with wide support among the populace, were close to toppling the Saigon military clique in the early part of 1965.

The most cynical statement of this blackmail-

being made known to Hanoi which amounted to nothing less than a demand to surrender; the administration was well aware that forcing such a surrender would require intense military pressure.

The *Times* describes the administration thinking behind one of the bombing "pauses." These were always presented to the American and international public as "peace seeking attempts."

"As [Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara] and Assistant Secretary of Defense McNaughton envisioned it, the pause would be used as a kind of 'ratchet,'—which the [Pentagon] analyst likens to 'the device which raises the net on a tennis court, backing off the tension between each phase of increasing it.'

"All the high officials who debated the pause in bombing assumed it would be temporary," the study declares. "Throughout this discussion it was taken for granted that bombing would be resumed."

"The officials . . . believed the bombing would be resumed, the narrative adds, because they knew that the conditions they had set for a permanent halt were tougher than Hanoi could accept." (Emphasis added.)

4) Washington strategists also knew that crushing the Vietnamese revolution would take a long time and be tremendously costly in terms of American lives. In July 1965, "The major participants in the decision knew the choices and understood the consequences," the Pentagon report states.

The *Times* continues, "The decision taken in mid-July to commit 44 battalions of troops to battle in South Vietnam 'was perceived as a threshold—entrance into an Asian land war. The conflict was seen to be long, with further U.S. deployment to follow.'"

In November 1965, McNamara wrote a memorandum to Johnson asking to raise the troop level from 180,000 to 400,000, as requested by the military leadership. McNamara stated: "We should be well aware that deployments of the kind I have recommended will not guarantee success. U.S. killed-in-action can be expected to reach 1,000 a month. . . ."

The *Times* records that three months later, "At a news conference on Feb. 26, 1966, the president said, 'We do not have on my desk at the moment any unfilled requests from General Westmoreland.' There were 235,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam at the time."

5) The top leaders of the government knew that their objective—a long, bloody war against an indigenous revolution and in support of a military dictatorship—would not be acceptable to the American people, if the American people knew about it.

The Pentagon papers underline the conscious effort of the politicians in charge to dupe the people. They show that lying is not a secondary aspect of imperialist foreign policy but crucial to success.

According to the *Times* series, the first intelligence report of regular North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam appeared in April 1965: "A memorandum by the CIA on April 21, 1965, 'reflected the acceptance into the enemy order of battle of one regiment of the 325th PAVN [People's Army of Vietnam] division said to be located in Kontum province.'" This unit was said to number 500-600 North Vietnamese soldiers.

It is worth considering! Eisenhower ordered U.S. Special Forces to conduct sabotage against the North Vietnamese in May 1954—one decade and 11 months earlier. Kennedy escalated U.S. troop levels in South Vietnam from about 600 to about 16,000—to oppose "North Vietnam's efforts to take over your [Ngo Dinh Diem's] country." [See *The Militant*, Aug. 6, 1971.] Johnson ordered bombs against North Vietnam to retaliate against a guerrilla attack on Pleiku. In February 1965, there were 235,000 "regular" U.S. forces in South Vietnam.

The Pentagon papers also reveal that at the time this CIA intelligence report was issued, in February 1965, "the State Department published a white paper entitled 'Aggression from the North,' asserting that North Vietnam was responsible for the war in South Vietnam and that Hanoi had infiltrated more than 37,000 men."

The antiwar movement

In the next four years, two factors undermined Washington's plans to crush the revolution in South Vietnam, forcing Johnson to back down from the policy of unlimited escalation in mid-1968, to greatly reduce the bombing of North Vietnam, and to open the Paris negotiations.

These two factors were the implacable resistance of the Vietnamese on the battlefield and the unprecedented growth of an antiwar movement during a major war. The imperialists' war policies demanded that the American people believe a whole series of lies; but the antiwar movement was able more and more to bring out the truth about the

Continued on page 21

Pentagon papers

Vietnam escalation sparks growth of antiwar movement



International Days of Protest march in New York, in October 1965.

Vietnam time, 49 U.S. Navy jets . . . had penetrated a heavy layer of monsoon clouds to deliver their bombs and rockets on North Vietnamese barracks. . . .

"The drastic U.S. action, long on the military planners' drawing boards . . . precipitated a rapidly moving sequence of events that transformed the character of the Vietnam war and the U.S. role in it."

This initiated Washington's massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam. Ultimately more tons of explosives were dropped on the Indochinese subcontinent by U.S. aircraft than were used by all belligerents in the entire Second World War.

A month after Pleiku, U.S. troops were ordered to land at Danang—the first explicitly to be labeled "combat troops" by Washington spokesmen. The total U.S. force in Southeast Asia grew from 23,000 at the end of 1964 to 536,000 at the peak in 1968. U.S. casualties grew from 147 killed and 522 wounded at the end of 1964 to 55,213 killed and 301,456 wounded by September of 1971. Uncounted millions of Indochinese peoples were killed and wounded.

But in late-1971, this slaughter still continues. Its end is not in sight.

Crucial aspects of Washington's decision to launch a major war in Vietnam were unknown to the American people in 1965.

1) The precipitating factor in the decision to escalate was the imminent collapse of the puppet regime in Saigon. "The political turmoil in Saigon," according to the *New York Times* summary of the Pentagon papers, "appears 'to have been interpreted in Washington as an impending sell-out' to the National Liberation Front. Fear increased that a neutralist coalition government would emerge and invite the United States to leave.

bombing strategy cited by the *Times* is a remark made by Maxwell Taylor, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, in April 1965. Taylor contended that "The U.S. did not want 'to kill the hostage.' Therefore Hanoi and environs remained on the restricted [bombing] list."

To destroy Hanoi would remove the threat. Thus, while publicly insisting that it was bombing only military targets in North Vietnam, the Pentagon was actually hitting civilian centers in order to increase the murderous pressure on the Hanoi leadership to betray the revolution in the South.

Washington's intelligence agencies informed the top authorities of the actual bombing results, according to the *Times*. "In January 1967, the Pentagon account discloses, the CIA produced a study estimating that military and civilian casualties of the air war in North Vietnam had risen from 13,000 in 1965 to 23,000 or 24,000 in 1966—'about 80 percent civilians.' In all, that meant nearly 29,000 civilian casualties in an air war that was to expand in the next 15 months."

3) The objective of the escalated war was military defeat of the South Vietnamese revolution. Washington strategists already had long experience with the Vietnamese revolution by 1965. In the early 1950s, they had urged the French to press towards a military victory; in 1955-64 they had provided a series of puppet dictators in Saigon with the military aid, advice, and increasing numbers of U.S. troops in the hope of crushing the guerrilla insurgency in a "limited war." The decision in 1964-65 was to attempt to smash the revolutionaries outright by massive direct U.S. military force in a major ground and air war.

Thus every pretension of the administration that it was "seeking peace" was completely phony. Behind the so-called peace offers, secret terms were

In Review

Film



FIDEL

A documentary written and directed by Saul Landau. New Yorker Films.

In 1968, Saul Landau set out to produce a filmed biography of the prime minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, Fidel Castro Ruz. Using a flashback technique, he attempts to show that the fabric of the personality of Fidel and the history of Cuba are woven of the same thread.

Landau achieves this primary objective. We get a clear picture of what Fidel is like, what his thinking is. We see the Fidel who has been in the forefront of every important battle the Cuban people have had to fight up to now—whether it be against U.S.-paid mercenaries in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion or against Hurricane Flora in 1963. We see the tremendous rapport and free-flowing communication that exists between Fidel and the Cuban people.

Much of the film was shot while traveling with Fidel on one of his frequent trouble-shooting trips around the island. Conversations about the Cuban people's aspirations take place against a background of farmers plowing the fields with oxen, women scrubbing clothes by hand, wooden shacks, dirt roads. The effect is sobering—but not depressing. For there is yet another pattern to Cuban reality—as much a part of it as the ox-drawn plow and the scrub sink—and that is the roads, dams, schools, child-care centers, and hospitals that the Cuban people have managed to construct despite their great lack of material resources.

The film's emphasis is on the problems the Cuban people face. There is an obvious attempt to try to bring home to those outside of Cuba a touch of what it means to make a revolution in a former one-crop colony. The honesty with which this is done is one of the film's strongest points.

Throughout our travels with the leader of the revolution to some of the poorest areas of the island, however, one question keeps cropping up: Given the enormous problems the country faces, how are things organized so that in between Fidel's trips, progress will be made toward solving them? Are Fidel's visits the only direct way people have to voice their views on what is wrong and to get some action?

The scene where this question is most sharply posed is one where Fidel stops along a country road to talk to an older woman from a nearby village. They have a very warm conversation. She brings up a number of serious problems, Fidel promises to do something about them as soon as he can, and then he drives away. One feels as if one were left standing in the middle of the road with the woman, doubting that this is the most efficient way for eight million people to solve their problems.

The gains made by the Cuban people since

the triumph of the revolution are presented in glimpses. This is one of the film's weaker aspects. The glimpses we are given—especially on Black and female liberation—are in some cases misleading.

In view of the fact that there has been no comprehensive film of quality on the Cuban revolution, that the Cubans themselves have not yet written a history of how they made the revolution or on the events of the past 11 years, and that growing numbers of young supporters of the Cuban revolution have grown up since 1959, it would seem important for Landau to present his subject matter with the utmost clarity. This he does not always do.

For instance, one of the most misleading scenes is one in which an English teacher has his class repeat the sentence, "The boys dig the coffee holes and the girls fill the coffee bags." This scene presents only one side of the contradictory situation of Cuban women. For while it accurately reflects the hangovers of sexism in Cuban society, it ignores the fact that Cuban women today not only dig coffee holes, cut sugar cane, and carry out innumerable other back-breaking tasks in agriculture on a par with men, but they can be found in all sectors of society. Women outside of Cuba who see *Fidel* cannot be expected to assume that they are only seeing one side of a contradiction; they will probably assume that they are seeing the whole story.

Up to 1959, Cuban women were made to feel deep shame if they left their homes unaccompanied—in some cases, even to go shopping. The gains Cuban women have made with the revolution are enormous and women are shouldering a heroic part of the burden of revolutionary tasks.

In *Fidel*, Landau has recorded some very important statements that enable us to better understand how Fidel (and many of the Cuban leaders) approaches the tasks of making and carrying out a revolution. When Fidel is asked why he never kept a diary, he answers that diaries get lost, and that he was never a big one for history anyway, but rather for action. This pragmatic down-playing of theory in favor of action (symbolized in Cuba by the cartoon of the *guerrillero* picking up the gun and throwing a book over his shoulder) has not proven at all helpful to revolutionaries anywhere—be they from Latin America or Oakland, Calif.

Among the other important subjects touched on by Fidel are the role of the guerrilla movement in the Cuban revolution, the Afro-American struggle in the United States, and the relation between the leaders and the masses in the revolution. It is Castro's candid comments on subjects such as these that make *Fidel* a valuable and interesting film.

—EVA CHERTOV

Books

The Life of a Useless Man

by Maxim Gorki. Doubleday. New York, 1971. 240 pp. \$6.95.

The Life of a Useless Man depicts the Russian revolution of 1905 as seen through the eyes of a czarist spy. Recently translated into English for the first time, it was written in 1907 but remained unpublished until the October 1917 revolution.

Gorki's novel captures the listless resignation and fear that dominated the lives of the Russian peasants and urban workers at the beginning of the twentieth century. In such a repressive atmosphere, people were reduced to torturing and betraying each other. They seem almost like insects struggling in a barren environment to stay alive. And yet there is some hope hidden deep inside: "Don't worry, it won't last forever."

The few who do begin to speak out, to protest and to organize, are discovered. They befriend the frightened Yevsey Klimkov, who admires them, but who is compelled to turn them in simply in order to stay alive himself.

The events of Bloody Sunday (Jan. 9, 1905) put an end to that era. As the revolutionary forces gain in strength, Yevsey notes the changes that come over the people he passes in the street. They feel a sense of their own power—reflected in the way they walk, the way they hold their bodies erect, the way they speak openly in the street. In contrast, the spies become confused, less willing to carry out their assignments. Many, including Yevsey, are sympathetic to the revolution, and some even join in the struggle for social change. Yevsey, who sees the fierce face of the counter-revolution destroying his own hope of escape from his life as a spy, hurls himself under the wheels of a train.

Gorki's portrayal of this human cockroach is convincing. But the most significant aspect of the novel is its description of the dynamism and dignity exhibited by people who move toward taking power for themselves.

—DIANNE FEELEY

After the Revolution?

by Robert Dahl. Yale University Press. New Haven, Conn., 1971. 166 pp. \$2.45.

Books by political "scientists" are often exercises in confusion. This one is no exception. It borrows a whole lot of old ideas, puts on new labels, twists the concepts a bit for the hell of it and then tries to pass them off as something new and profound. Twenty years ago Dahl wrote *Who Governs?*, in which he "discovers" a phenomenon he calls "polyarchy"—what Marx named class democracy more than 100 years ago. Now Professor Dahl has pulled together a random sample of some more appropriated ideas, toasted them a bit for good measure, and sprinkled them throughout the pages of his book.

There is much dwelling on pompous notions like a Criterion of Personal Choice, a Criterion of Competence, and a Criterion of Economy. There is heavy borrowing from James Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution*. By the end Dahl has not really committed himself to anything of substance. The reader is even left wondering if he understands such a basic question as the difference between capitalism and socialism.

For a sophomoric handling of an abundance of ideas, read this book.

—GARRET ORMISTON

N.Y. SWP launches 1972 campaign

By CANDIDA McCOLLAM

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—On Sept. 11, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, addressed a rally of over 250 New Yorkers at Brooklyn College as the New York SWP launched its 1972 election campaign.

High school support for the SWP 1972 ticket was articulately expressed by David Keepnews, vice-president of the student government at Dalton High School, who allayed all doubts that 16 years old and younger is "too young to be human." Keepnews, who was announced as the SWP candidate for 66th State Assembly District, urged support for Jenness and Pulley and encouraged youthful campaigns like his own.

Joanne Tortorici, Student Mobilization Committee activist and an organizer for Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP), condemned the efforts of the Democrats and Republicans to derail the antiwar and feminist movements and said, "We'll be voting with our feet—marching in the street to build our campaign."

The initial list of SWP candidates running in New York was announced by Paul Boutelle, the SWP's 1970 candidate from New York's 18th C.D. Besides Keepnews, they are: Stacey Seigle, 20th C.D.; Peter Buch, 14th C.D. in Brooklyn; Evan Cohen, 67th State Assembly District; and B.R. Washington, 18th C.D. in Harlem.

Washington, a Black activist and transit worker, ridiculed Lindsay's euphemism for New York, "Fun City." "For the masses of Blacks and Puerto Ricans living in rat-infested apartments, it's not 'Fun City,'" he stated. Washington called for Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican communities, review boards to investigate the prisons, and massive participation in the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations by the Black community.

Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, also addressed the rally and condemned

Nixon's Sept. 9 claim that he was "winding down the war" as "a sham of a lie." He called attention to a recent article in the *Washington Post* entitled "Post Vietnam Age Begins," calling it a "cruel joke for the war victims," who are no more than statistics in Pentagon files. The SWP candidates, Gordon said, are builders of the antiwar movement and he urged everyone to join the Nov. 6 demonstrations.

John Singleterry, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance stationed at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma, related the importance of the SWP presidential campaign to GIs. He indicated that the brass is attempting to discharge him from the Army on the serious charge that the YSA is an organization with "illegal" ends. He is fighting this attempt.

SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was given an enthusiastic reception. Pulley, who had just arrived from campaign meetings in Chicago, called for the conviction of Mayor Daley's crony, district attorney Edward Hanrahan, who has been indicted for conspiracy in the murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton. Pulley said Hanrahan should be convicted of murder, not merely conspiracy to obstruct justice. He urged support for a public campaign to bring about Hanrahan's conviction.

Pulley also attacked the arrest of Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo United Front in St. Louis, Mo., and he pointed to the murder of Soledad Brother George Jackson as yet another example of the racism in American society. He called for a community controlled investigation to uncover the real criminals in the murder.

Winding up a busy week of campaigning, Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, hit hard at capitalist politicians. New York's Mayor Lind-



B. R. Washington

Photo by Mark Satinoff

say, she said, took six years to make a mess out of New York, and now "he aspires to make a mess out of the country." Jenness also mentioned Lindsay's decision to change his party affiliation. "Lindsay can switch from a Republican to a Democrat just as fast as a New York City cockroach can switch from one apartment to another."

Feminist playwright Myrna Lamb, author of the *Mod Donna*, and composer Nicholas Meyers performed for the first time anywhere an excerpt from a new opera Lamb is working on entitled *Apple Pie*.

The total amount collected at the rally to help finance the socialist campaign was more than \$1,400.

Cape Cod protest is largest ever held

By NEIL DOBRO

HYANNIS PORT, Mass.—The largest antiwar protest ever to occur in Cape Cod took place Aug. 27, the day tropical storm Doria hit the New England Coast. More than 250 persons marched down the main street of this resort town, demanding an immediate end to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

Had the weather been different, the action would have been significantly larger. There was a pouring rain all day until an hour before the march began at 8:30 p.m., and even many people who had worked to build the demonstration assumed it was being called off and stayed home. March organizers were nevertheless pleased with the turnout.

Following the candlelight march down Main Street, the marchers rallied on the steps of the old Cape Cod Community College campus. Speakers included Ruth Wald of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), former antiwar GI Joe Miles, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge City Council, Don Gurewitz of the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition, and Barbara Raiz of Female Liberation.

The action was the first organized

by the Cape Cod PAC, formed just three and a half weeks earlier. Other groups endorsing the action were Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Martha's Vineyard SANE, the Student Mobilization Committee, the World Federalists, Citizens for Participation in Politics, and the WILPF.

CCPAC already has plans underway to build an Oct. 13 rally on Cape Cod and organize other activities to mobilize people from this area for the Nov. 6 mass demonstration in Boston.

St. Louis socialist dies

ST LOUIS, Mo.—Robert Saunders died Sept. 1 at the age of 78. He had a long career as a political and trade-union leader and he will be warmly remembered by all who knew him.

Bob first entered the labor movement when as an itinerant worker he joined the Industrial Workers of the World in his late teens. He became class conscious through his experiences in IWW strikes and free speech fights. Then in 1932 he joined the Socialist Party in which he became a member of the St. Louis city central committee and later of the Missouri state board.

He was not only acquiring political experience; he was studying the revolutionary classics and becoming well grounded in Marxist fundamentals. This led to his identification with the Trotskyist tendency within the party, which in turn brought him under attack from the party's reformist wing. When the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP, he became a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, launched at the beginning of 1938.

Bob's trade-union role began in 1933 when he joined the Carpenters Union while working in a St. Louis lumber yard which he had taken the lead in organizing. Later he became secretary-treasurer of Cabinet Makers Local 1596, a full-time post that he held for 20 years. He was also president of the Carpenter's District Council across a similar time span. Several years ago he retired from his trade-union posts, and health problems prevented him from engaging in other forms of activity within the movement.

...papers

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war and to mobilize mass demonstrations against it.

"The Pentagon study notes," according to the *Times*, "that the actual landing of 3,500 Marines at Danang [in February 1965] had 'caused surprisingly little outcry.' Secretary of State Rusk had explained on a television program the day before the Marines came ashore that their mission was solely to provide security for the air base and 'not to kill the Vietcong.'"

But even before this, a demonstration was announced which sparked the growth of the antiwar movement. At the beginning of January, the Students for a Democratic Society called for a march on Washington April 17, declaring that "The war is fundamentally a civil war, waged by South Vietnamese against their government; it is not a 'war of aggression.'"

Twenty thousand demonstrators poured into Washington on April 17. A "National Teach-In" was held in Washington the next month, attracting 5,000 participants, which was piped onto over 100 campuses. And on May 21, a "Vietnam Day" demonstration in Berkeley drew 15,000 student protesters.

These three demonstrations set the tone of the new antiwar movement. They were nonexclusionary, including participants from any political,

peace, religious or other organization which wanted to take part in the demonstration, and thousands of young people who did not belong to any organizations.

'International Days of Protest'

In the next period, the various antiwar forces came together in a series of conferences aimed at forming a national antiwar organization which would be able to coordinate actions against the war.

A "Congress of Unrepresented People" meeting in Washington in August 1965 established a "National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam" which was then headquartered in Madison, Wis.

The Madison committee supported and helped publicize the first national antiwar demonstration for October, an "International Days of Protest," called by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, to consist of marches and rallies in different cities. This October 1965 protest showed how rapidly the antiwar movement had grown and deepened just in the first seven months of Johnson's escalated attacks on Vietnam.

In New York City, alone, 30,000 persons marched down Fifth Avenue Oct. 16. There were 15,000 marchers in Berkeley. Demonstrations were held in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Seattle, Denver and Pittsburgh, among other places. All told, some 75,000 to 100,000 took part in the October protest.

The "International Days" were supported by dem-

onstrations abroad. In Vancouver, Canada, 500 protesters marched on the U.S. consulate; over 3,000 demonstrators demanded "U.S., Get out of Vietnam" in Brussels. Earlier in the year, mass protests and teach-ins against the war had been held in Japan and Britain.

On Nov. 27, 1965, a march and rally in Washington drew 35,000 participants.

On the same weekend in Washington, the National Coordinating Committee called a second "International Days of Protest" for March 25-26, 1966. These actions were significantly larger than the demonstrations only a few months earlier, with some 50,000 to 100,000 people at the New York march and rally alone. More American cities joined the list, and international demonstrations were once again held, the biggest in Rome, London, Oslo, Stockholm and Ottawa.

The Pentagon papers reveal that as early as November 1965 the combined impact of a domestic and international antiwar movement and terrific military opposition to the U.S. attack by the Vietnamese revolutionaries caused top administration officials to doubt the feasibility of the war plans they had devised.

"Eight months after the American decision to intervene with ground forces," states the *Times*, the secretary of defense warned President Johnson that the major new reinforcements he was approving could 'not guarantee success.'"

Within a year, McNamara's doubts had been transformed into active opposition to the policy of unlimited escalation.

Calendar

BOSTON

BANGLA DESH—REVOLUTION IN EAST PAKISTAN. Speaker: Mansur Habib, E. Pakistani student active in Bangla Desh defense. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50 c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN. Panel analysis of rape, forced sterilization and prostitution. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Drive, Rm. 310, Great Lakes Bldg (Wacker nr. Lake). Donation: 50 c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

WHY FEMINISM IS REVOLUTIONARY. Speaker: Cathy Hinds, chairwoman Miami-Oxford Contraception Coalition, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Ph: 391-5553. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

NEW YORK CITY

STRIKE NOV. 31 MARCH NOV. 61 New York students. Help plan the biggest New York antiwar demonstration New York City has ever seen! Come to the first planning meeting of the New York Student Mobilization Committee. We will be discussing plans for:

- Regional antiwar demonstration in New York City Nov. 6
- Student strike Nov. 3
- Moratorium Oct. 13

Sunday, Sept. 26, 1 p.m. 150 Fifth Ave., Rm. 843. Volunteers needed. Free material available—leaflets, buttons, stickers, posters. Call 741-1960.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

THE ATTICA MASSACRE. A firsthand account. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Sept. 24, 8:30 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (corner of Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

Fall Socialist Educational Series. "The Fascist Uprising," second of three classes on the Spanish Civil War by Les Evans, the editor of the International Socialist Review. Sunday, Sept. 26, 1 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. Fourth St.), 8th floor. 50c per session, \$3.00 for complete series of eight classes. For more information, call 260-0976. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

PHILADELPHIA

THE WAGE FREEZE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COLLAPSE OF THE AMERICAN DOLLAR. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (1 block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...Attica

Continued from page 5

half of the observer committee stayed overnight Sunday in the prison. This was in unliberated areas. Other members agreed to arrive early in the morning.

The attack

But as it turned out, all of the plans laid the previous day went for naught. Seale was stopped at a roadblock at around 8 a.m. Kunstler arrived at 9:15 a.m., only to find the outside gate to the prison locked. Police armed with shotguns were everywhere. National Guardsmen were driving up in trucks.

The 1,000-member assault force entered the prison going toward the liberated areas after two huge CH-34 helicopters dropped canisters of CS-gas in the liberated areas. At this point, relatives of the hostages and some members of the committee broke down in tears. A lot of reporters were sad-faced and shaken up.

Efforts to protest the Attica massacre on Monday included a rally of several hundred during the day at the University of Buffalo, another one downtown, and a gathering of over 2,000 UB students on campus, sponsored by the student government, to listen to Kunstler.

A group of doctors and lawyers led by Professor Schwartz tried to gain entrance to the prison on Tuesday morning with a court order. They wanted to check out medical facilities and also legal aid to the inmates. Despite the fact that reporters and politicians were allowed inside the gates the previous evening during daylight, this group was barred. And at a subsequent hearing on Tuesday before the same judge who issued the order for their entrance, the prison authorities hypocritically talked about the "dangers" of "booby traps" and "bombs" as the reason for barring Schwartz's group. The judge thereupon meekly complied and denied entry to the group.

The National Medical Association, a group of Black doctors claiming 8,000 members, also asked yesterday to be allowed inside the prison to inspect the medical facilities.

The beatings and possible killings (the eight inmates "missing" could easily turn up as deaths) going on in Attica right now are unfathomable, since there is no access to the prison by the public. For the inmates, the prison authorities have the last word. They are the judge, jury and prosecutor. They control, except in times of revolt, all access of the inmates to the outside world.

To show how much they care about the hostages, Rockefeller expressed surprise to find out that 30 had gotten out alive. He didn't expect any of them to live. And ensuring their lives was not his purpose. He was out to es-

tablish "law and order," and if anybody in Attica had to die for its achievement, then so be it. Rockefeller is callous, ruthless and brutal.

To exact justice for the 32 inmates massacred and to defend those inmates still alive, demonstrations, rallies, moratoriums, and memorial meetings are being organized throughout the country.

Along with this is the centrally important task of determining the full unvarnished truth about the massacre and bringing this before the public. A broad national committee composed of representatives from all the mass movements—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, women, GI, labor and antiwar—should be organized to carry out such an investigation.

A full public exposure of the facts behind the rebellions and massacre would deal a heavy blow against those responsible for the slaughter—including Rockefeller and Nixon—and help win broad public support for the just demands of prisoners throughout this country.

...war

Continued from page 3

economy for the Asian Development Bank. The U. S. State Department, it is believed, attaches great importance to this report.

"The one premise basic to all these research projects is that South Vietnam will in the future be a state separate from the North, and integrated in the free world's economy.

"The Smithies report, which is apparently not intended for publication, favors what it describes as the 'clearly preferable' and 'feasible' solution of a restoration of security in a military context. But, adds the report, under present conditions 'the best planning assumption seems to be a military stalemate or withering away of the war, a process that can last for a decade or more.'

"There is no reference in this economist's flat, dispassionate report to the million or so soldiers who have been killed, to the hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties, and the swarms of homeless refugees. . . .

"The high U. S. military budget for Vietnam this year, the failure to reply to the PRG's seven-point peace plan, the great increase in aid to the Pnompenh regime, Washington's admitted violations of the Geneva agreements on Laos, are all sufficient proof that the war is far from over yet. . . .

"The financing of studies on the future of a South Vietnam cut off from the North and part of an anti-Communist Southeast Asia seems to indicate President Nixon's determination to apply a program diametrically opposed to that of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. This 'continuity' in U. S. policy can only help to reduce still more the importance of the Paris peace talks."

...PLP

Continued from page 15

his role in supporting President Yahya Khan in 1971 and his predecessor Ayub Khan in 1968-69. The article states: "During the 1969 workers rebellion, Chou En-lai warmly welcomed Pakistani army envoys in Peking. The Pakistani army guarded government buildings from (rioting masses) with Chinese-supplied tanks. Today East Pakistani are being massacred by the Chinese—as well as American and Soviet—bullets and rifles. This is the inevitable result of relying on alliances with nationalist bosses rather than on the international working class. . . ."

The May 21 *Challenge-Desafio* reported the invitation of President Nixon to China and began the analysis which led to PLP's later designation of China as capitalist. The article states: "One easily can see that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) which took place in China in the mid-1960s has been reversed." It claims that Mao and Chou are working for a complete accommodation with U. S. bosses. . . . It predicts that the Chinese workers will punish "the Chous and his cronies."

However, in these articles no full analysis is given of the character of the Chinese state. The evolution of PLP's relationship with China takes a qualitative turn in the Nov. *PL* with the designation of China as a capitalist state.

While revolutionary socialists have long criticized the reformist and class collaborationist policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the bureaucratic deformation of the Chinese revolution, we consider it a major error to characterize China as a capitalist country.

In the next article we will take up PLP's claim that China is no longer a workers state.

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THE MILITANT

New developments in Davis, Magee trials

By HOLBROOK MAHN

SAN FRANCISCO—Motions to dismiss Angela Davis' case and to delay the trial now set for Sept. 27 were both denied last week by superior court Judge Richard Arnason. The denial of a previous motion to grant bail to Davis was upheld by the California State Supreme Court. This decision is now being appealed to a lower level federal court.

In presenting the motion to dismiss the case, the defense argued that the grand jury was selected by a system that illegally and unconstitutionally excluded the poor, Blacks and young people. Evidence was presented from hearings in which the Marin County judges, who select the nominees for the grand jury, were questioned, showing that they tend to select individuals who are from the same class and age bracket as themselves.

Defense counsel Howard Moore, during the heated hearings, said that the report on the 1970 grand jury showed its members to be "racist, reactionary, and exhibiting a definite class bias."

During the hearings, Angela Davis acted as her own defense attorney for the first time.

Before a packed courtroom Sept. 10, defense counsel Howard Moore argued that publicity about the murder of George Jackson at San Quentin — which is only a few miles away from the Marin County courthouse — "makes it impossible for the defense to receive a fair and impartial trial, now if ever." However, he said that the grounds for delay previously cited by the defense were sufficient for granting the motion; therefore, he stated, he would not enter "prejudicial publicity" about the Jackson murder as a grounds for delay, but would reserve it to enter at a later date.

He cited the large number of potential witnesses — 500 — which had to be interviewed, and the tremendous amount of documentary and physical evidence that had to be examined, as grounds for delaying the trial. He also charged that the attorney general's office sent out a letter to all witnesses that strongly implied that they should not talk to defense attorneys. This harassment has been further exacerbated by the prosecution's negligence in sending statements from the state trial witnesses to the defense.

During assistant attorney general Albert Harris' previous rebuttal, in which he claimed the delay would be "a perversion of justice," Judge Arnason had to blink furiously to stay awake. When Arnason made his almost routine denial of the motion for delay, he paternalistically told the defense that even he had a hard time going through the material, but said, "Now that I have a feel of the range, I'm not going to let the team get away from me. I'm not going to drop the reins," indicating he's going to push to begin the trial Sept. 27.

He said that the motion for delay could be remade at another time, and added that all motions had to be submitted before Sept. 20. Other pretrial motions the defense has indicated it would make are: a motion to delay the trial because of the prejudicial publicity relating to George Jackson's mur-

der to the Angela Davis trial, a motion to suppress evidence gained through illegal searches, and finally, a motion to change the location of the trial to another county.

There was a significant development in the case of Davis' former co-defendant Ruchell Magee on Friday, Sept. 10, when the pathologist who performed the autopsies on Jonathan Jackson (George Jackson's brother) and William Christmas changed his report. He said that Jackson and Christmas were shot in the back, after reporting a year ago that they were shot in their chests. They were killed Aug. 7, 1970, during the attempted escape of Magee and three others from the Marin County courthouse.

He said that contrary to normal procedure, he was not able to see the clothing of the men because it had been in the possession of state investigators for nearly a year. Magee's attorney, Ernest Graves, contends that the autopsy report contains gross omissions in the description of Judge Haley's wounds. Haley was the judge who was shot during the Aug. 1970,



Angela Davis

shootout in the Marin County courtroom. A hearing on Graves' motion to exhume Haley's body is scheduled for Sept. 22.

Magee, who earlier agreed to wait until the Davis trial was over before beginning his, petitioned last week to have his trial begin immediately. He charged that he waived his right to a speedy trial because Judge Arnason had misinstructed him. Magee claimed that Judge Arnason, along with his court-appointed attorney Graves and assistant attorney general Albert Harris, were "acting in connection with the statewide racist clique" to prevent him from receiving justice.

Campaign to convict Hanrahan launched

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO, Sept. 14 — Representatives of six organizations met here Sept. 8 to map out a campaign to demand that the murderers of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark be tried and convicted of murder. Hampton and Clark were murdered in a police raid Dec. 4, 1969, on orders from the office of State's Attorney Edward P. Hanrahan.

Among those attending the meeting last Wednesday were Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton; Edna Williams, Chicago office of the Cairo United Front; Lorraine Broy, Power of People group; and representatives from the Student Mobilization Committee Black Task Force, the Urban League, and the Marshall High School Black Student Union. Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, who was in Chicago for the National Black Student Association conference, also participated in the meeting.

Plans were made to call a mass meeting in the Black community to initiate a series of demonstrations directed against Hanrahan, the Chicago Police Department, Mayor Daley's Democratic Party machine, and the State of Illinois. The group has taken the name the Black Coalition to Convict the Murderers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The failure of the special Cook County grand jury to return an indictment of first-degree murder in connection with the Dec. 4, 1969, murder of Hampton and Clark has created widespread anger in the Black community here. The Daley organization has been pulling every available string to make sure that even the mild indictment for conspiracy to obstruct justice now pending against Hanrahan and 13 others will be

quashed before it reaches the courtroom. Hanrahan has refused to leave his position as state's attorney pending his trial in spite of strong public sentiment for him to do so.

Without authorization from the court, Hanrahan obtained a statement last week from Clara B. Goucher, one of the grand jurors, alleging improper grand jury procedure. Hanrahan released the text of Goucher's statement to the press and has filed a motion with Judge Philip Romiti, asking that the grand jury transcripts be made available for his inspection. Hanrahan is also seeking statements made to Romiti's predecessor, Judge Joseph Powers, by two grand jurors last spring before the Illinois Supreme Court enjoined Powers from continuing such private interviews.

Special prosecutor Barnabas Sears announced that he will release a secret record that establishes that he used no improper methods to obtain a grand jury indictment. Sears made the statement in papers filed with Judge Romiti asking the criminal court judge to dismiss Hanrahan's motions. According to the Sept. 14 Chicago *Sun Times*, Sears also asked that statements taken from Goucher be quashed on the grounds that the action "was highly unethical, improper and illegal." Judge Romiti has not ruled on the motions from Hanrahan or those from Sears.

The events since Hampton's murder in 1969 show that the legal system will move only in the face of mass popular action. The formation of the Black Coalition to Convict the Murderers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark is a promising step toward the mobilization of the African-American community against such brutal attacks.

Stokes assailed for absolving Rockefeller

In response to the massacre of inmates at Attica, Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes said he "hopes no one tries to hold Governor Rockefeller responsible" for it. He blamed the deaths on the inadequacies of the American penal system and said he disagreed with Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, who blamed the New York governor.

The following statement was issued by John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, Sept. 15.

The brutal murder of 31 inmates at Attica State Prison in New York is the most recent and most blatant example of "justice" in racist, capitalist America. Responsibility for these killings falls squarely on the New York State prison authorities, all the way up to Governor Rockefeller. In fact, the state authorities' case has already fallen apart. The reason for the massacre was supposedly to save the lives of the hostages held by the inmates. However, the findings of medical examiner John Edland show that of the 10 hostages slain, "eight cases died of

gunshot wounds." It was learned later that a ninth hostage was also killed by gunshot wounds. . . .

Mayor Carl Stokes' attempt to absolve Governor Nelson Rockefeller can only be called a whitewash. It was through full consultation between Commissioner Oswald and the governor that the massacre was carried out. Furthermore, if, as Stokes claims, the American penal system is at fault, then certainly Rockefeller, as governor of New York for over a decade, had ample opportunity to bring about needed changes in the prison system. The fact that he didn't is a clear indication of his complicity in the murders of the inmates.

At bottom, the responsibility does not remain confined to any single capitalist politician or government official. The real culprit is the whole racist, capitalist system which holds private property to be more valuable than human life.

I will use my campaign to expose the truth about these murders and to defend all victims of such so-called "justice."